MANUFACTURING IDENTITY: SOME EDUCATIONAL INSIGHTS INTO ENGLISH CANADA'S NATIONAL SELF-IMAGE

by

Glyn Samuel Hughes
B.A., University of London, 1967

THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS
in the Faculty
of
Education

SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY
March 1997

APPROVAL

NAME Glyn Samuel Hughes

DEGREE Master of Arts

TITLE Manufacturing Identity: Some Educational Insights into English Canada's National Self-Image

EXAMINING COMMITTEE:

Chair: Heesoon Bai

Roland Case, Associate Professor
Senior Supervisor

Mike Manley-Casimir, Professor
Member

Len Evenden, Associate Professor
Geography Department and Director,
Canadian Studies, Simon Fraser University
Member

Walter Werner, Associate Professor
Faculty of Education
University of British Columbia
External Examiner

Date: March 24, 1997

ABSTRACT

The study examines some central themes and contradictions of English Canadian national identity, and considers differences in individual, governmental and educational perceptions of that identity.

Despite increased globalization, the 1990s have seen the re-emergence of the nation as a defining political and cultural unit. The nation will remain important in individual experience since a significant part of social identity is bound up with a sense of nation-ness. If citizens are to maintain an affective and civic attachment to the nation -- prerequisites for its stability and continuity -- the educational system assumes some responsibility for promoting national solidarity and distinctiveness.

Having reviewed the literature under four headings (identity as national sentiment; as citizenship; as culture; and as self-perception), the study proposes and examines three versions of national identity. The main focus is on Perceived National Identity (PNI). A 31-item questionnaire administered to 150 students provided data on the key figures, events, symbols, values and stereotypes that shape the national self-image. The official government-sponsored and exported version of national identity -- Idealized National Identity (INI) -- was sought through a detailed analysis of the structure, imagery and commentary of a Government of Canada promotional film, "Oh Canada!". The contents of Transmitted National Identity (TNI), the educational interpretation and curricular reformulation of INI, were studied in an Ontario grade 7-10 social studies curriculum guideline with particular attention to its attitudinal objectives, topics and teaching strategies.

All three versions of national identity underline the importance of shared values in defining Canadian society, suggesting that one part of official Canadian identity has been successfully inculcated. The PNI, however, is marked by ambiguity towards national character and by an awareness of intolerance and national disunity. The study suggests that civic attachment to the state is inadequate as a source of solidarity and that it needs to be bolstered by a sense of national pride, experienced foremost as international recognition. Some recommendations are made for enriching social studies curricula in order to enhance national self-image and cohesion. These include a more celebratory treatment of Canadian history and a prominent global education component.

"A nation working its way towards unity must do so through discovery of a national cultural identity; and to do so it needs a school system which will take and confirm and develop and codify and transmit whatever clues emerge as to the essence of the national cultural identity, and the nature of the common goals that will eventually clarify it. It needs, in short, an educational system designed to help in creating an appropriate mythology."

(Goble, 1981, pp. 65-66)

Table of Contents

Chapter 3. Perceived national identity

Chapter 4. Idealized and transmitted national identity

List of Tables

List of Figures

CHAPTER 1
THE PROBLEM OF NATIONAL IDENTITY

1.1. Overview

The nation is important in individual experience since a significant part of social identity is bound up with a sense of nationality and nation-ness, "the most universally legitimate value in the political life of our time" (Anderson, 1991, p. 3). With the break-up of the former communist countries, it has appeared that the nation state and nationalism are experiencing a new golden age. There are, however, simultaneous trends that suggest the opposite: the twilight of the nation state. Economic autonomy is fast becoming an anachronism in an increasingly global economy. Similarly, the political sovereignty of the nation state is under threat, if not internally from regionalist and secessionist movements, then externally from integrationist, continentalist and globalist trends. There are indeed multiple possible scenarios facing the nation state in the 21st century (Smith, 1995).

Canada is just one of the world's 200 or so extant nation states. For the majority of its 29 million citizens, however, Canada represents far more than a political unit or territorial expanse on the map of the world. Their country inspires a deep and lasting emotional attachment -- an attachment which serves the interests of an integrated Canadian state and which is more or less consciously inculcated through the formal education system. If public support for the nation -- Canadian or otherwise -- disappears, what allegiances and identities will emerge to replace patriotism, national sentiment and civic participation? Will citizens retreat into narrow-minded chauvinism and tribalism, or, in the face of seemingly uncontrollable homogenizing global forces, will they lose faith in their individual and collective power to determine their own lives and consequently withdraw from the active democratic process at national level? In a post-nationalist age what will be the key components of national self-image and citizenship?

It is claimed (e.g., Fleras & Elliott, 1992) that cultural pluralism and tolerance of diversity have been consciously built into the Canadian national self-image and concept of citizenship. Although there are powerful arguments suggesting their divisive influence (e.g., Bissoondath, 1994), these two civic virtues are regarded as the adhesives that increasingly hold the Canadian mosaic together. In a modern multicultural society like Canada, such a policy is not only seen as

intrinsically worthwhile and politically expedient, but it is also considered to set Canadians apart from other nationalities and so go some way towards establishing a sense of Canadian distinctiveness. As one of the main instruments of national integration, the school system plays a key role in socializing young people to accept, cherish and actively promote the values that confirm their national distinctiveness.

The present study will examine some of the dimensions and contradictions of Canadian national distinctiveness. The primary focus will be on how English Canadians perceive their own national identity, as revealed by an extensive questionnaire administered to 150 students in September 1992. To further illuminate the origin and development of the respondents' particular formulation of national self-image, the study will also include two smaller analyses. High school social studies curricula will provide an educational perspective, while official interpretations of national identity will be sought in a recent Government of Canada promotional film. The additional analyses will also help to bring into sharper relief some of the incongruencies and inconsistencies of Canadian national identity.

The study will proceed as follows: The remainder of Chapter 1 sets the study in a wider global context and outlines its aims and methods. Chapter 2 clarifies the concept of "national identity" by reviewing relevant literature in the fields of nationalism, national identity and patriotism, citizenship and civic education. Given the important social psychological dimensions of identity, key theoretical work in the field of stereotyping will also be examined. Chapter 3 presents the study's main research instrument, the questionnaire, and the data it generated. The contents of the two subsidiary data sources (school curricula, promotional film) are analysed in Chapter 4. Chapter 5 pulls together the main findings and discusses the implications of the results obtained. The study concludes by returning to its anticipated outcomes and making some tentative recommendations, both for improving the main data instrument and for developing those components of social studies curricula concerned with the promotion of national identity.

1.2. Introduction

In an attempt to summarize major developments affecting the national state since 1945, Birch (1993, p. 22) points to three clear trends -- trends which suggest tensions and the operation of opposing forces in a context of global uncertainty on the threshold of the 21st century (Kennedy, 1993). These trends will be referred to as consolidation, fragmentation and globalization. Since they are of direct relevance to the sociocultural context of this study and relate to the pivotal notion of national identity, they will be examined in detail at the outset.

1.2.1. Consolidation

Birch first notes that international order is basically structured by a recognition of the plurality of states. In other words, he suggests that the nation state has established itself as the virtually undisputed and unique source of legitimate political authority. As evidence of this, he cites the increase from 51 nation states in 1945 to 185 in 1992, reflecting the fact that many of the wars fought in the last half century have been concerned with the creation and territorial definition of nation states. Examples include Pakistan, India, Algeria, Vietnam and the Middle East. Today Antarctica remains as the last unstaked political claim, as yet unaffected by the territorialization of the earth's land and sea surfaces, a process which began in earnest just two hundred years ago with the rise of nationalism as an ideology in Europe (Gellner, 1983; Hobsbawm, 1990; Alter, 1994).

There is further evidence that the nation state has become the "fundamental political structure" (Horsman & Marshall, 1994, p. ix), the "universal historical principle" with "an unabated impact upon politics" (Alter, 1994, p. vii). Even in those countries that were characterised by tribal conflict and civil war following the break-up of colonial empires (e.g. Malaysia, Zaire/the Belgian Congo and Nigeria), the role of a national government is no longer questioned. The imperial legacy is a jigsaw of sovereign African nation states with national borders inherited from their colonial masters that cut indiscriminately and with seeming permanence across ethnic and linguistic boundaries. As such, they are classic examples of the "imagined communities" proposed by Anderson (1991). Cameroon, for example, is made up of some 200 tribes, representing 4 religions and speaking 124 languages (Alter, 1994, p. 116). The United Nations Charter nevertheless recognizes the "sovereign equality" of all member states, regardless of their territorial extent, population make-up, or economic and military might.

1.2.2. Fragmentation

The second development mentioned by Birch (1993, p. 23), one which appears to challenge the pre-eminence of the nation state, concerns the re-emergence and re-assertion of ancient identities. Horsman and Marshall (1994, p. x) refer to this as the rebirth of tribalism, a term which they use to mean "the retreat by individuals into communities defined not by political association or by the state borders that enclose a political nation, but by similarities of religion, culture, ethnicity, or some other shared experience. The retreat is driven by fear and confusion, and fed by the reassuring 'sameness' of others in the group". The quest for "reassuring sameness" and the dissemination of that sameness are key elements in nation-building.

In the 1970s minority nationalist movements began to seek a greater degree of self-determination in the form of devolution, autonomy within the state or even secession and complete

independence. It is important to note that this reorganization or reassessment of identity (and associated political agitation) was not based merely on a sense of economic division but on a reappraisal of group allegiances and historical ties. Examples of the trend towards fragmentation include the Québecois and First Nations in Canada, the East Bengalis in Pakistan (now Bangladesh, the only new country to achieve independence before the upheavals in Eastern Europe in 1990) and the Tamils in Sri Lanka.

If we discount the "'loyalist" and "republicanist" conflict in Northern Ireland, which has cost some 3000 lives in political killings, and the occasional bombings and arson attacks, the majority of corresponding European examples (the Scots and Welsh in the United Kingdom, the Basques and Catalonians in Spain, the Corsicans and Bretons in France, the Sami in Scandinavia) have not resulted in open armed conflict. Indeed, it has even been hard to treat certain separatist endeavours seriously (e.g., the move to create Padania in northern Italy). Nevertheless, recent events in the former Yugoslavia and Chechnya show that seemingly stable monolithic political units may unpredictably fragment along historical and ethnic fault lines (Djilas, 1995). The process of balkanization seems appropriately named. The result, illustrated by the case of Bosnia, may be a political stalemate marked by a series of short-lived ceasefires and sporadic military operations directed increasingly against civilian populations. In Bosnia voluntary or forced migration (ethnic cleansing) is helping to align the human reality on the ground with political changes proposed around the conference table. The human suffering is not limited to the Balkans, as Ignatieff (1993) reveals in his survey of recent examples of "the new nationalism".

It is important to acknowledge that the geo-political map of the world has been and will continue to be in a state of constant change. In endorsing the Final Accord of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe in 1975, for example, the signatories were no doubt expressing their hope that there would be lasting peace and stability in Europe. Yet, in 1992, a mere 17 years later, the then Czechoslovak President Václav Havel -- whose own country was soon to divide -- addressed delegates at the Helsinki Summit on CSCE and reminded them of the fragility of peace and of the new stresses affecting Europe:

> The sudden outburst of freedom has not only untied the straitjacket made by communism, it has also unveiled the centuries-old, often thorny history of nations. People are now remembering their past kings and emperors, the states they had formed far back in their past and the borders of those states. (Havel, cited in Horsman & Marshall, 1994, p. 81)

Fernández-Armesto (1994) identifies over 100 peoples ("extant historic communities") in Europe, suggesting that Havel's "forgotten borders" have yet to be rediscovered in many states. In a time of uncertainty and change, allegiances are fluid and unpredictable. Where economic turmoil and insecurity threaten survival, nationalism and ethnicity may become powerful unifying factors, especially when deliberately manipulated by those securing a powerbase or the status of warlord

(Ignatieff, 1993, p. 41). As Havel (Horsman & Marshall, 1994, p. 81) stresses, "such a situation becomes a breeding ground for nationalist fanaticism, xenophobia and intolerance." Recent wars in Bosnia and Chechnya have forcefully underlined the intensity and durability of national feeling and the belligerent attitudes and behaviours nationalism is capable of mobilizing in the name of political emancipation. Whether the changes take place peacefully or violently, they will continue to reshape the map of Europe. As Alter (1994, p. vii) emphasizes "Today, about fifty years after the Second World War, the nation and the nation-state have returned with a vengeance."

The revivial of nationalism is also apparent in the efforts of smaller, culturally and linguistically more vulnerable nations to resist the homogenizing pressures of transnational and global media and business interests. In the struggle to preserve national identity, the English language is often seen as the vehicle of cultural imperialism and is strongly, but often unsuccessfully, resisted (Phillipson, 1992).

Fragmentation, then, whether expressed as the pursuit of independence or survival, is clearly driven by a strong and long-standing sense of national and cultural identity, and is accompanied by the search for political validation of that identity.

1.2.3. Globalization

The third trend highlighted by Birch (1993, p. 24) is globalization, or supranationalization. In terms of its impact, globalization is taking place in both material and perceptual terms. Neo-liberalist capitalism is now *de rigeur* around the globe (Horsman & Marshall, 1994, p. 64). Manufacturing, for example, is increasingly carried out for a global market of consumers with similar lifestyles and consumption patterns. Products carrying national and international brandnames may be produced for specific markets more cheaply in factories far removed from those markets using raw materials from equally distant sources. Similarly, financial investment and speculation now take place on a global scale. Forty-seven of the world's 100 largest economies are transnational companies, exerting macro- and micro-economic pressures and operating as if states and national borders did not exist (Horsman & Marshall, 1994). We live in a global marketplace (Kennedy, 1993, p. 49).

At the same time as our material world conforms more to a global model, the speed and efficiency of global communications reinforce the individual perception that we live in a world of supranational concerns, interests and tastes (Smith, 1990; Appadurai, 1990; Kennedy, 1993). The world is a single place. Although new communication technologies have increased opportunities for greater cultural and intellectual heterogeneity within national borders, media ownership has concentrated. Attempts are made to defend national cultures (e.g., France, Spain, Canada, India),

but cultural products, especially music, film and television, are increasingly, and aggressively, aimed at supranational audiences.

Globalization not only affects trading markets and culture, but also collective security. The most conspicuous development here is the establishment since the Second World War of several international and supranational organizations designed to regulate, coordinate and advance the affairs, business and security of the world (e.g., the United Nations, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, GATT, the World Trade Organization, NATO). The global influence of these organizations is significant and is paralleled by the trend towards the formation of larger trading blocs and regional alliances with the free movement of capital, goods, services and people (e.g., the European Union, NAFTA). Horsman and Marshall (1994, p. 88) refer to this as "the pooling of sovereignty". Such alliances may have far-reaching political and legal implications for both the nation state and the individuals living in it. Whether citizens can develop any sense of attachment to these superstates remains to be seen. The rapid fragmentation of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia into earlier ethnic entities, however, suggests supranational loyalty is difficult to create.

The future of the nation state itself is also unclear (Smith, 1995). It has been argued (e.g., Luard, 1990) that national politics is fast becoming an irrelevance in a world where commerce operates in a largely unhindered manner across frontiers. Others (e.g., Smith, 1995) suggest that the nation state is wracked by such contradictory tendencies that it may not survive intact. They add that there is as yet no suitable replacement and predict "a period of prolonged instability and uncertainty" (Horsman & Marshall, 1994, p. 47). Many of the institutions that characterize and distinguish nation states (e.g., social security systems, trade union organizations) are no longer viable in a global economy. At a time of "disorganized capitalism" the state may become powerless to manage its own internal affairs or make effective economic interventions on its own behalf (Offe, 1985; Lash & Urry, 1987). "Welfare" and "the state", components of a once prevalent guiding sociological concept and experiment, have both become anachronisms. With the decline of the nation state, there will be "an urgent need to find new means of collective representation, intervention and assistance" (Horsman & Marshall, 1994, p. xi).

Globalization and the sense of global concern, however, have their limits. On the one hand, individual nations, whether peace-brokering or policing, are not operating in a political vacuum. Often the tenacity with which a particular foreign policy is pursued may be determined by considerations of electoral popularity. This in turn may be more sensitive to the coverage provided by powerful domestic media than to the inherent correctness or morality of the policy. At the international level, interventions are similarly complex and problematic (e.g., the silence of several major powers over Chinese human rights abuses or the 1995-96 French nuclear tests in the Pacific). The relative ineffectiveness of the United Nations peace-keeping missions in, for

example, Bosnia and Somalia, in the face of internal factional and tribal conflict, casts doubt upon its ability to impose a new world order, even when there is some consensus among the decision-makers of major powers on the best course of action. The Bosnian conflict also demonstrated the impotence of the EU to act promptly and concertedly.

Despite the need for international cooperation on several urgent issues affecting the future of the planet, national -- often commercial -- considerations would seem to take priority in global decision-making. Reduction in the levels of aid to Third World countries are symptomatic of new national introvertedness. International agreements, for example, on chemical emission levels (the Montreal Protocol, 1987), protecting rainforests and bio-diversity (The Rio Environmental Conference, 1992), population control (Cairo, 1994), social development (Copenhagen, 1995) and women's rights (Beijing, 1995) are not binding and individual nation states may, and do, opt out and pursue policies that contravene the spirit, if not the letter, of such agreements.

1.3. Integration vs disintegration

The three trends outlined above -- consolidation, fragmentation and globalization -- are seen by Birch (1993, p. 22) as "pointing in different directions", i.e., as indicative of tension and seeming incompatibility. An example of the three trends operating simultaneously is offered by contemporary Europe where the 15 members of the European Union (from a total of 43 European states) have committed themselves, through the Maastricht Treaty, to closer economic and political integration. A key instrument in this process will be education and the development of a wide range of exchange and curriculum development programmes with suitably eurocentric names (e.g., SOCRATES, ERASMUS, COMENIUS, LEONARDO). Particular emphasis will be placed on the development of a "European dimension" in educational curricula (European Community, 1988, 1992; Council of Europe, 1989, 1991; Beernaert, Van Dijk & Sander, 1993). The establishment of an as yet indeterminate European identity, however, is likely to diminish the value of individual national and subnational identities (Smith, 1992). The current debate over the need for a common European currency -- and the first step of finding a suitably impartial supranational name for it, the euro -- is essentially concerned with different reactions to the perceived threat to national and regional self-determination. At the time of writing (1996) there is increasing popular resistance to the idea of a common currency, despite official commitment to the policy.

The key issues of European citizenship and collective defence were taken up in the 1996 Inter-Parliamentary Conference. The so-called beef (BSE) crisis, however, cast a shadow over this event and revealed how quickly the individual nations of the European Union can retreat into

isolationism and tit-for-tat politics. The crisis has shown that, if political unification is seen as a process that will ultimately remove the decision-making power of national governments, thus compromising the sovereignty of member states, there may well be a popular rejection of integrationist policies. Politicians would ignore such protests at their peril. The movement towards a huge unified European market has been relatively uncomplicated. The transition to a federal European state with porous borders and a supranational or parallel European identity will be more problematic. Suleiman (1995) even questions the wisdom of attempts to create supranational structures like the EU.

It is important to note that the simultaneous operation of consolidation, fragmentation and globalization at national levels, a process which may involve contradictory stresses and tensions, may be accompanied by disintegration at the societal and individual level. Eskelinen (1995) identifies three additional factors leading to social disintegration: 1) The break-up of the traditional nuclear family, especially in the urbanizing Third World, but also in the new market economies of the former communist countries, where the rise of individualism has put children at risk; 2) the increasingly ethnic nature of wars, leading to long-lasting social and cultural divisions; and 3) migration, either as a result of oppression or the search of economic well-being, which has further loosened family and community ties.

Given the problems outlined above, combined with a global economic crisis, high unemployment, de-industrialization and increasing confrontations with "otherness" (Alter, 1994), notions of belonging and identity are likely to become more diffuse. This will be reflected in either a resurgence of chauvinism, both at local and national levels, or a disillusionment with parliamentary democracy and a looser attachment to the state. Either development indicates a far-reaching re-interpretation of citizenship. It is to the issue of citizenship that we now turn.

1.4. Citizenship

In addition to coping with the tensions created by consolidation, fragmentation and globalization, the nation state is also having to redefine the terms of its obligations to and expectations of its citizens (Heater, 1990; Kymlicka, 1992; Turner, 1992). This redefinition is most apparent in the changing attitudes towards the welfare state (Pierson, 1991). The blueprint for a British welfare state set out in the 1942 Beveridge Report envisaged the conquest of what were seen as the five great social evils -- want, disease, ignorance, squalor and idleness -- through policies that would bring full employment, universal social insurance, a comprehensive health service, a system of child allowances and a national minimum wage. Just 50 years after the report and the implementation in most western societies of many of the ideas outlined in it, the welfare

system is under attack. Whereas a system of state-sponsored cradle-to-grave welfare care was once seen as the ultimate expression of either enlightened liberal democracy (Marshall, 1950) or benevolent capitalism, the need for the welfare state, at least in its present form, is now being questioned by both sides (e.g., Mead, 1986; Pierson, 1991). What, it is asked, will follow the "dependency culture"?

For some, a welfare system is an inalienable part of an advanced capitalist state, reflecting the historical compromise made between capital and organized labour. For others, it has been a historically unique phase of social development that is no longer compatible with the needs of a liberal society and market-based economy. The debate over the future of the social funding of education and healthcare, however, is but one element in a larger, but equally political, debate related to the notion of citizenship.

Citizenship has various parameters, all of which are complex (Hughes, 1992; Multiculturalism and Citizenship Canada, 1991). Even the legal notion of citizenship, as used in everyday political discourse, is ambiguous. The formal markers of nationality -- the possession of a particular passport or birth certificate with accompanying voting and domicile rights -- are being blurred and redefined as a result of recent political settlements that have affected the status of those born within certain territorial boundaries (e.g., the Baltic States within the former Soviet Union). Increases in migration, mobility and cross-cultural contacts have similarly obliged states to reassess the requirements of citizenship and the means of attaining it (e.g., the British Nationality Act of 1981, the recent tightening of nationality laws in France and European Union plans to curb the flow of refugees). The allocation of supranational or multiple citizenship, as described in the 1976 Canadian Citizenship Act, for example, will also challenge the bureaucracy.

In addition to this technical aspect of citizenship, there is an extremely important psychological dimension related to individual well-being and sense of national identity, the "reassuring sameness" referred to earlier. As Deutsch points out, the nation state "offers most of its members a stronger sense of security, belonging, or affiliation, and even personal identity, than does any alternative large group" (cited in Alter, 1994, p. 89). In other words, national identity, identification with the nation and/or state, can become a central component of active citizenship. To be a citizen of a country is to link part of your social identity to the prosperity and integrity of the nation, its daily business, its languages and cultures, its institutions, its historical figures and events. The nation becomes a dimension of the self. Importantly, Deutsch qualifies his statement ("the nation state offers *most* of its members ") [italics added], which suggests that individuals may prioritize their allegiances differently (e.g., the sense of being Québecois or Welsh first and Canadian or British second).

More important and more contested than the legal and psychological aspects, however, are the ideological interpretations of citizenship: Is citizenship to be interpreted as a set of unassailable

privileges and rights, or as a series of obligations and responsibilities, or as a blend of the two? The interpretation is decisive in setting social and educational agenda for the future. Kymlicka (1992) identifies six different, partially overlapping approaches to the understanding of citizenship, suggesting that the question has not been unequivocally resolved. Indeed, it is doubtful whether the idea of national, even continental, citizenship alone is sufficient in an interdependent global community. The components of a global perspective may in some cases clash with national interests (Hanvey, 1976; Case, 1993).

Apart from the psychological aspects of citizenship related to individual identity, the notion of participation and active involvement in society is also relevant, i.e., the creation of a "society for all", as proposed at the 1995 UN Conference on Social Development. If a particular social group (e.g., Native Peoples, immigrants, the disabled) is marginalized, it cannot play a fully active role in society. In effect, such groups are deprived of citizenship. With adequate funding, social policy can be developed which acknowledges the distinctiveness and value of the group, guarantees it full social rights, and hopefully brings it back into the social and political mainstream. There is, however, a paradox. A cornerstone of citizenship in the nation state is a clear and coherent sense of national identity, often of patriotism. Yet, by encouraging diversity and cultural pluralism, the state would seem to be undermining its own political integrity and sense of nationhood (Bibby, 1990; Bissoondath, 1994). The rise of localized action groups, non-governmental organizations (NGO) and informal protest movements also suggests that there is an alienation from the traditional institutionalized forms of the democratic process. Governments bowing to the demands for recognition of minority pressure groups and for the legitimacy of NGO claims, however, may be fragmenting the national community. Citizens will have less in common, less that binds them together as a nation, less that requires the survival of the nation state as an institution. The elite and disadvantaged of a nation will have closer links with their equivalents in another country than with each other.

1.5. The Canadian solution

The contradictory pressures affecting the internal and external status of the nation state are also apparent in Canada. Removed though it is from the political turmoil of Eastern Europe, it too is experiencing the identity crisis that results from fragmentation and globalization. In some respects, throughout its 125-year history as a political unit, Canada has faced and partly solved the same problems of cohesion and identity that the developing European "nation" will inevitably have to tackle. In this sense the study of Canadian identity and citizenship has a far wider relevance.

At the moment Canada is undergoing what Alter (1994, p. 32) calls "a crisis of national self-confidence". National unity and political stability seem threatened by a number of divisive conflicts: 1) the long-standing clash between English Canada and French Canada, expressed most clearly in Quebec's separatist ambitions and the failure of attempts at constitutional reform (the 1980 and 1995 referenda; the 1982 Constitution Act; Meech Lake in 1987; the Charlottetown Accord in 1992); 2) the unsettled land claims of the First Nations and their increasingly militant demands for some form of self-government; 3) the rise of regionalism and regional political parties (in the case of the Bloc Québecois, to official opposition status) with demands for a redefinition of federal and provincial spheres of jurisdiction; and 4) continued ambivalence towards NAFTA, reflected in the gulf between nationalists and continentalists (Bashevkin, 1991).

There are, however, other causes for concern with a more personal and emotional relevance, many of which were voiced during Free Trade negotiations in 1985-88 (Mathews, 1988): Will Canadian culture survive in the competitive and US-dominated North American media marketplace? As the cause of neo-conservatism advances, will healthcare and other oft-cited defining structures of Canadian society fall prey to deregulation and privatization, to be replaced by less humane, profit-driven institutions? Can restrictions on firearm ownership help keep Canadian cities relatively safe? Is Canada's generous immigration programme undermining attempts to forge a national identity? These threats are perceived not only as compromises on the quality of life in Canada, but as challenges to the very essence of Canadian identity and community.

Conway (1994, p. 151) describes Canada as "a society based on a mixed economy, one generally committed to incremental increases in a univeral social security net, a humane regulation of the worst features of unregulated, free enterprise capitalism, and slowly advancing the standards of living for wage and salary earners." If these structures and ideals are dismantled, what will remain? Is there in fact a distinct and viable Canadian identity that is more than the sum of its constituent ethnic, regional and social identities? If so, can it survive? Is the fact of Canadian citizenship adequate in itself to provide a sense of common identity in an increasingly plural society? What is the role of national government in promoting a spirit and concreteness of nationhood while also showing commitment to socially-approved policies of multiculturalism, tolerance and equity? And what should be the corresponding educational measures taken?

A number of options exist. In order to generate a sense of national identity, the state may implement nationally cohesive programmes aimed at the social, economic and political integration of ethnic and cultural minorities (Birch, 1989). In Canada, many of the "concessions" to Quebec are seen in this light and have therefore been largely acceptable to the English-speaking majority. Given the significance of language as an expression of identity, an alternative would have been to impose linguistic uniformity, even though this would ride roughshod over minority language

rights. In France, for example, the Breton and Occitan languages, although spoken by 850,000 and 2.7 million respectively, do not have official status. Another option which would sustain the national state is to fabricate a sense of national identity that is actually based on and fundamentally linked to the recognition of diversity and cultural pluralism. For the purposes of the present study, Canada is seen to exemplify this last approach, although it is not unique in this respect (e.g., Australia).

Notions of tolerance, equality and cultural diversity figure prominently in official formulations of Canadian identity, as expressed in recent Canadian legislation (Charter of Rights and Freedoms, 1982; Employment Equity Act, 1986; Multiculturalism Act, 1988). Whatever the original motives for these pieces of legislation, some writers (e.g., Fleras & Elliot, 1992) place them at the core of Canadian identity, as evidenced by the following rousing quotations:

> multiculturalism . . . [rests] on the yet unproven assumption that national unity and social cohesion can be moulded by integrating differences into a social framework -- not denying them. (p. 2)
>
> . . . multiculturalism continues to serve as a political instrument in pursuit of national unity and collective survival. (p. 124)
>
> As the cornerstone of Canada's nation-building process, multiculturalism shapes our identity, unites us in a distinct society with a national vision, and invigorates us as a people with a destiny. (p. 125)

Fleras and Elliott (1992, p. 116) cite a 1985 study which found that multiculturalism was the fourth most desirable symbol of Canadian national unity and identity, after the prime minister, the flag and the national anthem.The linkage between citizenship, multiculturalism and national unity is passionately reiterated in the Minister of State for Multiculturalism and Citizenship's foreword to his department's annual report:

> Far from being the "masochistic celebration of Canadian nothingness", as some may see it, multiculturalism is a vital, indispensable ingredient in the emergence and development of a Canadian identity in which, for the first time, all our citizens can truly share. And far from being a divisive factor at a time when Canadians are seeking to understand where and in what their unity lies, multiculturalism is one of the most powerful forces for that unity our country has ever known. (Multiculturalism and Citizenship Canada, 1991b, p. 1)

1.6. Purpose and method of the study

Some would claim that Canadian national identity and the quest for national distinctiveness have been problematic throughout the country's history (Hodgetts, 1968; Berton, 1987; Hiller, 1992) and that a continued preoccupation with the problem of self-definition suggests national

identity has still not crystallized into a distinctive and appreciated form. The finger of blame has been pointed at the schools. Although there have been improvements in recent years (Kirkwood, Anderson & Khan, 1984), Hodgetts (1968) and Symons (1975) showed convincingly that social studies curricula and methodologies often failed to promote a sense of nationhood and national awareness.

It was suggested above that nation states, threatened by a perceived lack of identity or a retreat into chauvinism or a decline in citizen commitment, might deliberately seek to build cultural pluralism and tolerance of diversity into their national self-image and concept of citizenship. Canada was cited as an example of a state pursuing this policy with a view to promoting national cohesion and prominence. The purpose of the present study is to explore some key components of English Canadian identity as the country approaches a new millenium -- a millenium where simultaneous fragmentation and globalization will lead to a redefinition of the role of the nation state and government, and of the nature of citizenship, not merely in Canada.

In order to unravel the main features and contradictions of Canadian identity, and their origins, the study proposes three interpretations of national identity, as revealed in the main and supplementary data sources.

1) The study will be primarily concerned with the contents of the English Canadian autostereotype, or popular self-image. Data on this were gathered by means of an open-ended questionnaire administered to some 150 Canadian high school and college students in September 1992, on the eve of the Charlottetown constitutional referendum. The identity expressed through the responses to the 39 questions in the questionnaire will be referred to as Perceived National Identity (PNI). This is made up of young Canadians' private perceptions of the key figures, events, symbols, values and concerns related to being a Canadian at the end of the twentieth century. The questionnaire also invited respondents to list the defining features of Canadian-ness and Canadian society with particular reference to their southern neighbours, the USA. National distinctiveness can, after all, consist of not being what your neighbour is perceived to be.

2) History suggests that officially sponsored formulations of identity have a good chance of being translated into individual self-perceptions and motivations. In other words, the very idea of national identity implies that there has been a conscious national effort to manufacture and promote that identity. For this reason it is important to consider the image of Canada which is projected by the national government and which partly underlies individual perceptions. In order to add this important perspective on national identity, the study therefore also includes an analysis of a 1988 promotional film, "Oh Canada!", produced for the Department of External Affairs and Trade. Since it can be assumed that the film and other similar publications (e.g., Department of the Secretary of State of Canada, 1988; External Affairs and International Trade Canada, 1990)

project an ideal and possibly flattering interpretation of what it means to be Canadian, the term Idealized National Identity (INI) will be used to refer to this official national self-image.

3) At a time of social and cultural fragmentation, schools take on increased responsibilities as transmitters of national culture and identity. As prime instruments in the socialization process, schools can be expected to play a crucial role in translating the ideals of national citizenship into common individual values and perceptions. The study will therefore also examine the contents of a grade 7-10 social studies curriculum guide (Ontario Ministry of Education, 1986). The interpretation of national identity suggested by the curriculum guide will be termed the Transmitted National Identity (TNI). This might be expected to represent a practicable implemention of some of the national goals expressed in the INI, or at least a reformulation of them in educational terms. We might also expect the TNI to play a powerful role in shaping the individual PNI.

In brief, then, the study presents three perspectives on the current state of national awareness and the level of consensus on what constitutes Canadian-ness. The juxtaposition of Perceived, Idealized and Transmitted Identities, as revealed through individual, official and curricular sources, will have the following outcomes:

1) The identification of central themes and preoccupations in each expression of national identity, thus revealing some of the breadth and complexity of the national self;

2) The identification of central themes common to all three expressions;

3) The highlighting of contradictions and incongruencies within each expression;

4) The discovery of disparities and discrepancies amongst the three expressions, whether in definition or emphasis. For example, certain important components of the PNI may be neglected or omitted in existing curricula and government conceptualizations;

5) Resulting from the above, tentative proposals for a more informed approach to the clarification and prioritization of educational policy objectives in the areas of social studies and civic education, i.e., more effective mechanisms for generating a sense of national cohesion and for the "manufacturing" of Canadian identity;

6) Although the data used in the study are exclusively Canadian, it is probable that some of the dimensions and functions of a supposedly unique Canadian national identity also characterize other nationalities. The study will therefore consider the possible wider relevance of its findings.

1.7. Summary

This study deals with aspects of English Canadian national identity. Chapter 1 outlines the study and shows its relevance by placing it in a wider global context. The chapter begins by describing recent developments affecting the nation state in terms of three simultaneous, seemingly irreconcileable, phenomena: consolidation, fragmentation and globalization (Birch, 1993). The revival of nationalism and the nation state is set against a background of increasing economic cooperation and political integration in a shrinking world where borders have almost ceased to matter (Alter, 1994; Smith, 1995). With restricted powers of economic and cultural self-determination, the nation state may become irrelevant. With internationalization and migration, the concepts of nation and nationality are already becoming diffuse, and it is unclear how the citizen will relate to national (and supranational) governments in the future. In a multicultural post-nationalist era, the citizen will find it increasingly difficult to define and express his or her distinctive national identity. Similarly, as society accommodates more diversity, there will be fewer "ties that bind", which in turn will further undermine national cohesion.

For a solution to the post-nationalist dilemma, the chapter then turns to Canada, a country traditionally concerned with the enigma of national identity. Despite the disintegrative trends affecting the country at the moment (e.g., Quebec separatism), Canada has attempted to promote national integration, not only by institutionalizing cultural pluralism and tolerance of diversity as policy measures but also by seeking to make these civic virtues essential distinguishing marks of being Canadian (Fleras & Elliott, 1992).

The chapter concludes by giving an overview of the aims and methods of the study. The main source of data on modern Canadian identity, a questionnaire, will be supplemented by analyses of a government film and a social studies curriculum to establish and exemplify three expressions of identity, termed Perceived, Idealized and Transmitted respectively. The use of three perspectives will reveal the complexity and internal incongruencies of English Canada's national self-image.

CHAPTER 2
DEFINING NATIONAL IDENTITY

2.1. Introduction

Although Chapter 1 referred to national identity, no attempt was made to define the concept, either in general terms or with particular reference to Canada. This chapter will remedy the omission by seeking answers to the following questions: What is national identity? How is it related to the concepts of "nation", "nationalism" and "citizenship"? Why is national identity important to the individual? The questions are answered at a general level but with examples relevant to Canada. By developing a number of key parameters of national identity, the chapter also lays the groundwork for the analysis in Chapters 3 and 4 of the questionnaire responses, promotional film and curriculum documents.

At the outset, the ambiguity of the word "identity" should be recognized. It refers both to distinctiveness, i.e., the notion of being readily identifiable -- "who or what a particular person or thing is" -- and to oneness, i.e., being identical -- "sameness, exact likeness" (Longman, 1978). At the risk of angering etymologists, it can be said that the word and the concept include both an "ID" component -- maybe even an "id" -- and an "entity" component. The quest for national identity, then, will similarly consist of efforts to establish both uniqueness (identifiableness) and unity (identicalness).

National identity and the nation are the most pervasive and potent bases for collective identification. The topicality of the political and intellectual debate on national identity is evidenced by an array of recent publications and articles on nationalism, ethnicity, globalization and the future of the nation state (e.g., Ignatieff, 1993; Hutchinson & Smith, 1994; Horsmann & Marshall, 1994; Smith, 1995; Kupchan, 1995). Several seminal works on nationalism have also been recently revised and updated (e.g., Anderson, 1991; Breuilly, 1993; Kedourie, 1993; Alter, 1994). Academic work on identity has taken place in several areas, reflecting the multidisciplinary nature and complexity of the topic. In fact, issues of national identity lie almost vexingly at the interface of psychology, sociology, anthropology and political science (Inkeles & Levinson, 1969). The present study attempts to summarize and review some of the diverse work done in

these fields by collapsing it into four key areas based on more or less distinct interpretations of the concept "national identity". Because of the reluctance with which researchers have traditionally crossed disciplinary boundaries, this four-fold interpretation is seldom recognized, although it seems essential to a more complete understanding of national identity.

The four interpretations proposed here are as follows:

1. Identity as national sentiment. For political scientists, identity is primarily understood in a civic-political sense and refers to identification with a particular nation state. This identification often has a powerful affective dimension expressed as national sentiment or patriotic attachment. It operates predominantly at the emotional and symbolic level.

2. Identity as citizenship. The civic-political interpretation of identity also includes a more rational, contractual allegiance to the nation. This may involve active participation as a citizen (e.g., in obeying the law, voting and paying taxes) or a willingness to fight and die for it. How individuals see their role and opportunities within the nation will determine their commitment to and identification with it. School citizenship education programmes clearly play a central role in enhancing or reducing this commitment.

3. Identity as culture. For interculturalists and anthropologists, national identity relates primarily to the components of cultural distinctiveness, including, for example, the often unnoticed cultural norms, values and modes of everyday social interaction that characterize a people.

4. Identity as self-perception. For social psychologists, national identity has to do with individual and collective self-image. They ponder the existence of the "modal" personality, the accuracy and persistence of national stereotypes, and the role of these in individual experience.

There is inevitably some overlap between the four interpretations. It is, for example, very difficult to disentangle the affective and political dimensions of patriotism and citizenship. Similarly, values have both cultural and civic aspects. To some extent, then, the proposed grouping disguises the complexity of many of the topics presented, but it will hopefully simplify and clarify some of the issues involved. It must be emphasized from the outset, however, that national identity, just like the nations and nationalisms it relates to, is a complex and variable multidimensional construct, which, protean in its manifestations, may not yield to systematic unravelling (Hughes, 1988; Birch, 1989; Smith, 1991).

2.2. Nations and nationalism

Before proceeding with a review of the literature relevant to the four interpretations of national identity presented above, this section will begin by examining the all-important concepts of nation and nationalism.

2.2.1. Defining nationalism

The vast body of literature on nationalism acknowledges the key part played by, for example, Rousseau, Herder, Fichte, Hegel and Mazzini in the evolution of nationalism's main theoretical tenets (e.g., Gellner, 1983; Hobsbawm, 1990; Alter, 1994). There is, however, surprisingly little agreement on the nature, chronology or typology of nationalism. Apart from an anticipated political approach (e.g., Gramsci's theory of hegemony where national solidarity is used merely to disguise state oppression), theories explaining the growth and decline of nationalism range from the economic (Hechter's theory of internal colonialism) to the sociological (Deutsch's social communication theory). This diversity of interpretation is perhaps inevitable, given the fact that the birth of each nation takes place at different times and in differing geo-political contexts. There is no standard format for nationalism, and this in turn gives rise to unique forms of national identity (Birch, 1989; Smith, 1991; Alter, 1994). The literature emphasizes that the abstract general concept of nationalism is to be kept separate from its multifarious particular, contextually determined origins, routes and implementations. Several references are made to the "chameleon-like" nature of nationalism and its inherent ambivalence as, for example, a vehicle of both emancipation and oppression (e.g., Alter, 1994, p. 72). Scholars (e.g., Hughes, 1988; Birch, 1989; Alter, 1994) emphasize the intellectual poverty of nationalism and its strong idealistic strain. Rational argument deriding the virtues of nationalism is likely to fall on deaf ears. The nationalist is basically a romantic and an optimist, believing in a Utopian future with quasi-religious conviction.

Colloquially, the word "nationalism" has several glosses ranging from national sentiment through patriotism (loyalty to the state) and chauvinism (the belief in superiority, whether racial, ethnic or cultural) to political extremism (active assertion of national superiority). This range of meanings is reflected in the literature. Alter (1994, p. 2), using German dictionary definitions as his source, refers to nationalists as "people whose action or reasoning gives indiscriminate precedence to the interests of one nation". Their "affective attachment and loyalty" override all other attachments and loyalties. Alter also mentions the element of disrespect for or animosity towards other peoples.

Despite the affective colourings of the word, the core of nationalism, at least since the French Revolution, has been ideological: it preaches a particular political doctrine ("the most popular and influential political doctrine ever promoted") (Birch, 1989, p. 5). Kedourie, an early and influential writer on nationalism and its dangers, summarizes the doctrine in the form of its three key tenets: "that humanity is naturally divided into nations, that nations are known by certain characteristics which can be ascertained, and that the only legitimate type of government is national self-government" (cited in Birch, 1989, p. 4).

All three statements are, of course, disputable not least since they take as given the term "nation", which defies objective definition. There is no single unambiguous and universally applicable social basis, whether linguistic, cultural or religious, for nationhood. In fact, it is cogently argued (Kedourie, 1961; Gellner, 1983; Birch, 1989) that nationalism itself has played the crucial role in inventing nations. There is ample evidence of such deliberate invention, or at least of systematic nation-building and political integration (Birch, 1989).

Smith (1991, 1995), however, questions the validity of a purely modernist approach to nationalism, which sees industrial capitalism and democratization as prerequisites for establishing the true nation-state. The cataclysmic impact of the American Declaration of Independence (1786) and the French Revolution (1789), often seen as marking the beginning of political nationalism (Hobsbawm, 1990), should not obscure the fact that there were cultural nations already in place, the "old continuous" nations of Europe. It was these same nations which, through their economic, cultural and military prowess, became the beacons for subsequent nationalist endeavours and the model for fledgling independent nations, thus laying the foundations for the instability, conflict and human suffering generated by much of the nationalism of the twentieth century (Kedourie, 1961; Birch, 1989; Alter, 1994).

2.2.2. A typology of nationalism

To simplify the present analysis of nationalism, it will be useful to adopt Smith's typology, which is based on a clear, bipartite classification indirectly derived from Friedrich Meinecke's distinction between "Kulturnation" (the passive cultural community) and "Staatsnation" (the self-determined political nation) and the seminal distinction made by Hans Kohn between rational "Western" and organic "Eastern" styles of nationalism (Alter, 1994). Smith argues that there are two conceptions of the nation associated with two main forms of nationalism, which he labels civic-territorial nationalism and ethnic nationalism. Each in turn has inspired a different type of national political identity and community. Smith acknowledges, however, that all nationalisms actually contain elements of both types, and that national identity can be seen as a complex and

fluid blend with varying proportions of ethnic, cultural, territorial, economic and legal-political ingredients.

The civic-territorial or Western conception of the nation is defined primarily in terms of territory (the possession of a historic homeland), the "state" and its institutions (a legal-political community or "patria"), equality (the acknowledgement of citizens' civil, political and socio-economic rights and obligations), and civic culture (common values and sentiments often transmitted through mass education). Historically, the Western nation, as exemplified by England, France, Spain and Sweden, developed from a predominantly aristocratic ethnic core associated with a particular territory through a process Smith calls "bureaucratic incorporation", i.e., through the development of administrative, judicial, fiscal and military structures that gradually involved widening circles of the population. In effect, the machinery of the state played a major, but not exclusive, role in creating these nations. Other spurs to nationhood and cohesion were provided by the rise of the market economy, which required a mainly middle-class infrastructure, by the spread of secular studies and literature, and, most importantly, by a system of public, mass education that facilitated direct political socialization. Deutsch's social communication theory offers a not dissimilar explanation for the rise of nationalism.

Opposed to this civic-territorial model of the nation is the ethnic or genealogical concept, prominent in Eastern Europe and Asia. The nation, like a huge extended family, is based on common descent and the immutability of that descent. United through ancestry, the "people" become the instrument and expression of national aspirations. Folk customs, languages and traditions provide the framework for living an authentic national life, confirming the unchanging ethnic purity of the group and substantiating the myth of nationhood.

Historically, the ethnic core predating the ethnic-genealogical political nation began its transition to self-respecting nationhood through a process Smith terms "vernacular mobilization" (1991, p. 61), which in essence was a reaction to Westernization and the challenges of modernity. The key agents of change were intellectuals and members of the intelligentsia. Their role was to replace organized religion, the main mechanism for maintaining much of what was central to the identity of the ethnic community, with a sense of collective history and national genius deriving from that history, a "social religion". The ethno-religious self-concept was to yield to a new self-definition based on a rediscovered demotic cultural history.

Hroch (1985) breaks this process down into three clear stages, which he labels simply as Phases A, B and C, as follows: A: the awakening to nationhood (the culturally-minded members of a community -- "awakeners" -- turn their attention to the history, language and culture of the nation); B: the fermentation process of national consciousness (as interest spreads, it is channelled into political agitation); and C: becoming a nation (the ideas are adopted by wider sections of society). On completion of stage C, the nation is "awoken".

Birch (1989) suggests that all nationalisms that seek the creation of a separate nation-state require both long-term grievances against the larger unit and an "eruptive factor" (e.g., the role of the 1916 Dublin Easter Rising in the struggle for Irish independence). The absence of one of these elements make secession less likely to succeed. Alter (1994) stresses that the willingness to be mobilized on behalf of the nationalist cause must be latent within the masses.

The distinction between civic-territorial and ethnic-genealogical nations is reflected in different types of nation-building that have taken place outside Western Europe.

2.2.3. Nation-building

Modern-day nation-builders face one of two problems: they either have to: a) create a cultural solidarity base and sense of national identity within an existing or inherited territory (the territorial nation), or b) seek to establish a territorial-political unit around an existing ethnic and cultural identity (the cultural nation). As Gellner (1983, p. 2) emphasizes, it is the imbalance in the world between the number of would-be nations and available space for autonomous political units that has been an unchanging recipe for frustration and conflict. We might also add the reluctance of states to alter their existing boundaries.

Examples of forming the territorial nation include: a) the consolidation of Russia, Turkey and Japan; and b) the decolonization of Africa and Asia, a process where newly independent nations inherited a purely political unit which ignored ethnic and cultural boundaries. In some cases (e.g., Egypt, Kenya, Burma), a dominant ethnic group was able to impose its own cultural identity. In others (e.g., Nigeria, India), where there were several competing "ethnies" or ethnic communities, attempts were made, with varying degrees of resistance, to create a supra-ethnic political "culture" and civic "religion". Smith (1991, p. 116) suggests that states with a single dominant ethnie are likely to be more successful in producing a Western-style territorial nation.

The process of forming a cultural nation is illustrated by three types of ethno-nationalism: a) the emergence of ethnic nations during the nineteenth and early twentieth century following the collapse of the Romanov, Ottoman and Habsburg empires (e.g., Finland, Czechoslovakia, Poland); b) the resurgence of demotic ethno-nationalisms in Africa and Asia, often within the boundaries of the newly created territorial states (e.g., Kurds, Somalis, Tamils, Palestinians, Sikhs, Eritreans); and c) recent separatist movements in generally affluent Western countries (e.g., Québecois, Scots, Bretons, Basques, Catalans).

The demotic origins of ethno-nationalism create a far more intense version of national identity that all too often leads to violence and extremism (Ignatieff, 1993). The existence of cultural or ethnic minorities in most countries of the world is likely to sorely strain the official pluralism practised by many modern states (Smith, 1991, p. 129). Alter (1994, p. 90),

considering the revival of nationalism in Eastern Europe and the Third World, is correct in questioning the original nationalist dream: "The conclusion to be drawn is that the idealized state entity, founded upon a linguistically, culturally and ethnically homogeneous nation, is incapable of promoting more peaceful coexistence between peoples."

The above dualistic typology may conceal some of the common features shared by all nationalisms. Vernacular mobilization and cultural politicization, for example, apply not only to demotic ethno-nationalism and separatism, but also to emerging civic-territorial nations. The difference is simply one of sequence. In the case of the civic nation, the measures taken to promote national integration follow independence; in the case of the ethnic nation, the sense of solidarity and common ancestry is created prior to independence. In both cases, however, there will be the same pressures on the emerging nation to establish and assert its own distinctiveness, i.e., to mark itself off from other similar political units, to create a unique political culture, and to perpetuate its own values, whether created or inherited.

Smith (1991, 1995) suggests that a pre-modern ethnie underpins the modern nation. Even the "old, continuous nations" of Europe were formed on the basis of an ethnic core. The ethnie is distinguished by certain features, the most important of which are common ancestry, shared historical memories, cultural markers (language, ethnicity, religion), attachment to a homeland and a sense of collective distinctiveness and solidarity. Just as with the deliberate mobilization of national identity in the pre-independent ethnic nation, many of the features contributing to national identity in the territorial nation may be self-ascribed and be based more on myth, fabrication and subjective interpetation than historic or present social reality. This harks back to Ernest Renan's famous definition of the nation as "a daily plebiscite", i.e., a subjective and repeated affirmation of belonging (Renan, 1882/1994). The fact that group identity is partly counterfeit or only recently rediscovered, however, does nothing to diminish its influence. Modern Greek identity, for example, still feeds on the myth of its Hellenic origins although the actual demographic blood links have long since disappeared.

Canada's nation-building problem is that it includes both civic and ethnic nationalisms. Whereas one part of the federal state is occupied by an ethnic minority with a strong sense of historical and cultural identity, the remainder of the people have been unable to find or create those inherited commonalities that would allow them to share a sense of national identity deeper than mere citizenship. Kymlicka (1992) attributes the strength and solidarity of USA identity to its powerful shared national mythology, something he claims has been conspicuous by its absence in Canada.

The purpose of the previous section has been to consider various interpretations of the "nation", and to relate these to different types of nationalism. In the final analysis nationalism becomes the central component of a nation-building strategy with the creation or preservation of

national identity as its goal. In the following sections, we return to the four interpretations of national identity presented at the start of this chapter, and consider key literature related to each interpretation.

2.3. Identity as national sentiment: historical-political, affective and symbolic perspectives on national identity

The task facing those responsible for inculcating national identity and promoting national integration is enormous. The following list, compiled on the bases of work by Smith (1991), Birch, (1989) and Gellner (1983), examines some of the main affective and symbolic components contributing to national identity. The list is also a preliminary framework for assessing the degree to which national identity has established itself amongst a population.

2.3.1. Commitment to a particular territory

Citizens live alongside each other in a common homeland, either inherited from their ancestors, or bequeathed by politicians. The land (meaning "country") they live in possesses the same mysterious richness and power as the land (meaning "earth") that yields their crops. In fact, the symbolism attached to one's own plot of land is transferred wholesale to the wider concept of the fatherland or motherland. Martyrs in the fight to secure a national territory are particularly important; for example, those who sacrificed their lives for Ireland in the 1916 Dublin Rising, or the members of the FLQ extremist group who were ready to die for the political and economic independence of Quebec in the 1970s (Birch, 1989). The defence of national territory, like the defence of hearth and home, are priorities. Both English and French versions of the Canadian national anthem, for example, remind citizens of this obligation: "From far and wide . . . we stand on guard for thee" and "Ta valeur . . . protégera nos foyers."

Territory becomes an expression of identity. Borders are not merely geo-political whims but demarcators of fundamental differences. Even the outline map of the country becomes a powerful logoization of national destiny (Anderson, 1991). Features of the natural landscape, even patterns of seasonal change, are imbued with a special significance and symbolism, reflecting the very essence of the nation. Rural locations are particularly redolent of national qualities, presumably because of their authentic, unspoiled character and simplicity. The Canada First Movement saw "northness" not only as a geographical fact but also as a defining feature in the country's national psyche. The appeal of, for example, Canada's Group of Seven artists may lie in their ability to express a conception of the Canadian landscape as rugged and untouched, to catch "the essence of Canada" (Reid, 1988, p. 138). Similarly in Australia, the Heidelberg School of painters helped

raise national consciousness (Birch, 1989). Music, too, can become a powerful resonator of national territorial myths, something realized by Sibelius in Finland and Dvorak in Bohemia.

Particular locations within the territory are distinguished by myths, legends or key historical events, and become national shrines (e.g., Robin Hood and Sherwood Forest, the Terry Fox monument at Thunder Bay, Ontario). If the monuments and artifacts of earlier occupants fall within the country's borders, it is not unusual for them to be enthusiastically incorporated into the nation's historical legacy to the greater glory of its modern people (e.g., the Babylonian civilization in modern Iraq).

2.3.2. A sense of historical uniqueness

The notion of national character or national genius had become widely accepted in the eighteenth century and gradually spread from England to France, Germany, America, Switzerland and Italy. Rousseau, for example, catches the essence of the task facing territorial nationalism when he states "every people has, or must have a character; if it lacks one, we must start by endowing it with one" (cited in Smith, 1991, p. 75). The nation's history was an obvious source of such distinctiveness and character-building. The rise of literary mediaevalism in the late eighteenth century increased interest in the historical origins of the national genius. History, it was found, was profusely peopled with the heroes and poets that confirmed the uniqueness of the nation and exemplified the long-standing virtues that were the moral foundation of the modern nation. Alter (1994, p. 66) reminds us of myths surrounding the birth of the nation: "The birth has its midwives; it has its heroes and martyrs; it suffers setbacks and at times the actors wallow in pathos: all material for rampantly mythologizing and glorifying the national past." The one-time existence of an ancient civilized state merely reinforced the rightfulness of demands for independence in the present. It is as if the nation has merely been asleep and has rediscovered something that has always been present (Anderson, 1991, p. 196).

A return to the events of the ethnic past not only raised demotic culture to high culture status, it provided a moral map and cognitive crutch for unarticulated aspirations (Smith, 1991, p. 140). Laura Secord's thirty-kilometre trek in 1813 to warn the British of a planned American attack is one such event that lives on, somewhat inappropriately, in the name of a chain of chocolate stores in Canada. Similarly, the courage and tenacity of Terry Fox during his Marathon of Hope across Canada has entered popular mythology. History confirms that citizens live in "a collectivity for which predecessors have made sacrifices that contemporaries can take pride in emulating" (Birch, 1989, p. 221).

Where recorded history has been somewhat lean on heroes and poets, a mythified golden past can be created, for it is "the felt antiquity of a community's ethno-history, irrespective of its

truth-content [which is] the criterion of national dignity and the bar at which they must make their appeal for national restoration" (Smith, 1991, p. 161). The barons who drew up Magna Carta were Norman, not English, yet they are celebrated as English heroes. The Gaelic revival in late nineteenth-century Ireland and the spread of Karelianism in Finland typify this search for poetic spaces and quest for golden ages which mark the early stages of ethnic nation building. In such cases "the boundary between scholarship and national mythology becomes fluid" (Alter 1994, p. 45), although, as Smith emphasizes:

> collective cultural identity refers not to a uniformity of elements over generations but to a sense of continuity on the part of successive generations of a given cultural unit of population, to shared memories of earlier events and periods in the history of that unit and to notions entertained by each generation about the collective destiny of that unit and its culture. (1991, p. 25)

2.3.3. Distinctive national symbols and ceremonies

Apart from a national flag, anthem, currency and passport, nations will develop other rituals and institutions to express their nationhood. These include capital cities, war memorials, national monuments, oaths of allegiance, national holidays commemorating key events or people, folk costumes, festivals, aerobatic performance teams, military pageants and parades, national sports, national airlines and national souvenirs. As Alter points out (1994, p.72), the symbolic foundation of the nation state was established very early in the history of modern nationalism and its pattern has been surprisingly uniform since then.

The national flag and anthem are the central mobilizing symbols of the nation. The flag, which is materially nothing more than a random configuration of coloured pieces of fabric in various geometrical shapes, is treated with almost religious respect. In Finland, for example, there are strict laws determining the correct methods for disposing of the flag. It is no accident that national flags are ritually burned as part of international protests. The importance of choosing the correct flag is illustrated by the present Canadian flag, dating from 1965, whose maple leaf design expresses a political wish to neutralize a key national symbol by removing the Union Jack and fleurs-de-lys.

Singing the national anthem is a communal event that reinforces solidarity and shared experience. In passing it is interesting to note that the words of many national anthems refer to the two key ideas of national territory and historic ancestry outlined above (e.g., Canada's "Terre de nos aïeux", Wales's "Land of Our Fathers"). The Finnish national anthem, dating from 1846, proclaims:

Our land, our land, our fatherland.
Sound loud, O name of worth!
No mount that meets the heaven's band,
No hidden vale, no wave-washed strand,
Is loved as is our native North.
Our own forefathers' earth. (Facts, 1970, p. 45)

Other national emblems and symbols will also evolve, not only as a form of visual shorthand to express the idea of the nation (e.g., the ubiquitous maple leaf found on hamburger restaurants and hardware stores across Canada), but also as a compact definition of the nation's qualities. The Canadian beaver, for example, presumably embodies notions of industriousness, persistence and sense of purpose, but it also represents an important aspect of the country's history and early economic development. Castor canadiensis was officially recognized as "a symbol of the sovereignity of Canada" in 1975 (Department of the Secretary of State, 1991, p. 11). National coinage and stamps will similarly convey messages associated with history, countryside, wildlife and traditions. In capturing the essence of a country, cartoonists and advertisers may often resort to depicting distinctively-dressed professional groups (e.g., Mounties, hockey players, London businessmen) or stereotyped folk figures (e.g., Johnny Canuck, John Bull).

As Smith (1991, p. 77) points out, national symbols, customs and ceremonies lie at the core of identity: "they embody [nationalism's] basic concepts, making them visible and distinct for every member, communicating the tenets of an abstract ideology in palpable, concrete terms that evoke instant emotional responses from all strata of the community."

2.3.4. A sense of national pride

The nation which is to inspire loyalty must be seen to embody unique and admirable qualities that will become a source of pride. The nation must be "placed upon the highest pedestal" (Alter, 1994, p. 5) and wholesome pride taken in its institutions and achievements. It serves the interests of national integration to emphasize and promote such distinctive, collective qualities and institutions. Where national pride is absent or dormant, nationalism is unlikely to flourish. For example, before the great blossoming of Irish literature at the turn of the century (e.g., Wilde, Shaw, Synge, Yeats, O'Casey), poverty and subjection alone were insufficient to mobilize nationalist aspirations (Birch, 1989; Hughes, 1994). As Hobsbawm (1983) stresses, however, if "mass-produced" fabricated traditions and symbols are to succeed, they must be derived organically and naturally from a recognizable collective past.

In most ethnic nationalisms, artists and musicians have played a significant part in crystallizing national aspirations around certain cultural values. These values, authentic, pure and venerated, are seen as distinctive to the point of being irreplaceable. In fact, they merely underline the sense of chosen-ness that each nation attributes to itself (Smith, 1991, p. 84). Nowadays, the same values may be expressed through the sterling achievements of writers, inventors, explorers, astronauts, doctors, designers, entrepreneurs, popstars, television personalities and, increasingly, sporting heroes. Witness, for example, the relevance of international athletic success to Kenya, Morocco and the former German Democratic Republic, or the regeneration of national pride brought about by the the Czech Republic's 1996 sporting successes. Witness also the sense of national shame produced by sporting heroes disbarred from international competition for using illegal stimulants.

In May 1995 Finland, for the first time, won the Ice Hockey World Championships, held in Sweden. The event, which probably went unnoticed in most countries, was celebrated for several months afterwards through T-shirts, commemorative videos and advertisements containing derisory references to the Swedish players (and indirectly to their nation). This victory, a mere sports result, has been heralded, even by academics, as the turning point in national awareness and as a vehicle for promoting the country internationally (Sallinen, 1995). Canadians no doubt look upon their victory over the Soviet Union in the 1972 Canada Cup with similar awe.

Despite the emphasis on historical tradition and cultural distinctiveness, pride also derives from modernity and technical prowess. The country should radiate youthful energy and creativity, showing itself to be at the forefront of innovation, a world-leader in a highly esteemed area. Pride is a natural reaction when the nation's scientific research leads to the discovery (and successful marketing) of a world-beating product (e.g., a new drug or cholesterol-reducing margarine).

Clearly, as J.G. Fichte noted in his 1807 "Addresses to the German Nation", the native language is the most treasured of the nation's possessions and the prime source of pride (Hughes, 1988, p. 25). Each language unashamedly lays claim to the title of most beautiful in sound, most logical in structure, or most prolific in lexis. Early nationalists stressed the importance of developing learned societies and academies to revive, purify and develop the nation's language, elevating it from the status of peasant dialect (e.g., Czech, Slovak, Flemish, Romanian). The Irish Constitution of 1951 established Irish as the first official language of the country, a position it continues to occupy despite its virtual extinction as a spoken language (Edwards, 1985). Policies of national integration inevitably prioritize the question of choosing an official language (Birch, 1989, p. 10), a decision which may have serious political implications, as seen in the aftermath of Quebec's Bill 101, which in 1977 made French the habitual language of instruction, communications and the workplace. A minority language, if threatened, becomes the object of concerted maintenance and resuscitation efforts and a potentially powerful vehicle for separatist

aspirations (Edwards, 1985). Anderson (1991, p. 134) believes the importance of language is overestimated but that it provides an appealing basis for the "imagined community". The westernized version of Vietnamese ("quoc ngu"), promoted by the French, actually became a vehicle of cultural and national solidarity.

Military prestige, whether achieved through active combat (e.g., the wars in the Falklands and Persian Gulf) or the successful performance of international peace-keeping duties (e.g., the Canadian UN forces in Cyprus), can also be a useful boost to national pride. Failure in either of these two fields, however, will be a source of shame (e.g., Canadian UN forces in Somalia). It is not surprising that unpopular governments sometimes turn to military initiatives as a means of diverting attention from their domestic failures.

2.3.5. A sense of national sovereignty

Kantian notions of individual self-determination and freedom combined with Enlightenment admiration for the political institutions of ancient Greece and Rome to produce the political climate of collective liberty and popular sovereignty needed to spark the French Revolution in 1789. It is generally agreed that this event moved nationalism firmly into the realm of politics and inspired most, if not all, subsequent nationalist endeavours.

The idea of being "master in one's own house" is not restricted to simple political independence and autonomy. It has also come to include economic self-sufficiency, control and protection of key national resources and institutions, and ownership of media (Grant, 1965; Bashevkin, 1991). The arrival of Wal-Mart chainstores in Canada, for example, was popularly seen as a threat to Canadian cultural identity and economic well-being. Similarly, the Free Trade Agreement signed with the United States in 1988 was not hailed as a step towards economic integration but as further proof of American imperialism and as a threat to Canada's future. In a television debate, the then prime minister, John Turner, commented on the signing of the agreement as follows:

> I happen to believe that you've sold us out. With one signature of the pen. You have thrown us into the North-South influence of the United States. And, will reduce us, I am sure, to a colony of the US, because when the economic levers go, the political independence is sure to follow. (cited in Bashevkin, 1991, p. 111)

The idea of national sovereignty also includes the protection and possible subsidizing of domestic publishing, film and television sectors. Regulations on the amount of foreign content may also apply. In Canada, the recent Juneau Report on the future of Canadian television and

film, entitled "Making Our Voices Heard", was referred to as "a clarion call for cultural nationalism", i.e., as a counter to Americanization (Chidley, 1996).

In summary, we may say that identity as national sentiment has both a cultural-psychological and socio-political dimension, which may develop independently but which are both crucial to the survival of the nation in the modern world (Smith, 1991, p. 70). The goal of national integration is to optimize the "fit" between these two dimensions with a result that is unique and irreplaceable. The five components of national identity described above indicate that the creation and maintenance of national identity in the territorial nation, i.e., the nation without an antecedent ethnie or with a multiplicity of rival ethnies (e.g., Canada), is simply the quest to identify and construct commonalities that are as powerful, as appealing and as binding as the ethnic basis for nationhood.

2.4. Identity as citizenship: civic-political perspectives on national identity

Canada's family squabble is often attributed to a lack of identity, which both derives from and stimulates a widespread feeling of not belonging (Bashevkin, 1991; Kymlicka, 1992). National unity, it is argued, might be enhanced if citizens could affirm their belonging by engaging equally and fully in active citizenship which "strengthens our democracy, our national identity and our sense of responsibility for Canada" (Multiculturalism and Citizenship Canada, 1992, p. 10).

This section examines some of the key issues related to modern citizenship. After discussing the concept of national unity, it moves on to consider questions related to the scope and nature of citizenship, and, most importantly, the possible bases for a sense of identity created by shared citizenship.

2.4.1. National unity

The concept of unity seems inherent to the idea of a nation. Earlier ethnic nationalisms (e.g., Germany, Italy) interpreted it in purely geo-political terms as the reunification of ethnically related groups in one national homeland. Irredentist nationalism (Alter, 1994) seeks to "redeem" and incorporate into the parent nation those related ethnic groups and territories that lie outside that homeland (e.g., Mussolini's "Mediterranean" Italy, the Argentinian claim to the Malvinas/Falkland Islands). As Canadian, Yugoslav and Soviet experiences show, political unification, however, will not automatically guarantee the existence of a nation since geo-political unity is only one aspect of a broader sense of national cohesion. Anderson (1991, pp. 163 ff.) considers the

national census, map and museum as seemingly trivial but essential inventions in a nation's progress towards national identity and unity. More, however, is required.

Social mobilization theory (e.g., Karl Deutsch) identifies four stages in the establishment of a functioning, integrated nation-state: a) penetration (the creation of an administrative and legal framework); b) identity creation (a common political culture); c) participation (the democratization of decision-making); and d) distribution (the equitable distribution of resources). The measures associated with each stage will enhance the sense of social, political and economic integration felt by all groups, majority and minority, and are essential if a sense of national unity is to develop (Birch, 1989). These may include adjustments to the normal democratic process to ensure equal representation of peripheral areas (e.g., provincial representation in the Canadian federal Cabinet and Senate), fiscal redistribution (tax equalization schemes and transfer payments), or policies fostering the development of equality of opportunity (anti-discrimination and affirmative action legislation).

Interestingly, the metaphor of the family is frequently invoked in the service of national integration and is used to arouse the same feelings of allegiance that blood relationships traditionally inspire. Canada's citizens, for example, become its "sons" and "daughters" while France's are "enfants de la patrie". The 1987 National Citizenship Week in Canada went under the banner "Embracing the Canadian Family of Citizens". Tradition dictates that the head of the family protects the family from outsiders, maintains discipline and assigns duties, decides on family priorities and settles family feuds that threaten its unity. The nation is similarly seen as an indivisible family unit which commands ingroup loyalty (Bashevkin, 1991).

2.4.2. The scope of citizenship

With the advantage of a monopoly on official violence and justice, the state is well placed to maintain national peace and unity. Ideally, citizens of all groups across the land are encouraged to participate actively in public life and nation-building and to confirm their allegiance to the state and its common vision. To this end, they are born with or acquire a citizenship which not only distinguishes them from excluded non-citizens, but also transcends any ethnic, linguistic or religious differences by offering them, at least in theory, equal access to work, education, welfare, etc.

Much of the recent debate over citizenship has focussed on questions of social and legal entitlement within a wider discussion of the role of the welfare system, as described in Section 1.4. above. The current consensus seems to be that the welfare state is flawed and that this is in

some way related to problems of political apathy and decline in public spiritedness. T.H. Marshall's (1950) view that the granting of social rights (e.g., education, welfare) would lead to a more inclusive, integrated and democratically active society is now widely questioned. Kymlicka (1992, pp. 8-24), in a comprehensive survey of the literature, summarizes the varying interpretations of citizenship put forward by the various sides as follows. The political Right emphasizes responsibilities and obligations, proposing increased economic self-sufficiency, workfare and volunteerism. The Left continues to focus on the entrenchment of rights, but envisages a more decentralized and participatory administration of the welfare state, thus empowering ordinary people. Supporters of the civil society ideal suggest that the key civic virtues of personal responsibility, mutual obligation and voluntary self-restraint are developed primarily in associational networks (e.g., the family, the church, trade unions, charity organizations). Liberal virtue theorists believe citizens have a responsibility to participate actively and critically in political life, to question authority and to acquire the requisite skills of presentation and argumentation ("public reasonableness"). There is also a strong feminist voice on the nature of citizenship. Whereas some feminists claim that the maternal instincts of protection and caring should also lie at the heart of social policy, others criticize policies encouraging self-reliance and family values because they further increase sexual inequality, in both the home and the workplace.

According to Kymlicka (1992, p. 25), the ideological clash between Left and Right has tended to limit discussion of citizenship to questions of legal rights and material benefits. The entitlement debate has diverted attention from several other key questions. Issues of inclusion, identity and culture, crucial to the Canadian situation, have been largely ignored. Kymlicka (1992) reminds us that, through citizenship, the state also instils a sense of national unity and identity, which is sustained by the symbols, myths and rituals described earlier. Citizenship is "a forum where people transcend their differences, and think about the common good of all citizens" (Kymlicka, 1992, p. 28). Heater (1994, p. 295) sees citizenship as "a device to cultivate a sense of community and a common sense of purpose".

2.4.3. Inclusion and participation

In the late 1940s, Marshall (1950) believed socio-economic solutions would unlock the door to participation, but he also realized their limitations in resolving all problems of social segregation and cultural exclusion in a highly stratified society like Britain. Critics claim that Marshall was describing a homogeneous and stable British culture where integration was simply a "process of historical expansion through incorporation . . . within a common national community" (Barbalet, 1988, p. 93). In other words, Marshall's analysis is of dubious relevance to the Canadian situation where nationhood is comparatively recent. Furthermore, in the case of Canada, a sense

of participation and community membership must be fostered across a multiplicity of boundaries, including ethnic, religious, cultural, sexual, as well as the more conventional socio-economic.

The Canadian -- indeed the pluralist -- dilemma, described in Section 1.5. above, is that measures to ensure social recognition and institutional support for minorities may lead to differentiated or hyphenated citizenship. Marshall could not have predicted the scale of migration, nor the decline of traditional unifying institutions (e.g., the church). The policy of cultural pluralism in itself may be working against the creation of a unifying identity, which is seen by many as a worthy goal (Bissoondath, 1994). The fact that such a policy is actively implemented and gains widespread recognition and support may contribute to identity (i.e., national distinctiveness on the international stage), but it does not encourage internal unity. Nevertheless, Canada's multicultural policy recognizes that any overarching national vision must be inclusive and affirm the contributing identities of minorities (Kymlicka, 1992, p. 34).

This is not an appropriate context for dealing with the manifold issues related to the allocation of individual and group rights. Besides, participation goes beyond the mere removal of legal and socio-economic barriers. Participation in the sense of active involvement and critical evaluation lies at the core of the democratic system, without which we would be unable to decide the form of government and the institutions that characterize our societies and, hence, our identities.

2.4.4. Political alienation

The huge rallies held in Montreal in October 1995 on the eve of the Quebec referendum not only expressed a desire for national unity but also revealed popular dismay at the Chrétien government's misreading of the separatism crisis. Government was out of touch. The results of a 1991 Maclean's survey (cited in Shulman, 1991, p. 3) suggest that one factor that unites Canadians is their sense of exclusion from the decision-making process, their feeling of powerlessness to determine the course of events in their own country. This feeling is reflected in disenchantment with politics, politicians and the democratic process. The prevailing political ethos is majoritarian ("winner takes all"), extremist and confrontationalist, and citizens can experience it daily, whether on logging sites, outside abortion clinics or in parliamentary debates (Sears, 1992, p. 14). Consultation and compromise have been overridden by conflict and compulsion. At the same time, access itself is becoming more exclusive. As Sears (1992, p. 23) reminds us: "The more restricted the participation in the process of defining the public culture the more likely alienation will increase and the less likely that what is arrived at will truly represent consensus."

Leader writers (e.g., Lewis, 1996) similarly point to a crumbling democracy: lack of leadership and unity, the rise of factionism, the breakdown of consensus and the confusing anomalies caused by the electoral system. At the same time they accuse politicians of having "weather vanes for spines." Confidence in government is further eroded as provincial budget balancing takes priority over the maintenance of the meaningful, integrating structures of everyday life (work, education, health care), which underlie the value systems of many Canadians. A recent Angus Reid survey indicates that the network of social programmes established over the years by the provinces remains a defining feature of people's concept of Canada, and that they are reluctant to see that network dismantled by government.

The message is that citizenship, expressed through a political process that is correctly and conscientiously implemented, could be an instrument for strengthening national unity -- the democratization of decision-making in Deutsch's modernization theory. Sears (1992, p. 31) calls for a new type of public discourse in Canada which "will be as open as possible, will work towards consensus on the difficult issues that confront our nation, and will be framed in mutual respect and commitment." If government can be seen to play a positive role in people's lives, working for the common good and advancing the cause of collective security and wellbeing rather than creating an elite intent upon sinecures or lining its own pockets, alienation might be halted and identification encouraged. The problems of declining political activity and public spiritedness might also disappear. Government at local, provincial and national levels would need to be recognized as honest, fair, accessible, transparent and consistent, without being inflexible or insensitive to the individual. Simultaneously, citizens would need the necessary skills and knowledge to enable them to make effective use of their democratic rights; they would need to feel confident that they can deal with authority and participate as equals in the civic culture.

Government for its part can encourage civic pride and activity by removing barriers to effective participatory citizenship. Apart from reducing social disadvantage and ensuring more equal representation, government can make itself more accountable and accessible by removing the bureaucratic confusion and complexity that deters many (Commission on Citizenship, 1990). Lack of knowledge and illiteracy are also impediments to participation (Multiculturalism and Citizenship Canada, 1992).

As Shulman (1991, p. 13) and Kymlicka (1992, p. 45) emphasize, participation should not be limited to good neighbourliness, voluntary action and community work, valuable though these are in supporting welfare structures and creating solidarity. There is also a need to counteract political apathy by allowing people to experience a sense of ownership in the political process and so to develop pride in their citizenship and nation. Similar ideas are expressed in the statement of 1996-1999 programme priorities of the Canadian Heritage Portfolio, for example: "involving Canadians in nation-building as a key strategy to enhance social cohesion and encourage full

participation in Canada's future"; "building a cohesive society based on identity, civic participation and social justice as a means to enhance mainstreaming and strengthen the bonds of mutual trust and responsibility" (Canadian Heritage, 1996, p. 9).

The task of civic-political socialization, however utopian its objectives, has traditionally been left to schools. We now examine the contribution of citizenship education.

2.4.5. The role and contents of citizenship education

> To espouse national aspirations and goals, to inform citizens of their rights and privileges, and to remind them of their obligations and to develop emotional commitment, are part of the task of any program of citizenship education. (Grant, 1992, p. 3)

Through its schools, propaganda bureaux, mass-media and, where required, national service systems, the state attempts to foster identity, solidarity and unity. Each society will also develop a system of positive and negative sanctions to enhance allegiance to its behavioural norms and promote a repertoire of acceptable basic social roles. Child-rearing practices and parental role models may similarly determine some of the modal personality or national character of the people (Inkeles & Levinson, 1969). Parents also transmit social expectations about what constitutes good performance, hard work, school success, etc. Nevertheless, schools remain the primary vehicle of national socialization, the centre of what Anderson (1991, p. 201) calls a "vast pedagogical industry." Particular curriculum areas, for example social studies, arts and language, may actively promote the sense of territorial and historical allegiance which, as we have seen (Section 2.3.), is central to national identity, creating "cultural uniformity and conformity" (McLeod, 1989, p. 6). Where a community is socially divided (e.g., Protestants and Catholics in Northern Ireland), differing school curricula in history may socialize pupils into communal rivalry and so delay national unity (Birch, 1989, p. 105). Hodgetts (1968) found that there were two very different civic educations in anglophone and francophone schools in Canada.

In social studies, students are often introduced to the mechanics of government and become familiar with national instututions, electoral procedure and key political documents. The school system is severely criticized when it fails to carry out its civic educational brief, as in the landmark National History Project and Symons Commission reports (Hodgetts, 1968; Symons, 1975), which called for a major national curriculum development initiative and led to the birth of the Canada Studies Foundation. As Jean-Jacques Rousseau wrote some two hundred years ago: "It is education that must give souls a national formation, and direct their opinions and tastes in such a way that they will be patriotic by inclination, by passion, by necessity" (cited in Birch, 1989, p. 15). Interestingly, students matriculating from Finnish senior high school are still designated as

"spes patriae" (hope of the fatherland), a label that perhaps underlines Osborne's (1991) observation that a theory of citizenship is a theory of education.

Much of the school curriculum, although supposedly serving the needs of individual fulfilment, has the primary, if not always explicitly stated, aim of making the nation state more prosperous, politically stable and culturally secure by training an appropriately skilled and healthy workforce to maintain the necessary economic and administrative infrastructures. Such "economic imperatives" are exerting considerable influence on education at the moment and, as Osborne (1992) warns, can lead to a potentially destructive reformulation of educational policy. Exclusive focus on the requirements of the job-market may indeed produce the dreaded "skilled barbarian" (i.e., lacking a stance on civic questions) mentioned in a 1989 Australian Senate standing committee report (cited in Sears, 1992, p. 4).

Sears and Hughes (1994) reduce the many interpretations of citizenship to a framework of four types, distinguished by notions of sovereignty, the role of government and of the citizenry. They also propose a corresponding typology of citizenship education based on the knowledge, values and skills appropriate to each type of citizenship. Having carried out an in-depth analysis of social studies curriculum statements from educational jurisdictions across Canada, they gladly note that there has been a shift from the elitist, non-participatory concept to more populist, globalist and activist interpretations. Officially, then, good Canadian citizens are seen as people who possess the following characteristics: knowledgeable about contemporary society and the issues it faces; disposed to work toward the common good and be supportive of pluralism; and skilled at taking action at a number of levels to make their communities, nation, and world a better place for all people to live (Sears & Hughes, 1994, p. 23).

Nevertheless, the authors strongly suspect that there remains an alarming discrepancy between official policy documents and actual classroom implementation of citizenship education. In some cases, progressive programmes developing political skills existed on paper only and were not actually offered. Their cited evidence, although somewhat dated, also indicates, for example, that multicultural issues, a deep awareness of which is supposedly a prerequisite for life in Canadian society, are still dealt with superficially in terms of food, fashion and festivals. The idealistic liturgy of equality, multicultural awareness, global concern and world citizenship conceals a white, male and eurocentric view of society and the planet. Education, it is feared, serves to entrench rather than reduce social difference. An unchanging curriculum that avoids controversy and community involvement tends to reproduce white, middle-class power structures (Werner, Connors, Aoki & Dahlie, 1977).

The civic educational role of schools is also rendered ineffectual or compromised by local and national pressure groups (including government agencies) who both supply their own tendentious materials and vigilantly vet those of other groups (Grant, 1992; Sears, 1992). As a

result, education for citizenship is failing to prepare the nation's youth for Canadian realities, "for the complexities and contradictions of life in a pluralistic society" (Sears, 1992, p. 18). One irony of the Canadian situation is, of course, that there is no country-wide system of education, that "most useful instrument for developing unity and fostering nationalism" (Grant, 1992, p. 2), even though federal government has a say in educational policy, not least because of its budgetary power.

Teachers themselves are transmitters of the "hidden curriculum", in the attitudes and opinions they express, and, more importantly, in the power models they implement in the classroom (Steiner-Khamsi, 1996). Traditional transmissive teaching methods in themselves may militate against a more participatory learning style. If teachers are reluctant to deal with contentious issues in their own communities, how can students experience participatory democracy in action? If students are trained, explicitly or implicitly, to follow, where do they acquire the skills of leadership?

Shulman (1991) confirms the inadequacy of existing civic education programmes. He notes that in the wake of the Canadian studies movement much of civic education in Canadian schools has moved away from a mechanics of government approach and focused primarily on a knowledge of the geography, history and institutions of Canada. In the case of immigrant citizenship programmes, however, there remains a heavy focus on "Canada's form of government and the privileges, rights and responsibilities of citizenship" (Multiculturalism and Citizenship Canada, 1994, p. 1). Language proficiency has also been seen as a key skill, if only for the Citizenship Court hearing. Despite this provision, however, citizens feel inadequately empowered for active participation: "Teaching French, English, geography, government or Canadian "values" is not a substitute for learning what it takes to make an impact on the decision-making process" (Shulman, 1991, p. 3). After twenty years of citizenship, he asserts, we merely have "a better-informed generation of spectators" (p. 5).

Measures to remedy this deficiency include the recognition and inclusion of citizenship education as a distinct subject in the curriculum, accompanied by effective teacher education programmes. Issues related to the hidden curriculum and pedagogical style would be prominent here. Sears (1992) suggests that citizenship education should permeate the whole curriculum and not be the exclusive responsibility of social studies. Within this framework, creating a merely passive interest in politics and government would be replaced by the provision of ample opportunities for collective democratic activity and direct community participation, including the prerequisite research and organizational skills. Students would gain "a more positive sense of their own political efficacy" (Sears, 1992, p. 27). A coordinated research effort is also required to examine the political socialization of young people, citizenship education materials and teacher education provision. Shulman (1991, p. 20) has proposed the setting-up of a federal centre, the

Canadian Centre for Citizenship, to promote and coordinate education and information efforts in the field of citizenship. This would combine the functions and activities of several separate bodies and foundations doing similar work in the United States (e.g., the National Issues Forums sponsored by the Kettering Foundation, the National Citizen Participation Project of the Lincoln Filene Centre, the Campus Outreach Opportunity League, the Centre for Community Change). Establishing a single organization with the mandate of promoting participatory citizenship would avoid the problem that "citizenship programming tends to fall between the cracks of community development, voluntary action, settlement services, and so forth." (Shulman, 1991, p. 21). Sears (1994, p. 36) argues strongly for a major research effort that would allow Canadian social studies educators to develop a body of theory recognizing the "unique features of Canadian citizenship."

As noted earlier, active and responsible citizenship is one possible cornerstone of national unity and identity. Effective citizenship education could work towards this ideal. The result would be a generation of adults who are informed, willing and able to participate, and possessing the civic dispositions of open-mindedness, respect, tolerance, compassion and loyalty (Hughes, 1992).

2.4.6. Bases for a shared identity

The problem for Canada becomes one of discovering that elusive "oneness" of identity and "reassuring sameness" which might unify the Canadian experience and provide a framework for working together. Switzerland, often cited as an example of a unified nation with a differentiated citizenship, appears to have solved the problem by encouraging the coexistence of vigorous group and national identities. According to Whitaker (cited in Kymlicka, 1992, p. 34), Canadians showing the strongest sense of regional or ethnic identity also have a strong parallel sense of Canadian identity. In other words, it is possible for a hierarchy or cluster of identities to exist, a situation inherently recognized in Canada's multicultural policies. The essence of that Canadian identity remains undefined, however.

One component of individual existence that might transcend regional allegiances and inspire national cohesion would be a shared value system (see Section 2.5.2 below for a discussion of values and their role in distinguishing cultures). Official Canadian policy has supported this approach (Government of Canada, 1991, p. 1). Several federal commissions (e.g., the 1991 Spicer Commission, the 1992 Beaudoin-Dobbie Committee) have found a high degree of unanimity amongst Canadians with regard to their prized values and qualities (Kymlicka (1992, p. 35). These include freedom, equality, fairness, consultation and tolerance, compassion and generosity, support for diversity, commitment to peace and non-violence, love of the country's natural beauty and a respect for human rights. The self-attributions are echoed in the regular

Maclean's year-end polls. Nevertheless, even though Québecois and English Canadians largely subscribe to the same values, the constitutional and identity crises continue. Clearly, a common value base does not guarantee unity or create a centripetal sense of identity.

The missing ingredient, according to Kymlicka (1992, p. 37), is solidarity based on collective historical pride. Where ethnic nations can boast their unity of culture, language or religion, the modern multi-nation civic state must create a sense of historical commonality and inherited belonging. The United States and Switzerland have succeeded in this whereas Canada has failed; in fact, the mythic moments of Canadian history emphasize disagreement and dissension (e.g., 1759 - Plains of Abraham; 1867 - British North America Act; 1885 - Louis Riel; 1917 - conscription crisis; 1942 - Dieppe), even if survival or the peaceful resolution of those differences can be seen as historically more significant. Despite acknowledging widespread commitment to Canada's defining feature, diversity, it has to be recognized that members of the different cultural groups making up the mosaic may experience their belonging and diversity in very different ways. Some see themselves as autonomous individuals standing in a particular relationship to the state, others as members of distinct collectivities existing within the state. The latter group's loyalties will be divided. Acceptance of and pride in what Charles Taylor calls "deep diversity" might resolve the problem of unity and nourish a sense of identity (Kymlicka, 1992, p. 38).

Using yet another simile for Canadian multiculturalism, Arnal (cited in Sears, 1992, p. 28) compares each distinct Canadian to a pearl linked by a single unifying string. That string is consensus and acceptance of the principles that underlie communal prosperity. Kymlicka (1992, p. 47) argues that Canada has sought identity through distinctive values and has failed. It should be recognized in fact, he suggests, that the values Canadians subscribe to are global values with a universal relevance, even though they have a history and a realization that is uniquely and distinctively Canadian.

2.5. Identity as culture: intercultural perspectives on national identity

The purpose of this section is to identify components of cultural distinctiveness that underlie national identity. Once again, the approach will be to consider the literature and extract relevant insights that can be applied in the data analysis below.

2.5.1. Intercultural communication

The daily lives of the people in each nation will inevitably reflect aspects of nationhood that they themselves may be barely conscious of. Through socialization people become attached to certain leisure pursuits, preferred sports and hobbies, fairy stories, popular idols and heroes, forms of etiquette and standards of dress. Schooling, policing, even buying stamps, filling in a tax return or queueing for a bus, take place in some set manner, just as annual religious or national holidays (e.g., Christmas, Easter, Midsummer, Halloween) are celebrated in a unique and defining fashion with specific food, drink and festivities. This collective cultural legacy forms a vital part of individual and national identity. As Barnlund (1975, p. 30) points out: "Cultural norms so completely surround people, so permeate thought and action, that few ever recognize the assumptions on which their lives and sanity rest."

The process of globalization described in Chapter 1 brings people of diverse backgrounds into closer contact. Through foreign travel, international business contacts and daily dealings with immigrant groups, citizens are increasingly exposed to different lifestyles, customs and cultures. This exposure has had two main consequences. Firstly, there is both a greater awareness (and hopefully tolerance) of cultural difference and, more importantly in the present context, heightened sensitivity to the distinctive features of one's own national culture and identity. In other words, the supposedly inconspicuous features of nationhood outlined in the previous paragraph are brought into awareness. As a result individuals are obliged to reflect on their national identity and redefine their "perceptual frames of reference" (Porter & Samovar, 1991, p. 15). As a second consequence, the need for factual information and intercultural training has been recognized; for example, the Cultural Assimilators developed by Brislin and Pedersen (1976) and the Brigham Young University Culturgrams, now incorporated into a computer world atlas (Microsoft, 1995).

The field of intercultural communication is specifically concerned with developing theoretical understanding of the factors underlying effective communication between different cultures and applying this understanding in practice to crosscultural interaction (Robinson, 1988; Samovar & Porter, 1991). Skill and expert knowledge are required to operate effectively amongst a medley of nationalities and backgrounds, whether as a tourist, diplomat, health worker, export sales promoter or teacher of refugees. Apart from being familiar with local customs and rules of etiquette, the would-be communicator should be aware of prevailing belief and value systems, communication styles (e.g., use of gesture, facial expression, tolerance of silence) and patterns of social organization (e.g., the family, work, schooling) (Argyle, 1982; Andersen, 1991).

Some of what is now considered the domain of intercultural communication was traditionally regarded as the brief of foreign language teachers. Their role, apart from developing the four skills of reading, writing, speaking and listening, was to provide background cultural knowledge. This

fulfilled several goals: it deepened students' understanding of the target country and its people; it often acted as a motivational boost; it was a potential vehicle for the development of positive outgroup attitudes; and, perhaps most importantly, it locked language practice into some meaningful and identifiable living context and realistic use situation (Gardener & Lambert, 1972; Laine, 1987; Byram, 1989; Morgan, 1993). A considerable literature on cultural competence as a component of language learning has developed (e.g., Buttjes, 1981; Seelye, 1984; Valdes, 1986; Damen, 1987; Byram, Esarte-Sarries & Taylor, 1990; Morgan, 1993; Tomalin & Stempleski, 1993). Despite an inevitable lack of consensus on contents and methodology, this literature provides valuable additional insights into the structure of national identity. Hammerley (1982), for example, provides a practicable classification of the cultural content of foreign language teaching which is of value in this study. He identifies three types of culture: a) information or factual culture ("the information or facts that the average educated native knows about his society, the geography and history of his country, its heroes and villains" (p. 82); b) behavioural culture (everyday behaviour, values and attitudes, forms of communication, conversational formulas and kinesics); and c) achievement or accomplishment culture (the nation's literary, artistic and musical contributions). The first and third types are self-explanatory and, despite some overlap with earlier categories, can be added as such to the growing list of components of national identity. Normal socialization processes (school, family, media) will provide the bulk of an individual's knowledge about the nation's information and achievement culture.

Hammerley's second type, behavioural culture, is a diffuse concept and needs further clarification. There are, in fact, three separate elements of behavioural culture, which for the purposes of the present study shall be termed everyday behaviour, values and communication. Leaving aside differences in everyday behaviour and communication styles, both of which can be empirically observed and cross-culturally compared, there remains the problem of establishing the hallmark values and attitudes that define a society. Canadians, for example, see their society as inherently more tolerant and peaceful than American society and will often attribute these values to themselves as individuals (Berton, 1987; Lipset, 1990; Allen, 1990). But is there substance to these self-attributions?

2.5.2. Values

Values have been variously defined. Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961) suggest that values relate to five of humanity's universal concerns (relationship to the environment, human nature, time, activity and human interaction) and that different cultures can be located along these five dimensions. Rokeach (1973) sees values as "core conceptions of the desirable within every indiyidual and society" (p. 2). Brislin, Cushner, Cherrie and Yong (1986) echo the idea of

desirability: "values are the constructs, the groupings, and the orientations by which people decide what is normative, preferred or obligatory of members of their society" (p. 299). Other definitions downplay the notion of orthodoxy but emphasize the programmatic nature of values: "Values are inside people, in their minds. They are a way of thinking about the world, of orienting oneself to it. Values, therefore, are mental programs that govern specific behaviour choices" (Lustig, 1988, p. 56). Hofstede's definition is the least precise: "a broad tendency to prefer certain states over others" (1984, p. 18).

The definitions emphasize values as unique personal constructs and choices, but values also permeate entire cultures. Cultural values define boundaries and set limits on individual and group behaviour. They identify the important and the irrelevant, the desirable and the objectionable; they establish definitions of good and bad, right and wrong, fear, violence, patriotism, sexuality, childhood and so on. Extreme nationalism (e.g., as promoted in Nazi Germany) is able to reshape national values and norms in such a way that whatever advances the interests of the nation is considered to be ethical and moral.

How do we establish the existence of certain values in a given society? In the case of supposed tolerance, we might, for example, refer to the amount of social legislation promoting racial equality and to statistical data on the incidence of racially-motivated violence. This approach would reflect a Weberian belief that historical events in a country indirectly promote certain values that are subsequently reflected in social institutions which themselves entrench the values. Lipset (1990), for example, suggests that differences in American and Canadian value systems have their roots in the revolutionary and counter-revolutionary nature of each country's genesis. Inkeles and Levinson (1969) warn against characterizing a population in terms of its rates of action (e.g., suicide, violence), since these are often determined by particular segments of the population.

A statistical survey approach is also possible. Rokeach (1973) surveyed the value systems of some 1400 American men and women by measuring the relative importance they attributed to the items in two lists of 18 key values. Terminal values were expressed in terms of life-goals (e.g., a comfortable life, happiness, self-respect, a world at peace), and instrumental values in terms of prized personality features (e.g., honesty, obedience, politeness, ambition). Rokeach's analysis included some cross-cultural comparisons using Canadian college students. The results indicated that American male students were relatively more concerned with a comfortable life and social recognition. Ambition was also considerably less important to Canadians, who in turn evaluated helpfulness more highly than Americans (Rokeach, 1973, pp. 89-93).

In an extensive and pioneering survey of the value systems of IBM employees in 40 countries carried out between 1968 and 1972, Hofstede (1984) argues that individuals carry "mental programs" that prescribe their thinking and social action. These programs, which are subtly reinforced by schools and other social institutions, contain a component of national culture

which is most visible in the prevailing values of the society -- values which are seen as so self-evident that alternatives are not even thought possible. From the point of view of a huge multinational firm, an awareness of stable crosscultural value differences would clearly help in organization and personnel management (e.g., selection and promotion procedures, dealing with unions).

Hofstede reduces value differences to four main dimensions, which he uses to rank the 40 non-communist countries in the survey. Individual informants were questioned on: a) Power Distance (the degree of support expressed for power structures that are based on existing inequalities in the society and fixed traditional hierarchies); b) Uncertainty Avoidance (the need for rules that stabilize society, reduce dissent, encourage uniformity and avoid risks); c) Individualism (the relative importance of the needs of the individual and those of the group); and d) Masculinity (acceptance of sexual equality and the relative importance attached to so-called masculine behaviours, e.g., assertiveness, competitiveness, and feminine traits, e.g., affection, nurturance). Table 2.1. summarizes Hofstede's findings for six Anglo-Saxon western democracies.

Table 2.1. Hofstede's four value dimensions. Scores and ranks of six countries (N = 40)

	Power Distance		Uncertainty Avoidance		Individualism		Masculinity	
Country	Score	Rank	Score	Rank	Score	Rank	Score	Rank
Australia	36	29	51	27	90	2	61	14
Canada	39	27	48	31	80	4	52	21
Ireland	28	36	35	36	70	12	68	7
New Zealand	22	37	50	30	79	6	58	15
UK	35	31	35	35	89	3	66	8
USA	40	26	46	32	91	1	62	13

Note. Countries were ranked along each dimension from 1 to 40. Rank 1 indicates the highest score on that dimension.

Hofstede's survey reveals no great differences between the USA and Canada on the Power-Distance or Uncertainty Avoidance dimensions. In fact, the data for all six nations reported above suggest a common value base. The clearest differences are on the Masculinity and Individualism scales: Canada ranks noticeably lower on the former, suggesting that Canadian society may favour the "softer" values associated with a greater acceptance of and belief in sexual equality.

Hofstede's results may be criticized on several points. Within a multinational organization, groups may have more in common with groups in other nations enjoying the same social or

occupational status than they have with their compatriots in higher or lower status positions. The survey may reveal more about the success requirements in a particular organizational culture than about individual national value systems. Nevertheless, Hofstede's statistical analysis and theoretical model does reveal great similarities in the value systems of the Anglo-American democracies. It therefore becomes even more challenging to justify the claims that these nations -- the USA and Canada, for example -- make about their distinctive values (Allen, 1990). It may be, however, that Hofstede's survey simply failed to tap into those values that are felt to distinguish Americans and Canadians.

What really matters, of course, is the degree to which the individuals in a community ascribe these values to themselves and deny them to outsiders, regardless of their actualization. In this sense, identity can be equated with the symbols, rituals, ceremonies and unique cultural values nations appropriate (see Sections 2.3.2. and 2.3.3.). Schwartz and Struch (1989), in comparing Israeli and Arab perceptions of each other's value systems, found that any antagonism could be attributed to perceived differences along the dimension of hedonism and altruism. There are no absolute measures of tolerance or non-violence, so any assessment must be purely comparative. The important thing, then, is to discover one or more parameters along which two nations can be clearly distinguished, preferably at polar extremes. Given this antithesis, we can accept the presence of certain characteristics as part of Canadian national identity if there is a sense amongst Canadians that they are prevalent in their own society and less prevalent, not only in American society but also in American national identity. In other words, individual perceptions and beliefs about the levels of violence in Canadian and American society, whether true or not, ultimately establish non-violence as part of the value foundation and structure of Canadian national self-identity. Values become a matter of social perception. Confirmation of this point will be sought in the data on Perceived National Identity to be presented in Chapter 3.

2.6. Identity as self-perception: social psychological perspectives on national identity

The conclusion of the previous section was that values are relative since they are specific to a particular culture and society. Consequently, a key factor in national identity is the inclusion of certain favoured values (e.g., tolerance, non-violence) in the national self-image and the withholding of these same values from the image of an external reference group. In psychological terms, we create contrasting and rival ingroup-outgroup stereotypes. The following section examines the fourth approach to national identit -- self-perception -- in the light of work on stereotyping. This will require looking at the concept of stereotyping in some detail and briefly considering major theories associated with it, as presented in survey articles by Dovidio and

Gaertner (1986) and Stroebe and Insko (1989). Some of the biases which result from stereotyping and which affect national identity, particularly in terms of perceptions made about the ingroup and outgroup, will then be presented. This is followed by a cross-cultural view of national stereotypes. Certain parallels will then be drawn between individual and national selves. The section concludes with a brief discussion of personality and national character.

2.6.1. Stereotyping, prejudice and discrimination

The word "stereotype" was first used in a sociological sense by American journalist Walter Lippman (1922), who referred to "the pictures in our heads" that we are obliged to create to cope with the "blooming, buzzing confusion" of humanity (p. 95). Lippman's description reveals an early and insightful understanding of the nature of stereotyping. A stereotype is a set of shared beliefs about the attributes or behaviour of a group of people. Particular traits, often but not exclusively negative, are ascribed to the group and then used to predict and explain the behaviour of individual members of that group (Stephan, 1985). In other words, we construct a schema or social representation of the group in terms of our beliefs about and attitudes towards its behaviour or personality traits. The key identifying features of the group may be its race, ethnicity, nationality, religion, politics, class, age or gender. Judgments about individual members of the group are mediated and filtered by this group stereotype. As a result group members are deindividuated and become interchangeable exemplars of their social or racial category. A stereotype is by definition based on incomplete knowledge and oversimplification.

In terms of its social impact, stereotyping is traditionally seen as a wholly negative and dehumanizing process closely linked to the perpetuation of prejudice and discrimination (Allport, 1954; Bar-Tal, Graumann, Kruglanski & Stroebe, 1989). It is therefore not surprising that multicultural and global education programmes devote considerable time to countering the perverse effects of racial and gender stereotyping (Pike & Selby, 1988; Case, 1993). The immorality of the stereotype is that it not only colours our perceptions of members of other groups (the outgroup) but that it also tends to include negative evaluations of the outgroup; in other words, it feeds prejudice. In his classic work on the subject Allport (1954) defines prejudice as "an aversive or hostile attitude toward a person who belongs to a group, simply because he belongs to that group, and is therefore presumed to have the objectionable qualities ascribed to the group." (p. 7) and later as "an antipathy based on a faulty and inflexible generalization. It may be felt or expressed. It may be directed toward a group as a whole or toward an individual because he is a member of that group" (p. 9). Prejudice can be seen as the negative affective component of a social schema. Like other schema, this one also plays a central role in helping us to organize, interpret and recall information (Fiske & Taylor, 1991). Prejudiced individuals tend to process information about a

target group differently. One result is that prejudice becomes "a kind of closed cognitive loop" (Baron & Byrne, 1991, p. 184) and so reinforces and perpetuates itself.

Discrimination is the corresponding behavioural dimension of prejudicial thinking. It may be expressed in verbal abuse (e.g., racial slurs, ethnic jokes) (Graumann & Mantel, 1989), avoidance (e.g., ghettoization), exclusion (e.g., from employment, education, housing) or physical attack. Tokenism and reverse discrimination are more recent phenomena. Tokenistic positive action on behalf of a minority (e.g., appointing someone to a job on grounds of race) is often used as an excuse for avoiding more meaningful positive action. Reverse discrimination -- the more favourable treatment of ethnic or other traditionally disadvantaged groups -- may be a reflection of a need for social approval rather than an expression of genuine egalitarianism. In its extreme form discrimination leads to delegitimization (denial of the humanity of an outgroup) and ultimately genocide, a measure which recent history shows has not been confined to Nazi Germany (Bar-Tal, 1989).

2.6.2. Theories of stereotyping

The following short sections briefly introduce three theories that have contributed to stereotyping research.

2.6.2.1. Social identity theory

According to social identity theory (Tajfel, 1982), individuals are concerned with achieving and maintaining self-esteem, or a positive identity. Since the level of self-esteem is partly determined by group affiliations, individuals seek to enhance the value of the groups they are affiliated to. As part of this process, they will see the ingroup as positively distinctive from the outgroup along certain prominent and valued dimensions (e.g., sportsmanship, intelligence, humanity). By differentiating the ingroup from the outgroup and positively favouring the ingroup, they assert the distinctiveness of the group, and, by extension, their identity within that group. In essence, then, they engage in a form of social competition. This theory, sometimes called the "Us-versus-Them" theory, does not presuppose that a conflict (e.g., for resources, territory) exists between ingroup and outgroup. The key feature, however, is the derogation of the outgroup with the aim of enhancing the esteem of the ingroup. A stereotypical view of the members of an outgroup removes their distinctiveness, thus reinforcing the social identity of the ingroup and the self-image of its members.

The wish to wear and display the jersey of a local football team after it has beaten a rival illustrates our desire to bask in the reflected glory of the team (Cialdini, Borden, Thomas, Walker, Freeman & Sloan, 1976). Similarly, success in prestigious international sporting events (e.g., the Olympic Games), emphasized by the raising of the national flag, the playing of the national anthem and the wiping away of the odd tear, enhances the sense of group solidarity and superiority: "It feels great to be Canadian/Finnish/British". Theroux (1984) noticed that during the Falklands War people in Britain who had previously called themselves "Scots", "Welsh" or "English" had realigned their ingroup allegiance and assumed a "British" identity.

2.6.2.2. Social learning theory

Social learning theory views society as a system founded on consensus (Bandura, 1973). Social order is the result of the acceptance of a common set of values which outweigh differences. These values are generalized and transmitted through normal socialization processes. Stereotypes, defined as "culturally shared categories that transcend the individual" are part of this social legacy (Stroebe & Insko, 1989, p. 29).

The theory does not presuppose that there is an individual or social motive to derogate an outgroup. Stereotypes and prejudices may be the products of merely observing people in unrepresentative contexts, i.e., stereotype content has social structural origins. Hewstone (1989, p. 207) notes that the very structure of society encourages intergroup stereotyping. In other words, subgroups within a society are typically characterized by different lifestyles, occupations and social positions. It would be on the basis of this superficial (and often externally imposed) homogeneity that categorization might take place. Turkish "Gastarbeiter", for example, occupy certain roles in German society and most of their encounters with mainstream Germans will not invalidate the prevailing perception of these roles. There is, then, a degree of social reality underlying a group stereotype. The implication is that the patterns of our social life do not expose us to the actual attributes of a group, but only to those displayed in particular contact situations.

Encounters with foreigners are also likely to be restricted to particular contexts and socio-economic subgroups with the result that national stereotypes come to reflect structural features of national societies. Eagly and Kite (1987) observe that national stereotypes resemble the male stereotype more than the female stereotype, reflecting the lower status of women and their lack of salience in newsworthy events and public institutions. The notion of role salience can be extended to national stereotypes in general. In the case of a relatively unknown country (e.g., Iraq), stereotypes will be formed on the basis of media coverage given to specific newsworthy events (e.g., the Gulf War). Seen only in the role of aggressor, the stereotypical Iraqi becomes a hostile,

aggressive and nationalistic zealot. Political alliances and conflicts, then, play a part in shaping stereotypes. Where a country is better known because of geographical proximity or shared culture, stereotypes are moulded more gradually through a wider range of interactions, including magazines, TV programmes and personal contacts. Although neighbouring foreigners are seen in a variety of social roles, it is nevertheless the conspicuous high status roles of the dominant subgroup which are more likely to be observed and which therefore largely determine stereotype content. What, for example, filters through into the Canadian image of the American if Canadian coverage of US events is limited to murder and sexual harassment trials, the invasion of Grenada (Haiti, Somalia) and the Academy Awards ceremony?

It must be stressed that social learning theory does not underestimate the crucial influence of parents, schools, peers and the mass media on children, who begin to form gender and national stereotypes at the relatively early age of 6 or 7. Parents not only provide information about outgroups but also act as models of interaction with the outgroup. Children may directly assume the stereotypes and prejudices of their parents, along with typical intergroup behaviour patterns.

2.6.2.3. Cognitive theory

The cognitive approach to stereotyping seeks to understand the cognitive processes and structures that affect information processing, social perception and the resulting interpersonal and intergroup behaviours. The suggestion is that stereotypes result from defects in human information processing dealing with a complex social environment (Trope, 1989, p. 133).

Information about social categories exists in the form of schemas, or networks of interrelated nodes of abstract information related to a particular domain (Stephan, 1989). Their main purpose is to simplify and organize the extensive and diverse information humans have about socially-defined categories, including those categories that are visibly defined, for example, on the basis of race, sex and age. Stereotypical information is one level of the schemas related to social groups.

The cognitive model envisages flaws at the encoding and retrieval stages of information-processing. So, in spite of the efficiency and superficial coherence made possible by schemas, there is a price to pay in the reliability of judgments made about individual group members. These will tend to be biased, resulting in stereotypic beliefs and negative intergroup attitudes (Hamilton & Trolier, 1986, p. 133). Prejudice, then, may say more about the limitations of human cognition than about the intolerance lurking deep in human nature.

2.6.3. The impact of cognitive limitations

In the following section, we consider some of the biases, or cognitive limitations, affecting social categorization, attribution and cognition. Such biases are a major factor in the development and maintenance of stereotyping (Mackie, Allison, Worth & Asuncion, 1992, p. 44). The items are grouped as follows: a) Items 1 to 5 deal with aspects of stereotyping resulting from social categorization biases; b) Items 6 to 9 describe the consequences of incorrect attributions, i.e., the problem in human interaction of deciding whether other people's actions are the result of circumstances (situational attribution) or an expression of their basic nature or ability (dispositional attribution); c) Items 10 to 15 illustrate how stereotyping, as an efficient cognitive simplification, affects the processing of subsequent information about members of the stereotype group.

1) Ingroup members are given preferential treatment and evaluated more positively (the ingroup-outgroup bias).

2) Members of the ingroup assume that they have more in common (attitudes, beliefs, tastes) than merely their group affiliation (Allen & Wilder, 1979).

3) The outgroup is perceived to be more homogeneous than the ingroup (Linville, Fischer & Salovey, 1989). This illusion of outgroup homogeneity is further reinforced by a tendency to make finer differentiations within the ingroup. The result can be summarized in a single sentence: "they are all alike, whereas we are quite diverse" (Hamilton & Trolier, 1986, p. 131). One explanation for the illusion of outgroup homogeneity lies in the differing amount of contact with outgroups. According to this so-called differential familiarity hypothesis, and assuming the "closed cognitive loop" is not permanent, increased contact would also lead to increased differentiation.

4) As a result of bias 3, factual information about the ingroup will be encoded in highly differentiated categories and will therefore be more easily remembered than similar information about an outgroup. Information about the outgroup will tend to be stored in more global categories (Taylor, 1981).

5) There is a tendency to recall the positive traits of the ingroup and the negative traits of the outgroup (Pettigrew, 1979). This bias may be reinforced and even promoted by the mass media. Media exposure tends to increase the saliency of specific behaviours, confirming existing perceptions.

6) There is a strong tendency to attribute the behaviour of other people to internal causes (e.g., innate inability, character defect) more than to situational causes (e.g., lack of job opportunities). This so-called Fundamental Attribution Error explains why, for example, we tend to regard the unemployed as lazy (i.e., social scroungers) rather than unlucky (i.e., the victims of economic circumstances).

7) A related attributional bias is known as the Actor-Observer bias. Simply put, this suggests that we attribute our own behaviour, good or bad, to external or situational factors ("The glass just slipped out of my hand") and the behaviour of others to internal factors ("You are a clumsy butterfingers").

8) The Self-Serving bias is related to the need to preserve our self-esteem. We attribute our successful actions to our inherent abilities and personal qualities, but failures are put down to circumstances beyond our control.

9) With reference to groups, biases 7 and 8 indicate that we make differing attributions for ingroup and outgroup members. Positive actions for ingroup members are ascribed to disposition (e.g., "We had to work hard to make this country habitable") whereas the successes of outgroup members are seen as the results of chance (e.g., "You have a better climate"). Pettigrew (1979) proposes an ultimate attribution error whereby dispositional explanations are sought for positive ingroup behaviour and negative outgroup behaviour. Correspondingly, positive outgroup behaviour must be explained away as the result of exceptional circumstances, or as the action of an individual who is unrepresentative of the outgroup.

10) There is a tendency to store information about a new individual in existing broad categories rather than as a separate set of stimuli. In other words, once a stereotype is established, information consistent with the stereotype will be noticed and recalled more easily. Inconsistent information will be ignored and individuals who do not fit into the stereotype may merely reinforce the characteristics of the stereotypical case. Bodenhausen's (1988) studies provide evidence to support the claim that stereotyping influences subsequent social judgments and behaviour.

11) As a result of bias 10, we tend to look for and prefer information about members of an outgroup that actively confirms our preconceptions about that group's characteristics (the confirmation bias). In surveying the attitudes of British schoolchildren to France, Byram and colleagues (1990) found that their image of the country and its people was largely determined by the media and by the chance remarks of relatives and peers who had not necessarily ever visited

France. As a consequence, the children's subsequent personal experience of a stay in France and their perceptions of the French were coloured predominantly by preformed expectations. In cognitive terms, the pupils sought out stereotype-consistent evidence.

12) Once a particular social schema is activated, the behaviours associated with that schema may be primed and we begin to look for evidence consistent with the schema. One effect of this is that we perceive the behaviour to have occurred even when there was no such behaviour. There is also a tendency to overestimate the amount of expectancy- confirming information that was presented. Biases 11 and 12 clearly have serious implications for dismantling stereotypes (Duncan, 1976; Sagar & Schofield, 1980).

13) One significant consequence of biases 11 and 12 is the so-called self-fulfilling prophesy. The information we have about a particular person or group will lead us to look for traits and actions that confirm our expectations. Unconsciously, however, our expectations influence our own behaviour and interaction style. The result is that the other person responds in a manner appropriate to and anticipated by our own behaviour. The original expectation is thus confirmed (Word, Zanna & Cooper, 1974).

14) Where an ingroup and outgroup have been established, there is a tendency to expect positive behaviour from the ingroup. This expectancy will influence the way information about the behaviour of the two groups is remembered. Negative outgroup behaviour is remembered significantly better than negative ingroup behaviour.

15) An additional cognitive bias related to the differential perception of social groups has come to be known as the Illusory Correlation Theory (Hamilton & Gifford, 1976; Hamilton & Sherman, 1989). Simply put, this theory states that we tend to overestimate the frequency with which certain unusual events occur together; in other words, we erroneously perceive a relationship between two relatively rare and distinctive stimuli or events. Most white Americans, for example, have less day-to-day interaction with blacks. Blacks are therefore distinctive by virtue of being a minority. Similarly, undesirable behaviour (e.g., crime, school dropout) is considered to be less common than desirable behaviour. The illusory correlation would manifest itself in a perception by whites that blacks commit more crime or drop out of school more frequently than is actually the case. There might be a tendency to remember violent incidents involving blacks more easily, a perception that would also lead to negative evaluations of blacks generally in line with existing social prejudices.

2.6.4. Types of stereotype

The interpretation of stereotyping presented above has driven much of the research on stereotypes, particularly that related to education. This approach, valuable though it may be in reducing prejudice and discrimination, is not entirely adequate for the present study since it fails to capture important aspects of the phenomenon.

The terminology in itself restricts the field of research. The word "stereotype" conventionally refers to just one particular subtype, namely the heterostereotype, which can be defined neutrally as the image that members of a particular group have of another group (e.g., English Canadians' image of Americans). As noted above, there need not be anything inherently negative about the heterostereotype, although it is often understood as such. It is with this particular type of stereotype, the heterostereotype, that the bulk of social psychological research has been concerned. In addition to this externally-oriented form of stereotyping, however, at least three other types have been proposed (Lehtonen, 1991; 1992): a) the autostereotype, or image that a particular nation or social group has of itself (e.g., Canadians' view of themselves: "we think we are . . ."; b) the projected autostereotype, the image of itself that a particular group attributes to another group (e.g., Canadians' perceptions of the view that Americans have of Canadians: "Americans think we are . . ."); and c) the projected heterostereotype, the national self-image attributed to another group (e.g., Canadians' perceptions of the view that Americans have of themselves: "Americans think they are . . ."). Clearly, a comprehensive interpretation of stereotyping should include these additional subtypes, which focus specifically on the way a nation or group defines itself with reference to other nations and groups. Perception of difference, as noted above (2.5.2.), is more important than actual difference.

The four-way classification has additional research benefits. It allows comparisons to be made between the various kinds of stereotype. The similarities and discrepancies revealed through comparison may be indicative of perceived inadequacies and weaknesses in the nation's perception of itself. Alternatively, they may reveal a sense that the essence of the nation's character has not been successfully communicated, or is misunderstood. What, for example, could we conclude from data that showed the projected autostereotype to be considerably less positive than the actual autostereotype? Or if the heterostereotype was more dubious than the projected heterostereotype? In all cases, the availability of multiple stereotypes enriches and amplifies data on national identity.

By considering national self-image (the simple autostereotype) as one kind of stereotype, we can conjecture that its operation is similar to that of the conventional and well-researched individual heterostereotype, and that it serves the same cognitive and social functions. In other words, it is a simplification, resulting from incomplete information or defective cognition; its

social purpose is to emphasize ingroup-outgroup differences and enhance ingroup solidarity. It will also promote group self-esteem since the biases that apply negatively to the heterostereotype all have a corresponding positive effect on the autostereotype. The nationalist's quest for cultural and political distinctiveness (see section 2.3. above) corresponds to the individual's psychological identity needs as a member of the ingroup.

It is recognized that the traditional heterostereotype may contain clues about underlying attitudes and values (Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975). Attitudes towards an outgroup may depend on evaluations of the attributes associated with the outgroup. If, for example, we consider industriousness to be a positive attribute, and we typically include this feature in our German heterostereotype, we are likely to have a positive attitude to Germans. The autostereotype may contain similar clues revealing the prevailing parity of the national self-image.

If a country shares a considerable part of its cultural and political heritage with a neighbour, it will be more difficult for its people to establish their distinctiveness and, ultimately, superiority. As Bashevkin (1991) notes, Canadian national integration faces two problems: a) ingroup-outgroup differences between Canada and the US have been and will continue to be eroded, so the claim of differentness is losing validity as a rallying-point for national identity; and b) the very existence of an ingroup identity within Canada is questionable, given the country's "diverse multiple identities" (p. ix). From a psychological viewpoint, there is clearly a need in this case to derogate the outgroup by establishing both a positive autostereotype and a negative heterostereotype. Both stereotypes are relevant to national self-image and will be examined in detail in Chapter 3.

2.6.5. Individual and national identity

The purpose of this chapter so far has been to glean insights from various disciplines in order to illuminate the notion of national identity. Further clues are available if we consider national identity within the same theoretical framework used for the study of individual identity. Two central concepts seem to offer promising lines of enquiry: self-schemas and self-presentation.

Cooley's (1902) classic work on "the looking-glass self" describes a self made up of others' impressions of us, and, significantly, our impressions of what others think of us. In other words, the sense of self is acquired through relations with others and the recognition of differences. Rogers (1959) established the self as the organized, consistent set of perceptions and beliefs that individuals have about themselves. They have a powerful need to regard themselves positively and to enhance their self-esteem. Any discrepancy between the self-concept and personal experience will require adjustment of the self-concept. Recent cognitive research proposes that individuals

develop self-schemas containing information, memories and beliefs about the self (Fiske & Taylor, 1991). These are developed on the basis of reflected appraisals (i.e., inferences based on the reactions of others), self-perception (i.e., inferences based on observation of one's own behaviour) and social comparison. The last source of information is particularly important since it is clear that our self-schema will depend in part on whom we compare ourselves with and in what domains. As long ago as 1890, William James observed that we maintain a positive sense of self-worth by setting lower expectations for ourselves in areas where we recognize our weaknesses.

Markus and Nurius (1986) discuss the notion of "possible selves", i.e., the hopes and fears that an individual holds for the future development of the self. Self-schemas, like stereotypes, result in cognitive biases: information related to the self-schema is better remembered (self-reference effect) and more attention is paid to schema-consistent information (Fiske & Taylor, 1991). Attribution biases will also affect interpretation of our own behaviour, which we may mistakenly attribute to personality features rather than to external circumstances.

Self-presentation -- the regulation of behaviour in order to project a certain impression of the self -- has two functions: a) the projection of an impression designed to produce a specific behaviour or affective reaction in an outsider (i.e., strategic self-presentation); and b) the confirmation of our own self-schemas (i.e., self-verification) (Smith, 1993). In the latter case, the individual is seeking to maintain consistency between the self-image and the reactions of the outsider (reflected appraisal). Inconsistency, or the accusation of inconsistency, will be discomforting. Reconciliation and realignment of ideal and actual self-images is seen as a function of age and experience.

2.6.6. National character

The above discussion has suggested certain clear similarities between the national auto- and hetero-stereotype and dimensions of the individual self-concept. These will be pursued in the data analysis. It is tempting at this point to consider the possible contribution of personality research in order to make further extrapolations about national identity. Personality research has devoted considerable effort to producing lists of key personality factors. The lists vary in length and sophistication (e.g., Cattell's 16 basic behaviour clusters, Eysenck's two-dimensional introversion-extraversion, stability-instability model), but there is some consensus on the universal applicability of the so-called "Big Five" features in assessing personality: extraversion, agreeableness, conscientiousness, emotional stability and openness (Zebrowitz, 1990). A key question, as yet unresolved, is whether the distribution of these characteristics has a determinable cultural basis; in other words, is there such a thing as national character, a statistically modal personality that distinguishes one nation from its neighbours? In a complex and diverse industrial

society, will certain characteristics nevertheless continue to predominate sufficiently widely to mark and distinguish a collectivity? Furthermore, what is the origin of that defining personality and how is it reflected in societal structures and institutions?

Evidence from stereotype research (Peabody, 1985) suggests there is substantial agreement about the attributes believed to be characteristic of certain nations. Hostilities between countries may affect stereotype contents (Dudycha, 1942; Seago, 1947), but generally they show surprising consistency over time and situation. This seems to confirm the "grain of truth" approach to stereotyping, which suggests that national stereotypes do indeed capture an, if not the, essence of national character.

This conclusion, however, may be yet another example of the confirmation bias resulting in a self-fulfilling prophecy (see 2.6.3. above). National character may well evolve over time as a function of social and political changes even though stereotypes fossilize. To what extent, for example, is the idea of English self-control and lack of emotion perpetuated simply by the frequent use of phrases like "the stiff upper lip", both by foreigners and natives? Does the phrase say more about English admiration of this characteristic than about their possession of it? What percentage of Englishmen (and women) would have to demonstrate a "stiff upper lip" to persuade an observer that this is a defining feature of being English? Or would we attribute this characteristic simply because it lies at the opposite extreme to emotionality, a characteristic that heterostereotypically defines the French? Do Finns ascribe modesty and shyness to themselves simply because arrogance and forwardness are seen as Swedish features? (Laine-Sveiby, 1987). As Mouffe (1993, p. 2) points out: "every identity is relational and . . . the condition of existence of every identity is the affirmation of a difference, the determination of an 'other' that is going to play the role of a 'constitutive outside'."

Ultimately it seems that national character may have been subject to the same mythification processes that affected earlier nationalistic reconstructions of the nation's historical and cultural origins. The purposes of such mythification have also been similar: the enhancement of distinctiveness and solidarity, especially with respect to close neighbours who are, have been or could be rivals.

2.7. The importance of national identity

Of the social roles and cultural categories that make up the different dimensions of the self -- dimensions which could theoretically constitute a basis for a shared community -- national identity is unrivalled. Its universality, complexity and pervasiveness make it extremely powerful. It is, as

Smith (1991, p. viii) says: "the most compelling identity myth in the modern world." The potency of national identity does not explain why it should matter individually, or why it should figure more prominently in individual experience than other types of identity. What, then, are the functions of national identity for the citizen?

Smith (1991) lists several functions. The nation defines a precise territorial space and historic territory for the community. It encourages autonomy in the control of its resources and manpower. More importantly, the promotion of national interest (and consequently of national identity) informs the political process and the conduct of the nation's affairs, reflecting the values and distinctiveness of the people. National identity becomes a key instrument in the proper socialization of prospective citizens, a task generally assigned to the education system.

Venturing rather unsatisfactorily into the realm of psychology, Smith suggests three further functions. Firstly, national identity offers individual immortality. The citizen's life becomes an important link in the unending chain that joins a glorious history with an illustrious future. Our children are both a biological and spiritual progeny. In this sense, nationalism acquires a quasi-religious power. The cenotaph becomes an emotional symbol of this continuity, acknowledged by visiting foreign dignitaries when they lay wreathes (Anderson, 1991). Secondly, the individual gains personal dignity through association with the nation and its achievements during a historic golden age. The richness of the nation's ethno-history becomes a dimension of the individual's life. Thirdly, national identity creates a sense of community and brotherhood that is reaffirmed through collective symbols, rituals and celebrations. Remembrance ceremonies for war victims are particularly powerful since they stress the importance of self-sacrifice and continuity. As Hughes (1988, p. 3) reminds us, "Nationalism has the great advantage that it enables people to identify with supposedly higher and more spiritual things without making any great demands on their intellect."

Katz (1949), writing in the aftermath of European fascism but with continued relevance, sees nationalism as providing an alternative value system at a time when the legitimacy of traditional values is being questioned. Similarly, as traditional community structures decay, bringing individual insecurity and rootlessness, a new basis for collective identity and social cohesion is needed. Identification with the nation is a form of personal sublimation. The popularity of genealogy, especially among descendants of immigrants, perhaps underlines the importance of rediscovering ethnic roots in establishing one's place and significance in an increasingly homogeneous world.

National identity, then, the sense of belonging to and identifying with a unique community sharing irreplaceable cultural values, provides the collective framework on which individual identity can be hung, offering the prospect of meaning, security, solidarity and personal fulfilment to replace anonymity, disorientation, division and uncertainty. The individual citizen is defined

and validated by full and enduring membership of a recognized political and historic cultural community. Given this role in individual lives, the staying power of national identity should not be doubted: "Here is an identity and a force with which even the strongest of states has had to come to terms, and it is one that has shaped, and is likely to shape, our world in the foreseeable future" (Smith, 1991, p. 170).

2.8. Summary

National identity is a complex and extremely topical area that straddles a number of academic disciplines. It was noted that the word "identity" itself is inherently ambiguous as to distinctiveness and shared similarities. Chapter 2 has attempted to unravel the concept by reviewing the relevant literature under four headings: 1) identity as national sentiment; 2) identity as citizenship; 3) identity as culture; and 4) identity as self-perception.

The chapter began by examining the concepts of nation and nationalism. Kedourie's 1961 three-point definition of nationalism ("that humanity is naturally divided into nations, that nations are known by certain characteristics which can be ascertained, and that the only legitimate type of government is national self-government") was used as a starting point. There followed a summary of Smith's work on the rise and spread of civic-territorial and ethnic nationalisms. The process of nation-building was then considered with particular reference to the problems faced by civic-territorial nations without a common ethnicity. Canada was identified as one country lacking the all-important "shared national mythology".

Under the first heading, identity as national sentiment, various historical-political and affective perspectives on national identity were presented. Five key components essential to this aspect of nationhood were suggested with examples taken from Canada and elsewhere. These components were: 1) affirming an emotional allegiance to a particular territory; 2) manufacturing or reinforcing a sense of historical uniqueness; 3) creating distinctive national symbols and ceremonies; 4) instilling a sense of national pride; and 5) promoting a sense of national sovereignty.

The second heading, identity as citizenship, examined the nature of identity deriving from the relationship between the citizen, both as an individual and a group member, and the modern multicultural state. The chapter began with a brief discussion of national unity and the political measures available to achieve it. After presenting the positions of the various factions in the current, largely political, debate on the nature of citizenship, the chapter looked in detail at the

inclusive and participatory functions of citizenship. Despite the conflicting demands of diversity and unity, an inclusive Canadian identity must acknowledge minority identities. Participation was then considered in terms of reducing political apathy amongst a population that feels excluded from decision-making. Respect for government and fellow citizens would enhance national unity and encourage a stronger sense both of community and national identity. A key instrument in political socialization are the citizenship education programmes offered in schools. The increasing prioritization of economic needs in education was set against the need for informed and active citizens with appropriate civic dispositions.

Admittedly, existing social studies curricula have adopted a more populist and globalist approach to civic education, but, as Sears and Hughes (1994) show, the idealism does not translate into actual classroom practice. Young people are not being prepared for the real issues facing contemporary Canadian society. The section concluded by considering various proposals for a unifying basis for Canadian identity: shared values, a shared sense of historical pride, commitment to "deep diversity", or a recognition that shared universal values can compensate for lack of distinctiveness.

Various intercultural perspectives on national identity were presented under the third heading, identity as culture. Culture was understood very broadly as: 1) factual knowledge about one's own country; 2) everyday behaviour, values and attitudes; and 3) the country's literary and artistic achievements. Education is also charged with the task of promoting 1) and 3). The more diffuse concept of values, both individual and national, was then considered. Quantitative surveys carried out by Rokeach, using terminal and instrumental values, and Hofstede, using the dimensions of power distance, uncertainty avoidance, individualism and masculinity, suggested that there may be substance to value-based identity differences. Despite popular expectations to the contrary, however, the data did not indicate major differences between Canadians and their key reference group, the Americans. It was proposed that the attribution of national characteristics might be based more on the need to be different, i.e., the quest for and repeated affirmation of parameters that establish distinctiveness and hence identity.

Some social psychological dimensions of national identity were examined under the fourth heading, identity as self-perception. The section began with definitions of stereotype, prejudice and discrimination, and then reviewed three major theories of stereotyping. The impact of human cognitive limitations is apparent in the biases and simplifications affecting the social categorizations and attributions made about ingroup and outgroup members. Traditional stereotype research has failed to recognize an extremely useful four-way division into auto- and heterostereotype, and simple and projected stereotype. Using work in the fields of self-schemas and self-presentation, parallels were drawn between certain aspects of the individual and national

self. The idea of a modal personality or national character, although substantiated by stereotype research, may ultimately result from mythification or the search for polarity.

The importance of national identity to the individual was examined in the final section of the chapter. Apart from helping to consolidate the nation and its institutions, a strong sense of national identity will offer the individual a form of sublimation through fellowship, dignity by association and apparent immortality. In times of uncertainty and social change, the nation becomes a seemingly stable source of cohesion and security, promoting recognized values and allowing individual fulfilment. For these reasons, the nation will continue to play a prominent and enduring role in individual experience.

CHAPTER 3
PERCEIVED NATIONAL IDENTITY

3.1. Introduction

The purpose of this study is to explore aspects of English Canada's national identity. The main focus is on the contents and dimensions of citizens' national self-image, referred to as Perceived National Identity, or PNI. This is made up of Canadians' perceptions of their own national character, as revealed by the presence of certain traits and the absence of others. The PNI is brought into sharper focus by comparison with the national character that Canadians attribute to Americans. The PNI also includes the historical, geographical, economic, political and cultural knowledge that citizens have about their country. In addition, the PNI is shaped by the key symbols, values and concerns that together structure and direct everyday life.

Data on the PNI were collected by means of the 39-item questionnaire to be presented in detail in this chapter. Discussion of the PNI will be supplemented in Chapter 4 with an examination of two additional, subsidiary expressions of national identity, referred to as Idealized National Identity (INI) -- the typically flattering national self-image promoted by national governments -- and Transmitted National Identity (TNI) -- the version of identity communicated through the educational system.

Chapter 3 begins by describing the background to the questionnaire. It then discusses the analytical procedures used and any constraints affecting analysis of the questionnaire data. The findings are presented under three main headings: Canadian society, national character, and people and places.

3.2. The questionnaire

Students completing a 160-credit Master of Education degree within the Department of Teacher Education at Jyväskylä University simultaneously qualify to teach in the lower stage of the Finnish comprehensive school (Grades 1-6). During the third year of their studies, students may choose two 15-credit specialist courses, one of which may be English. English Special

Studies, as the studyblock is known, involve a not inconsiderable amount of background reading and traditionally this reading has focused very much on the history, institutions and literature of the United Kingdom and the United States. Similarly, materials used for the training of practical language skills have tended to come from British or American sources, reflecting British and American social behaviour and language use. As of December 1992, Jyväskylä University did not offer a single course, either compulsory or optional, with a Canadian orientation.

Thanks to a Faculty Enrichment Award from the Department of External Affairs, the present writer was able to travel to Canada in the autumn of 1992 with the goal of collecting material to be used in the preparation of an undergraduate Canadian Studies course. In order to identify "symbols of national identity" (Stern, 1992, p. 217) and "signposts of collective identity" (LeBlanc, 1990, p. xiv), access was sought to current, authentic information that tapped directly into the Canadian identity. Since the idea of the cultural stereotype was central to the planned course, it was decided that a questionnaire was an appropriate starting point. It would provide the data needed on the information and achievement culture of Canadians and their self-perceptions, and highlight the more prominent tokens of Canadian culture and civilization shared and valued by the majority of Canadians, whatever their ethnic, linguistic or geographical background.

The four-page questionnaire, designed to uncover this information, was entitled "The Canada I Want the World to Know About" (Appendix 1). The idea was to make the questionnaire entirely open-ended and use the data collected as the basis for a second, multiple-choice version which would target a wider group and hopefully yield more generalizable information. Pressure of time meant that the questionnaire was constructed somewhat hurriedly and, with the benefit of hindsight, a number of important questions could have been added and others removed. Despite its failings, however, the questionnaire produced stimulating data and did go on to provide an authentic cultural basis for a Canadian content course. The present study makes use of the original open-ended questionnaire.

3.2.1. Distribution

Three hundred copies of the questionnaire were produced for distribution in 13 schools and universities across Canada, including Vancouver, Edmonton, Thunder Bay, Toronto, York, Peterborough, Ottawa, Montreal, Sackville (N.B.) and St John's. The questionnaire was most frequently administered during scheduled classes by school or university staff. This procedure meant respondents had to answer the questions on site and without consultation, thus avoiding the problem of forgotten, mislaid or dishonestly completed questionnaires. Respondents felt that the 45-50 minutes needed to complete the questionnaire was a reasonable investment of time and effort. The contents were well received and subsequently produced animated discussion. This may

have been due to the proximity of the Charlottetown referendum. In any case, the topicality of constitutional issues was clearly reflected in some of the answers.

Of the 268 questionnaires actually handed out, only 167 were returned (62.3%). The reasons for this wastage are not clear. Teachers may have overestimated the size of their classes, or students may have failed, for one reason or another, to hand in their completed questionnaires. Of the 167 returned, 17 were considered to be woefully incomplete and have been excluded from the analysis, leaving a final sample of 150, 56% of the total originally distributed. Even with this preliminary selection, however, almost all the questionnaires included in the final sample contained omissions.

3.2.2. The sample

The sample consisted of 52 men (38.7%) and 98 women (61.3%). The mean age of the group was 24.9 years (males 24.0 and females 25.4). The youngest informant was 16 and the oldest 64. For the purposes of analysis the sample was collapsed into three broad age bands, 16-21, 22-26 and 26+. Demographic data based on this classification and on subjects' provincial origin are shown in Tables 3.1. and 3.2. In addition to demographic data, information was also requested on subjects' home language, travel experience and foreign language skills. Details of ethnicity, religion, social background and political affiliation were not requested.

Table 3.1. Distribution of subjects by age and gender

	Age						
Gender	16-21	%	22-26	%	26+	%	Total
Male	19	32.8	27	46.6	12	20.7	58
Female	34	37.0	35	38.0	23	25.0	92
Total	53	35.3	62	41.3	35	23.3	150

Table 3.2. Distribution of subjects by region and gender

	Region						
Gender	West	%	Centre	%	Atlantic	%	Total
Male	2	3.5	22	38.0	34	58.6	58
Female	22	23.9	27	29.4	43	46.7	92
Total	24	16.0	49	32.7	77	51.3	150

Note. West = British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba; Centre = Ontario, Quebec; Atlantic = New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, PEI, Newfoundland

Since the sample was made up of high school, undergraduate and graduate classes of varying sizes that happened to be available at a convenient time for administration of the questionnaire, there was no opportunity to control for background variables. The result is a number of demographic imbalances in the sample. There was a clear predominance of women. This imbalance was particularly clear in relation to the provincial origin of respondents. The approximately 6:4 ratio of women to men in the entire sample became an 11:1 ratio in the Western provinces. There were also large regional variations in the number of subjects in each age group. Whereas over 50% of subjects from Ontario and Quebec were in the 22-26 age range, only 8% of Western Canadians fell into this category. Only 11% of Atlantic Canadians were in the 26+ age group, well below the mean percentage of 23. The fact that the questionnaire was administered to an entire class of 12th grade high school students in Sackville, New Brunswick, explains this imbalance. Given the small sample and the interaction of background variables, any results must be regarded as suggestive only.

In November 1993 a pilot analysis of 11 questions (1-2, 20-24, 26-29) was carried out as part of a statistical methods course (Hughes, 1993). Of the 66 possible correlations between background and dependent variables, only five proved significant at the 0.05 level, three at 0.01 and one at 0.001. Gender and language background were consistently insignificant. Seven significant correlations, however, involved age and province. For this reason, crosstabulations in the present analysis will be limited to the background variables of gender, age and province.

3.2.3. Overview of the questionnaire

Questions 1 to 19 focus on what Hammerley (1982) calls information and achievement culture (see 2.5. above); in other words, the famous people, places and events of Canada and its

history; the outstanding works of national culture; its current idols, idylls and heroes. Question 1 asks for specific facts deemed essential for an understanding of Canada. The same idea lies behind Question 2, which calls for general misconceptions about the country. Other questions concern Canada's key landscapes and cities (Questions 3-5), influential men and women (6-9), historical milestones (10), technical achievements (11), outstanding figures in sport, entertainment, politics, business and the arts (12-17), and favourite books and TV programmes (18-19).

Questions 20 to 25 pick out the component parts of the Canadian self-image by asking subjects to mention features of Canadian society that they are proud or ashamed of (20-21), particularly with reference to its superiority or inferiority to United States society (22-23). Subjects were also asked to list Canadian values (24) and current concerns (25).

Questions 26 to 35 ask respondents to characterize themselves in comparison with what seem to be Canadians' main reference groups: the Americans, the British and the French. The questions were based on the four categories of national or cultural stereotype described in Chapter 2 (2.6.4.). These were: 1) the simple autostereotype ("In my opinion, my nationality is . . ."); 2) the projected autostereotype ("In my opinion, inhabitants of country X consider us to be . . ."); 3) the projected heterostereotype ("Inhabitants of country X consider themselves to be . . ."); and 4) the simple heterostereotype ("In my opinion, inhabitants of country X are . . .").

This group of questions proved problematic for some respondents. Apart from the ambiguity of the word "French", which, understandably enough, was taken by some to mean the European French and not the Québecois, one female respondent was reluctant to confirm existing stereotypical thinking, declaring in a note appended to the questionnaire that "I do not see the value of perpetuating stereotypes and in reducing a human being to a uniform list of cultural adjectives." An additional question on the stereotypical Finnish Canadian (36) did not produce enough replies to warrant closer analysis.

Question 37 requires respondents to rank certain aspects of life in Canada by international standards. In Question 38 respondents name a country they would like to study in and so indirectly they reveal a country they admire. Question 39 was added at the last minute to reflect the ongoing constitutional problems in Canada.

3.2.4. Analytical considerations

The analysis will deal in various degrees of detail with replies to 31 of the 39 questions included in the questionnaire. Those excluded relate to important local figures (question 9), Canadians' stereotypical descriptions of the British (30-32), French (33-35) and Finns (36). In order to structure the presentation of the analysis, the questions will be dealt with under the following headings:

1. Canadian society

(a) Facts and misconceptions about Canada (questions 1-2);
(b) Canadian values and sources of pride (20-24);
(c) Canada by international standards (37);
(d) Future wishes (25, 38-39).

2. National character

(a) Canadian stereotype contents (questions 26-29);
(b) Likableness (questions 26-29).

3. People and places

(a) The Canadian landscape (questions 3-5);
(b) Key personalities and achievements (6-19).

3.2.5. Scoring procedures

Analysis of the data was complicated by a number of factors. Firstly, 30 of the 31 questions were open-ended in form, which meant that it was essential at the outset to develop overall guidelines for an efficient and powerful coding system. This system would also have to be flexible enough to accommodate the varying length and detail of responses anticipated for the different types of question. An additional complication was the fact that in most cases respondents could enter up to three answers to each question. It was decided that each of these three answers was equally valid and that there was no implied ranking in the order used by the subject. It was also decided that where more than one of the subject's replies to the same question fell into the same coding category, each reply would be counted as a separate instance of the same category. If a subject gave more than the three replies requested in the item, only the first three were counted.

In theory these restrictions meant that there could be a maximum of 450 replies to each question, but this theoretical maximum was never attained. In practice, then, there were many cases where only one or two answers were given, with the result that the total number of replies for each question ranged from 449 to 194. The latter figure, representing a mean of 1.29 replies per subject, was produced by Question 15, which asked respondents to name three Canadians they admire in the field of business. The corresponding question on admired Canadian entertainers generated 378 replies (2.52 replies/subject). In some respects, then, the mean number of replies is a potentially interesting measure of the informants' willingness or ability to supply the information requested (see Section 3.6.2.).

Since all statistical procedures were carried out on the basis of the total number of replies received for each question, the size and structure of the sample varies from question to question.

This fact should be borne in mind in assessing the results. All statistical analyses were carried out using MINITAB software (Minitab, 1993).

3.3. Canadian society

For each of the questions dealt with, the coding procedure is first presented and, where relevant, the categories are illustrated by typical examples of replies in each class. This is followed by a summary table of results and a brief discussion of the main findings.

3.3.1. Facts and misconceptions about Canada (questions 1-2)

Question 1. What, in your opinion, are the three most important pieces of factual information foreigners should know about Canada?

Replies were classified into 11 groups as follows:

1. Geography: Facts related to the size, climate and population distribution of Canada, e.g., it is the second largest country; most of the population lives within 300 miles of the 49th parallel; it is not cold all year round.

2. Multiculturalism: Canada is a multicultural mosaic with people representing a wide range of cultures and ethnic origins; assimilation is not forced upon people; Canada accepts large numbers of refugees.

3. Quality of life: Canada is a fair and democratic country with citizens that enjoy a high standard of living and personal freedom.

4. National character: Canadians are friendly, generous and conciliatory by nature.

5. Natural environment: Canada is a beautiful and diverse country, rich in natural resources and wildernesses.

6. History: Canada has an eventful but mainly peaceful history; the native peoples have played an important role; early settlement was by the French.

7. Government: Facts related to the political structure and administration of Canada, e.g. ten provinces and two territories; the name of the prime minister; Ottawa is the seat of parliament.

8. Industry and technology: Canada is one of the largest industrialized countries in the forefront of research and development with a high level of technical expertise.

9. Bilingualism: Canada is a bilingual country with two official languages and cultures.

10. International image: Canada has an enviable reputation as a peacekeeper; it is not a part of the United States; the people are not all Inuit or francophone.

11. Culture and sport: Canada has excelled in the arts and sporting achievement.

Table 3.3. Important factual information by gender, age and region

		Gender		Age			Region		
Item	Total %	M	F	16-21	22-6	26+	West	Cent.	Atl.
Geography	22.5	23.8	21.6	17.0	24.3	27.2	35.7	24.8	16.7
Multiculturalism	16.4	13.1	18.5	16.3	15.2	18.4	15.7	17.7	15.7
Quality of life	11.7	12.5	11.2	15.0	10.7	8.7	12.9	7.1	11.7
National character	6.1	7.7	5.0	8.2	6.2	2.9	2.9	5.7	7.4
Natural environment	9.4	7.1	10.8	9.5	10.7	6.8	7.1	8.5	10.6
History	7.3	9.5	5.8	8.8	6.2	6.8	4.3	7.1	8.3
Government	6.6	7.1	6.2	3.4	7.3	9.7	5.7	5.7	7.4
Industry/technology	1.6	1.2	1.9	1.4	2.3	1.0	2.9	1.4	1.4
Bilingualism	8.7	6.5	10.0	9.5	9.6	5.8	8.6	8.5	8.8
International image	8.7	10.1	7.7	9.5	5.6	12.6	4.3	12.1	7.9
Culture/sport	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.4	1.7	0.0	0.0	1.4	1.2
Total replies	427	168	259	147	177	103	70	141	216
Mean replies	2.85	2.90	2.82	2.77	2.85	2.94	2.92	2.88	2.81

Note. West = British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba; Cent. = Ontario, Quebec; Atl. = New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, PEI, Newfoundland.

The results (Table 3.3.) suggest that respondents want the world to know first and foremost about the size and climate of their country. Respondents were also concerned that the country's commitment to multiculturalism and individual liberty is recognized. These three features (1-3) accounted for 50% of all replies. The low ratings for Canada's technological, cultural and sporting achievements might be a source of concern to the country's educators, given that the sample consisted mainly of students in the 16-26 age range.

Question 2. What are three most common misconceptions that foreigners have about Canada and Canadians?

The following classification of replies was used:

1. Climate: Canada is permanently under snow; temperatures are always below zero.

2. Geography: Canada is small; Vancouver is a two-hour drive from Quebec; Canada is on the icecap; Canada is all the same.

3. Government and society: The country has high taxes; there is no racism; everything is OK in Canada.

4. Cultural traits: Canadians are all lumberjacks/hockey players/Inuit/cowboys; the Mounties all wear red uniforms. Everybody lives in igloos.

5. Language: All Canadians speak French; Canadian society is homogeneous; it consists only of French and English.

6. National character: Canadians are boring, simple-minded, impersonal and unpatriotic.

7. Technology: Canada is backward with little industry.

8. International image: Canadians are really Americans; they have no sense of culture; Canada is the 51st state; it has no international power and can be easily used.

The results (Table 3.4.) suggest that respondents are very concerned about stereotypical images of the Canadian. There is also a feeling that Canada is seen as a mere extension of the United States and that the Canadian climate is severely maligned. For men, misconceptions related to stereotypes, national character and international image make up more than 50% of replies, although women seem more worried about factual inaccuracies. Age was the only significant variable ($c^2 = 25.57$, df = 14, $p < 0.05$). In contrast to the 26+ group, for example, the 16-21 age group were concerned more with presumably incorrect stereotypes and Canada's technological reputation. They did not consider misconceptions related to government and bilingualism to be important, or they assumed there were no such misconceptions.

Table 3.4. Common misconceptions by gender, age and region

		Gender		Age			Region		
Item	Total %	M	F	16-21	22-6	26+	West	Cent.	Atl.
Climate	21.4	18.5	23.4	18.1	23.5	22.5	21.9	24.1	19.5
Geography	9.4	8.0	10.2	8.0	9.0	11.8	9.4	10.9	8.3
Government/society	5.7	5.6	5.7	2.9	7.2	6.7	6.2	7.3	4.4
Stereotypes	24.4	27.8	22.1	34.1	21.1	16.7	23.4	20.4	27.3
Language	10.8	9.9	11.5	6.5	12.0	14.7	7.8	10.9	11.7
National character	5.7	6.2	5.3	6.5	4.2	6.9	6.2	5.1	5.8
Technology	6.4		7.4	5.7	10.1	6.0	2.0	6.2	2.9
8.8									
International image	16.3	16.7	16.0	13.8	16.9	18.6	18.7	18.2	14.1
Total replies	406	162	244	138	166	102	64	137	205
Mean replies	2.71	2.79	2.65	2.60	2.68	2.91	2.67	2.80	2.66

3.3.2. Canadian values and sources of pride (questions 20-25)

Question 20. What features of Canadian life and society are you proud of?

1. Equality/Multiculturalism: Canadian society is less class-ridden; there is tolerance of different cultures and a commitment to equality; there is no capital punishment.

2. International reputation: Canada has an outstanding international image; Canada is known as a peace-keeping nation that is able to mediate; Canadians are readily accepted anywhere in the world.

3. National character: Canadians are honest, friendly, generous, compassionate, resilient, easy-going and able to compromise.

4. Social services: Canada has Medicare and other welfare programmes.

5. Democracy: There is freedom of speech and opinion in Canada; everybody is free to seek their own goals. Canada has its Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

6. Environment: Canada has beautiful scenery and wildernesses; its natural resources are immense.

7. Education, culture and technological achievement: All Canadians have access to good education; Canadians are talented and well-informed. Canada has the CBC, good films, fine architecture.

8. Bilingualism: Canada is bilingual.

9. Sports: Canada has some fine sportsmen and -women; it has *Hockey Night in Canada* and the Toronto Maple Leafs.

10. Particular events/features: Canada played an important role in the Suez Crisis; it held Expo 67.

11. Quality of life: Canada has a high standard of living; its cities are clean and safe; there are fine leisure and recreational opportunities.

Table 3.5. indicates that respondents take great pride in the political and social institutions and legislation that have produced democracy, multiculturalism, equality, bilingualism and welfare services. These features were cited in 54.9% of all replies. 23.4% of replies indicated that respondents also feel that their social advancement is reflected in their compassionate and tolerant nature, and that this is internationally recognized. The traditional yardsticks of national prestige -- cultural, technological and sporting achievements -- accounted for only 11.7% of replies.

Table 3.5. Sources of pride by gender, age and region

Item	Total %	Gender M	Gender F	Age 16-21	Age 22-6	Age 26+	Region West	Region Cent.	Region Atl.
Equality/Multicult.	16.0	14.1	17.1	14.1	17.5	15.6	18.0	18.5	13.3
Inter. reputation	7.7	9.4	6.8	7.5	5.2	12.2	14.7	7.3	5.4
National character	15.7	15.6	15.8	13.2	14.3	21.1	19.7	15.3	14.5
Social services	12.3	14.8	10.8	13.2	11.0	13.3	8.2	12.9	13.3
Democracy	10.6	12.5	9.5	16.0	11.0	3.3	8.2	8.1	13.3
Environment	10.0	11.7	9.0	7.5	13.6	6.7	3.3	9.7	12.7
Educ./culture/tech.	5.1	3.1	6.3	6.6	4.5	4.4	8.2	4.8	4.2
Bilingualism	7.7	3.9	9.9	3.8	9.7	8.9	3.3	8.1	9.1
Sports	4.3	5.5	3.6	5.7	4.5	2.2	6.6	6.4	1.8
Particular events	2.3	2.3	2.2	3.8	1.3	2.2	4.9	1.6	1.8
Quality of life	8.3	7.0	9.0	8.5	7.1	10.0	4.9	7.3	10.3
Total replies	350	128	222	106	154	90	61	124	165
Mean replies	2.33	2.21	2.41	2.00	2.48	2.57	2.54	2.53	2.14

Question 21. What features of Canadian life and society are you ashamed of?

1. Inequality: There is racism and sexism in Canada; we have treated the native peoples shamefully; bigotry and intolerance in large sections of the Canadian population.

2. Politics and government: Poor leadership; corruption; indecision.

3. Disunity: Quebec's separatist intentions; lack of appreciation of Francophone Canada; preoccupation with constitutional problems.

4. National identity: Canadians are not aware of Canadian culture; lack of patriotism; adoption of American models and ideals.

5. Environment: Pollution; logging and mining practices.

6. Foreign relations: Foreign ownership of Canada's resources; Canada does not consider itself a major player in international affairs.

7. Social problems: There have been increases in crime, violence, ghettoization and illiteracy.

8. Unemployment: The number of unemployed; the number on welfare.

9. Particular events/individuals: Treatment of the Japanese in World War II; conscription in 1942; hanging of Louis Riel.

10. Not ashamed: There are no features of life in Canada to be ashamed of.

Despite the economic pressures brought about by a recession, respondents feel more ashamed of the racism, disunity and lack of patriotism in Canada than of their government's incompetence to handle the economy and reduce unemployment (Table 3.6.), although there is a clear dissatisfaction with politicians and poor leadership (18.3%). There were very significant ($c^2 = 38.55$, df = 18, $p < 0.01$) regional variations, perhaps reflecting the topicality of the constitutional debate and each province's vested interests in that debate. In contrast with the Maritimes, the Western provinces, for example, showed exceptional concern for the environment. At the time, British Columbian logging practices were the focus of Canadian and international attention. Ontario and Quebec respondents' sense of shame derived primarily from social injustice, an issue which did not unduly disturb Atlantic Canadians. Together with Western respondents, they felt national disunity was a major source of shame. In the West, national identity (lack of patriotism, Americanization) was ranked as only the fifth most shameful feature whereas other regions regarded it as a more significant factor.

Table 3.6. Sources of shame by gender, age and region

		Gender		Age			Region		
Item	Total %	M	F	16-21	22-6	26+	West	Cent.	Atl.
Inequality	26.0	27.8	25.1	21.7	23.2	35.8	28.8	36.0	17.6
Politics/gov.	16.1	21.3	13.3	21.7	11.6	17.3	13.5	15.3	17.6
Disunity	18.3	14.8	20.2	25.0	18.8	9.9	23.1	9.9	23.0
Nat. identity	18.3	16.7	19.2	16.3	22.5	13.6	9.6	18.0	21.6
Environment	4.5	3.7	4.9	4.3	3.6	6.2	11.5	4.5	2.0
Foreign relations	1.9	3.7	1.0	2.2	2.2	1.2	3.8	0.0	2.7
Social problems	7.1	3.7	8.9	3.3	8.7	8.6	3.8	7.2	8.1
Unemployment	1.0	1.0	1.0	0.0	2.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0
Particular events	4.8	6.5	3.9	3.3	4.3	7.4	5.8	7.2	2.7
Not ashamed	1.9	1.0	2.5	2.2	2.9	0.0	0.0	0.7	1.3
Total replies	311	108	203	92	138	81	52	111	148
Mean replies	2.07	1.86	2.21	1.74	2.23	2.31	2.17	2.27	1.92

Question 22. In what ways is Canadian society better than American society?

1. Social welfare: Canada has universal medical care and social support programmes; it deals with the problem of poverty; students are given loans.

2. National character: Canadians are not boastful or chauvinistic; Canadians are more hospitable; Canadian society is more tolerant and compassionate; Canadians are content with less.

3. Quality of life: Canada is green and clean; Canadians have less overcrowding; Canadians have better manners; their lives are less stressful; Canadians are more environmentally aware.

4. Law and order: Canadians have more respect for rules and regulations; there is less crime and violence; Canada has gun control.

5. International role: Canadians are less militaristic, overpowering and destructive; Canadians do not have imperialistic motives; Canadians do not know all the answers; Canadians are peacekeepers.

6. Equality: Canadians are committed to multiculturalism; Canadians are less racist; Canadians are tolerant of other cultures existing within Canadian society.

7. Education and culture: Canadians have better and safer elementary and secondary schools; Canadians have better educational opportunities; Canadians have a broader world view; Canadians are better educated.

8. Politics and government: Canadians have a better system of government; their capitalism is regulated; the Canadian constitution is better; Canadians have greater political diversity.

9. Not superior: Canada is not superior to the United States.

10. All ways: Canada is superior in all ways.

The results (Table 3.7.) indicate that social welfare programmes, national characteristics of compassion and modesty, and gun control are the cornerstones of supposed Canadian superiority. These factors account for 56% of all answers. There are no significant differences across background or experiential variables, although the reply rate suggests that women (2.54), those over 26 (2.63) and Western Canadian respondents are more confident of Canada's superiority. The 11-point difference in Central and Eastern ratings of national character, although statistically insignificant, indicates strong regional variations.

Interestingly, the political system in Canada (2.8% of replies) is not considered to be one of the country's main strong points even if that same system has produced the social programmes, quality of life and relative safety of Canadian society which are so prized by the respondents.

Table 3.7. Areas of Canadian superiority by gender, age and region

		Gender		Age			Region		
Item	Total %	M	F	16-21	22-6	26+	West	Cent.	Atl.
Social welfare	24.1	22.8	24.8	27.3	25.0	18.5	22.6	25.6	23.6
Nat. character	18.6	18.9	18.4	17.9	18.4	19.6	17.7	12.0	23.6
Quality of life	13.3	10.2	15.0	6.8	14.5	19.6	11.3	15.2	12.6
Law and order	14.7	15.0	14.5	12.8	15.8	15.2	14.5	14.4	14.9
Internat. role	6.1	7.9	5.1	5.1	7.2	5.4	8.1	7.2	4.6
Equality	10.3	10.2	10.3	14.5	7.2	9.8	8.1	12.8	9.2
Educat./culture	9.7	10.2	9.4	11.1	9.2	8.7	12.9	11.2	7.5
Politics/gov.	2.8	3.1	2.6	3.4	2.0	3.3	4.8	1.6	2.9
Not superior	0.3	0.8	0.0	0.0	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.6
All ways	0.3	0.8	0.0	0.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.6
Total replies	361	127	234	117	152	92	62	125	174
Mean replies	2.41	2.19	2.54	2.21	2.45	2.63	2.58	2.55	2.26

Question 23. In what ways is Canadian society worse than American society?

1. Patriotism: Canadians lack unity; they are not proud to be Canadians; they have less sense of their national history; they are less secure in their identity.

2. National character: Canadians are complacent, introvert and conservative; they lack self-confidence; they are unambitious, less competitive, less willing to take risks.

3. Economic climate: Canada has higher taxes, higher living costs: it is harder to start a business; Canada does not have economy of scale; the Canadian economy is in foreign ownership.

4. Social problems: Canadians have inferior education and show less commitment to the arts; Canadian city centres are not being revitalized; Canadian racism is covert; social services are abused in Canada.

5. Services and products: There is a smaller selection of produce; Canada has poor transportation and inferior TV programmes.

6. Climate: The Canadian climate is poor.

7. Not worse: Canadian society is not worse than American society.

Table 3.8. Areas of Canadian inferiority by gender, age and region

		Gender		Age			Region		
Item	Total %	M	F	16-21	22-6	26+	West %	Cent.	Atl.
Patriotism	25.5	21.0	28.1	27.7	30.8	15.0	27.0	23.2	26.8
National character	23.1	18.5	25.9	16.9	19.8	35.0	27.0	23.2	21.6
Economic climate	23.6	28.4	20.7	20.0	26.4	23.3	16.2	21.9	27.8
Social problems	11.6	12.3	11.1	10.8	13.2	10.0	13.5	17.1	6.2
Services/products	6.9	7.4	6.7	13.8	3.3	5.0	5.4	3.7	10.3
Climate	2.3	3.7	1.5	0.0	3.3	3.3	0.0	4.9	1.0
Not worse	6.9	8.6	3.7	10.8	3.3	8.3	10.8	6.1	6.2
Total replies	216	81	135	65	91	60	37	82	97
Mean replies	1.44	1.40	1.47	1.23	1.47	1.71	1.54	1.67	1.26

The low number of replies to this question (216) indicates that respondents, especially the 16-21 age group and Atlantic Canadians, found it difficult or were reluctant to identify areas of Canadian inferiority. Those in the 26+ age group were less restrained. Replies mentioning Canadians' deficient patriotism and national character accounted for almost 50% of answers, but the country's economic failings were also prominent, especially amongst men and the 22-26 age group.

There were significant variations in the results according to age ($c^2 = 21.87$, df = 12, $p < 0.05$) and foreign language knowledge ($c^2 = 21.82$, df = 12, $p < 0.05$). The 22-26 age group considered Canadian lack of patriotism a clearer sign of inferiority than did the 26+ group, who singled out Canadian lethargy and complacency. Perhaps reflecting their own concerns and interests, the 16-21 group saw the USA as providing a greater range of goods, services and TV programmes. Ten per cent of this age group, however, did not consider Canada inferior at all.

Question 24. What do you think are the three most important values of everyday Canadians?

1. Tolerance and compassion: Fairness and tolerance in the treatment of others; a sense of equality and justice; a need to meet basic standards across the country; a social conscience.

2. Human qualities: Honesty, optimism, generosity, consideration, pride, hope, stubbornness, sincerity.

3. Peace and order: Peace and democracy; individual freedom; respect for people and property; stability.

4. Interpersonal relations: Caring about friends, family and environment; feeling cared about.

5. Work: Employment, job-satisfaction.

6. The good life: A full social life; happiness; health; ease of living; sex; enjoyment and entertainment.

7. Canada: Importance of Canadian heritage and culture; Canada to remain distinct from the USA; quiet pride in one's own country; the fostering of Canadian values.

8. Money and power.

9. Awareness: Being informed about world events; maintaining educational standards.

10. Religion: God, church values.

Table 3.9. Important Canadian values by gender, age and region

		Gender		Age			Region		
Item	Total %	M	F	16-21	22-6	26+	West	Cent.	Atl.
Toler./compassion	12.9	12.2	13.3	12.7	8.5	20.2	14.9	11.0	13.6
Human qualities	16.0	18.7	14.6	16.4	16.4	14.9	10.4	17.3	17.3
Peace/order	13.8	12.2	14.6	10.9	9.9	23.4	23.9	11.8	11.1
Interpers. relat.	22.2	18.7	24.0	21.8	23.7	20.2	14.9	18.9	27.8
Work	7.0	9.8	5.6	5.4	9.2	5.3	6.0	8.6	6.2
Good life	8.7	9.8	8.1	11.8	9.9	3.2	9.0	10.2	7.4
Canada	6.2	4.1	7.3	8.2	7.9	1.1	6.0	5.5	6.8
Money/power	5.6	8.1	4.3	3.6	6.6	6.4	9.0	8.7	1.8
Awareness	6.2	4.1	7.3	9.1	6.6	2.1	6.0	5.5	6.8
Religion	1.4	2.4	0.9	0.0	1.3	3.2	0.0	2.4	1.2
Total replies	356	123	233	110	152	94	67	127	162
Mean replies	2.37	2.12	2.53	2.08	2.45	2.69	2.79	2.59	2.10

Understandably, the youngest age group found this question more challenging, as did men generally. Canadian priorities are clearly to do with human relations, personal integrity, order and tolerance. In fact, these four values account for 65% of all replies. The seemingly minor role played by religion contrasts sharply with the prominent position played by church and church-going as a social institution in parts of Canada.

As expected, age significantly affected the ranking of values ($c^2 = 36.04$, df = 18, $p < 0.01$). The pursuit of the good life figured prominently in the value systems of the 16-21 and 22-26 age groups, as did -- perhaps surprisingly -- the promotion of a distinctively Canadian way of life. 43% of the 26+ group, on the other hand, saw qualities of tolerance and peace as the key Canadian values. Work-related values preoccupied the 22-26 age group, no doubt as a result of the major career decisions they were engaged in at the time of the survey. The 16-21 age group considered awareness to be a more central value than the 26+ group.

3.3.3. Canada by international standards (question 37)

Question 37. By international standards, how do you rate the following aspects of life in Canada?

Scoring was on a simple 3-2-1 scale with 3 indicating "better/higher than average" and 1 "worse/below average". Answers (Table 3.10.) indirectly reflect national pride and, in this case, show a very positive national self-image in comparison with an unspecified international average. The reality of Canadian claims to a high standard of living (2.93) and quality education (2.51) is undeniable, but the self-attributed level of contentment with life (2.58) indicates a surprising optimism, especially in the light of the concerns voiced in questions 25 and 39. A score of less than 2.5 shows that the majority of respondents have not ranked Canada higher. So, internationally, Canadian fashion (2.28), sport (2.19), work quality (2.46) and industriousness (2.12) are not deemed superior. This evaluation corresponds with certain self-deprecating components of the national autostereotype (see Section 3.4.1.).

Table 3.10. Canada by international standards by gender, age and region

		Gender		Age			Region		
Item	Mean rating %	M	F	16-21	22-6	26+	West	Cent.	Atl.
Stan. of living	2.93	2.95	2.96	2.94	2.95	2.97	2.96	2.96	2.95
Clothing/fashions	2.27	2.39	2.22	2.33	2.27	2.23	2.32	2.35	2.29
Sport achievements	2.18	2.33	2.10	2.06	2.29	2.23	2.21	2.31	2.12
Educational level	2.49	2.56	2.48	2.60	2.53	2.34	2.58	2.48	2.51
Work quality	2.44	2.49	2.43	2.52	2.43	2.40	2.58	2.44	2.43
Industriousness	2.11	2.21	2.06	2.15	2.11	2.08	2.29	2.08	2.09
Life contentmente	2.56	2.63	2.54	2.63	2.53	2.57	2.50	2.49	2.66
TV programmes	1.61	1.74	1.55	1.65	1.52	1.77	1.54	1.69	1.61
Mean	2.37	2.12	2.53	2.08	2.45	2.69	2.79	2.59	2.10

Canadian television programmes are also held in very low esteem (1.61). This evaluation, however, is ambiguous since respondents may be considering either the quality of domestically-produced programmes, or the diet of American shows offered by their local TV company. Overall, though, it seems that Canadians are more critical of the visible and therefore conspicuous achievements of Canada: its sports, fashions and TV programmes. These may indeed play an exaggerated part in shaping the national self-image. Interestingly, the only statistically significant correlation revealed by a one-way ANOVA was between gender and sport ($F = 5.06$, $df = 1/149$, $p < 0.05$), with women expressing a lower opinion of Canada's sporting heroes.

3.3.4. Future wishes (questions 25, 39, 38)

Question 25. What three problems in modern Canada are you most worried about?

The 418 replies to this question included 48 separate problems, expressed both in single word form (e.g., poverty, homeless, constitution) and in longer phrases (becoming part of the US, what will happen with Quebec). Of the problems identified, 22 were mentioned just once and five accounted for 64% of all replies. These were Quebec separatism (19.9%), the economy (14.6%), the environment (13.9%), unemployment (8.1%) and the constitutional impasse (7.4%). Other prominent causes of concern were racism (3.8%), education (3.8%) and lack of political leadership (3.1%). Individual or minority worries were reflected in single replies mentioning, for example, the decline of the fishing industry, child abuse, materialism, AIDS and lack of entrepreneurship.

For the purposes of analysis, replies were grouped under 9 main headings, as follows:

1. Unity: Quebec separatism, regionalism, the constitutional crisis, political instability, language disputes.

2. USA influence: Free Trade, cultural influence, exploitation of natural resources, danger of a take-over, trite TV shows.

3. Economy: The deficit, unemployment, high taxation, GST.

4. Social change and degradation: Poverty, homelessness, crime, violence, drugs, AIDS, decline in family values, break-up of welfare provision.

5. Environment: Pollution, acid rain, depletion of natural resources, power of technology.

6. Political leadership: Removal of Brian Mulroney, political accountability.

7. Education: Standards, youth values, materialism.

8. Social inequality: Racism, sexism, treatment of native peoples, intolerance towards immigrants.

9. Miscellaneous: Nuclear weapons, rise of the right wing in western Canada, lack of patriotism, disappearance of the middle class.

None of the differences (Table 3.11.) achieved statistical significance, which suggests that Canada's problems are shared regardless of sex, age and province. Nevertheless, there are indications of different prioritizations. The 16-21 and 22-26 age groups were considerably more worried by unity issues than the over-26s, who in turn expressed greater concern about social change and educational problems. Regional differences were seen in the West's preoccupation with social and environmental problems while the East fretted over unity and economic decline.

Table 3.11. Concerns about modern Canada by gender, age and region

		Gender		Age			Region		
Problem	Total %	M	F	16-21	22-6	26+	West	Cent.	Atl.
Unity	30.6	31.4	30.1	32.9	33.9	21.8	24.3	30.9	32.5
USA influence	5.3	6.4	4.6	5.7	5.1	4.9	2.9	7.2	4.8
Economy	24.4	24.4	24.4	25.7	24.3	22.8	20.0	20.1	28.7
Social change	9.3	6.4	11.1	7.1	7.9	14.8	14.3	9.3	7.7
Environment	14.1	15.4	13.4	15.7	13.0	13.9	18.6	12.9	13.4
Polit. leadership	3.6	3.8	3.4	4.3	2.3	4.9	5.7	5.0	1.9
Education	4.3	1.9	5.7	2.1	3.4	8.9	4.3	4.3	4.3
Social inequality	7.4	7.7	7.2	5.0	9.6	6.9	10.0	8.6	5.7
Miscellaneous	1.0	2.6	0.0	1.4	0.6	1.0	0.0	1.4	1.0
Total replies	418	156	262	140	177	101	70	119	209
Mean replies	2.79	2.70	2.85	2.64	2.85	2.88	2.92	2.43	2.71

Question 39. In my opinion, the best thing that could happen to Canada at the moment is:

Replies to this question very much echoed the concerns of the previous question. When asked to give a single answer, citizens' priorities once again focussed on national unity, French-English relations and the constitution. In fact, over 58% of replies referred to these three issues. Economic problems were also prominent, but relegated to second place. Faced with disunity and

unemployment, respondents expressed less concern over environmental and social degradation. There were, however, several patriotic replies suggesting that Canada should fulfil its dream.

Responses were grouped as follows:

1. The constitution: Settle the constitutional debate; bring the Charlottetown referendum to a successful conclusion.

2. French-English relations: Settle the outstanding problems between Anglophones and Francophones; make bilingualism work; Quebec remain in Canada.

3. Unity: Unite the country; a stronger sense of national unity.

4. Economic growth: Reduce unemployment; reduce the deficit.

5. Fulfil Canada's dream: Revive national pride; realize the potential of a great country.

6. Political changes: Replace Brian Mulroney; have new elections, quality leadership.

7. Autarchy: Cancel the Free Trade Agreement; gain control of our national resources, be free of the USA.

8. Social reform: End racism; end taxation; end GST; native self-government.

9. Miscellaneous: Increase/reduce immigration; clean up the environment; a miracle.

Table 3.12. Urgent issues in Canada by gender, age and region

		Gender		Age			Region		
Item	Total %	M	F	16-21	22-6	26+	West	Cent.	Atl.
Constitution	24.1	36.4	16.3	20.4	23.3	31.2	13.0	28.9	24.1
French-Engl. re	17.0	14.5	18.6	18.4	21.7	17.0	17.4	8.7	21.9
Unity	17.7	16.4	18.6	16.3	21.7	12.5	17.4	20.0	16.4
Economic growth	12.8	10.9	13.9	8.2	15.0	12.8	17.4	13.3	11.0
Canada's dream	3.5	1.8	4.6	4.1	0.0	9.4	8.7	4.4	1.4
Political changes	7.8	5.4	9.3	12.3	1.7	12.5	13.0	8.9	5.5
Autarchy	3.5	0.0	5.8	6.1	3.3	0.0	4.3	4.4	2.7
Social reform	5.0	3.6	5.8	4.1	3.3	9.4	8.7	2.2	5.5
Miscellaneous	8.5	10.9	7.0	10.2	10.0	3.1	0.0	8.9	11.0
Total replies	141	55	86	49	60	32	23	45	73
Percent. replying	94.0	94.8	93.4	92.4	96.8	91.4	95.8	91.8	94.8

Although this question was the last in the questionnaire, it achieved a very high reply rate, reflecting people's concern in the build-up to the Charlottetown referendum. Several replies, especially from the 26+ group, were written with great passion and commitment: "To celebrate both the French and English parts of our country and to stand in front of the world and to show them what a wonderful country we have and how proud of it we are !!!"; "A sudden realization by the people who make up our great country of how important it is to remain unified and appreciate what we have."

Issues related to constitutional reform, French-English relations and national unity were clearly intertwined and accounted for almost 60% of replies. Economic growth and change of political leader were considered less urgent. Although there were no statistically significant variations, certain trends would merit closer study. A 26+ year-old man from Ontario, for example, appears to be more likely to worry about the constitution than an under-21 woman from the West. The 22-26 age group also seem to be less confident about the effects of a change of government, attaching greater importance to economic growth. The data show that many issues of importance, such as native self-government, the deficit, economic independence and the environment, had been temporarily shelved because of the constitutional debate. In the aftermath of Charlottetown, however, these concerns returned to the political forum.

Question 38. If you had the chance of studying abroad for a year, which country would you go to?

Respondents proposed 24 different destination countries, which were grouped as follows:

1. The British Isles (United Kingdom, Ireland)
2. Antipodes (Australia, New Zealand)
3. South-east Asia (China, Japan, India, Thailand)
4. Scandinavia (Denmark, Finland, Norway, Sweden)
5. France
6. Switzerland
7. Southern Europe (Greece, Italy, Spain)
8. Russia
9. Central Europe (Austria, Belgium, Germany, Holland)
10. Other (USA, Ethiopia)

Table 3.13. Preferred study destinations by gender

		Gender	
Destination	Total	M	F
	%		
British Isles	27.8	32.7	24.7
Antipodes	20.1	21.8	19.1
South-east Asia	4.2	10.9	0.0
Scandinavia	4.9	0.0	7.9
France	13.9	7.3	18.0
Switzerland	6.2	1.8	9.0
Southern Europe	9.0	5.4	11.2
Russia	2.8	5.4	2.8
Central Europe	8.3	12.7	5.6
Other	2.8	1.8	3.4
Total replies	144	55	89
Percentage replies	96.0	94.8	96.7

The replies showed a very Eurocentric and Anglocentric view of the world, with 70% of respondents choosing an English-speaking or European country. Only one respondent would study in the USA and one in Ethiopia, otherwise no African or South American countries were mentioned.

Gender proved to be a very significant variable ($c^2 = 26.46$, df = 9, $p < 0.01$). The data suggest that language is the main factor determining choice of country, especially for men, 54.5% of whom would study in an English-speaking country. No doubt the climate of Australia is also an enticement to both male and female students. Women, however, are more willing to develop their French with some 27% choosing France or Switzerland. The difference in levels of interest for south-east Asia needs no explanation, but women's fascination with the Nordic countries and Switzerland is interesting. Presumably, there may be family connections, but a more probable explanation is that women see certain similarities with Canada, not only in climate and geography but also in the highly developed social welfare systems and, in some cases, the progress towards gender equality.

3.4. National character

Analysis of the replies related to national character was particularly difficult since the coding involved subjective evaluation of the adjectives offered by respondents. Apart from resolving the ambiguity of certain words (e.g., "proud", "cool", "patriotic"), the coding system had to reflect the positivity or negativity of the adjectives used. In carrying out an initial classification of the bulk of the adjectives, invaluable help was found from the list of 555 personality trait words developed by Anderson (1968, 1982).

Anderson used a rather small sample of 100 college students to assess the likableness of 555 trait adjectives on a 7-point (0-6) scale. Adjectives denoting high likableness included "sincere", "honest", "understanding" and "loyal". Mean ratings for these adjectives on Anderson's scale were 5.73, 5.55, 5.49 and 5.47 respectively. The lowest values were scored by "cruel" (0.40), "mean" (0.37), "phony" (0.27) and "liar" (0.26). There were great differences in the standard deviations of the ratings, perhaps reflecting the inherent ambiguity of such words as "sensitive", "cunning", "opportunistic" and "shrewd".

The present analysis made use of the Anderson results in the following way. As a first step the range of values in the Anderson list (5.73 - 0.26) was broken up into seven classes (7-1). This was done using a modified stanine scale. It was assumed that the college students' replies were distributed normally. The mean rating was 2.93 with a standard deviation of 1.47. Using a table of z scores it was possible to locate cut-off points in the list which would divide the distribution into seven units of approximately 14 per cent each. The identified cut-off points were, in descending order, 4.38, 3.69, 3.14, 2.63, 2.08 and 1.34.

Anderson's list was a drastically scaled-down version of an original list of 18,000 adjectives compiled by Allport and Odbert in 1936. Given this profusion of human traits, it was inevitable that many of the adjectives used by respondents did not occur in Anderson's list. In such cases the first procedure was to look for synonyms or close synonyms and use the corresponding value for classification purposes. Some 25 adjectives, including "patriotic", "down-to-earth" and "pushy", however, still eluded precise classification. After making an intuitive categorization, the writer submitted the list of missing adjectives to a postgraduate education class (N=9) for assessment. Despite the limitations of a small-scale survey, the results showed a large degree of unanimity and confirmed the writer's intuitions. It was decided to locate each adjective on the 7-1 scale using the results of the mini-survey. When the same list of dubious adjectives was assessed by a second group of Canadian education students in May 1996 (N=7), there were no changes in the consensus on the polarity of the adjectives.

The coding of adjectives was also problematic in a second sense. The adjectives used described very diverse parameters of human personality, but the parameters chosen were in themselves indicative of respondents' perceptions of national identity and values. Taxonomies exist for the coding of such values (see Section 2.5.2), but for the purposes of analyzing stereotypes these taxonomies are largely untried (Schwartz & Struch, 1989). It was therefore decided to develop analytical parameters on an intuitive basis. The parameters and their contents are presented in the next section. The polarity of the stereotypes (i.e., their likableness) is dealt with in section 3.4.2.

3.4.1. Parameters and contents of Canadian stereotypes (questions 26-29)

In an attempt to establish a framework for comparing Canadian autostereotypes and heterostereotypes with reference to Americans, eight parameters have been identified. The same parameters are used to classify all the adjectives occurring in replies to questions 26-29. Notice, however, that one of the parameters features in just a single stereotype, the simple heterostereotype. So, whereas respondents do not see their physical self as an important dimension of the autostereotype, weight and bulk do figure in their image of the stereotypical American.

To simplify analysis and reduce the number of categories to a manageable size, three of the eight parameters were constituted from subsidiary, often closely related, sets of adjectives. The parameter "Attitude to interpersonal relations", for example, includes adjectives concerning communicative style (e.g., reserved, loud), affability (e.g., friendly, generous), and dominance (e.g., arrogant, self-effacing). For each question, the parameters are exemplified by actual adjectives used by respondents.

Question 26. What three adjectives best describe the typical Canadian? (Simple autostereotype)

1. Attitude to humanity and social justice: kind, compassionate, generous, caring, unselfish, helpful, humanitarian, community-minded, supportive, considerate, cooperative, patient, tolerant, accepting, fair, open-minded, adaptive, liberal, socialist, compromising.

2. Attitude to interpersonal relations: friendly, outgoing, humorous, likable, nice, warm, welcoming, polite, courteous, sweet, easy to get on with, wholehearted, sincere, peaceful, quiet, reserved, earnest, cold, dignified, repressed, proper, thoughtful, introverted, taciturn, humble, self-effacing, modest, self-conscious, underrated, unassuming, self-mocking, admires others, unimposing, innocent.

3. Attitude to life: easy-going, laidback, relaxed, happy-go-lucky, fun-loving, even-tempered, comfortable, happy, uncomplicated, satisfied, content, down-to-earth, calm, humorous, balanced, strong.

4. Attitude to challenge and change: apathetic, lazy, passive, lax, lethargic, slow, boring, indifferent, complacent, dull, bland, colourless, spoiled, no risks, cautious, apprehensive, unsure, conservative, traditional, pessimistic, confused, insecure, selective.

5. Attitude to work: hardworking, active, dynamic, industrious, ambitious

6. Attitude to education and information: educated, well-read, intelligent, concerned, attentive, creative, interested, insightful, aware, advanced, competent, intellectual, imaginative, innovative.

7. Attitude to nation: unpatriotic, apolitical.

8. Attitude to body: (no response).

The parameters that prevail in the Canadian self-image (Table 3.14.) very much reflect the values that were prized in replies to question 24, namely interpersonal relationships and human values. These two parameters accounted for over 50% of all adjectives used. A relaxed attitude to life was also a significant component of the self-image. Although predominantly positive, the autostereotype was marked by negative descriptors as far as patriotism and attitudes to challenge were concerned. In some ways, it seems that respondents' sense of personal contentment and even-temperedness are reflected in, and possibly derive from, their self-attributed complacency and caution.

Table 3.14. Canadian simple autostereotype by gender, age and region

		Gender		Age			Region		
Attitude to	Total %	M	F	16-21	22-6	26+	West	Cent.	Atl.
Humanity/Just.	18.6	20.1	17.7	21.5	15.6	19.6	17.9	13.7	21.9
Interp. relats.	35.2	35.6	35.0	36.1	34.7	34.8	34.3	35.1	35.6
Life	14.6	14.8	14.6	12.5	16.2	15.2	7.5	17.6	15.1
Challenge/change	13.1	14.1	12.6	11.1	13.2	16.3	20.9	17.6	7.8
Work	5.5	4.7	5.9	2.8	9.0	3.3	7.5	5.3	4.9
Education/info.	6.9	4.7	8.3	7.6	7.8	4.4	7.5	6.1	7.3
Nation	6.0	6.0	5.9	8.3	3.6	6.5	4.5	4.6	7.3
Body	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Total replies	403	149	254	144	167	92	67	131	205
Mean replies	2.69	2.56	2.76	2.72	2.69	2.63	2.79	2.67	2.66

The data revealed no significant differences related to sex, age or regional origin. There were, however, interesting trends that would merit further investigation. For example, social justice was considerably less important to the 22-26 age group than to both other age groups. On the other hand, the autostereotype of 22-26 year-olds was more likely to include the notion of industriousness as a key component. There were clear age differences in the importance attached to the challenge parameter, with the over-26s making it a more prominent facet of their autostereotype.

For the youngest age group Canadian lack of patriotism was considered a more important feature of their self-image than education or industriousness. Perhaps emboldened by Canadian performances in the 1992 Olympics, 22-26 year-olds considered lack of patriotism to be the least prominent parameter of national identity. The same group also gave more emphasis to the idea of the hardworking Canadian.

The provincial variations in autostereotype would seem to indicate that Canada is indeed a country made up of distinct regional identities. The results suggest, for example, that Western Canadians are less concerned with a laidback lifestyle than their fellow citizens, but they rank Canadian apathy and complacency as the second most important feature of national identity. This self-portrait may reveal something of the reality of life in Western Canada. The figures for the Atlantic provinces are almost the reverse, although the humanity/social justice dimension is somewhat higher than in the West and markedly higher than in Central Canada, where features related to compassion and tolerance are ranked only fourth.

Question 27. What three adjectives best describe the typical American? (simple heterostereotype)

The adjectives used to describe parameters of the American heterostereotype were as follows:

1. Attitude to humanity and social justice: selfish, greedy, egocentric, egoistic, self-centred, self-obsessed, indulgent, self-absorbed, each man for himself, self-promoting.

2. Attitude to interpersonal relations: friendly, spontaneous, laidback, outgoing, generous, human, hospitable, enthusiastic, talkative; arrogant, condescending, know-all, boasting, snobby, pompous, dominant, overpowering, self-assertive, unreserved, conceited, self-important, stuck up, cocky, disrespectful, braggart, artificial, dishonest, sleazy.

3. Attitude to life: materialistic, money-oriented, rich, capitalistic, big bucks, fun-loving, paranoid.

4. Attitude to challenge and change: aggressive, pushy, violent, demanding, hard-nosed, obnoxious, loud, rude, war-happy, power-hungry, interfering, impatient, excitable, unruly, forceful, bossy, self-assured, confident, independent, risk-takers, single-minded, self-sufficient.

5. Attitude to work: industrious, competitive, ambitious, high-achieving, enterprising, eager to get ahead.

6. Attitude to education and information: ignorant, uninformed, closed-minded, tunnel vision, opinionated, stupid, biased, ethnocentric, bigoted, myopic, immature, naive, moronic, uncivilized.

7. Attitude to nation: proud, patriotic, nationalistic, America first.

8. Attitude to body: fat, overweight, lazy.

Table 3.15. Canadian simple heterostereotype by gender, age and region

		Gender		Age			Region		
Attitude to	Total %	M	F	16-21	22-6	26+	West	Cent.	Atl.
Humanity/Just.	19.3	19.6	19.1	18.0	21.3	17.8	11.4	26.6	17.0
Interp. relats.	17.1	13.1	19.5	20.1	16.6	13.9	21.4	12.2	19.0
Life	5.9	5.2	6.3	4.3	4.7	9.9	10.0	3.6	6.0
Challenge/change	26.2	32.7	22.3	23.0	23.7	34.6	22.9	26.6	27.0
Work	3.9	2.6	4.7	2.8	5.3	3.0	4.3	3.6	4.0
Education/info.	11.7	13.1	10.9	13.7	13.0	6.9	14.3	14.4	9.0
Nation	13.9	11.1	15.6	14.4	14.2	12.9	11.4	10.1	17.5
Body	2.0	2.6	1.6	3.6	1.2	1.0	4.3	2.9	0.5
Total replies	409	153	256	139	169	101	70	139	200
Mean replies	2.73	2.64	2.78	2.62	2.73	2.88	2.92	2.84	2.60

The profile of the typical American differs markedly from the Canadian autostereotype. Firstly, there is a different prioritization of parameters. Whereas adjectives describing attitudes to interpersonal relationships were ranked first in the autostereotype (35.2%), this position is given to attitudes to challenge/change in the heterestereotype (26.2%, compared with 13.1% in the autostereotype), with an equivalent relegation of interpersonal relations (17.1%). Attitudes to life are also considered less important as a dimension of the American image, but there is a corresponding rise in the number of responses describing attitudes to education (from 6.9% to 11.7%) and nation (from 6.0% to 13.9%).

The second conspicuous difference is that there is a dramatic change in the contents of the parameters. In fact, in several cases, the adjectives used are almost antonyms of those referring to the autostereotype. The following pairs are typical: selfish - generous, ignorant - educated, confident - cautious, arrogant - humble, patriotic - unpatriotic, aggressive - apathetic, materialistic - happy-go-lucky, rude - courteous. In other words, respondents see the typical American as

being located at the opposite extreme along specific dimensions of national character. The substantial basis for such polarizations would be difficult to investigate, but, as noted earlier (2.6.6.), the need for distinctiveness and a positive self-image may be enough to initiate the polarization. Canadians, then, see themselves as fundamentally friendly, easy-going, non-chauvinistic and caring. They see Americans as pushy, selfish, patriotic and uneducated. Adjectives falling into these four parameters made up over 70% of the heterostereotype.

Region proved to be a statistically significant variable ($c^2 = 24.29$, df = 14, $p < 0.05$). Central Canadians, for example, saw their southern neighbours primarily in terms of selfishness (attitude to humanity) and aggressiveness (attitude to challenge), with these two parameters accounting for over half of replies. Elsewhere, it was American attitudes to challenge and interpersonal relationships that made up the bulk of the heterostereotype. Interestingly, respondents from Central Canada -- the most sensitive to American selfishness -- attached the least importance to the humanity parameter in the Canadian self-image (Table 3.14.). This result may be a further example of polarization along key dimensions of identity.

Patriotism was more likely to be attributed to the stereotypical American by respondents in Atlantic Canada than elsewhere. This possibly reflects the region's perceptions of Canada's disunity and the underlying cause of it. Atlantic Canadians also paid less attention to supposedly characteristic American igorance and bias.

One other non-significant finding merits further study. There is a ten-point difference in the importance attached by men (32.7%) and women (22.3%) to the challenge/change dimension in the American stereotype. A similar difference distinguishes the 26+ group from its juniors. In other words, these two groups believe that Americans are primarily marked by their attitude to challenge and change, whether this is interpreted negatively as aggressiveness or positively as self-confidence. The same groups show a similar but less marked tendency to pick out the same parameter in the Canadian autostereotype, where it is wholly negative (e.g., apathetic, cautious). This result may reflect the frustration of those most affected by the economic recession of the early 1990s, and potentially by the implementation of NAFTA .

Question 28. What three adjectives do you think the typical American would use to describe the typical Canadian? (projected autostereotype)

The parameters of the Canadian projected autostereotype with sample adjectives were as follows:

1. Attitude to humanity and social justice: compassionate, caring, socialistic.

2. Attitude to interpersonal relations: friendly, polite, nice, neighbour, helpful, kind, well-mannered, dependable, quiet, reserved, subdued, shy, silent, uptight, modest, self-righteous, snobbish, tight-fisted, rude, ungrateful, snotty, cold.

3. Attitude to life: happy, healthy, easy-going, lucky, open, hearty, outdoorsy, stable, peace-loving.

4. Attitude to challenge and change: spineless, hesitant, complacent, wishy-washy, indecisive, weak, wimp, whiny, timid, conservative, cautious, small-thinker.

5. Attitude to work: lazy, slow-moving, slacker, passive.

6. Attitude to education and information: stupid, simple, backward, inferior, unrefined, unsophisticated, uneducated, rural, hick, naive, behind the times.

7. Attitude to nation: unpatriotic, Eskimo, French, hockey player.

8. Attitude to body: (no responses).

The projected autostereotype reveals those areas in which a nation sees itself as misunderstood or undervalued. The Canadian projected autostereotype (Table 3.16.) is no different in this respect, for the dimensions of national identity held in esteem by Canadians (an easygoing nature, tolerance, compassion and a high level of education) do not figure in the image of Canadians attributed to Americans, who are presumed to single out reserve (interpersonal relations), stupidity (education) and complacency (challenge/ change) as key Canadian characteristics. The discrepancy between the simple and projected autostereotype suggests that Canadians feel they are undervalued precisely along those dimensions that matter most to them as a nation. The frustration of the Canadian self-image may be that having and acting in accordance with certain esteemed values is insufficient if they go unrecognized by significant neighbours.

The trait of friendliness included in the interpersonal relation dimension is exceptional in that it characterizes both autostereotype and projected autostereotype. There may be an element of self-fulfilling prophesy in this: a subject who has displayed his or her characteristic Canadian friendliness to an American will naturally expect that display to have been noted and, from that moment on, for friendliness to have become an identifiable Canadian attribute. As Rothbart and Park (1986) point out, opportunities for exhibiting behaviour that disconfirms existing stereotypes are fewer and more difficult to arrange. Characterizations featuring stupidity, apathy and reserve will thus be harder to shake off.

Although there were no significant correlations with background variables, interesting age-related differences are suggested. For example, the over-26s are less likely than the 16-21 group to include ignorance and lack of patriotism in their projected autostereotype. Correspondingly, they more easily tend to the belief that Americans characterize Canadians as shy, complacent and unenterprising.

Table 3.16. Canadian projected autostereotype by gender, age and region

		Gender		Age			Region		
Attitude to	Total %	M	F	16-21	22-6	26+	West	Cent:	Atl.
Humanity/Just.	1.4	2.3	0.9	0.9	1.4	2.3	3.2	0.9	1.2
Interp. relats.	30.2	33.8	28.0	25.0	30.8	36.1	24.2	29.8	32.6
Life	7.8	9.2	6.9	6.9	7.5	9.3	8.1	5.3	9.3
Challenge/change	22.1	21.5	22.5	19.0	19.9	30.2	19.4	27.2	19.8
Work	4.9	4.6	5.0	5.2	4.1	5.8	8.1	3.5	4.7
Education/info.	23.0	16.9	26.6	26.7	26.7	11.6	22.6	21.9	23.8
Nation	10.6	11.5	10.1	16.4	9.6	4.7	14.5	11.4	8.7
Body	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Total replies	348	130	218	116	146	86	62	114	172
Mean replies	2.32	2.24	2.37	2.19	2.35	2.37	2.46	2.33	2.23

One feature of the projected heterostereotype is only partly caught by the analytical framework employed here. Several responses to question 28 contained the word "Who?". In other words, respondents were expressing a feeling that Americans knew nothing about Canada or were simply not interested in it. This same attributed ignorance is revealed in responses like "Eskimo", "French", "hockey player" and "farmer", i.e., Americans are presumed to be familiar with only stereotypical images of Canadians. Such responses have been included under the category "Attitude to nation" because they reflect the same self-attributed lack of patriotism: we are nothing more than a nation of stereotypes and media projections, therefore we have little to be proud of, therefore we are not patriotic. Self-deprecation along this parameter was particularly high amongst 16-21 year-olds and Westerners.

Question 29. What three adjectives do you think the typical American would use to describe him/herself? (projected heterostereotype)

The Canadian projected heterostereotype was exemplified by the following adjectives:

1. Attitude to humanity and social justice: powerful, strong, great, wealthy, prosperous, paternal, benevolent.

2. Attitude to interpersonal relations: friendly, nice, helpful, giving, hospitable, caring, obliging, tolerant, superior, best, dominant, all-knowing, right, assertive, wonderful, powerful, outgoing.

3. Attitude to life: free, independent, open-minded, understanding, liberal.

4. Attitude to challenge and change: competitive, go-ahead, self-made, enterprising, winner, assertive, goal-directed, confident, self-assured, ambitious, dynamic, determined, committed, enthusiastic.

5. Attitude to work: hardworking, productive, successful, fast-paced.

6. Attitude to education and information: intelligent, smart, capable, advanced, smart, on-the-ball, cultured, clever, wise, worldly, mature.

7. Attitude to nation: patriotic, proud, loyal to nation, nationalistic.

8. Attitude to body: (no responses).

The projected heterostereotype ("the way I imagine Americans see themselves") also tends to highlight areas of perceived competition, or those dimensions of national identity that are felt to be underdeveloped (Table 3.17.). Respondents characterize the American self-image primarily by patriotism, positive self-confidence and competitiveness, precisely those parameters that are inadequately represented in Canadian identity. The fourth key dimension of the projected heterostereotype relates to education. Respondents believe that Americans liberally attribute intelligence and wisdom to themselves. On the other hand, they recognize that these features are excluded from their American image of Canadians (Question 28). Men appear to be more likely to make these negative self-evaluations.

Table 3.17. Canadian projected heterostereotype by gender, age and region

		Gender		Age			Region		
Attitude to	Total %	M	F	16-21	22-6	26+	West	Cent.	Atl.
Humanity/Just.	10.5	10.7	10.3	13.5	9.7	8.3	13.6	9.3	9.9
Interp. relats.	22.4	23.8	21.6	28.1	20.0	20.2	21.2	24.5	21.2
Life	12.2	9.0	14.1	14.6	9.7	14.3	15.2	12.7	10.6
Challenge/change	14.3	17.2	12.7	5.2	14.8	23.8	18.2	9.3	16.6
Work	5.1	5.7	4.7	1.0	7.1	5.9	0.0	5.1	7.3
Education/info.	12.5	16.4	10.3	16.7	12.9	7.1	10.6	14.4	11.9
Nation	23.0	17.2	26.3	20.8	25.8	20.2	21.2	24.6	22.5
Body	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Total replies	335	122	213	96	155	84	66	118	151
Mean replies	2.23	2.10	2.32	1.81	2.50	2.40	2.75	2.41	1.96

It is worth noting that the parameters used in the Canadian projected heterostereotype contain only positive features, i.e., respondents believe Americans see themselves as flawlessly wonderful. This contrasts with the Canadian autostereotype, which is marked by three wholly or partly negative or ambiguous parameters (modesty, passivity and lack of patriotism), which make up over 50% of responses. One interpretation of this self-deprecatory difference might be that Canadians simply attribute a stronger and less complex self-image to Americans than to themselves.

Age was a significant variable ($c^2 = 24.46$, df = 12, $p < 0.02$) in determining the contents of the projected heterostereotype. The 16-21 age group singled out friendliness and intelligence as the main components of their projected American self-image, whereas the 26+ group focussed on American ambition and determination. Respondents in the 22-26 age group saw patriotism as the defining feature of American identity.

Table 3.18 summarizes the different levels of importance attached by respondents to the eight parameters proposed as defining Canadian stereotypes. The most conspicuous differences are as follows: 1) the virtual absence of the humanity/social justice parameter from the projected autostereotype; 2) the prioritization of the challenge/change parameter in both the simple heterostereotype and projected autostereotype; 3) the considerable gulf between simple and projected autostereotype in the importance attached to the educational dimension; and 4) the prominence of attitude to nation as a component of the projected heterostereotype, in contrast to its minor role in the simple autostereotype.

Table 3.18. Relative importance of Canadian stereotype parameters

Attitude to	Simple Autost. %	Simple Heterost.	Projected Autost.	Projected Heterost.
Humanity/Social just.	18.6	19.3	1.4	10.5
Interpersonal rel.	35.2	17.1	30.2	22.4
Life	14.6	5.9	7.8	12.2
Challenge/change	13.1	26.2	22.1	14.3
Work	5.5	3.9	4.9	5.1
Education/information	6.9	11.7	23.0	12.5
Nation	6.0	13.9	10.6	23.0
Body	--	2.0	--	--
Total replies	403	409	348	335
Mean replies	2.69	2.73	2.32	2.23

Apart from the differences in the profiles of the stereotypes, it is important to remember that their contents are seldom the same and, in many cases, they are diametrically opposed or taken from different lexical areas. For this reason, the information on stereotype parameters (Table 3.18.) should be supplemented with the data in Table 3.19, which lists the most frequently occurring adjectives (excluding synonyms) in the replies to questions 26-29. It thus provides some indication of the main contents of the four stereotypes discussed in the previous sections.

Notice that "friendly" occurs in all four lists, but is far less common in the heterostereotypes, which in turn are clearly marked by "proud" and "patriotic". Although pride figures in the Canadian autostereotype, it appears to be a very different type of pride, more subdued and less related to chauvinism and a sense of superiority. Whereas Americans are seen to possess the character traits that underlie a self-assured and dynamic democracy, Canadians deny themselves these civil virtues and elevate their friendliness, peacefulness and generosity. Unfortunately, only the diffuse notion of friendliness is included in their projected autostereotype.

Table 3.19. Recurring adjectives used in the stereotype descriptions by frequency

Simple autostereotype		Simple heterostereotype		Projected autostereotype		Projected heterostereotype	
friendly	62	arrogant	38	friendly	34	patriotic	39
proud	15	patriotic	28	boring	17	proud	28
hardworking	13	proud	21	backward	10	free	16
laidback	12	loud	20	nice	10	friendly	14
helpful	12	ignorant	18	passive	9	intelligent	13
peaceful	10	aggressive	17	stupid	8	superior	12
easygoing	9	friendly	9	cold	7	hardworking	10
generous	8	obnoxious	7	simple	6	smart	10
kind	8	rude	7	unpatriotic	6	strong	10
passive	7	egocentric	6	weak	6	powerful	6
conservative	6	greedy	6	hick	6	aggressive	5
reserved	6	pushy	6	uneducated	5	assertive	5
Maximum	403		409		348		335

3.4.2. Likableness

This section makes use of the seven-point trait rating scale described above (3.4.). The purpose of the analysis is to assess the relative positivity of the four stereotypes and to look for possible correlations with demographic and experiential variables.

Table 3.20 shows the mean ratings for each stereotype. The autostereotype contained the highest level of positive adjectives with a mean score of 5.64 (4 would represent a neutral result). This contrasted sharply with the heterostereotype value (2.57). In other words, respondents regarded Americans rather negatively. This is not a surprising result given the analysis of parameters presented earlier. The interesting contrasts are in the values for the simple autostereotype (5.64) and projected autostereotype (3.56). They indicate that there is a clear discrepancy between the Canadian self-image and the image of Canadians attributed to Americans; in fact, the latter image is slightly negative. In contrast, even though respondents denigrate Americans, they still believe that the American self-image is extremely positive (5.34).

Table 3.20. Positivity ratings of the four stereotype descriptions by gender, age and region

			Gender		Age			Region		
Stereotype	Mean	SD	M	F	16-21	22-6	26+	West	Cent.	Atl.
Sim. auto	5.64	1.26	5.41	5.78	5.73	5.65	5.49	5.69	5.23	5.89
Sim. hetero	2.57	1.43	2.29	2.75	2.34	2.66	2.76	2.96	2.18	2.71
Proj. auto	3.56	1.50	3.80	3.42	3.33	3.58	3.85	3.61	3.39	3.64
Proj.hetero	5.34	1.07	5.44	5.29	5.47	5.37	5.09	5.16	5.26	5.47

The high rating for the projected heterostereotype is essentially an expression of the positivity of the American self-image measured in American terms (e.g., patriotism, ambition, assertiveness, etc.). In assessing their projected autostereotype Canadians also make use of the American yardstick, hence the negativity of that assumed national identity. The underlying message is perhaps threefold. Firstly, respondents believe that Americans have a lower opinion of Canadians than they actually deserve; secondly, Americans have a higher opinion of themselves than they in turn deserve; and thirdly -- and most importantly -- Canadians use American standards in assessing themselves. For this particular group of Canadian respondents, the values of

tolerance, compassion and modesty that sustain their self-image are not the currency required for international recognition and respect.

Analysis of variance tests were used to investigate possible correlations with background factors. Only provincial origin was significant. A Tukey's pairwise comparison test showed a significant difference ($p < 0.02$) in the positivity of the Eastern and Central Canadian autostereotypes. The data suggest that Ontarian and Québecois respondents have a less positive self-image than Atlantic respondents. A similar finding was indicated ($p < 0.05$) for provincial heterostereotypes, but follow-up statistical analysis (Tukey) did not confirm the differences.

T-tests were carried out on the differences between the four stereotypes to determine the significance of the adjectival ratings. In all cases, the p values obtained were significant, suggesting that there was considerable consensus on the relative positivity or negativity of particular stereotypes.

Regression analyses of the four stereotypes revealed only one significant correlation, that between simple heterostereotype and projected autostereotype ($p < 0.02$). The implication of this finding would appear to be as follows: the more positively a person thinks of Americans, the greater the probability that that person believes Americans think highly of him/her as a Canadian. Once again, there may be a self-fulfilling prophesy at work here. The non-significance of the other inter-variable comparisons implies that there are great variations in the contents of individual stereotypes and that, indeed, there may be no stereotypical stereotypes.

3.5. People and places

Answers to questions in this part of the questionnaire were originally intended to provide the authentic input to a course on aspects of Canadian geography, history and culture. The replies would highlight those facts and personalities which Canadians considered essential to a knowledge of their country. In the context of the present study, the replies provide important information on the preferred torchbearers and emblems of national identity.

Because the questions were open-ended, the range of answers was extensive and varied, making valid in-depth statistical analysis difficult. For this reason, the focus will be more on the contents of the replies rather than correlations with background variables. Where appropriate and possible, however, additional statistical tests will be carried out. In several cases, the number of replies obtained becomes a focus of interest.

3.5.1. The Canadian landscape (questions 3-5)

Question 3. Which three pieces of landscape or scenery would you most like a visitor to see?

A total of 440 replies was given recommending 79 different destinations, although the top five destinations accounted for 51% of replies, with the Rockies alone appearing in 68% of respondents' lists. The selection covered all parts of the country, from west (Queen Charlotte Islands) to east (Signal Hill, Newfoundland), and from north (the Alaska Highway) to south (Niagara). Entire regions (the Prairies, the Great Lakes, the Rockies) were mentioned alongside specific locations (Peggy's Cove, Stanley Park, Hartland covered bridge). Rural landscapes (Annapolis Valley, the Badlands) and urban sites (the CN Tower, Old Quebec) were both prominent in the list. Some respondents wanted their visitors to enjoy very precise experiences (Algonquin Park during an autumn sunset, the northern lights in Alberta, Montreal from Mount Royal), whereas others were less exact (the forests of British Columbia, the Manitoba backwoods). The 10 most popular destinations are presented in Table 3.21.

Table 3.21. The 10 most recommended landscapes

Destination	Total (Max. 440)
The Rockies	102
Niagara Falls	39
Cape Breton/Cabot Trail	33
The Prairies/Plains	32
Pacific coast	19
The Maritimes	17
Prince Edward Island	15
Banff	13
Vancouver Island	9
Peggy's Cove	8

The range of replies suggests that the country is diverse, offering everybody their own particular vision and interpretation of Canada's natural beauty or urban sophistication. Individual replies, too, communicate a geographically inclusive view of Canada with locations generally chosen from across the country -- a combination of locations including the Rockies, the Prairies and the Maritimes was a recurrent feature of the data. Unfortunately, it was not possible to check whether respondents' recommendations were actually based on personal experiences or hearsay. Mistakes in spelling (Niagra, Cape Bretton), names (Victoria Island) and province (Banff, B.C., Peggy's Cove, PEI) may support the latter theory.

Question 4. Which three towns or cities in Canada would you most like to take a visitor to see?

Respondents gave a total of 449 replies recommending 64 different localities. Once again, there was considerable diversity in terms of size, location and character of the towns mentioned. The top ten locations are presented in Table 3.22.

The list included locations in every province and territory of Canada, revealing a sense of geographical nationhood reaching from coast to coast. Over 70% of all replies included mention of one or more of the eight most popular locations. Vancouver was most typically paired with Toronto (27 times), Quebec (24), Montreal (19), Ottawa (18) and Halifax (16). The most popular trio was Vancouver, Quebec and Toronto (10), with additional combinations involving Vancouver and a pairing from Toronto, Montreal, Quebec, Ottawa and Halifax totalling 26, over 17% of all respondents.

Table 3.22. The 10 most recommended towns and cities

City/town	Total (Max. 449)
Vancouver	70
Toronto	56
Old Quebec	55
Halifax	40
Ottawa	40
Montreal	35
Victoria	30
St John's	13
Calgary	13
Banff	7

Question 5. Which three places in Canada would you least like to take a visitor to see?

This task was noticeably more difficult than the previous one with just 341 replies. Nevertheless, respondents were able to name 92 separate places or experiences that they would want to shield their visitors from. Some respondents advised circumnavigating clearcut forestry, opencast mining, inner city slums and native reserves, whereas other prospective hosts would steer clear of specific cities and towns across Canada. Table 3.23 lists the 10 least popular centres. Interestingly, several of the localities highly recommended in Question 3 also appear in this list.

Of the replies mentioning a specific town, 140 (41%) referred to locations in Ontario and Quebec (e.g., Hamilton, Niagara, Sudbury, Sarnia, Windsor, Chatham, Wawa, Hull). The corresponding percentages for the other provinces were as follows: the Maritimes, 9.4% (St John, Moncton, Sydney); the Prairies, 14.3% (Calgary, Edmonton, Saskatoon); Newfoundland, 5.9% (Gander, Labrador); British Columbia, 4.1% (Vancouver, Prince Rupert); Yukon and North-West Territories, 6.1% (Arctic Bay). The status of Ontario both as a place to visit (Question 4) and to avoid suggests an ambivalent attitude to the province, a place of both pride and embarrassment. If there is a pattern in the responses, it may relate to urban decay and rural underdevelopment. Pollution, remoteness and closeness to the American border may also be factors.

Table 3.23. The 10 least recommended towns and cities

City/area	Total (Max. 341)
Toronto	41
Hamilton	20
The far north/NWT	20
St John, NB	18
Sudbury	16
Winnipeg	15
Central New Brunswick	10
Indian reserves	10
Windsor	9
The Prairies	8

3.5.2. Key personalities and achievements (questions 6-19)

Question 6. Which three Canadian men or women are, for you, the key figures in Canada's history?

Replies to this question read very much like a list of Canadian Prime Ministers, beginning with John A. Macdonald and ending with Brian Mulroney. Despite the prevalence of politicians in the 380 replies given, 64 different individuals were mentioned. Of these, 20 accounted for 86% of the replies with the top 5 alone making up 61%. Only 18 of the 141 respondents failed to mention either Macdonald and/or Trudeau. Sir John himself appeared in 102 replies (27% of replies, 73% of respondents), although on 54 occasions his name was spelt MacDonald and on 17 occasions it appeared as McDonald, i.e., only 35% of respondents spelt his name correctly. Other orthographic deviations included Peire Troudo/Tredaue, Louis Reil/Real, McKensiye, Lestor Pearson, Mulrony, Rene Leveques, Deiffenbaker, Tecumsie, Gretzkey, Margaret Attwood,

Roberta Boundair and Silken Laummann. Two of the names given were citizens of the USA (Johnny Appleseed, Amelia Earhart). Table 3.24 is a list of the 20 most frequently mentioned people.

Table 3.24. The 20 most frequently mentioned historical figures

Name	Total (Max. 380)	Name	Total (Max. 380)
Sir John A. Macdonald	102	Wayne Gretzky	6
Pierre Trudeau	74	Terry Fox	5
Mackenzie-King	22	Brian Mulroney	5
Lester Pearson	19	Samuel de Champlain	5
Louis Riel	15	Joseph Smallwood	5
Jacques Cartier	14	Laura Secord	5
Wilfrid Laurier	12	Alexander Bell	5
René Lévesque	8	General Montcalm	4
John Diefenbaker	7	Roberta Bondar	4
Nellie McClung	7	Native peoples	3

In terms of the areas of human achievement represented, politicians predominated (68% of replies), with a minor share for sport (3.9%), social reform (2.9%), military (2.6%), native affairs (2.1%), science and invention (1.8%), art and literature (1.3%) and entertainment (0.8%). Although the question specified men or women, only 7.6% of the replies judged women to be of historical importance, and of these 79% were nominated by women respondents. Without follow-up questions it is impossible to know the reasons underlying particular selections, even though in some cases respondents added an explanatory comment (e.g., "George Stanley - designed the flag"; "Lester Pearson - as a peacekeeper"; "Trudeau - long-standing Liberal leader").

There may be several interpretations of the respondents' preoccupation with male politicians. Clearly, it reflects the historical realities of Canada's nationhood. It may also show an absence of folk heroes. The prominence of Riel, Cartier, de Champlain, Secord and Montcalm in Table 3.23 suggests that perhaps there is an only partially fulfilled need for historical mythified characters or their modern-day equivalents (Billy Bishop, Terry Fox, Rick Hansen, Wayne Gretzky, Mario Lemieux, Roberta Bondar). Together, popular figures, both historical and modern, were mentioned in 63 replies, 16.5% of the total.

Nine respondents were unable or unwilling to name any key historical figures. A further nine could only mention one, and twenty-five named only two. This means that 28% of respondents either could not think of three important persons in Canadian history, or regarded Canadian history as devoid of meritorious characters. Six of the nine single replies cited Macdonald, as did 16 of the 25 double replies.

Question 7. Which three Canadian men have been, for you, the most important in the last ten years of Canada's history?

Of the 150 respondents completing the questionnaire, only 57.3% were able to provide the names of three Canadian men of recent importance. Completely blank answers were returned by 14 respondents (9.3%). On average, each respondent gave 2.27 replies, although there was a statistically very significant interaction with age ($f = 8.99$, $df = 2/147$, $p < 0.001$). Whereas the 16-21 age group provided 1.87 replies, 22-26 year-olds came up with 2.37 and the over 26s produced 2.71. Several of the names given by the youngest age group could not be considered figures of national importance and may well have been boyfriends or relatives. One respondent mentioned her father, priest and school principal. There were also numerous misspellings in the data. In addition to problems with Trudeau (Trudo, Trudeu) and Lévesque (Lavec, Lesveque), respondents experienced difficulty with Bourasssa (Pierre Borassa), Harper (Alija) and Mercredi (Ovid). One reply suggested that John A. Macdonald was still a major political influence. The top twenty names are shown in Table 3.25.

Of the 53 different individuals proposed, 21 appeared only once whereas the top ten gathered over 78% of the replies, with Mulroney and Trudeau alone collecting almost 40%. Figures of regional importance (e.g., Bob Rae, Bill Vander Zalm, John Crosbie) received support almost uniquely from their own regions. Twenty of the individuals named, representing 66.6% of replies, were active politicians; six were sportsmen (16.1%), and five were native leaders (7.3%). Writers (e.g., Timothy Findley), actors (William Shatner), popstars (Bryan Adams) and broadcasters (David Suzuki) made up just 3.2% of replies.

Table 3.25. Important men in recent Canadian history

Name	Total (Max. 341)	Name	Total (Max. 341)
Brian Mulroney	71	Marc Garneau	6
Pierre Trudeau	62	Bryan Adams	5
Terry Fox	32	Jean Chrétien	4
Joe Clark	18	John Crosbie	4
René Lévesque	18	George Erasmus	3
Wayne Gretzky	17	Bob Rae	3
Robert Bourassa	15	Michael Wilson	3
Clyde Wells	14	Bill Vander Zalm	3
Ovide Mercredi	13	Preston Manning	3
Elijah Harper	7	Jacques Parizeau	3

The results suggest that citizens see their lives very much in terms of political decisions and the impact of those decisions on their lives. The politicians who change the course of history may be disliked or despised, but their role in individual destinies is not denied. This explains the occurrence of names like John Crosbie (fishing), René Lévesque (Quebec separatism), Michael Wilson (free trade), Bob Rae (Ontario reforms) and Bill Vander Zalm (British Columbia). Several respondents appended comments to their replies, pointing out that Mulroney was "bad" or had "screwed up".

The popularity of Gretzky, Fox and Garneau, however, suggests the need for another kind of identification. This has more to do with conspicuous heroism and achievement, tempered by empathy and humanity. Rick Hansen's "Man in Motion" wheelchair campaign and Terry Fox's Marathon of Hope were modern-day equivalents of the national dream, generating the solidarity, good will -- and even hard cash -- that politicians cannot supply. Fox's trans-Canada trek may also have evoked memories of the early settlers. Journeying in their imaginations into space with Marc Garneau, equipped with Canada's flag, Canadians could visualize the physical expanse and oneness of Canada and savour the admiring attention of the world as a technically sophisticated space-age nation. And then there is Wayne Gretzky, the Great One, worshipped wherever hockey is played; the role model for a generation, the all-Canadian boy whose success was built on game instinct, technical skill and personal charm.

Question 8. Which three Canadian women have been, for you, the most important in the last ten years of Canada's history?

Of the 150 respondents completing the questionnaire, only 30.7% could name three Canadian women that were felt to be important. No less than 23.3% were unable to supply a single name, suggesting either a dearth of heroines or lack of knowledge. On average, each respondent gave 1.59 replies. A significant interaction with age similar to that described above was also noted ($f = 10.23$, $df = 2/147$, $p < 0.001$) with 16-21 year-olds able to give 1.13 replies compared to a figure of 2.2 for the over-26s. Several of the names given were not identifiable as women of regional or national importance and may well have been friends, tutors or local figures. One Quebec respondent mentioned his wife, mistress and sister. There were several minor spelling errors in the data, but also other lapses. Sally Ride, for example, who is cited once, is an American astrophysicist; Jean Drapeau is a man; and Nellie McClung died in 1951. Names mentioned three or more times are listed in Table 3. 26.

A total of 66 different individuals were proposed, of which 38 only appeared once. The top four names represented 48.3% of replies. Local and national politicians and party leaders predominated, although skiers, skaters (Elizabeth Manley) and swimmers (Carolyn Waldo)

appeared alongside social activists (Chantal Daigle, Rosalie Abella), writers (Jean Little, Margaret Lawrence) and singers (k.d. lang, Rita MacNeil).

In their respective areas of achievement, Audrey McLaughlin, Roberta Bondar and Jeanne Sauvé all represent women's success in traditionally male fields. McLaughlin became the first female Canadian national party leader, Bondar was the first Canadian woman astronaut, and Sauvé achieved several firsts: first female French-Canadian Cabinet member, first female Speaker in the House of Commons, and first female Governor General. The importance of McLaughlin, Bondar and Sauvé in the national consciousness is reflected in the fact that 10 men and 9 women mention two of the three together in their replies. The 97 replies (men: 34, women: 63) mentioning Maude Barlow, Kim Campbell, Pat Carney, Sharon Carstairs, Sheila Copps, Pauline Jewett, Flora MacDonald, Alexa McDonough, Barbara McDougall, Audrey McLaughlin, Lyn McLeod, Elsie Wayne and Bertha Wilson speak of a general esteem for women politicians that is not marked by failure or negative impact on individual lives. As noted above, male politicians are more likely to be seen as objects of criticism.

Table 3.26. Important women in recent Canadian history

Name	Total (Max. 238)	Name	Total (Max. 238)
Audrey McLaughlin	41	Kerrin Gartner	5
Roberta Bondar	35	Flora MacDonald	5
Jeanne Sauvé	21	Mila Mulroney	4
Kim Campbell	18	Anne Murray	3
Sheila Copps	11	Silken Laumann	3
Margaret Atwood	11	Karen Percy	3
Barbara McDougall	9	Elsie Wayne	3
Barbara Frum	9	Pat Carney	3

Question 10. Which three events do you think have been the most important in Canada's history?

Respondents made 356 replies identifying 65 different events, a mean reply rate of 2.37. Almost two-thirds (64.7%) of respondents were able to name three events, but three blanks were registered by 9.3%. Once again, this may derive from ignorance, a genuine belief that there are no events of historical importance, or general dissatisfaction with the questionnaire. As with questions 7 and 8, the under-22 age group was significantly less able to nominate events than the

26+ group, with mean reply rates of 2.04 and 2.74 respectively ($f = 6.11$, $df = 2/147$, $p < 0.005$). Events mentioned four or more times are listed in Table 3.27.

Table 3.27. Important events in Canadian history

Event	Total (Max. 356)	Event	Total (Max. 356)
Confederation	66	Vimy Ridge	9
Repatriation of constitution	34	Free Trade Agreement	9
Completion of CPR	23	1972 Canada Cup	8
Meech Lake/constitut. crisis	19	Expo 67	7
Charlottetown referendum	16	Newfoundland joins confed.	5
Plains of Abraham battle	16	Hanging of Louis Riel	4
World War I	15	Statute of Westminster, 1932	4
October crisis	14	Women's suffrage	4
War of 1812	14	Blue Jays win World Series	4
World War II	11	Canadian UN peacekeeping	4
Oka crisis	10	The Gulf War	4

Understandably, the 1867 British North America Act and the repatriation of the constitution in 1982 are ranked high as these events are the cornerstones of Canada's political existence. In all, 155 replies (43.5%) are related to Canada's political consolidation and achievement of independence. Military campaigns and wars account for 21.6% of replies, and a further 10.4% refer to national crises (FLQ, Oka, Louis Riel, the Winnipeg strike, Marc Lepine). This is balanced by the 16.8% of replies that mention positive achievements and sporting successes (e.g., the establishment of health insurance, the completion of the CPR, the Montreal and Calgary Olympics, the discovery of insulin).

Preliminary crosstabulations showed that World War I and the 1972 Canada Cup were more important to men than women, who for their part attached greater significance to Confederation and the completion of the CPR. Interestingly, almost one in four of the 16-21 age group referred to Confederation whereas only 12.5% of the over-26s mentioned it. For this latter group the October Crisis, which many may have lived through, was ranked as the second most important event (8.33%). The younger age groups ranked it tenth and eleventh. Respondents in the 22-26 age group considered the constitutional debate to be the third most important event (7.2%). It merited only 3.7% of replies amongst the 16-21 year-olds, although the referendum on the Charlottetown Accord was considered equally important (4.63%).

Regional differences emerged in the relative status of key events. For Central Canadian respondents, the 1812 War ranked second after Confederation. Westerners ranked it eleventh,

well behind the Oka Crisis and the building of the CPR, which, for obvious reasons, was regarded as the second most important event in the West's history. Ontarians were also less convinced that confederation was central to Canada's history with just 12.5% of their replies mentioning it. Corresponding figures for the West and Atlantic were 19.7% and 22.2% respectively.

In terms of historical distance, replies referred to events as follows:

1970-present:	39.8% (e.g., abortion debate, Vietnam war, Quebec referendum)
1939-1970:	8.5% (Dieppe, discovery of oil at Leduc, Suez peacekeeping)
1900-1939:	10.9% (Statute of Westminster, discovery of insulin, Winnipeg strike)
1867-1900:	27.4% (Louis Riel, national policy, British Columbia joins Confederation)
1800-1867:	4.5% (responsible government, 1837 rebellions)
1700-1800:	7.3% (Treaty of Paris, arrival of the Loyalists)
pre-1700:	1.5% (Cartier, Champlain)

The above figures suggest that almost half of Canada's momentous events have occurred since 1939. Of the 171 replies mentioning post-1939 events, 72 referred to celebrations and national progress. The remainder focused on problems and crises. Individual replies did not show a regular pattern, although there were few that failed to include at least one of the following: the 1982 Constitution Act, Meech Lake and Charlottetown. Individual experiences of history were very Eurocentric with just a single reply referring to first white contact with the native peoples in British Columbia (1741). Otherwise no reference was made to the non-European history of Canada.

Question 11. Which three Canadian products and/or inventions are you proud of?

This question asked respondents to identify their nation's claims to innovative prowess, in the form of a respected patent or á world-beating product. As with the previous question on key historical events, respondents were able to make use of popular general knowledge, which they could reproduce without great specificity. The relative ease of the task was revealed in the high number of replies (346, 76.9%). Nevertheless, only 61% of respondents were able to name three Canadian products or inventions with 17% naming two, 13% one, and 9% none at all. The age

factor was once again significant ($f = 3.90$, $df = 2/147$, $p < 0.05$): the 16-21 age-group gave an average of 4.96 replies compared with 2.45 in the 22-26 group.

Replies attributed a total of 73 different products/inventions to Canadian genius. The most frequently mentioned are listed in Table 3.28.

Table 3.28. Canadian products and inventions

Invention/product	Total (Max. 346)	Invention/product	Total (Max. 346)
Canadarm	51	Nuclear technology	7
Telephone	46	Maple syrup	6
Insulin	41	Peacekeeping forces	5
Basketball	18	Trivial Pursuit	5
Ice hockey	16	Fashion and clothing	4
Penicillin	16	Electron microscope	4
Snowmobile	12	Nat. resources (nickel, potash)	3
Beer	12	Polio programme	3
Wheat	9	Zipper	3
Lobster and fish	8	Oil products	3
Forest products	8	Hydroelectricity	3

For the purpose of analysis, they can be divided into seven types, as follows:

1. Technology and invention (e.g., the Canadarm, telephone, CANDU reactor, laser sailboat, Avro Arrow);

2. Natural resources and related products (i.e., forestry, paper, oil);

3. Medical research and discovery (i.e., insulin);

4. Food and agricultural products (i.e., lobster, fish, maple syrup, blueberries);

5. Social institutions (i.e., health care, educated young people, the CBC, peacekeeping forces);

6. Sports and games (i.e., hockey, basketball, Trivial Pursuit); and

7. Miscellaneous (i.e., Superman, Group of Seven, Maritime crafts)

National pride appears to reside primarily in Canadian technology and invention, which were mentioned in 44.8% of replies. A further 16.8% referred to scientific research, with sports

(12.4%), food (11.0%), resources (7.2%) and social institutions (5.2%) of lesser importance. A chisquare analysis revealed a significant correlation with age ($c^2 = 24.73$, df = 12, $p < 0.02$). Whereas 54.1% of the replies given by the over-26 age group referred to technological achievements, the corresponding figure for 16-21 year-olds was 32.1%. If technology and research are combined, the difference becomes even clearer (74.2% compared with 44.0%). One interpretation of this difference is that the younger generation takes technical innovation and product development for granted, and fail to see the relationship between research and development, economic growth and their high living standard. For this age-group, then, technological prowess is replaced by a preoccupation with sports and games (17.4%), food (16.5%) and natural resources (11.9%). The corresponding figures for the oldest age group are 7.1%, 7.1% and 3.5%. For all age groups, Canada's social institutions and achievements are not highly esteemed. The presence of 18 replies falling into this group, however, is in itself interesting since the question clearly had a materialist slant.

It is becoming increasingly clear that progress, especially in science and technology, seldom results from individual breakthroughs and is more often dependent on several minor developments which, in fortuitous combination, lead to a major advance. Gjving credit for the breakthrough, however, becomes a question of interpretation. Do we prioritize the initial research work, the filing of the patent, or the logistics of economically viable production? This ambiguity means that the products and inventions attributed to national innovation become very susceptible to mythification and folk transformation. In other words, citizens are likely, for one reason or another, to make several false or dubious claims. An obvious example is penicillin, which was cited by 16 individuals in the questionniare. Clearly, respondents are confusing penicillin, discovered by Alexander Fleming, a Scot, in 1928, and insulin, discovered by the Canadians Best and Banting in 1921. According to information in de Bono (1974), Canada cannot claim the honour of having invented the electron microscope (developed by two Germans, Knoll and Ruska, in 1928), heart pacemaker (American A. S. Hayman, 1932), lamp bulb (Joseph Swan, Britain, 1878), or scuba tank (Frenchmen Cousteau and Gagnan, 1943), despite what respondents believe. The lineages of other products, such as the heat exchanger, the paint roller, the milk shake, electric guitar, Phillips screwdriver and insect repellant -- all of which, according to respondents' replies, are Canadian inventions -- are also disputable.

The hydrofoil, mentioned in one reply, illustrates the difficulty of identifying the inventor. Although Bell set a new waterspeed record of 71 mph with his Canadian hydrofoil in 1918, he had got the original idea from an Italian, Forlanini, in 1911. Creative credit is also problematic: the cartoon figure Superman was first used by Canadian Joe Shuster and Jerry Siegel. Shuster, born in Toronto, moved to Cleveland, Ohio, at the age of nine. James Naismith's basketball was developed while he was studying at the YMCA International Training School in Springfield,

Massachusetts. Even though 13.2% of respondents see the telephone as a Canadian invention, Alexander Graham Bell was in fact born in Edinburgh and developed the telephone while Professor of Vocal Physiology at Boston University.

The point is not that these are factual errors or generous interpretations of Canadian-ness, but that the respondents genuinely believe that these products and inventions represent highpoints of Canadian achievement, symbolizing technical sophistication and international competitiveness. More importantly, they are believed to have gained the attention of the world. Like the art and literature that speak of a golden past, the products of scientific innovation enhance national self-image. They are therefore eagerly incorporated on whatever basis is available: nationality, residence or parentage. The prominence of the Shuttle Remote Manipulator System (Canadarm) in respondents' replies should be no surprise since, like Roberta Bondar and Marc Garneau, it too is believed -- often erroneously -- to have achieved global if not superterrestrial conspicuousness.

Question 12. Which three Canadian men or women do you most admire in the field of sport?

Replies to this question totalled 377 (83.8%) with 74% of respondents providing a full three answers, in contrast to the previous question where only 61% were capable of this. There was no significant interaction between the number of replies (a mean of 2.51 per person) and background variables, suggesting that most respondents could easily identify sporting heroes to match their individual tastes and preferences. Sport is, after all, prominent in the media and a frequent topic of conversation. The oral, informal basis of respondents' sporting knowledge was reflected in the high number of spelling and name errors, 85 in all. The Great One appeared as Gretsky 18 times. The many guises of Silken Laumann included Lamien, Lauman, Lowman and Laumman. Kerrin Lee-Gartner was more popular as Karen-Lee Gardener or even as Sharon Lee-Gardner. Brian Orser (Orsar), Mark Tewkesbury (Tewksberry), Ian Millar (Miller), Alex Baumann (Bauer), Bruny Surin (Bruno Surie) and Sylvie Frechette (Sylvia Frenchette) were also remembered rather inexactly.

Respondents suggested 74 different sporting figures, 59 men and 16 women, covering a wide range of sports, from weightlifting to shooting, from diving to riding. Gretzky accounted for almost 25% of all replies with the top five names alone making up 49.6%. Over 50% of the names proposed occurred just once. Several of those named were unidentifiable, presumably because their following was limited to a particular area of the country, or in some cases as a result of respondents' poor handwriting. Two of the athletes proposed were American (Michael Jordan, Dorothy Hamill), one Russian (Pavel Bure) and one a ballerina (Karen Kain). Table 3.29 lists those sportsmen and women receiving four or more replies.

The list of most frequently mentioned athletes in all categories except ice hockey reads very much like Canada's Olympic roll of honour, stretching back to Barbara Ann Scott and Victor Davis. Social identity theory confirms the importance of reflected glory, and what more glorious achievement is there than an Olympic medal? It is won against the rest of the world in a highly conspicuous and valued competition witnessed by billions worldwide. The glory of victory in an emotionally-charged atmosphere is heightened by the ritual of raising the national flag and singing the national anthem, the ultimate celebration of solidarity and unity.

Table 3.29. Admired Canadian sportspeople

Name	Total (Max. 377)	Name	Total (Max. 377)
Wayne Gretzky	93	Larry Walker	6
Silken Laumann	43	Bobby Orr	6
Mike Smith	18	Alex Baumann	6
Ben Johnson	17	Eric Lindros	6
Elizabeth Manley	16	Rick Hansen	6
Terry Fox	11	Ian Millar	5
Sylvie Frechette	10	Guy Lafleur	5
Mario Lemieux	10	Don Cherry	4
Kerrin Lee-Gartner	9	Ken Dryden	4
Nancy Greene	9	Marc Messier	4
Kurt Browning	8	Mark Tewkesbury	4
Brian Orser	8	Manon Rheaume	4

Seen retrospectively, even from 1996, the list perhaps confirms the adage "sic transit gloria mundi". The construction of a positive self-image by association with great athletes requires some degree of contemporaneity, i.e., each person needs to be associated with a sporting success that he/she has witnessed or lived through. These successes live on for that generation, but in themselves they are inadeqate to sustain subsequent generations' pride. Thus, for example, Percy Williams, Robert Kerr, Harry Jerome and the other forgotten heroes of this century do not appear in the list of replies.

Although not statistically significant, there are indications that the 26+ age-group has named more individual athletes in a miscellany of sports (14.3%), suggesting their experiential importance to the respondent personally, whereas the 16-21 group has sided with current success in the form of medal-winning athletes in Olympic events (e.g., Silken Laumann, rowing; Mike Smith, track and field). Interestingly, it is in hockey that respondents are more willing to name the enduring, old-time stars (Jean Beliveau, Maurice Richard, Ken Dryden, Bobby Orr, Gordie

Howe, Guy Lafleur) who have gained legendary status throughout North America. This may reflect respondents' confidence that Canadian hockey stars will continue to shine in the NHL.

Question 13. Which three Canadian men or women do you most admire in the field of entertainment?

As expected, this question tapped into a key area of individual identity and generated a high number of responses. Respondents produced 378 replies, a mean of 2.52 each. There were no significant background variables. Only 12% of respondents were unable to supply two or three names. There were numerous spelling mistakes and occasionally confusion over nationality: the actors Bill Murray, Michael Landon and Martin Sheen, for example, are in fact American. Those entertainers receiving four or more mentions are listed in Table 3.30.

Table 3.30. Admired Canadian entertainers

Name	Total (Max. 378)	Name	Total (Max. 378)
Bryan Adams	49	Gordon Lightfoot	6
John Candy	34	Bruce Cockburn	6
Anne Murray	28	Rita MacNeil	5
Michael J. Fox	25	Lorne Green	5
Donald Sutherland	14	Neil Young	5
Martin Short	11	Maureen Forrester	5
William Shatner	10	Blue Rodeo	4
Céline Dion	9	Stompin' Tom Connors	4
Mike Myers	7	Leonard Cohen	4
Howie Mandel	7	Karen Kain	4
k.d. lang	7	Oscar Peterson	4
Tom Cochrane	7	Leslie Nielsen	4

The whims of fashion and individual taste were reflected in the number and range of entertainers proposed by respondents. No less than 111 different names appeared in replies, of which 18 were unidentifiable. The majority of proposals (67) appeared just once with almost 50% of replies concentrated on the top seven names. One-off replies were distributed evenly amongst the age groups, but women were clearly more heterogeneous in their tastes with 85 different suggestions compared with 70 from the men.

The results can be interpreted in a number of ways. Firstly, the range of respondents' replies listing 111 Canadian talents active in diverse branches of the entertainment world shows the

nation's vibrant and multifaceted cultural life. Secondly, the list expresses intense national pride. Not only have the top names achieved recognition domestically, but they have also attained world renown in their own particular fields, especially across the border in the United States. Conspicuousness once again is an important factor. In discussing Canada's expatriate film stars, the *Canadian Encyclopedia* (1988, p. 337) notes:

> The awareness of America's complete indifference towards anything Canadian, and especially towards Canadian appreciation for and actual contributions to American show business, merely adds to the sense of exclusion, and arouses the desire to stake some kind of claim to actual participation, however marginal.

Because of the high international visibility of their top musicians and filmstars, Canadians are repeatedly allowed to glimpse themselves as a nation of successful and enterprising individuals who are at least equal to, if not better than, the world's best. The image reflected back through films, television and music videos is a source of pride, provided that other nations are watching. Significantly, however, the world tends not to differentiate Canadian and American contributions very precisely.

In an informal experiment Finnish undergraduates (N=14) were presented with a list of 25 filmstars, including 10 Canadians, and 6 British, 6 Americans and 3 Australians. Seven of the Canadian stars appear in Table 3.29 (the other three, admittedly of a slightly older vintage, were Mary Pickford, Walter Huston and Raymond Burr). The students were asked simply to give the nationality of the stars. Although they were able to identify the Americans, Australians and British with around 80% accuracy, only three of the Canadian stars were correctly recognized in more than 50% of replies (Michael J. Fox, John Candy, Donald Sutherland). The remainder were more likely to be seen as Americans. In the present study, this confusion is compounded when Canadians themselves inadvertently attribute Canadian nationality to American stars.

Question 14. Which three Canadian men or women do you most admire in the field of politics?

The inclusion of the word "admire" in this question provoked a strong reaction. In earlier questions, a blank reply signalled a lack of either knowledge of or interest in the subject area. In this question, however, 13 respondents actually bothered to write "none" as their reply. Others had boldly drawn a diagonal line through the question, something which they had not done for earlier questions left blank. Several added comments like "I hate them all" or "there are none to admire". Recognizing the importance of a politician, as evidenced by the mean of 2.27 replies per respondent in question 7, does not in any way presuppose admiration, as seen in a 1.88 mean

reply rate for this question. As one respondent sarcastically noted, the idea of admiration in the field of politics is in itself an oxymoron.

Less than half the respondents (47.3%) were able to name three admired politicians, with fully a fifth (22.7%) unable or unwilling to name a single one. Only four other questions (8, 15, 16 and 18) achieved a similar percentage of blank replies. A total of 65 names was proposed with 30 nominations occurring just once. The list included 18 women who together claimed 73 (25.1%) of the replies. Politicians receiving four or more mentions are listed in Table 3.31.

Table 3.31. Admired Canadian politicians

Name	Total (Max. 295)	Name	Total (Max. 295)
Pierre Trudeau	49	Brian Mulroney	9
Joe Clark	24	Jeanne Sauvé	8
Audrey McLaughlin	21	René Lévesque	6
Clyde Wells	14	John Diefenbaker	6
There are none to admire	13	Robert Bourassa	5
Jean Chrétien	11	John A. Macdonald	5
Frank McKenna	10	Lester Pearson	4
Sheila Copps	10	Michael Wilson	4
Ovide Mercredi	10	Elijah Harper	4
		Alexa McDonough	4

Female respondents were more likely than men to mention women politicians in their replies (32.1% compared with 16.2%), suggesting that overall there is some genuine admiration for women politicians. One female respondent wrote: "Any woman because women have a hard time being taken seriously in politics." Women respondents mentioning Audrey McLaughlin outnumbered men by two to one. A similar male tendency was apparent in the amount of support expressed for Joe Clark.

In the same year as the present questionniare was administered, Reid and Burns (1992, p. 149) found in a 16-nation survey that 82% of their 1003 Canadian informants were somewhat or very dissatisfied with the overall performance of their government. No less than 74% also expressed the opinion that government was becoming somewhat or much less responsive to community needs. The present data suggest that this dissatisfaction and sense of alienation

crystallized very clearly in the figure of Brian Mulroney His importance, as revealed in replies to question 7, is not matched by a similar level of respect.

Question 15. Which three Canadian men or women do you most admire in the field of business life?

This proved to be a very difficult question receiving just 194 replies (43.1%), the lowest response rate for the entire questionnaire. Only 24% of respondents were able to supply three names, with no less than 38.7% failing to mention a single name. It might have been expected that the youngest age group would have a rather vague and diffuse notion of business and commerce, but in fact there was no significant relationship between age and the number of replies given. This may be explained by the fact that the 16 and 17-year-olds completing the questionnaire were mainly from New Brunswick, and were therefore well aware of the business activities of both the Irving and McCain families. Whether the mere mention of their name can be equated with admiration is of course impossible to tell.

The four most frequently mentioned names (Irving, McCain, Conrad Black, Reichman) made up 45% of all replies, with Robert Campeau, Jim Pattison and Jack Sobey each accounting for about 3%. Several large companies (Molson, Labatt, Eatons, Bronfman) received a similar degree of admiration as hockey manager Peter Pocklington, cinema exhibitor Garth Drabinsky, theatrical impresario Ed Mirvish, newspaper magnate Pierre Péladeau and fashion designer Alfred Sung. Male entrepreneurs outnumbered females, 80% of whom were nominated by women, by ten to one.

The large number of nominations featuring in just one reply (56 from a total of 77, 72.7%) also suggests that many of the entrepreneurs were running small local businesses. Three respondents in fact found their fathers' commercial ventures worthy of admiration. Provincial pride was also seen in replies proposing Jim Pattison (British Columbia) and Mel Hurtig (Alberta). In any case, the diversity, if not the quantity, of replies speaks of a strong enterprise culture that is easily distinguishable as Canadian.

Question 16. Which three Canadian men or women do you most admire in the field of art and culture?

For those who doubt the vitality of Canada's cultural life, the list of 116 separate nominations that this question produced should offer consolation. No other question generated such a diverse and idiosyncratic range of responses with as many as 70.2% of the nominations occurring just once. Art and culture were interpreted widely with the result that painters (e.g.,

Toni Onley), sculptors (Michael Snow), architects (Arthur Erickson), actors (John Candy), ballet dancers (Karen Kain) and cinematographers (Denys Arcand) appeared alongside poets (Nicole Brossard), novelists (Timothy Findley) and designers (Arthur Sung). Classical musicians (Glenn Gould) and photographers (Freeman Patterson) accompanied modern popstars (k.d. lang), folksingers (Edith Fowke) and media personalities (Pete Gzowski). Respondents' cultural loyalties were concentrated on eight individuals or groups, who together accounted for 43.3% of replies. Table 3.32 lists cultural figures attracting 3 or more replies.

Table 3.32: Admired Canadian cultural figures

Name	Total (Max. 256)	Name	Total (Max. 256)
The Group of Seven	23	Christopher Pratt	5
Karen Kain	22	Adrienne Clarkson	4
Emily Carr	19	Rita MacNeil	3
Alex Colville	15	Anne Murray	3
Tom Thomson	9	Veronica Tennant	3
Margaret Atwood	9	Stompin' Tom Connors	3
Robert Bateman	9		

The only thing to detract from this demonstration of cultural cornucopia was the low number of replies (56.9%) and the fact that 37 respondents (24.7%) could not produce a single name, the second highest figure after question 15 (38.7%). The 16-21 age group produced a mean of 1.45 replies each, compared with 1.84 and 1.66 for the 22-26 and 26+ groups. The difference, however, was not statistically significant even if it perhaps highlights age-related variations in levels of cultural knowledge. The results suggest that younger respondents may also have been more ashamed or reluctant than the older groups to interpret pop music as culture, and thus left their answers blank.

The popularity of the Group of Seven painters becomes more apparent if we add the five replies mentioning A.Y. Jackson, A J. Casson and Lawren Harris. This is not an appropriate context to discuss the artistic merits of the Group of Seven, but their ability to depict the rugged beauty and unspoilt vastness of the Canadian landscape has given them enduring appeal. Their paintings are distinctively Canadian in theme, which turns them into strong patriotic statements. Although they receive a high level of support across gender, age and provincial boundaries, the results suggest that they enjoy greater popularity amongst women, Central Canadian respondents -- whose backyard scenery provided the Group's inspiration -- and the 16-21 age group.

Preference for or greater knowledge of regionally active artists was very clearly visible. Emily Carr was mentioned by 22% of Westerners but by just 4.3% of Atlantic Canadians. The latter were more likely to cite Alex Colville, Robert Bateman and Christopher Pratt.

Three respondents referred to the work of First Nations artists, but only Bill Reid was mentioned by name. There was some evidence of a developing pan-Canadian culture with some 12 cultural figures of Québecois origin appearing in the data (e.g., Claude Dutoit, Céline Dion). Despite occasional spelling errors (e.g., Karen Cain/Kane) and some inaccuracies with christian names, the overall orthographic correctness of replies suggests that respondents were familiar with and genuinely interested in the work of the cultural figures they mentioned.

Question 17. Who, in your opinion, are Canada's three greatest writers?

Respondents found the task of naming three Canadian writers considerably easier than citing prominent cultural figures. The figure of 6.7% respondents unable to mention a single writer is one of the lowest in this section of the questionnaire, and the total number of replies received (367) represents a mean reply rate of 2.45. A oneway ANOVA revealed a highly significant correlation with age: the 16-21 age group averaged 1.94 replies each compared with a mean of 2.64 for the 22-26s and 2.89 for the 26+ group ($f = 15.89$, $df = 2/147$, $p < 0.001$). A significant difference in the reply rate of Central and Atlantic Canadians was also noted, but this result once again reflects the prevalence of the16-21 age group in the Atlantic sample.

A total of 61 authors, 45 men and 19 women, were mentioned in the replies. Of these, 35 (57%) occurred just once. The five most frequently cited accounted for 51.5% of all replies. Table 3.33 lists those writers receiving four or more mentions.

Table 3.33. Admired Canadian writers

Name	Total (Max. 367)	Name	Total (Max. 367)
Margaret Atwood	58	W.O. Mitchell	17
Margaret Laurence	45	Stephen Leacock	15
Robertson Davies	31	Hugh MacLennan	8
Farley Mowat	28	Gabrielle Roy	5
Pierre Berton	27	Alice Munro	5
Mordecai Richler	24	Michel Tremblay	4
Lucy Maude Montgomery	22	Jean Little	4

Despite the great diversity of their literary tastes and reading interests, respondents have nominated in the first place internationally renowned authors (Atwood, Laurence, Davies, Montgomery, Mowat), followed by writers who examine distinctive and often regionally-based aspects of Canadian history, life and society (Berton, Richler, Mitchell, Leacock, MacLennan, Ernest Buckler, Barbara Smucker, David Adams Richard, Rudy Wiebe). Children's authors are also prominent (Judy Blume, Gordon Korman). Modern poets (Robert Service, Émile Nelligan, Alden Nowlan) appear in the company of vintage writers (Susanna Moodie, Sara Jeanette Duncan, John Richardson).

The nomination of an author may simply reflect second-hand knowledge of the writer's reputation, or familiarization with his or her work through televison. Support for this theory is found in the frequent misspellings (e.g., Pierre Burton, Judy Bloom); the occasional misnomers (Robert Davison, Hugh MacClelland) and the naming of American writers (Jack London, Robert Frost, Stephen King). In general, though, the replies show a respectful awareness of Canada's significant literary contribution, both in English and French.

Question 18. Which three books by Canadian writers would you recommend to a visitor?

The 281 replies to this question recommended 108 different works of Canadian literature. Almost one quarter of respondents, however, could not name a single book that they would recommend to a visitor, and only slightly less than 50% were able to name three. This contrasts rather sharply with the level of responses for the previous question where 68% were able to name their three greatest Canadian writers, and only 6.7% failed to name a single one. To unambiguosuly interpret this discepancy would require a follow-up study, but a simple conclusion would be that "great" authors acquire a hearsay reputation which is never substantiated by actual reading. Another no less unflattering interpretation would be that, while acknowledging the international recognition their writers have earned, individual Canadians would not actually recommend their books. Recommendations mentioned in four or more replies are listed in Table 3.34.

A significant correlation between reply rate and age was found ($f = 4.23$, $df = 2/147$; $p < 0.02$). On average, the youngest age group was able to name 1.55 titles compared to a figure of 2.3 for the 26+ group. Since it might be expected that many of the youngest group would cite examples of Canadian children's literature (e.g., by Gordon Korman, Farley Mowat), presumably because this is what they have read and could personally recommend, the implication of the low response rate is that generally the 16-21 age group reads very little and has a very superficial second-hand awareness of Canadian literature.

Table 3.34. Recommended books by Canadian writers

Name	Total (Max. 281)	Name	Total (Max. 281)
Anne of Green Gables	34	The Apprenticeship of Duddy Kravitz	8
Who Has Seen the Wind	16	The Diviners	7
The Stone Angel	16	Two Solitudes	6
Fifth Business	16	Sunshine Sketches of a Little Town	6
The Handmaid's Tale	15	The Edible Woman	5
The Last Spike	13	Oh Canada! Oh Quebec!	4
Never Cry Wolf	8		

Although respondents showed diverse individual preferences for particular works, certain authors were clearly favoured. Almost 70% of the recommendations referred to books by just 10 authors, whose titles made up 39.8% of all nominations. Books mentioned once accounted for 74 of the 108 titles. Table 3.35 gives details of the replies citing the ten most popular witers.

Table 3.35. Recommended Canadian writers, by number of titles and replies

Author	Titles (N=108)	%	Replies (N=281)	%
Pierre Berton	9	8.3	25	8.9
Farley Mowat	6	5.5	16	5.7
Margaret Atwood	5	4.6	25	8.9
Margaret Laurence	5	4.6	26	9.2
Mordecai Richler	5	4.6	16	5.7
Robertson Davies	3	2.8	19	7.9
Hugh MacLennan	3	2.8	10	3.5
Timothy Findley	3	2.8	7	2.9
W.O. Mitchell	2	1.8	17	6.0
L.M. Montgomery	2	1.8	35	14.5

Pierre Berton's reputation as a writer is based on a number of best-selling portrayals of key moments in Canadian history (War of 1812, building of the CPR, World War I). In describing the defining events of Canada's rise to nationhood and self-respect, he is appealing to his readers' need for historical pride, and a sense of continuity and shared destiny. Of the 196 replies mentioning works by writers in the top ten list above, Berton figured in 12.7%, but a significant

result from a chisquare analysis ($c^2 = 18.7$, df = 9, $p < 0.05$) suggests that Berton is considerably more popular amongst men: 22.4% compared with 7.7%. This result may say more about male reading tastes in general, but it also reveals a search for a mythified past, populated by predominantly male heroes who, in their resoluteness and bravery, are not so different from their modern-day screen equivalents.

There were also clear male preferences for W. O. Mitchell (10.4% compared with 7.7%) and Mordecai Richler (11.9%/6.2%). Women, for their part, were distinguished by their great admiration for L. M. Montgomery (24.0% compared with 6.0% for men). In a way, the world inhabited by Montgomery's Anne is full of the same historical nostalgia that colours Pierre Berton's books. In recommending these particular authors, whose books made up almost 25% of all replies, respondents want to offer their hypothetical visitors glimpses into an English Canada that no longer exists, a simpler, less ambiguous Canada which they themselves vicariously inhabit.

Question 19. What are your three favourite Canadian TV programmes?

The mean response rate of 2.51 replies per respondent suggests that this question was not difficult. Only 6% failed to supply a single answer with no less than 72% providing a full three replies, a figure exceeded only by questions 12 and 13 on sport and popular entertainment. A total of 75 different programmes was recommended. Of these, five at least were identifiable as American (e.g., *Northern Exposure*, *In the Heat of the Night*). Programmes receiving four or more mentions are listed in Table 3.36.

Table 3.36. Favourite Canadian television programmes

Name	Total (Max. 377)	Name	Total (Max. 377)
The National/Journal	58	The Nature of Things	14
Hockey Night in Canada	31	W5	12
E.N.G.	28	Neon Rider	10
Street Legal	25	Much Music	9
Kids in the Hall	25	Life Goes On	7
De Grassi High	23	Fifth Estate	6
SCTV	18	(Northern Exposure)	6
The Road to Avonlea	17	The Beachcombers	4

Of the 70 identifiable Canadian TV programmes, a full 55% received just a single mention with 53.6% of replies concentrated on just eight programmes. This figure suggests not only

extensive domestic TV production, but also diversity and a wish to cater for minority interests. Nevertheless, the figure of 70 programmes falls well short of the hundred-plus results for questions 13 (entertainment, 111 nominations), 16 (culture, 116) and 18 (books, 108), which may indicate some inadequacies in programme variety.

Statistically significant gender-, age-, and region-related differences emerged when the programmes were grouped under six headings (News and Current Affairs, Documentary, Sport, Film Series and Shows, Music, Children's Programmes). Unfortunately, the findings merely confirm established television tastes. Sports programmes feature in 20.7% of men's replies but in only 2.6% of women's. Women tend to watch fewer news broadcasts (20.6% compared with 27.9% for men) and more series (54.1%, 35%). Enthusiasm for news programmes is highest in the 26+ group (33.7%) and lowest amongst 16-21 year-olds (18.0%). Documentaries also attract predominantly older audiences (14.5%, compared with 3.0% amongst the 16-21 age group). With other responsibilities and concerns, the 26+ group is less likely to favour entertainment programmes (38.5%) than the under-22s (49.6%). Regional differences were clearest in Western Canadian respondents' higher appreciation of documentaries (18.3% compared with 5.7% and 4.7% for Central and Atlantic respondents respectively).

In nominating their favourite programmes, several respondents merely wrote "CBC". It is possible that they were simply referring to unspecified CBC news programmes, but it may also be that they were expressing a straightforward preference, not only for Canadian television, but for the particular Canadian approach and style of CBC programmes generally. Indirectly, then, these respondents are pointing to a distinctive television culture that is threatened by American imports and domestic imitations of these. Some of the depth of this sentiment is captured in a recent Internet posting:

> I watch CBC movies, uneven as they are in quality, because they are about Canadians in Canadian setting in Canadian situations. . . . I treasure the CBC as the link that binds us all together. . . . It's not nostalgia that motivates me, but optimism of the greatness we could achieve as a nation. I think our national symbols, from parliament through the CBC, are essential if we are to survive and thrive. (Davis & Davis, 1996)

3.6. Review and summary

Chapter 3 has presented the results of a questionnaire administered to 150 Canadians in the autumn of 1992. Detailed analysis of responses to 31 of the questionnaire's 39 items has revealed some of the key components and dimensions of English Canada's Perceived National Identity. Even though the original questionnaire had a different purpose, it appears to have highlighted some of the complexity and internal contradictions of the PNI. Replies to the questionnaire items

proved to be interesting in terms of both their content and their number. In the following sections, the main outcomes of the questionnaire analysis are presented under each of these headings.

3.6.1. Content of replies

Despite the wide range of questions asked in the questionnaire, there are at least three themes running through the replies. These concern: 1) the ambivalence of national achievement and character, 2) conspicuousness and 3) mythification. The following summary is presented as a tentative examination of these three important strands of Canadian Perceived National Identity.

Replies to question 20 indicate that Canadians do not primarily use the traditional yardsticks of cultural, technical and sporting success to rate their country's international prowess. In fact, they even tend to denigrate certain more conspicuous aspects of Canadian output: its fashion, work quality, TV programmes and sports (question 37). The data suggest that the main sources of national pride are the country's social and political institutions. This strong sense of civic identity, however, contrasts with a deep antipathy to and mistrust of politicians expressed in many replies (e.g., questions 21, 25 and 39), and in the low response rate to question 14. When asked to provide examples of the superiority of Canadian society, respondents were more likely to cite the country's achievements in social legislation than refer to the democratic nature of its political system or the vision of its national leaders. This suggests that, in 1992 at least, issues related to, for example, welfare, education and law and order were seen primarily in apolitical terms, more reflective of accepted Canadian values than party political ideology.

The figures on Canadian superiority and inferiority vis-a-vis the USA (questions 22 and 23) indicate an interesting contradiction in the Canadian identity. The contradiction is that Canadian national character is seen to underlie both the country's superiority and inferiority. Although Canadians tend to see their national institutions and social policies as superior, presumably reflecting the positive features of their national character (e.g., altruism, tolerance, compromise), they also attribute their inferiority to national characteristics. 50% of the factors mentioned in replies to question 23 relate to inadequate patriotism and defective national character. This ambivalence is also visible in Table 3.19 (3.4.1.), which lists the preferred adjectives for describing the typical American (heterostereotype) and the typical American's self-image (projected heterostereotype). The adjectives "patriotic" and "proud" figured prominently in both lists. Indeed, the most frequent attribution -- "arrogant" -- can be seen as no more than a negative evaluation of the selfsame features. In other words, the data suggest that Canadians believe it is their own personal lack of patriotism and national pride, reflected in complacency and economic inefficiency, that makes Canada inferior to the United States. This contradiction may explain the level of commitment to and pride in the country's social institutions. Unable to compete with

Americans in terms of patriotism, efficiency and self- assertiveness, Canadians look to different criteria. The very existence of multiculturalism, bilingualism and social welfare, after all, confirms the inherent altrusim and compassion of Canadian people, and reinforces their own positive perception of their national character. This is one area, albeit less conspicuous and possibly less satisfying, where Canadians can feel justifiably superior.

The underlying ambiguity of Canadian national character is also seen in respondents' typical sources of pride and shame (questions 20 and 21). Factors related to national identity and character account for 15.7% of respondents' pride (honesty, compassion, generosity), but also for 18.3% of their shame (lack of patriotism, worship of the USA). Similarly, Canadians are simultaneously proud of their commitment to social justice and yet ashamed of the level of discrimination in their society. The main sources of pride (equality, multiculturalism, social provision, democracy) are also generally perceived, because of their incompleteness or imperfection, as sources of shame (poverty, bigotry, corruption). So, although Canadians take civic pride in the nation's progress towards the realization of multicultural and egalitarian ideals, they experience a sense of personal inadequacy in implementing them in a Canadian reality which they see as marked by inequality, injustice and intolerance.

This undoubtedly disturbing experience of personal inadequacy, however, does suggest that social justice is an integral part of the Canadian dream. It may also imply that whereas government and education have successfully incorporated a civic dimension into national identity, they may have created unrealistic expectations of the individuals responsible for its actual fulfilment. The challenge to the individual citizen is also reflected in the values prioritized by respondents (question 24): 65% concerned human relations, tolerance, compassion, personal integrity and peace. These are values that place high demands on the individual, and, where social reality falls short of personal ideals, the result is likely to be a sense of inadequacy, self-doubt and frustration.

The classificatory framework used to analyse replies to questions 26 to 29 on national stereotypes involved 8 dimensions devised to capture some of the essential differences in Canadian and American stereotype contents. What the subsequent analysis revealed was that Canadians tend to place Americans at the opposite extreme along certain key dimensions. This polarization (or at least the perception of polarization) once again reinforces many of the positive features of Canadian national identity (compassion, tolerance, contentment, intelligence) and underlines the negative features (apathy, complacency, reserve, lack of patriotism). By locating Americans at the opposite pole, respondents not only unambiguously define the dimensions along which Canadians can positively evaluate their national character, but they also assert the distinctiveness of Canadian identity -- an identity dominated by human and altruistic values rather than by commercial and exploitive ones. A unanimous claim to national distinctiveness may also

counteract the perception by Canadians that foreigners see Canada as a mere cultural, if not political, extension of the United States (questions 1 and 2).

It was suggested (2.6.5.) that a nation, just like an individual, may have a psychological need to be recognized as distinctive. It will also seek conspicuous superiority in some valid and appealing way (e.g., cultural output, sporting success, Nobel prizes, inventions, military impact, the conquest of space, UN social development ranking). The larger the stage, the more convincing the message: "Sit up and notice us. We are at least equal to you, if not better." Canadians are no different in this respect: they want their nation to be given positive exposure; they want the misconceptions about their climate, national character and international image to be corrected (question 2); they want the value basis of their society to be acknowledged and applauded (questions 20, 22, 24); they need their heroes to be seen internationally and correctly identified as Canadians. Only then can they feel justified in their sense of national pride and personal self-esteem. Unfortunately, Canadian national distinctiveness is compromised by its proximity to and domination by the United States. Non-Canadians often assume that Canada's entertainers and film stars are American, a natural mistake given that the majority of Canadian success stories are launched in the US. Canadians' own uncertainty about the origin of its TV offerings or nationality of its entertainers (questions 13 and 19) simply underlines the subtlety of the Americanization process, and the difficulty Canadians face in defining themselves.

Data from several questions (e.g., 1, 2, 24, 26-29) suggest that Canadians feel they are misunderstood or underestimated precisely along those mainly human dimensions that matter to them most: their inherent compassion, integrity, non-violence and ability to compromise. It is for this reason that events that question and undermine this self-image are taken so seriously: the Oka Crisis, the 1993 Vancouver hockey riots, the withdrawal of Ben Johnson's Olympic gold medal, the Canadian Legion turban ban and the behaviour of Canadian UN troops in Somalia.

One of the important roles of historical figures and events in individual experience is that they supposedly embody or exemplify the essential values that have guided the nation's progress and development (2.3.2.). Ideally, those same values should inform the nation's contemporary citizens, including its leaders. The questionnaire results, however, suggest that there is deep disillusionment with the country's political leadership. Current events and the actions of politicians seem to have compromised the integrity of the Canadian value system. What remain untarnished, however, are the figures of Sir John A. Macdonald and Pierre Trudeau, who also represent the cornerstones of the country's constitutional history -- Confederation and repatriation (questions 6 and 10). Their contribution is considered even more important at a time when disunity threatens the country's future (questions 25 and 39).

The questionnaire data also suggest that the value of historical models may have been further compromised. Firstly, respondents showed a rather limited knowledge of their country's history: only 65% could name three events of importance. Even this knowledge appears to be based more on rote recall of a list of key people and events, acquired formally in the school system and reinforced informally through the media and casual conversation. The second factor is that many of the key events and figures in Canadian history tend to be ambiguous and divisive, not easily susceptible to popular mythification. There is also a dearth of historical folk heroes. It is only in Canada's wars that we see unambiguous heroism and concerted national action (despite the conscription crises). This may explain why 22% of replies to question 10 referred to battles and military action. A similar search for the nation's golden age and irreplaceable values (2.3.4.) is reflected in the popularity of works by Pierre Berton and L. M. Montgomery (question 18).

Perhaps to compensate for the failure of their political leaders or lack of an acknowledged historical golden age -- or indeed their own historical and cultural ignorance -- respondents may seek confirmation of national values and self-esteem through other channels, hence the popularity of figures like Terry Fox, Rick Hansen, Wayne Gretzky and Roberta Bondar (questions 6, 7 and 8). Canadian Olympic athletes, NHL stars and entertainers of international repute may be the modern-day equivalents of historical folk heroes, subject to the same mythification and idolization and serving the same individual and national needs (questions 12 and 13). Confusion over the origin of inventions and discoveries suggests that the nation's scientific and technological expertise is also an area liable to mythification (question 11). Interestingly, this search for sporting and technical prominence contrasts with the deprecatory evaluations of Canada's achievements (question 37), and their downplaying as sources of pride.

3.6.2. Number of replies

Table 3.37 presents information on the overall response rates for those questions with a theoretical maximum of 450 replies (questions 20-23 provided six empty lines for respondents to write, but no minimum or maximum number of answers was requested). The table also shows the percentage of respondents giving a full three replies and those giving none. The latter figure is zero for certain questions (e.g., 1, 3, 4), but for others it accounts for some 20% (e.g., 14, 16, 18), and in one case (15) for almost 40% of respondents.

Table 3.37. Number of full and blank replies to questionnaire items

Question number	Total replies /450 replies	%	Mean replies/ respondents	3 replies N	%	No replies N	%
1 Factual information	427	94.89	2.85	130	86.7	0	0.0
2 Misconceptions	406	90.22	2.71	116	77.3	3	2.0
3 Scenery	440	97.78	2.93	137	91.3	0	0.0
4 Cities	449	99.78	2.99	149	99.3	0	0.0
5 Places to avoid	353	78.44	2.35	99	66.0	13	8.7
6 Key hist. figures	380	84.44	2.53	107	71.3	9	6.0
7 Recent key men	341	75.78	2.27	86	57.3	14	9.3
8 Recent key women	238	52.89	1.59	46	30.7	35	23.3
10 Key hist. events	356	79.11	2.37	97	64.7	14	9.3
11 Inventions/prods.	346	76.89	2.31	92	61.3	13	8.7
12 Sportsmen/women	377	83.78	2.51	111	74.	9	6.0
13 Entertainment	378	84.00	2.52	111	74.0	15	10.0
14 Politics	282	62.67	1.88	71	47.3	34	22.7
15 Business	194	43.11	1.29	36	24.0	58	38.7
16 Art and culture	256	56.89	1.71	59	39.3	37	24.7
17 Greatest writers	367	81.56	2.45	102	68.0	10	6.7
18 Books to recommend	281	62.44	1.87	74	49.7	36	24.0
19 Favourite TV progs.	377	83.78	2.51	108	72.0	9	6.0
24 Canadian values	356	79.11	2.37	102	68.0	18	12.0
25 Canadian problems	418	92.89	2.79	125	83.3	3	2.0
26 Autostereotype	403	89.56	2.69	124	82.7	8	5.3
27 Heterostereotype	409	90.89	2.73	126	84.0	4	2.7
28 Projected autost.	348	77.33	2.32	102	68.0	19	12.7
29 Projected heterost.	335	74.44	2.23	100	66.7	25	16.7
Mean	354.9	78.86	2.36	100.42	66.95	16.08	10.73

Although the high number of blank responses for certain questions may be due to several factors, we can assume here that it results from either ignorance or a reluctance to accept the premise of the question. So, difficulty in finding three books to recommend (question 18) is more likely to be the result of the respondent's limited reading experience rather than his/her feeling that there are no such works in Canadian literature. On the other hand, if the respondent fails to name a single place in Canada he/she would not take a visitor (question 5), this more probably reflects an assumption that there are no such places. Where the respondent actually writes "none" or "nil" as an answer, this is an even clearer response. It would appear that zero answers revealing denial of the underlying premise were given for questions 5 (places to avoid), 14 (admired politicians) and 23 (ways in which Canadian society is inferior to American society). Ignorance is a more likely explanation for the abundant zero answers to questions 8 (key women in recent history), 15

(admired business people), 16 (admired artistic and cultural figures) and 18 (books to recommend).

Admittedly, there are several other uncontrolled variables affecting response rate (e.g., shortness of reply needed, location in the questionnaire), but recall of information is not entirely irrelevant. If we disregard questions 8 and 15 -- these items produced rather low response rates for the reasons suggested above -- the reply rates for questions 3 to 19 may serve as a very rough indicator of the relative importance attached by respondents to different aspects of Canadian life and culture. From this perspective, the mean reply rate of 92% for questions 3 to 5 suggests that a geophysical sense of nationhood predominates. Entertainment, television and sport (questions 12, 13 and 19) were also prominent (83.8%), followed closely by key historical figures (6) and events (10), with a 81.8% mean reply rate. Canadian inventions and products (76.9%), and recent men of importance (75.8%) were placed well ahead of cultural concerns (questions 16, 17 and 18), which achieved a mean reply rate of just 66.9%. Politicians ranked last with 62.7%.

The present data suggest that many respondents have an incomplete knowledge of Canadian culture and history. This impression is supported by the frequent spelling mistakes and misnomers, suggesting that much of the information may have been acquired informally through hearsay or via the broadcast media. The discrepancy in the number of recommended writers (question 17) and actual books (18), for example, raises doubts about the substance of other replies relating to historical events and cultural figures, maybe even to popular Canadian landscapes and cities.

Results showed that almost one in four respondents were unable to cite a single admired Canadian in the field of art and culture or name a book by a Canadian writer. This may reflect individual leisure time preferences, but it may also reveal something about the presentation and impact of cultural information given in the school system, especially when the figures are compared to the high response rates for sports, television programmes and entertainment. Is literature, like history, presented merely as a list of names to be remembered and cited as part of the nation's heritage and identity, devoid of intrinsic interest, cultural value or personal relevance? Do the names alone become the stuff of which myths are made?

As the analysis presented in this chapter has revealed, Canadians are preoccupied with identifying parameters along which they can define themselves as Canadian, or, failing that, at least as distinctly non-American. While not of statistical significance, the reply rates to questions 26 and 27 (simple auto- and heterostereotype) suggest that respondents found it slightly easier to specify the national features of their American neighbours than of themselves. If there is meaning to these results, it may be that Canadians are uncertain of their national characteristics, or lack confidence in them. As a result they tend to define themselves in terms of their American- or non-American-ness.

Having examined English Canada's national identity in terms of self-perception, the study will now move on to consider official and educational formulations of that identity.

CHAPTER 4
IDEALIZED AND TRANSMITTED NATIONAL IDENTITY

4.1. Introduction

Chapter 3 examined various components of national identity with particular reference to English Canadians' perceptions of their national character, history, institutions and achievements. Chapter 4 will consider the political and educational context in which this popular self-image has developed. Two documents, a 1989 promotional film and a 1986 curriculum guide, will provide the substantial basis for the analysis of these additional aspects of national identity, termed Idealized (INI) and Transmitted National Identity (TNI).

Because of the particular historical context in which the questionnaire employed in Chapter 3 was administered, it is sensible, in terms of the ecological validity of the study, to select data that predates the questionnaire or that at least is contemporaneous with it. Since the autumn of 1992 there have been many significant developments in Canada with far-reaching implications. These have been recognized extensively in Chapters 1 and 2. For the purposes of this study, however, it is assumed that the contents of government publications and educational curricula released prior to autumn 1992 will have more actively shaped the responses to the questionnaire in Chapter 3, or at least have greater probability of being reflected in them.

Clearly, with an analysis limited to just two documents, the result is likely to be a superficial and possibly misleading interpretation of Idealized and Transmitted National Identity. Nevertheless, it will throw into sharper relief some of the incongruities and inconsistencies that characterize Perceived National Identity, as revealed in Chapter 3. The analysis will also raise questions about the role of national government and the school system in fostering particular views of national identity and citizenship.

The analytical task undertaken in this study is challenging. The data are diverse in form and content. For this reason, the study makes use of computer software developed for qualitative research. As Tesch (1990) and Dey (1993) point out, the computer has enhanced the research process in many ways and may well bring respectability to qualitative research methodology. At a simple logistical level, it allows for efficient and reliable recording of data, its storage and

retrieval. Thus, relevant data can be effortlessly pulled out of the system, examined, compared, reassigned, reconfigured or rejected. The speed of the computer, then, allows the researcher to interrogate the data more flexibly, modify initial categories and generate new, more powerful conceptualizations. Where time is at a premium in manipulating huge amounts of material, the computer's organizational efficiency is invaluable in confirming or questioning the researcher's intuitions about regularities, singularities and variations in the data.

The study makes use of two pieces of computer software developed for qualitative analysis, Micro-OCP (Oxford University Press, 1988) and ATLAS/ti (Muhr, 1993). Micro-OCP produces concordances, indexes and wordlists from texts. Its main use has been in stylistic analysis and vocabulary distribution research where it generates word frequency lists and alphabetical indexes. Its key feature with regard to the present research, however, is the key-word-in-context facility. This finds every occurrence of a particular word and generates a concordance with the key word centred on the line surrounded by its context phrase or sentence. In this format, the use of particular words (e.g., citizenship, identity) can be examined more globally, leading to more powerful conceptualizations. The second piece of software, ATLAS/ti, is intended as an aid to text analysis and interpretation. Primary text data can be selected, coded and annotated in a flexible and user-friendly way. The program is capable of handling several extensive text sources simultaneously and these can be multiply coded and grouped together into code families. By comparing segments of interest, the researcher can begin the process of theory building. The program includes a network diagramming facility to help the researcher conceptualize the relationships between parts of the data. All relevant information (text, codings, memos and diagrams) is kept together in what Muhr calls a hermeneutic unit.

Despite the efficient data entry, storage and retrieval facilities offered by the computer, the actual tasks of making the initial conceptualizations, identifying relevant categories, coding the data and establishing links between them still fall to the researcher. These tasks still "constitute the core of qualitative analysis" (Dey, 1993, p. 6) and will clearly play a significant part in the analysis proposed here.

The chapter is divided into two sections with substantially the same structure. In each case, the key document is introduced, described and analysed using appropriate quantitative and qualitative measures. Any limitations affecting the data or instruments are also discussed.

4.2. Idealized National Identity

Idealized National Identity (INI) is the official, typically flattering, image of a country projected by government departments with the express intention of promoting the nation, enhancing national unity and reinforcing a sense of belonging. Internally, material expressing the INI may be primarily intended for immigrants preparing for a Citizenship Court hearing and, as such, will contain much factual information (e.g., Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 1979; 1994; Department of the Secretary of State of Canada, 1991). Other documents may have a celebratory function with strong emotional appeal, often issued to commemmorate certain landmarks in the nation's social or political history. Material produced for external consumption is often circulated through embassies and trade missions. Combining informational and celebratory functions, it may also be intended to have a positive effect on commerce, tourism and diplomatic relations.

The INI for Canada will be explored through a 26-minute video entitled "Oh Canada!" produced in 1989 by the Credo Group for the then Department of External Affairs and Foreign Trade.

4.2.1. Background to "Oh Canada!"

The original version of "Oh Canada!", entitled "Canada: Another Government Movie", was produced in 1988 for the Department of External Affairs and International Trade. The full transcript, including the length and a brief description of each shot, is presented in Appendix 2. Production of the film involved the collection of material from across Canada, including spectacular aerial flyover shots (e.g., the Prairies, the Rockies, the Atlantic Coast, Ottawa), extensive location footage (e.g., Baffin Island, Quebec City, the Calgary Stampede, West Edmonton Mall), and indoor work with live sound (e.g., BC Transit Skytrain control room, Toronto stock exchange, Montreal Studio of Fashion Design, Thompson radio station).

Follow-up enquiries about the film led to contacts with the producers, Credo Entertainment, a company founded in 1974 in Winnipeg, and its president, Derek Mazur. Credo began as an animation company, winning several Canadian and international awards with films like "Blowhard" and "Get a Job". By 1976 the company had expanded into live film production, specializing in sponsored films, documentaries and television commercials. In 1988 it was selected to produce the multi-screen showcase production for the Canadian Pavillion at the Brisbane World Exposition. This production, "Canada: Another Government Movie", the forerunner of "Oh Canada!", was considered the best by World's Fair Magazine. Credo provided

a similar five-screen six-track sound installation for the 1992 World Expo in Seville, Spain. Credo's reputation as a producer of quality TV drama has grown since 1990 and successes have included "Lost in the Barrens" (two Gemini awards) and "The Diviners" (four Gemini awards).

"Canada: Another Government Movie" took 18 months to produce and had a budget of CND $888,000. "Oh Canada!" is a lengthened version of the original 15-minute Brisbane film specially produced for single-screen and video use. Production costs totalled some CND $320,000. The brief for the original film had been very straightforward: shoot all seasons, shoot all provinces, and include some of the technology on display at Brisbane. "Oh Canada!" was given the same brief but more information on Canada was needed to meet the needs of new citizens and potential immigrants (Derek Mazur, personal correspondence, 16th July, 1996). Canadian diversity was also to be a central theme. The commentary and all events depicted in the film were officially vetted by staff at External Affairs.

"Oh Canada!" is a production of very high quality revealing the professionalism and expertise of the Credo team. The film is, for example, structured with great care. The informative commentary (duration: 18m 37s) is broken inconspicuously into manageable sections by the inclusion of unaccompanied, but equally informative, images, usually showing sports or leisure activities (duration: 7m 9s). The body of the soundtrack consists of a commentary delivered by an unidentified male with a pleasant voice and soft Canadian accent. Additional sound includes a jolly singalong-type musical theme that recurs throughout the film. Atmospheric background music appropriate to the mood of each scene is also used (e.g., an ethereal organ for a hang-gliding sequence; a modern rock beat for the introductory flyover; a soprano voice for the closing shot of maple leaves in autumn). Sound-effects have been recorded live or added later. Snippets of real dialogue are also used to add authenticity: a teacher at the Montreal Studio of Fashion Design gives her feedback on a student's work in French, stock exchange dealers shout at each other, a Cree Indian makes a Cree-language broadcast from a northern radio station.

The overall result is an entertaining, informative and polished film promoting a particular view of Canada and Canadian life. When the film was shown to a group of 14 Finnish university students of English in spring 1996, their written feedback on the film included the following comments: "Impressive", "I think I would feel at home in Canada", "It makes me want to visit Canada", "It gave me a lot of information about Canada". The film, then, appears to have achieved its objectives. It also appears not to be showing its age.

4.2.2. Analysis

A closer analysis of the contents and structure of the film is, in effect, an attempt to get into the minds of those responsible for its production. Each decision made during production (e.g., initial idea, drafting the storyboard, choice of shots and locations, selection of music, editing of the commentary script) depended on the particular message about Canada that External Affairs and International Trade Canada wanted to communicate. We have to assume these choices were not random and that they are presumably reflected in the finished product. The film will be analysed as a document relevant to Canadian national identity in terms of a) its structure; b) its image content; and c) the contents of the commentary.

4.2.3. Structure

By examining the amount of time or number of shots devoted to each topic, it will be possible to identify, admittedly rather superficially, the priorities of the film makers. The first step is to arrive at the original structure of the film. On the basis of the cinematographic clues in the film (e.g., fades, musical and visual links) and the discourse markers in the commentary, the following structure is proposed. The numbers given in brackets refer to the numbers of the shots (as used in Appendix 2) and the total duration (in seconds) of the sequence. Sequences containing little or no commentary are marked *NC.

1. Title sequence	(1-10/77) *NC
2. Geography and People	
2.1. Geography	(11-15/33)
2.2. Population and urbanization	(16-21/46)
2.3. Multicultural diversity	(22-28/35)
3. Leisure and Sports	(29-48/71) *NC
4. History, Natural Resources and Economy	
4.1. Arrival of Europeans and fishing	(49-54/37)
4.2. Natural resources and forestry	(55-61/65)
4.3. Economy and banking	(62-76/84)
4.4. Foreign trade	(77-83/49)
5. Science and Innovation	
5.1. Newt Suit and submersibles	(84-95/76)
5.2. University education	(96-101/38)
6. International Relations	
6.1. Anti-apartheid rally	(102-107/29)
6.2. Membership of international organizations	(108-115/32)

7. Government and Two Cultures	
7.1. Parliament	(116-119/46)
7.2. Bilingualism	(120-125/32)
7.3. Quebec	(126-136/48) *NC
8. Agriculture and the Environment	
8.1. Prairie farming	(137-142/50)
8.2. Environmental protection	(143-153/44)
8.3. Calgary Stampede	(154-164/43) *NC
9. Industry and Innovation	
9.1. Aircraft	(165-169/52)
9.2. Urban transport	(170-183/76)
9.3. Communications	(184-190/45)
10. The Far North	
10.1 Thompson	(191-197/52)
10.2 Arctic Bay and kayak construction	(198-213/93)
11. Culture and Leisure	
11.1. Outdoor activities	(214-226/51) *NC
11.2. Culture and entertainment	(227-240/46) *NC
12. Climate and Everyday Life	
12.1. Winter	(241-245/26)
12.2. Waterpark	(246-255/40)
12.3. Shopping malls	(256-260/35)
13. Review and Close	
13.1. Arrival of spring	(261-271/53)
13.2. Visual summary (people, industry, leisure)	(272-289/50 *NC
13.3. Credits	(290-293/4)

The next step is to assign the 32 sequences in the film to topic headings, hopefully reflecting the original intentions of the producers. Table 4.1., which is based on a subjective classification of the sequences in the film under seven headings, shows the number of shots and their length for each topic.

There are interesting differences in the number and length of shots devoted to each topic. In terms of shots devoted to each theme, the focus is very much on lifestyle, landscape and diversity. In fact, almost 60% of the film's shots are devoted to these topics. In terms of shot length, however, most time (almost five minutes) is given over to science and innovation. Lifestyle is relegated to fifth place. Business and trade is also more prominent in terms of time on topic. Bearing in mind that the International Trade Department commissioned the film, it is

understandable that there is a strong message on behalf of Canadian expertise and creativity. Together, sequences dealing with trade and innovation make up 35% of the film, a total of almost nine minutes. According to Credo, the firms depicted (e.g., Bombardier) were not involved in financing the film and were therefore unable to determine the contents.

Table 4.1. Sequences and time devoted in seconds to seven topics in "Oh Canada!"

Topics and sequences	Shots			
	Number	%	Time (seconds)	%
Landscape, climate and geography (1., 2.1., 2.2, 8.2., 12.1.)	48	17.7	279	18.6
History, tradition (4.1., 6.3.)	17	6.3	80	5.3
Government, international relations (6.1., 6.2., 7.1.)	18	6.7	107	7.1
Business, trade (4.2., 4.3., 4.4., 8.1.)	35	12.9	248	16.5
Science, innovation and education (5.1., 5.2., 9.1., 9.2., 9.3.)	44	16.2	287	19.1
Lifestyle, leisure (3., 11.1., 11.2., 12.2., 12.3.)	62	22.9	243	16.2
Diversity, multiculturalism, bilingualism, minorities (2.3., 7.2., 7.3., 10.1., 10.2.)	47	17.3	260	17.3
Totals	271	100	1504	100

Note. The final review sequence, 13.2., and the credits are not included.

Aspects of lifestyle and landscape are dealt with in 40% of the film's shots. Many of these are only 2 or 3 seconds in length and are often without commentary, this being replaced by music and sound effects. This reflects the main use of such shots in the film -- as kaleidoscopic snapshots to gain attention, create excitement, break up the commentary and provide an impressionistic (but no less memorable) image of Canada as a spectacular country of diverse and unspoilt scenery offering wonderful opportunities for outdoor leisure pursuits. In this sense, the film is also clearly intended to boost Canada's tourist industry.

The film appears to be communicating at two levels: the rapid, almost subliminal glimpses of Canada's natural beauty and everyday lifestyle on the one hand, and a more traditional documentary style on the other, where factual information is accompanied by footage appropriate

in theme and length. It is possible that the former approach reflects the instincts of the director whereas the latter matches the expectations of the government department producing the film.

Some 17% of the film is devoted to aspects of diversity and cultural pluralism. Québecois and native peoples (Cree, Inuit), for example, feature for almost four minutes of the film. A surprisingly small amount of time (80 seconds, a mere 5%) is given over to sequences on history and tradition. These are limited to mention of early European fisherman in search of cod and the mythified Western traditions embodied in the Calgary Stampede. History and government play a similarly small part in the film. A more thorough presentation of these topics would presumably have lengthened the film or required cuts elsewhere.

4.2.4. Image content

The individual images of the film, although chosen to act in unison with the commentary, may convey messages of their own. For example, the presentation of gender roles or ethnic mix may reinforce or contradict the commentary. Obviously, where the images are presented without commentary, their content becomes central and they require close scrutiny.

Of the 169 shots depicting people at work or play, the predominant figures are men in 98 shots (57.9%), and women in 21 (12.4%). Men and women are shown in the same shot 23 times (13.6%). There are also 27 shots showing children and family scenes (15.9%). At work, women are depicted as shopkeepers (shot 24), students (96), teachers (124-125), railway controllers (170-181), kayak makers (203-213) and modern executives (281). They are also glimpsed alongside men at international conferences (108-115) and as stock exchange dealers (73-76). Women's individual leisure time is made up of skiing (33, 38). With men and family they also engage in skating (34-36), watching ice-hockey (44-48), cultural events (228), swimming (246-250) and shopping (258).

Men, for their part, predominate in the world of banking and international finance. Otherwise, they work in leading-edge research and design (85-95) and in the manufacture of valuable export goods (166-168, 182-188). They are also entertainers (131, 229, 231), farmers (139-141), cattle drovers (150-153), chuck-cart drivers (154-164), creative artists (282-284) and radio announcers (192-195). In their spare time they snowboard (41-43), shoot rapids (214-219), hangglide (222-226) or take part in fun-runs (272).

Children are shown only at play, whether learning to skate, descending a waterslide or attending a show. Disabled children in wheelchairs compete in races and receive medals (234-237). Inuit children play on the water's edge (202). In all cases, the children look happy. Much of the humour in the film derives from children as they learn to skate (35), descend a flume (232) or stand with their hair held aloft by static electricity (238-240).

Photographically, one of the most memorable shots is of a Japanese man, presumably a fisherman, smoking a pipe (273). The multicultural mosaic of Canada is reflected in this and 43 other shots which include a clearly non-European person, 35.8% of all shots showing people in enough detail for identification. These usually show people interacting: in the street (120-123), at a conference (108-115), at work (73-76), at play (232) and as students (100). The one black female stock exchange dealer is exceptional since sequences involving people at work in high-tech design or manufacture contain no non-Europeans. Chinese males predominate in the currency trading room sequence (66-69). Native people are depicted as separate monocultural communities, connected to the rest of Canada by jets and communication satellites. They broadcast (192-195), lay roofs (196-197) and construct kayaks (203-213). Canadians recognizably of various European national origins also appear in the film (24).

The images in the film can also be considered as a statement on the values of Canadian society. Apart from the emphasis on pluralism, the shots also reveal the relative status of work and leisure. Of the 189 shots relevant to this theme, 107 (56.6%) showed people at work, or suggested that work was being done (e.g., a freighter arriving at Vancouver). 82 shots (43.4%) depicted or suggested people enjoying themselves in freetime activities. The suggestion, whether deliberate or accidental, is that Canadians are hard-working but also appreciate their leisure, which is spent mainly in active outdoor sports and cultural pursuits. The only "high-culture" shown consists of a four-second clip of two ballet dancers (227), some Russian folk-dancing (230) and a film-crew at work on what is presumably a Canadian film (283).

The final kaleidoscopic sequence (shots 272-289) summarizes the contents of the film, repeating the message that Canadians are a creative, healthy, youthful and -- perhaps most importantly -- contented people. The penultimate image of the film is of holidaymakers, probably of East Asian origin, strolling along a beach. The sequence reaches its climax in the appealing image of reddening maple leaves gently moving in the breeze. The Canadian flag is shown twice, once as a normal national standard on a mast (118), and once as a badge on the backpack of the diver testing the Newt Suit, in a way reminiscent of American lunar astronauts (92). The female cross-country skier also wears a uniform with a stylised maple leaf (33). The national colours are also seen in the sequence where a child is learning to skate: she wears a red suit with white fur trimmings (35). Despite being traditionally associated with Canada, images of Mounties, moose, beaver, Canadian geese and loons do not appear.

The only clearly negative images in the film are related to winter (241-245) and urban traffic congestion (19). In fact, winter is seen primarily as a factor that merely exacerbates urban traffic problems. Canada's diverse scenery and natural beauty is most often presented in aerial shots (e.g., 2-10). This technique conveys an impression of space and distance, but in some way it also suggests a rather abstract, distant relationship with the countryside. Where we do get an eye-level

view of the country, it is primarily as a site for sports activities (214-219) or as part of the economy (139-141). Images of flying and soaring across mountain peaks, accompanied by a type of synthesized musique concrète, may also carry a strong symbolism.

4.2.5. Commentary content

The commentary is made up of 1654 words grouped into 91 separate sentences. These in turn fall naturally into 31 paragraphs to correspond with the topic division proposed earlier. Simple style analysis software (Lotus Word Pro for Windows) reveals that the average sentence length is 18.2 words (compared to a standard average of 17) with each paragraph made up of 2.8 sentences. Clearly, the commentary is an aural text and standard readability statistics do not apply. In written form, however, the text would require lower college level reading skills (13.7 on the Flesch Grade Level). With the support provided by the images, "readability" is naturally improved. The text flows well and the links between sections are natural and coherent (e.g., 84-86, 108, 142). The audience is involved through the use of the inclusive "here" and "of course".

The overall style is formal and factual, but there are occasional sections coloured with more expressive imagery (e.g., "to brave the rocky and dangerous coast" (49), "some Canadians reach out across the sea, others venture beneath it" (84)) or alliteration (e.g., "charms and challenges" (19), "confidence and creativity" (270)).

Although it would be presumptuous to read too much into the results of a lexicometric analysis for such a short text, there may be indications of the key strands of Canadian identity that have influenced the film. The results of a Micro-OCP word frequency count designed to produce a list of nouns occurring four or more times are shown in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2. Frequency of nouns occurring four or more times in the commentary to "Oh Canada!"

Word	Frequency	Word	Frequency
Canada/Canada's	31	trade/traders/trading	6
Canadian/Canadians	21	system/systems	6
world/world's	15	communications	5
country/countries/country's	12	Atlantic	4
city/cities	11	Montreal	4
people/peoples	11	north	4
nation/nations	6	history	4

Repeatedly collocated with "Canada" and its derivatives, the two words "world" and "country" suggest that Canada has a distinctive status as a global player in the world community, whether as a business partner, supplier of key resources or international conciliator. Simultaneously, they emphasize that national integration is complete and unity achieved. Similarly, the frequency of "people" and "nation" underlines the central notion of unity in diversity.

The film's treatment of history is interesting. The word "history" occurs just four times in the commentary, but the only explicit history described is that of the Atlantic cod fishermen. Elsewhere, the word is used to suggest that the country is old enough to have had a substantial and common history, but no specific details are given, as in the following:

> "A long list of natural products that have been sources of Canada's wealth through all of its history" (shot 55)
>
> "Through history and tradition the British monarch is the formal head of state" (117)
>
> "Quebec's rich history" (127)
>
> "Protecting the environment and preserving this natural heritage has become a priority for Canadians conscious of its importance to the history and future of their way of life" (146-149).

History, then, in the form of a mythified past, is the prerequisite of the independent nation, an attribute that is taken for granted and requiring no specification. Other references to time reinforce the idea of a long-established continuous country:

> "Five hundred years later, the sea is still the main source of livelihood" (50)
>
> "Most Canadians are descended from people who once called a different country, even a different continent, home" (24)
>
> "For centuries Canadians have traded across the Atlantic" (81)
>
> "Their surplus production has been one of Canada's key exports for a century" (141).

A nation that has survived its history is presumably a stable nation and therefore a reliable investment. The notion of continuity, so important in the nationalist dream, is expressed in the closing sentence: "One nation built from a hundred nations. Canada. Looking toward the twenty-first century with confidence and creativity" (268).

A shared history also implies unity and a common vision. The film conveys this sense of community primarily through its images (e.g., people cooperating in work and play to give quality to their lives in a uniquely Canadian way). For obvious reasons (e.g., rapid dating of material, unpredictable political developments), the film has avoided naming particular individual figures. The resulting anonymity of the people shown going about their lives also reinforces the idea of national cohesiveness and a common sense of purpose. Interestingly, the only persons identified by name are Ray Smith, a Cree radio broadcaster, and David and Leea Kalak, an Inuit couple. Even though the idea of community runs through the film, the word itself is used only in the context of native peoples (197, 205). Their membership of Canadian society is linked primarily to the development of communications which will leave their "traditional lifestyles" unaffected. The only places identified are Montreal (4 mentions) Vancouver (2), and Toronto, Ottawa, Thompson, Baffin Island, Nelson House, Arctic Bay and West Edmonton, each mentioned once.

In addition to their shared history, the commentary attributes several other characteristics to Canadians and Canadian society:

Diversity

> "Most Canadians are descended from people who once called a different country, even a different continent, home" (24)
>
> "Each people has left its distinctive imprint on Canadian society" (26)
>
> "this rich mosaic of diverse backgrounds" (27)
>
> "diversity -- cultural, economic and geographic -- is at the very heart of Canada's unique character and spirit" (28)
>
> "blending easily into Canada's multicultural mosaic" (101)
>
> "with their diverse national backgrounds" (102)
>
> "one nation built from a hundred nations" (268).

Global awareness and participation

> "an outward-looking people with a strong interest in the affairs of the world" (103)
>
> "Canadian participation in over 200 international organizations" (108)
>
> "Canada is well-known for its leadership in the United Nations as a peacekeper and conciliator" (112)
>
> "Canada also works to solve problems that threaten the world's environment and to provide development assistance to countries in need" (115).

Technical sophistication

"The farms in this region are among the most mechanized and productive on earth" (140)

"designers have used state-of-the-art techniques" (167)

"Innovations like this have made mass-transit systems and equipment an important export" (182)

"Canada has been a leader in the design and development of communications satellites" (185)

"a special expertise in communications technology" (188).

Environmental concern

"Canada also works to solve problems that threaten the world's environment" (115)

"Protecting the environment and preserving this natural heritage has become a priority for Canadians conscious of its importance to the history and future of their way of life" (147).

Hardiness

"It's a difficult climate for people who have lived here all their lives" (244).

Heliolatry

"But even Canadians don't like to go all winter without a bit of summer relief" (247).

Uniqueness

"Canada's unique character and spirit" (28).

High standard of living

"For the most part, Canadians enjoy a high standard of living" (21).

On the basis of the commentary, the only indication of possible problems affecting Canadian society is given in the line "*For the most part*, Canadians enjoy a high standard of living" (21). There is no hint of separatism, racial problems, urban crime or federal-provincial tensions. Similarly, no information is given about Canada's social security system, its schools, its newspapers and media, or its literature and art. Clearly, the producer made a particular selection of material, but these omissions may reflect the political nature of the discussion of these topics at the time the film was made, and hence the probable accuracy of their portrayal.

4.2.6. Summary

"Oh Canada!" is essentially benign propaganda aimed primarily at non-Canadians. Through its powerful images, it promotes an idealized, extremely positive vision of Canada, which is balanced and tempered through a matter-of-fact, informative commentary. The film has an undeniable ideological message about Canada which it conveys with great effectiveness and professionalism.

The film persuasively presents two types of information within a highly positive context of beautiful scenery and fine photography. On the one hand, we hear about individual projects (e.g., the Vancouver Skytrain, the Newt Suit), which are described in considerable detail. The veracity of the commentary is confirmed in the images that accompany it. In other words, the information is seen to be accurate. On the other hand, the commentary also provides information of a more global and abstract kind, but the accompanying images do not necessarily illustrate the message. For example, we are told about Canada working "to solve problems that threaten the world's environment and to provide development assistance to countries in need" (115), but the film sequence shows a GATT conference in Montreal. Similarly, pictures of a goat (144) or a cactus (146) do not necessarily provide the visual evidence that Canadians are committed to protecting the environment and preserving their natural heritage. Most Canadians would probably be only too happy to eradicate the prickly-pear cactus!

By using a number of detailed factual sequences with high credibility, the director is presumably hoping that the more general and ideological sections of the commentary are also accepted as the truth. The appeal of the landscape and freetime sequences may well lull the audience into unquestioning acceptance of the film's contents. Many questions are left unanswered.

4.3. Transmitted National Identity

Transmitted National Identity (TNI) is the expression of national identity that is promoted through the public school system, a pedagogical reformulation of the contents of the INI. In the present study data on the Canadian TNI will be sought from two social studies curriculum guides produced by the Ontario Ministry of Education (Ontario, 1986a, 1986b). Given the supplementary role of the documents examined in this chapter, the factors leading to the choice of these particular curriculum guides is not a key issue. The choice, however, was not random.

It has been rightly pointed out (Sears, 1992) that the task of promoting citizenship, i.e., enhancing individual and national well-being, belongs to the school as a whole. Nevertheless, it is the social studies curriculum that is traditionally charged with providing the knowledge of national geography, history and civics needed both for nation-building and individual political efficacy. The inclusion of pan-Canadian themes in social studies is also likely to counter regionalism and separatism. In addition, issues related to global or international education fall increasingly within the domain of the social studies teacher.

While it cannot be claimed that Ontario is the only expression of English Canada nor that findings can be generalized from the curricula of a single province, Ontario does nevertheless encapsulate and exemplify some of the issues lying at the heart of English Canada's identity crisis. Its mainly loyalist -- but occasionally ambivalent (the War of 1812; the 1837 rebellions) -- history, its economic, political and demographic dominance, its multicultural make-up, its recent shift to the political right and its proximity to both a secessionist Quebec and culturally expansive United States: these are features which all make Ontario school curricula a valid source of data in this study.

Although Ontario social studies curricula can be accepted as a representative source of data, the overall validity of curriculum guides as an expression of TNI may be questioned. Curriculum plans are essentially policy documents that may -- and apparently do -- have little relation to what actually occurs in the classroom (Sears & Hughes, 1994; Sears, 1994). It would be tempting to propose a fourth expression of Canadian national identity: the version transmitted and rehearsed in actual classroom practice. While accepting that curriculum plans are idealistic and that their contents may have been intended more for decision-makers than teachers, adding a further data source would introduce unnecessary complications into the research design. Besides, it can be argued that the views expressed by the respondents in the questionnaire are equally invalid since they may not reflect their true beliefs or everyday behaviour. Similarly, there may be a yawning gulf between official government policy and the way individual civil servants interpret it.

4.3.1. Background to the Guideline

The *Ontario Ministry of Education Curriculum Guideline for History and Contemporary Studies* consists of four parts. Part A, Policy and Program Considerations, is a 72-page overview of the Ministry's expectations for the development of history and contemporary studies courses in grades 7-12 (Ontario, 1986a). Part B, Intermediate Division, is 92 pages in length and provides details of the four courses to be developed for grades 7 to 10 (Ontario, 1986b). Part C, Senior Division, gives directions for developing grade 11 and 12 programs. Part D outlines Ontario Academic Courses (grade 13) in history and contemporary studies. The present study is concerned

only with Parts A and B, hereinafter referred to as "The Guideline". For the purposes of analysis no distinction will be made between the two parts of the guideline, but page references will indicate the source of quotations (e.g., A/29, B/63).

The intended readership of this ten-year-old document would have included local education board members, school principals and classroom teachers. Parent-teacher organizations, publishers, textbook writers and university education department staff may also have found the publication of interest. Similarly, it would have been circulated to organizations active in culture and politics because of its relevance to issues of multiculturalism and gender equity.

The Guideline was developed, validated and revised by several teams. The Acknowledgements section recognizes a Design Team (12 members, mainly representing the Ministry and local school boards), a Writing Team (35 members from 25 Ontario school boards), a Validation and Revision Team (12-strong ministry, school board and university representation), an Advisory Team (12 members, including business representatives) and a Council of Universities with members from 9 Ontario universities. Of the 96 individuals involved in the production of the Guidelines, 64 were males, 16 females, and 16 were unidentifiable as to gender.

4.3.2. Outline

Guideline A begins with a general section on the overall aims and contents of the history and contemporary studies program, set within the general goals of education laid down by the Ministry of Education. Section 2 restates the Ministry's image of the learner and examines strategies appropriate to the learning style and developmental stage of the learner. Expected learning outcomes are then considered under three headings, referred to as domains: the cognitive-skills domain, the knowledge domain, and the attitudes and affective domain.The reader is then informed that typical classroom activities can be grouped on a continuum from teacher-centred to student-centred with a reminder that their effective use by the teacher will "help students become active participants in their education" (p. 13). The section concludes with a consideration of issues involved in assessment and evaluation.

The development of cognitive skills is presented at some length in Section 3. The central idea is that students' cognitive growth can be systematically enhanced if teachers are aware of their students' starting points and make use of a planned programme. Specific cognitive skills can be introduced, developed, maintained and extended, gradually increasing the sophistication of students' information processing and communication. An eight-stage model (Focus - Organize - Locate - Record - Evaluate/Assess - Synthesize and Conclude - Apply - Communicate) with objectives appropriate for each grade level is presented in the extensive appendices (pp. 45-65).

The use of formal organizers (charts, matrices, timelines, etc.) is recommended to help students develop the skills required for comparing, making decisions and analysing contentious issues.

Section 4 presents twelve additional considerations relevant to course development. Some of these relate to creating a more equitable society (i.e., multiculturalism, gender equality, exceptional students), but the majority concern additional learning resources (e.g., libraries, cooperative education placements and field trips) and untapped curricular links (i.e., language across the curriculum, the arts, careers guidance).

Under the heading Scope and Sequence, Section 5 outlines the themes and units that make up the history and contemporary studies programs at all levels. Guideline A concludes with a summary section, reminding teachers of the factors that will determine their course outlines and assessment procedures.

The Intermediate Division courses, which are the focus of this study, are presented in summary form in Table 4.3. According to the Guideline, grade 9/10 courses are to be developed at basic, general and advanced levels. Issues related to personal and national identity in a changing world are specifically tackled in the Intermediate Division Contemporary Studies course entitled "Living in a Changing World", offered either in Grade 9 or 10. This course is designated in the Guideline as optional. It is reasonable to assume, therefore, that its message does not reach the entire Ontario school population.

Table 4.3. Overview of History and Contemporary Studies Intermediate Division Courses

Grade 7. Early Canadian Communities
1. Local Community Study
2. Native Communities
3. The Community of New France
4. The Community of Upper Canada

Grade 8. Building the Canadian Nation
1. Conflict and Change: The Rebellions in Upper and Lower Canada
2. Shaping the Nation
3. The Nation Expands, 1867-1914
4. Canada: A Changing Society, 1870-1920

Grade 9 or 10. Contemporary Canada: Life in the Twentieth Century
(Compulsory course/Basic level)
1. Citizenship: Government and law
2. French-English Relations
3. Canadian-American Relations
4. International Relations
5. Social and Economic Issues

Grade 9 or 10. Living in a Changing World
(Optional course/Basic level)
1. Personal Identity
2. The Multicultural Society
3. The Individual in Society
4. Change/Future

Guideline B is a detailed examination of the planned Intermediate Division history and contemporary studies courses. Cognitive-skill, attitudinal and knowledge objectives are specified at a general level for each course and then illustrated through a sample unit. For grade 7 and 8 courses, there is a sample unit for each of the eight themes. The grade 9 Contemporary Canada course is illustrated through the same sample unit (Citizenship: Government and Law) at all three levels. Similarly, the sample unit on Change/Future illustrates all three levels of the Living in a Changing World course. Each sample unit follows the same structure: an introductory description, a specification of the unit objectives under the three headings (attitudes, cognitive skills, knowledge), a detailed overview of the topics to be included, and a section entitled "Sample teaching and formative-evaluation strategies", which contains some very useful practical hints for developing actual lesson materials, classroom methods and evaluation techniques.

All in all, the Guideline is a coherent and thorough presentation of the social and educational goals underlying the teaching of social studies and of their planned implementation. Simultaneously, it outlines the topics and objectives for each course in enough detail to be of immense value to teachers and would-be materials developers. The 138 practical methodological tips suggested in the sample units are also a solid standby for teachers wishing to experiment with the cognitive-skills framework proposed in the Guideline.

4.3.3. Analysis

The Guideline is not a direct expression of Canadian national identity, yet, like all social policy, it reflects the values and ideals of the society that produced it. It has to be recognized, however, that these values and ideals change over time. In this sense the Guideline is a historical document clearly informed and coloured by the social and political debates of the early 1980s. In Canada these debates were very much concerned with extending social justice, enhancing citizen participation and creating a sense of community in the wake of the Quebec referendum. Federal-provincial financial relationships were also straining the country's unity (Birch, 1989, p. 142). To put the document in its political context, the Mulroney government was sworn in on September 17th, 1984. Within eight months, provincial elections in Ontario ended 42 years of Progressive Conservative rule. Liberal party leader David Peterson signed an accord with the New Democratic Party and established a minority government. Other significant events of this period included the incorporation of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms into the Constitution Act (1982); the Abella Committee Report (Royal Commission on Equality in Employment) that sought to reduce wage differentials and obstacles to promotion affecting women in the labour market (1984); and the introduction of the Canadian Multiculturalism Act by the Mulroney government in December 1987 (although there had been a minister responsible for multiculturalism since 1972). The period 1975-1985 had been designated as the United Nations Decade of Women.

There is, then, a strong but understandable streak of unashamed social idealism or ideology running through the Guideline that might lead some readers to mistake parts of it for a political manifesto. This is not only apparent in the actual goal statements (e.g., helping each student to "develop respect for the environment and a commitment to the wise use of resources"; "develop a sense of personal responsibility in society at local, national, and international levels" (A/7)), but also in the choice of topics (e.g., Native cultures, the struggle for women's equality, respect for democratic processes). Some readers might also notice the obvious concern of the writers to observe the norms of politically correct writing: historical periods are often viewed in terms of their impact not simply on people but on "men, women and children" (e.g., B/19, B/30).

Despite carrying its vintage rather prominently, the Guideline does nevertheless provide valuable insights into Ontario's vision of Canadian identity and its inculcation. In the following sections, three components of the grade 7-10 courses will be analysed: their attitudinal and affective aims, the topics chosen for inclusion, and the methodological suggestions provided for teachers. These will be used to examine the view of history and social change underlying the Guideline, and the way in which this has determined the Guideline's portrayal of national identity.

4.3.4. Attitudes

The Guideline includes 90 distinct statements that can be interpreted as attitudinal objectives. These are found both in general policy (Part A) and in particular courses and sample unit descriptions (Part B). Many of the more diffuse objectives (e.g., develop self-esteem, sensitivity to the opinions of others) recur several times, but for this analysis only a single instance has been recorded. A careful study of the attitude statements has led to the following tentative categorization. Each type is illustrated with examples from the Guideline. In several cases, because of the wording of the objective, it has been assigned to two or more categories. The statement "encourage self-confidence, respect for others, and the environment" (A/11), for example, expresses three objectives.The initial categorization was carried out using the ATLAS/ti program (Muhr, 1993).

Attitudes related to the student's self-image

"develop a feeling of self-worth" (A/7)
"develop self-confidence and self-esteem" (B/71)
"develop resourcefulness, adapatability, and creativity in learning and living" (A/7).

Attitudes related to the student's academic motivation

"become self-directed, self-motivated problem-solvers" (A/6)
"appreciation of the value of abstract thinking" (B/80)
"ability to enjoy gathering information and carrying out a task" (B/71).

Attitudes related to sexual, cultural and racial tolerance

"understand the aspirations, needs, values, and culture of a variety of groups in Canada and the world" (A/11)
"empathy for individuals, regardless of race, sex, colour, ethnic group and origin" (B/42).

Attitudes related to tolerance of divergent views

"sensitivity to the opinions of others" (B/80)
"willingness to consider alternatives to their own ideas" (B/83)
"empathy with and tolerance for the views of various groups of people within their community" (B/21).

Attitudes related to negotiation and cooperation

"appreciation of the need for cooperation in community life" (B/33)

"appreciation of the role of compromise in solving problems and bringing about change" (B/39).

Attitudes related to active civic participation

"willingness to participate in society as active and compassionate citizens" (B/62)
"develop a sense of personal responsibility in society at the local, national and international levels" (A/7)
"appreciation of the rights and responsibilities of Canadian citizens" (B/56).

Attitudes related to social order and change

"appreciate the need for some political and legal form of authority to ensure order, protect minority and individual freedoms, and to satisfy needs" (A/11)
"appreciation of the benefits of living in a democratic society" (B/64)
"awareness that social issues are complex and can take a long time to be resolved" (B/44).

Attitudes related to global concerns and the environment

"appreciation of Canada's increasing interdependence with other members of the global community" (B/62)
"preparation of all students to live harmoniously in our multicultural society and an increasingly interdependent world" (A/29)
"develop respect for the environment and a commitment to the wise use of resources". (A/7)

Attitudes related to developing a sense of Canadian identity

"assist and encourage students to develop pride in the local community, the province, and Canada" (B/16)
"assist and encourage students to develop a sense of personal identity, of relationship with their communities, and of identity as a Canadian" (B/16).

Attitudes related to an awareness of contributions made to Canadian society

"assist and encourage students to understand the experiences of ordinary men and women and their contributions to Canadian society" (B/16)
"develop an understanding and appreciation of the roots of our Canadian heritage through a study of the contributions and experiences of the various peoples who have participated in the development of Canadian culture" (A/29)
"foster interest in and appreciation of Native contributions to the full heritage of Canada" (A/37).

Attitudes related to historical empathy

"empathy with the situation of individuals in New France after conquest" (B/30)
"appreciation of the achievements of pioneer settlers in Upper Canada" (B/33)
"empathy with the struggles of pioneer settlers in various communities" (B/18).

Table 4.4. shows how the 90 statements were allocated to the 11 categories proposed above. Statistically, the frequencies are not particularly revealing. As might be anticipated of an educational document, the results suggest a heavy emphasis on the learner's attitude to academic work and his/her motivation (17.8%). The remaining figures suggest a balanced and multifaceted approach to attitudinal growth.

Table 4.4. Preliminary categorization and frequency of attitudinal objectives in the Guideline

Attitudes related to ..	Number	%
1. Self-image	8	8.9
2. Academic motivation	16	17.8
3. Sexual, cultural and racial tolerance	9	10.0
4. Tolerance of divergent views	8	8.9
5. Negotiation and cooperation	6	6.7
6. Active civic participation	9	10.0
7. Social order and change	11	12.2
8. Global and environmental concerns	9	10.0
9. Developing a sense of Canadian identity	4	4.4
10. Awareness of contributions made to Canadian society	5	5.6
11. Historical empathy	5	5.6
Totals	90	100.0

A closer examination of the categories, however, suggests an alternative grouping based on the scope of the desired attitude, i.e., whether it primarily concerns the individual, the individual's immediate circle, the community, the nation or the globe. Table 4.5. shows the eleven categories regrouped under five headings. What now becomes apparent is the preoccupation of the Guideline writers with issues related to interpersonal relationships and citizenship: almost half of the objectives relate to the characteristics of the model citizen, whether operating in small associational networks (e.g., home, work) or in a wider civic context. Students are offered the ideal of the responsible, active and participating citizen who shows empathy, sensitivity, tolerance and compromise. Appeciative of diversity and supportive of democracy, the model citizen works diligently and patiently to bring about a just and equal society.

Table 4.5. Revised categorization and frequency of attitudinal objectives in the Guideline

Attitudes related to ..	N	%
The Individual (objectives 1-2)	24	26.6
The Friend and Co-worker (3-5)	23	25.6
The Citizen (6-7)	20	22.2
The Canadian (9-11)	14	15.6
The Globalist (8)	9	10.0
Totals	90	100.0

4.3.5. Topics and teaching strategies

If curriculum writers are prone to utopian visions, it is their attitudinal objectives that are most likely to veer towards idealism. It is presumably the more precisely and pragmatically defined cognitive aims that will reveal more of the goals that the authors deem feasible. Similarly, we can expect the clearest expression of implementable priorities in the description of classroom methodologies and strategies. It is to these two components of the Guideline that we now turn our attention.

The informational input of the four Intermediate Division courses is described in the Guideline in terms of knowledge objectives and topics. Topics are specified in the sample units, and since they provide more detail, they will be used in the present analysis. Unfortunately, grade 9 and 10 course descriptions include only one sample unit (at three levels). The knowledge

objectives set for grade 9 and 10 General Courses will therefore be used to complete the data used in the analysis.

By examining the topics lexicometrically with the help of word frequency statistics produced by the Micro-OCP program, we gain a preliminary impression of the particular slant on history taken by the Guideline authors. This impression can be amplified with a content analysis of the classroom teaching strategies, which, as noted above, presumably give better clues as to actual pedagogical practice in the classroom.

The entire text of the knowledge and topic sections (a total of 1906 words) was submitted to the Micro-OCP program with a request for frequencies of all words of length four or more characters. Cognate forms (plurals, possessives, derived forms, etc.) were then totalled. Table 4.6. presents the 50 most frequent non-grammatical words.

Table 4.6. Occurrences of the 50 most frequent words in topics specified for grades 7-10

Canada/Canadian	33	factors	8	issues	5
change/-s/-ing	28	people	8	sources	5
individual/-s	20	government/-s	8	world	5
society/-al/-etal	18	important/-ance	8	information	5
conflict/-s	15	immigrate/-ant/-ion	8	responsible/-ties	4
life/lives	14	relation/-s/-ships	8	conditions	4
community/-ties	13	settle/-ment/-rs	8	Confederation	4
culture/-s/-al	13	Native	7	consequences	4
role/-s	12	politics/-al	7	consider	4
group/-s	10	impact	6	discovering	4
history/-ical/-rian	10	nation/-s	6	economy	4
rights	10	reasons	6	methods	4
woman/-men	10	values	6	names	4
early	9	growth/growing	6	needs	4
events	9	theme/-s	6	problems	4
family	9	contribution/-s	5	tactics	4
status	9	institutions	5		

Despite the fact that the words are decontextualized, the ranking does provide interesting perspectives on the view of national history offered by the authors. Many of the words in the first column would not be out of place in modern social policy documents. The frequency of words like "change", "conflict", "impact", "community", "role", "rights", "woman" and "family" suggests a view of history made up of at least three elements. Firstly, history is a mirror and precursor of contemporary social and political developments. The struggle for equality and social justice taking place in the homes, schools and workplaces of modern Canada is a continuation of a process that began centuries ago. Secondly, history is the chronicling of change and conflict, and

the study of the impact of momentous events on ordinary people's lives. The community, consisting of settlers in Upper Canada or Native peoples or modern Ontarians, continually faces the consequences of decisions taken elsewhere. It is the fate of ordinary people to have to absorb the shock-waves of grand events and get on with their lives. Thirdly, history is about communities, people who find their shared experiences and values a source of strength, and who, through their common voice and sacrifices, have won concessions and rights from the more powerful.

This view of history may have several pedigrees. There are tinges of conflict theory, social meliorism and Enlightenment optimism, and the use of "community" is reminiscent of Ferdinand Tönnies's "Gemeinschaft/Gesellschaft" distinction. The focus on long-term change may also reflect the influence of the Annales School. The clearest markings, however, are those of the social history movement that achieved respectability in the 1970s, despite being labelled as "a sort of retrospective cultural anthropology" (Marshall, 1994, p. 487). The acknowledgement of the private domain (e.g., home, family, community) may also reflect the trend towards a genderized curriculum in social and international studies (Alexandre, 1989).

If history holds so many valuable lessons for modern society, history teaching clearly has a key educational role. Ordinary people, traditionally denied a say in determining events, must be equipped with certain skills, knowledge and attititudes, loosely called citizenship. An understanding of historical processes of change, for example, can convince citizens of the value of continuing the patient struggle for long-term social justice. Familiarity with handling historical data sources will simplify the task of detecting bias, rhetoric and lies. Finally, people possessing the requisite information-processing and communication skills will be able to encounter authority and address it with confidence and credibility. So, although history may emphasize the relative powerlessness of ordinary people, history teaching can equip them for political and social efficacy.

As indicated earlier, the Guideline includes extensive sections illustrating the cognitive-skills objectives of the courses. Students supposedly follow a systematic programme which will teach them, for example, the following skills: generating questions, organizing their enquiries, locating and evaluating information sources, recording and assessing the relevance of data, drawing conclusions on the basis of evidence, applying their findings to other situations, and presenting their views effectively in both speech and writing. Clearly, training in these skills is vital if ordinary people are to be given a voice. As Hughes (1992, p. 14) points out, freedom of expression becomes a meaningless phrase if citizens are unable to formulate and articulate their aspirations.

The main instrument for teaching the cognitive-skills components of citizenship is the logical organizer. By means of timelines, comparison tables, visual charts, decision-making displays and

issue-analysis sheets, students learn to sift through data, classify them and present their conclusions. Many of the "formative-evaluative strategies" are based on the use of an organizer with the class, either together or in smaller groups, researching different aspects of a problem according to a predetermined logical framework. We shall return to the implications of the logical framework below.

Two relatively straightforward analyses of the strategies were carried out. Initially, attention was paid to the teaching methods (e.g., debate, roleplay, case study, classroom discussion). The use of logical organizers was also recorded. The descriptions varied considerably in the amount of detail given, which complicated coding. Some specified a precise form of organizer with an example, others gave only rather vague guidelines, leaving the choice of implementation to the teacher. There was similar variation in the amount of detail on group size and the mode of class discussion. For the purposes of analysis, only activities referred to by name (e.g., "Students should visit a provincial court to observe courtroom procedures" (B/61)), have been included. The category of "Data analysis" was used to cover activities where students learned to distinguish fact from opinion in newspaper articles or to spot bias in teaching materials. "Research" included the study of actual statistical data, official documents and realia. "Display/posters" refers to collages, newspaper pages, illustrations, etc., produced by students and displayed in the classroom. Table 4.7. summarizes the results of this first analysis.

Table 4.7. Teaching methods proposed in 138 formative-evaluation and summative evaluation strategies

Activity type	Method	N
Spoken activities	Oral presentation	6
	Discussion	3
	Debate	3
	Roleplay	12
Reading activities	Research	33
	Data analysis	16
	Case study	2
Written activities	Composition	25
	Letters	4
	Diary	2
Other	Study visits	3
	Invited visitor	3
	Display/posters	25
	Logical organizer	58

Note. Several strategy descriptions include more than one method.

The results indicate a varied and motivating approach to history and contemporary studies. Study visits, talks by invited guests and writing letters to politicians and community leaders are all activities that would help to anchor the courses firmly in reality. Teachers are clearly being encouraged to give their students opportunities to voice their opinions -- there are 37 strategies involving discussion -- and to display their work (25 strategies); in other words, the possibility of action in the public sphere through ad hoc, grassroots and non-governmental organizations is being demonstrated. The number of activities involving research, data analysis and use of the logical organizer underlines the citizenship skills approach mentioned above.

It must, however, be remembered that the Guideline is a proposal, a curriculum framework which, although undoubtedly conceived with the best of intentions by experienced educationalists, may fail for a variety of reasons to translate into actual classroom practice. Sears (1994) has drawn attention to the gulf between theory and practice in social studies teaching, and to its ubiquity. There is no reason to consider the Guideline an exception in this respect.

The second analytical cut through the list of 138 strategies focussed on particular recurrent themes and concerns, with the intention of following up the indications provided by the earlier lexicometric analysis (Table 4.6.). Nine themes were identified as sufficiently prominent to merit further attention. These are outlined below with actual Guideline examples in abbreviated form.

1. *Citizenship: Concern with knowledge of government at all levels, the importance of voting, court procedure, finding employment, etc.*

   "Students use case studies to explore the effectiveness of public enquiries and organized protests in stimulating change" (B/85)

   "Students write three questions about the implications of raising the legal drinking age or legal driving age to 21" (B/79).

2. *Culture: Concern with the arts and cultural heritage*

   "Students find an example of contemporary French-Canadian music, art, folk art, or architecture and describe it in a paragraph" (B/32)

   "A case study of an Indian culture to illustrate the results of European contact" (B/29).

3. *Identity: Concern with individual, local and national identity*

   "Class compiles a list of the features that make up a country's sense of national identity. Which features were present before 1812 and which after? Students try to account for the differences" (B/34)

   "Students make personal history timelines to mark key events in their own or family's life" (B/22).

4. *Inequality: Concern with social and gender inequality in terms of wealth, power and contribution*

"Students prepare oral reports explaining why they would rather have been a seigneur/seigneuse or habitant/habitante. Students draw conclusions about how their choice of role reflects their own values" (B/31)

"Class researches a topic related to the status of women at the turn of the century around such issues as: Were women and men considered equal? What rights enjoyed by men were denied to women?" (B/46).

5. *Impact: Concern with the (often negative) effects of social and technological change*

"Students discuss the changes in the way of life of Native men, women and children brought about by the treaty system" (B/43)

"Students examine statistics on the major changes taking place in Canada at the turn of the century. Students draw conclusions and develop generalizations about patterns of change and possible sources of tension within the changing society" (B/45).

6. *Ordinary people: Concern with the destinies and lives of ordinary people*

"Students use library resources to find out about the role played in the North-West Rebellion by Gabriel Dumont, Chief Big Bear, a soldier from Toronto, a Native fur trader's wife, a Métis child" (B/43)

"Assign students roles in New France society (military officer, seigneur, habitant father, mother or child). Imagine what it was like the day after the British conquest. Students answer the questions: Are you afraid? What do you think will happen to you? Why do you feel this way? Will your life change?" (B/32).

7. *Individual: Concern with matters that apply primarily to individual lives*

"Students develop a personal timeline for career and personal goals, noting times when special training, retraining, or information gathering will be necessary" (B/84)

"Discuss the probable reactions of people of different maturity levels to disappointing, frightening, annoying and crisis situations" (B/78).

8. *Community: Concern with issues that affect the immediate community*

"Students discuss the location of a new shopping mall, They talk to officials, research land use plans and sample public opinion" (B/60)

"Students compare the community today and in the past with respect to size, work and leisure activities, gender roles, leaders" (B/25).

9. Society: Concern with issues that affect society or the nation in general

"Students discuss how the lifestyles of Canadians would change if a very inexpensive energy alternative were discovered" (B/84)

"Students are given "What if?" scenarios and propose possible effects that demonstrate the "snowball effect" of a major change in one aspect of society" (B/78).

The results of the second analysis are presented in Table 4.8. It is important to note that the thematic categories are not exclusive and therefore the percentages only indicate how prevalent each particular theme or focus was in the entire corpus.

Table 4.8. Occurrence of nine themes in 138 teaching strategies in the Guideline

Thematic Focus	% of strategies
Citizenship	34.8
Culture	7.9
Identity	10.9
Inequality/rights	20.
Impact/Change	29
Ordinary people	29.0
Individual	11.6
Community	15.9
Society	40.6

The results of this analysis give preliminary and inconclusive confirmation of the Guideline's civic and social orientations, which were seen in the survey of attitudinal objectives above. A particular vision of Canadian citizenship is being proposed. In fact, having this vision is offered in itself as one essential element of the developing Canadian identity, as the study of Canadian history is meant to reveal. The Guideline suggests that the prime reason for studying history is that "History is used to provide a sense of identity. History is to people what memory is to an individual; it tells us who we are, where we came from, and what we value" (A/6). Earlier citizens, especially ordinary men, women and children, made significant contributions to the country's growth and stability. Canada's history is the history of their struggles and achievements, and it is the task of education to arouse empathy and appreciation for those efforts and incorporate them into the national self-image. "Making a contribution" is a major theme in the Guideline.

The prevalence of working methods based on the organizer approach has already been noted. Undeniably, it encourages essential personal and academic skills and as such might be regarded, at least within the context of a curriculum guideline, as an effective training device for reflective and participatory citizenship. One possible consequence of this approach -- and this is impossible to substantiate without further empirical research -- may be an exaggeration of the polarized nature of history and society. Systematic comparing, juxtaposing, categorizing, itemizing and evaluating, especially when carried out in small groups of teenagers seeking a positive social identity, may lead to the adoption of extreme, seemingly irreconcileable positions. For all its emphasis on discussion, cooperation and compromise (e.g., B/37, B/54), the Guideline does have a confrontational undercurrent of "for and against" thinking that may well have a negative effect, not least on classroom interaction. Indeed, without skillful classroom management, there may be a danger that the dialogue will come to resemble the "degrading public discourse" that Sears (1992, p. 31) sees in the Canadian political realm.

In the context of history teaching, however, it is worth asking whether the logical organizer is simply a tool that happens to fit in with the critical and confrontationalist view of society consciously or unconsciously propounded by the authors Or, if we accept that it trains essential citizenship skills, is its use likely to encourage and perpetuate division and factiousness? If the latter is the case, there are serious implications for the sense of national identity being developed.

The list of topics presented in the Guideline can, admittedly, give only a superficial view of actual lesson contents and approach. Nevertheless, there are some telling tendencies. There is, for example, very little emphasis on historical figures. Only Cartier, Champlain and Riel are mentioned by name in the topic list, while the activity descriptions refer to key figures in the North-West Rebellion (Gabriel Dumont, Chief Big Bear, Chief Poundmaker), two pioneer writers (Susanna Moodie and Catharine Parr Traill), three women leaders (Adelaide Hoodless, Nellie McClung, Emily Stowe) and six male entrepreneurs (Hart Massey, Timothy Eaton, Henry Pellatt, Joseph Flavelle, J.R. Booth, Harry Oakes), a selection which in itself may confirm the view of history outlined above. Only in dealing with the Quiet Revolution are students supposed to learn about the "causes, key personalities, events, and issues" involved (B/57). Internationally recognized Canadian politicians, scientists, inventors, explorers, writers and artists are not included. Instead, we assume, their destiny was one with that of the anonymous immigrants who became farmers, raised families, trapped beaver, laid railway track, fought Riel or died at Dieppe. These, we assume, are Canada's heroes: the nameless thousands who tilled the land, worked in the factories and taught in the one-room schoolhouses, devoting their energies to building the nation. In 1996, the same "local heroes" are part of the vast volunteerism movement, fighting government cutbacks and rediscovering community values through work with the homeless, jobless and disabled (McDonald, 1996).

Students are to be encouraged to develop "pride in the local community, the province, and Canada" (B/16), but the topic and activity lists do not suggest an overtly celebratory or pride-inducing approach to Canada's history and achievements. July 1, 1867 is cited as "A day in the life of Canada" (B/39) and mention is made of the "bees" in early 19th century Upper Canada (B/33), but overall the tone is serious and subdued. There is no risk of the authors being accused of openly inciting chauvinism. The units dealing with Native peoples, the aftermath of the Conquest, the North-West Rebellion and the treatment of Japanese Canadians provide a welcome counterbalance to anglocentric accounts, but at the same time they may demythify important events in national history and erode any sense of national solidarity, the missing ingredient of a shared identity (Kymlicka, 1992). If there is pride, it seems to be limited to the school community: an activity involving research into school history is the only one explicitly concerned with achievements. Apart from statistical information on the school, students examine the "school motto, school song, school crest, names of principals, graduates of note, school achievements (e.g., in sports, drama, debating)" (B/24). As noted in the examination of identity as national sentiment (Chapter 2), national pride feeds on its own equivalents of the school motto, school song, and the like.

At this point it is appropriate to briefly examine the so-called canon curriculum debate that has preoccupied American social studies theorists and practitioners in recent years. It is argued by moderate conservatives that the mission of America's public school system is to promote the country's common heritage without prioritizing the contributions or roles of any particular social or ethnic group. Only in this way can children's American identity be confirmed, allowing them to share in the country's overriding national vision (Ravitch, 1992). History teaching should answer questions like: "What were the turning points, the crises, that shaped and changed our nation? Who are our heroes? What are our ideals? Which poems, novels, essays, orations, and songs best typify the American spirit? What ideas, institutions, and values have held this polyglot people together as a nation for more than 200 years?" (Ravtich, 1992, p. 8). More extreme Western traditionalists defend the domination of Western civilization perspectives in education and attack the equally extreme Afrocentric position which seeks to place African history and culture at the centre of the curriculum (Banks, 1993).

Those on the multiculturalist side point out that schools are not neutral sites and that the knowledge they transmit is above all a social construct determined by the dominant culture. Schools systematically promote a eurocentric ideology and value system while devaluing or marginalizing the contributions of ethnic minorities and women. Similarly, textbook writers and teachers are marked by positionality, frequently disguised as an atomistic view of knowledge and an avoidance of controversy. Reforms that invite students to question the social basis of knowledge are the foundations of an open and democratic classroom (Banks, 1993). The

inclusion of minorities in the curriculum is an essential step towards national unity and the democratic ideal. Furthermore, members of the mainstream culture, who rarely question their own values and assumptions, need to be equipped with multicultural skills, a task that the public school system should be charged with. Essentially, the conservative side believes in preserving the myths and heroes of history whilst the multiculturalists question the one-sidedness of this approach.

The Guideline, which predates the canon debate by several years, expresses a deep and unquestioned commitment to an inclusive, multicultural view of society, which may reflect the influence of the response made by Werner, Connors, Aoki and Dahlie (1977) to Hodgetts' 1968 "What culture? What heritage?" This is seen in its concern with equalizing power relationships in society and its interpretation of history. Early Canadian history is more about community survival than individual acts of heroism; recent history is about social developments and the pursuit of equality through corporate, often anonymous, action. Furthermore, the multicultural character of modern Canadian identity is seen, not as a recent creation, but as a historical legacy, fostered by generations of "Canadians" and to be shared by all. Acceptance of and respect for that legacy becomes a defining feature, not only of individual identity, but also of Canadian identity. Students should accept "diversity of people of various cultural, linguistic, racial and religious origins as a valuable characteristic of Canadian identity" (A/29), a quote which is reminiscent of Weinfeld:

> In the absence of any consensus on the substance of Canadian identity or culture, multiculturalism fills a void, defining Canadian culture in terms of the legitimate ancestral cultures which are the legacy of every Canadian: defining the whole through the sum of its parts. (cited in Birch, 1989, p. 171)

4.3.6. Summary

What aspects of Canadian identity emerge from the Guideline? There is very little said about national character, except perhaps an implication that the early pioneers were tough and hard-working, or that Canadian soldiers showed great bravery in the battles of World War 1. Presumably any general sense of a modal personality will derive from the study of individual historical personalities, although, as we have noted, these are not at centre stage in the unfolding drama of Canadian history. What matters are events and their impact on ordinary people. The study of separate cultural groups also tends to encourage a fragmented view of national identity.

The emphasis on communities and community action may indicate a close-knit society of participating citizens who believe in dialogue and cooperation. Each and every person, irrespective of sex, ethnicity or social background, has had and continues to have a contribution to make. It is an inclusive vision cherished by a society that has great respect for law and order, and a firm belief

in the democratic process. The state, however, is not an object of excessive passion or loyalty. It provides a framework of services and security that allows individual material needs to be met. If it commands commitment, it is in the exercise of one's democratic responsibilities and in support for policies promoting equality and cultural pluralism.

Ultimately, self-realization is attainable through ownership of one's own personal history and identity within the community. National identity becomes a question of identifying with and sharing a particular set of values. As vehicles for the teaching and internalization of those values, social studies courses and their associated methodological strategies are, we infer, of considerable importance.

4.4. Chapter summary

By means of a necessarily limited examininations of a Government of Canada promotional film and of a grade 7-10 social studies curriculum guideline, Chapter 4 has attempted to consider national identity within a broader political and educational framework. The chosen documents have provided insights into two additional interpretations of English Canada's national identity: Idealized National Identity (INI), which is the officially promoted version, and Transmitted National Identity (TNI), the pedagogical actualization of INI.

Perspectives on Canadian INI were provided by the 26-minute video "Oh Canada!", produced by Credo Entertainment of Winnipeg. The original version was first shown as part of Canada's contribution to the 1988 Brisbane World Exposition. Three analyses of the film were carried out, focussing on the film's structure, image content and its accompanying commentary.

In analysing the film's structure, the first step was to reconstruct the original storyboard, which in turn allowed the 271 sequences to be grouped under seven topic headings (e.g., Landscape and geography, Science and innovation). Interesting differences were noted in the number and length of sequences devoted to particular themes. In terms of film time, 35% of the contents related to two themes, trade and innovation, but the majority of the film's 271 shots dealt with the theme of Canadian lifestyle and leisure pursuits (22.9%). Cultural diversity and features of the Canadian landscape were also prominent themes, in both number and length of shots. Aspects of Canadian history and government, however, were barely mentioned, featuring in just 6.3% and 6.7 % of sequences respectively.

Analysis of the film's imagery revealed a conscious and skilfully executed attempt by the producers to capture some of Canada's natural beauty, cultural pluralism and sense of community,

mainly by means of fine photography and rapid, kaleidoscopic editing. Sources of national pride were most clearly sought in scenes displaying the country's varied landscapes and technological know-how. Overall, Canadians were depicted as a modern, contented and egalitarian nation, blessed with a beautiful country. They have also found a balance between hard work and fulfilling leisure. The film avoided the traditional symbols of Canadian nationhood (e.g., the red-coated Mountie), except for the politically neutral maple leaf, which was seen to advantage in the film's powerful final sequence.

The film's emphasis on Canada as a distinctive and unified country was highlighted by means of a lexicometric analysis of the officially-vetted commentary. Part of the country's unity and distinctiveness, the film suggested, is the result of a long, shared history, even though very few precise historical references were made. Similarly, the commentary referred to the sense of tradition underlying Canadian society. The country's other distinguishing characteristics include diversity, global awareness, technical sophistication and environmental concern.

The analysis of Canadian INI concluded with a comment on the informational style of "Oh Canada!". Whereas particular projects (e.g., in urban transportation) are described in great detail with appropriate accompanying footage, thus confirming the accuracy of the commentary, more abstruse information related to the country's professed ideals and self-image (e.g., distinctiveness, history, community, environmental awareness, international prestige) is not given the same visual support. The result may be that audiences accept the underlying ideological message of the film on the same basis as its display of the country's other, more concrete achievements.

Transmitted National Identity (TNI), defined loosely as a pedagogical version of the INI and a possible influence in the formation of the PNI, was examined in the second half of Chapter 4. The sources consisted of two parts of the 1986 Ontario *Curriculum Guideline for History and Contemporary Studies*, which were meant for use in planning and teaching social studies courses in grades 7 to 10. After considering issues relating to the validity of these particular documents (the representativeness of Ontario, the major role of social studies as a vehicle of citizenship education, the inevitable gulf between curricular idealism and actual classroom practice), the chapter briefly outlined the structure, objectives and contents of the Guideline. In addition to its detailed list of topics for each course and a systematic programme for the development of key information- processing skills, the Guideline provides valuable teaching strategies and suggestions for practical classroom implementation. It was noted, however, that the one course dealing specifically with matters of personal identity ("Living in a Changing World") was optional in grade 10.

The analysis of the Guideline began with a description of the social and political context in which it was written, which helped to explain its underlying idealism and interpretation of

historical development. The actual analysis of the Guideline's contents was divided into three sections: attitudinal and affective aims, topics included and methodological suggestions.

The 90 attitudinal statements in the Guideline were initially classified under 11 headings, using the ATLAS/ti computer program (Muhr, 1993). Attitudinal objectives were mainly concerned with academic motivation, social order and change, tolerance, civic participation and global awareness. Attitude statements related to Canadian identity and historical empathy were less frequent. When the eleven headings were collapsed into five broader categories defined by the focus of the particular attitude group (the individual, his/her immediate circle, the community, the nation, the globe), it became apparent that the Guideline's prime focus was on the development of model citizens capable of operating in small associational networks and the wider community. Such citizens would be tolerant, empathic, culturally sensitive and able to take part actively and responsibly in the democratic process.

The topics for grade 7-10 history and contemporary studies courses were examined using Micro-OCP (Oxford University Press, 1988) concordancing software. A straightforward word frequency count revealed the prevalence of certain words (e.g., "change", "conflict", "individual", "society", "community"), which were interpreted as indicating a particular view of history and social development. For the Guideline authors, history is seen as the mirror and antecedent of current social conditions and problems. Its essential task is to chronicle events and tell of their impact on the lives of ordinary, seemingly powerless citizens. History deals with communities of men, women and children in search of greater equality and justice. In this light, history teaching plays a central role in equipping students with the manifold citizenship skills that will empower them and enrich their lives as citizens. These skills include the effective use of information sources and the persuasive presentation, in writing and speech, of any conclusions logically and critically derived from those sources. A key pedagogocal device in developing such skills is the logical organizer.

The 138 teaching tips and evaluative strategies proposed in the Guideline were firstly examined from the point of view of the type of activity suggested (e.g., debate, roleplay, study visit) and then in terms of their thematic orientation. The list of activities was diverse and comprehensive, indicating a motivating approach to the teaching of social studies and one that is also solidly anchored in local community action. This cornucopia of methodological pointers, however, may conceal the difficulties of actually implementing them in the classroom.

The second analysis showed that 9 themes predominated in the teaching strategies. Of these, 40% related to social issues and 35% to democratic citizenship. This concern with civic awareness and action, apparent in the Guideline's attitudinal objectives, was also reflected in the frequency of activities dealing with the destinies of ordinary people or the impact of social and technological

change on their lives. The themes of cultural heritage and identity, whether individual, local or national, occurred considerably less frequently (7.9% and 10.9% respectively).

The interpretation of Canadian citizenship that emerges from the Guideline has a strong civic orientation. Sharing the civic vision proposed by the Guideline is offered in itself as an element of Canadian identity that will promote a sense of community. History demonstrates the reality of this community and traces individual contributions to its growth. Despite its focus on community, however, the Guideline's predilection for the logical organizer as a teaching method may undermine solidarity by encouraging young adults to adopt a confrontational stance where discussion and compromise become difficult. This hypothesis would require further investigation to substantiate.

The chapter then noted that the Guideline pays very little attention to specific historical figures. Similarly, there is hardly any reference to great Canadians in the fields of politics, business, science, art or literature. In general, the nation's history is a joyless and colourless affair and hardly a cause for celebration. The myths and heroic deeds that sustain national pride and identity are replaced with the exploits of Canada's unsung heroes, its nameless generations of farmers and workers who have created today's as yet imperfect society.

Chapter 4 then considered conservative and multiculturalist viewpoints in the so-called canon debate: whether schools should teach a unifying view of a country's history, thus reinforcing a sense of shared identity, or whether history should be demythified and its mainly white, Anglocentric interpretation corrected. Despite predating this debate by several years, the Guideline is firmly in favour of a multiculturalist approach. In fact, multiculturalism in Canada is not treated as a recent development but as part of the country's historical legacy. Canadian identity can be built around that legacy and around the core of civic values to be promoted through social studies teaching.

CHAPTER 5
ESTABLISHING NATIONAL IDENTITY

5.1. Introduction

In Chapter 1, this study proposed three perspectives on national identity. In Chapters 3 and 4 it examined their actualization in English Canadian terms through three sources of data. The primary focus was on Perceived National Identity (PNI), as revealed through an extensive questionnaire administered to a sample of 150 students in autumn 1992. Insights into English Canada's Idealized National Identity (INI) and Transmitted National Identity (TNI) were based on more limited evidence -- a promotional film and a social studies curriculum guide -- and served mainly to illuminate the PNI from political and educational viewpoints.

This chapter draws together the data from previous chapters and comes to tentative conclusions about the state of English Canada's national self-image at the dawn of what is often seen as a post-nationalist age. It will try to answer such questions as: What are the hallmark features of Canadian-ness? What are the features that unite Canadians and/or set them apart from other nations? How have components of the INI and TNI been reconciled in the PNI? Are there discrepancies and incongruencies amongst the three interpretations of national identity? What are the educational implications of such discrepancies?

The chapter also considers the role of social studies in creating a positive sense of national identity and thus contributing to the promotion of active citizenship. Against a confusing background of seemingly contradictory trends -- consolidation, fragmentation and globalization, as described in Chapter 1 (Birch, 1993) -- national governments and school systems are charged with the increasingly difficult task of fostering a spirit of nationhood and solidarity that will translate into citizen participation and community action. This challenge is likely to be all the greater in the case of Canada, where separatism, the country's own officially-sponsored diversity, and the prospect of domination by American economic and cultural influences threaten national unity and self-confidence.

The three data sources used in the study differ in format, focus and intended audience. Discovering similarities and points of difference amongst them, then, becomes a problem of

finding a common basis for comparison that will allow valid comments to be made and lead to useful insights. This chapter offers two possible solutions to the problem. First, it proposes, in a very provisional way, an analytical framework based on the four-way treatment of national identity in Chapter 2. In addition to this predominantly quantitative approach based on a theoretical construct, the chapter also picks out recurrent common themes (e.g., history, distinctiveness, unity) and compares their treatment in each of the three data sources. Since an exhaustive analysis using each approach would go beyond the requirements of the present study, the main focus will be on thematic comparison. The chapter also examines the implications of the differences in treatment of the themes for the teaching of social studies. It then considers possible improvements to the main data instrument -- the questionnaire -- and concludes with proposals for follow-up studies.

5.2. A provisional framework for comparing PNI, INI and TNI

To help organize the extensive and diverse literature related to national identity, Chapter 2 proposed a categorization based primarily on the academic discipline most actively concerned with scholarship in each category. Thus, identity was interpreted as follows: 1) in affective-political terms as national sentiment; 2) in civic-political terms as citizenship; 3) in sociological and anthropological terms as culture; and 4) in social psychological terms as self-perception. Under each heading Chapter 2 examined a number of key features (e.g., "sense of national pride" and "commitment to a particular territory" under the heading "identity as national sentiment"). In effect, the features identified under each heading become dependent variables that can be used to build a profile of the three data sources (questionnaire, film and curriculum guide). The profiles are distinguished by the relative weight they give to the four aspects of identity. Table 5.1. is a preliminary attempt to reduce the contents of Chapter 2 to such an analytical framework.

Table 5.1. Proposed framework for analysing data illustrating PNI, INI and TNI

Identity interpreted as	**Components of the interpretation**	**Evidence of the component**
National sentiment	*Commitment to a particular territory*	A common homeland; the importance of territorial defence and martyrdom; national map and defining borders; natural, unspoilt beauty of the landscape; mythified locations.
	A sense of historical uniqueness	Collective destiny; shared memories; mythified historical figures; a mythified golden age.
	Distinctive national symbols and rituals	Flag, anthem, currency, coat of arms; symbols; celebrations and holidays; oaths, awards, parades; national flag-flying institutions.
	A sense of national pride	National political and cultural institutions; artistic and scientific achievements; sporting, political and economic achievements; modernity and innovation; youth and vitality; national language; military prestige; international presence.
	A sense of national sovereignty	Political independence; economic self-sufficency; control of key national resources and instititions; ownership of media.

Citizenship	*Rights accruing from membership*	Political rights; residence and mobility rights; social rights.
	Obligations offered by membership	Voting; paying taxes; schooling and employment; language proficiency; acquiring information.
	Subscribing to the national vision	Support for multiculturalism and bilingualism; community action and voluntary work; fostering equality; civic pride.
	Political participation	Active role in decision-making process; confidence in political system and politicians; respect, dialogue, compromise; international solidarity.
	Citizenship education	Knowledge, skills and dispositions.
Culture	*Information/factual culture*	Historical, geographical and cultural knowledge.
	Behavioural culture	Everyday behaviour; forms of communication, conversational formulas
	Values and attitudes	Enacted legislation; support for proposed or enacted legislation; self-attributions; attribution/non-attribution to others.
	Achievements and accomplishments	High cultural achievements; scientific accomplishments.
Self-percep-tion	*Autostereotype*	"We are characterized by certain features"; mythified national character.
	Heterostereotype	"They are characterized by certain features."
	Proj. autostereotype	"They think we are characterized by certain features."
	Proj.heterostereotype	"They think they are characterized by certain features."

On the basis of this framework, a relatively straightforward research design might use a simple numerical count of references to features related to national sentiment (NS), citizenship (CZ), culture (CL) and self-perception (SP). For example, the commentary accompanying sequence 25 of the film "Oh Canada!" states that "each people has left its distinctive imprint on Canadian society." For the purposes of statistical analysis, this would count as a reference to Canada's sense of historical uniqueness, which is proposed as a sub-category of identity

interpreted as national sentiment. Notice that the same sentence can also be counted as a reference to the self-perceptual dimension of identity, i.e., as an example of the Canadian autostereotype.

To demonstrate the usefulness of the analytical framework proposed, Table 5.2. presents the results of an analysis of the 293 images and 91 sentences in the film "Oh Canada!", used in Chapter 4 to illuminate Canadian INI. By examining each sentence and its associated images, coding it in accordance with the framework, and then reducing frequencies to a 0-5 scale, it is possible to arrive at a preliminary profile of this particular official expression of national identity.

Table 5.2. National identity components in "Oh Canada!"

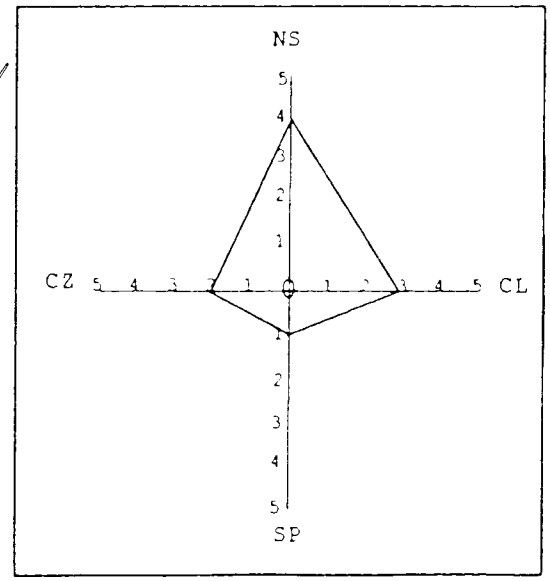
Interpretations and Component	Examples (sequence #)	Total	%	0-5 scale
Identity as national sentiment (NS)		**174**	**40.4**	**4**
Commitment to a particular territory	1-10,11-12,13, 16,17,51,69,81	34		
A sense of historical uniqueness	24,26,28,49,50, 55,112,122,127	38		
Distinctive national symbols/rituals	13,33,86,117,118, 131,139,154,289	16		
A sense of national pride	21,26,28,56,60, 66,97,104,112	55		
A sense of national sovereignty	51,59,61,63-65, 96,116-118,184	31		
Identity as citizenship (CZ)		**94**	**21.8**	**2**
Rights accruing from membership	1-10,20,28,65, 96-97,116,214-240	25		
Obligations offered by membership	19,27,97,102-103, 106,115,122	22		
Subscribing to the national vision	21,24-28,62,82, 99,104,112-115	22		
Political participation	102-103,105-107, 116	13		
Citizenship education	97,102-103,116	12		
Identity as culture (CL)		**133**	**30.8**	**3**
Information/factual culture	11-15,16,17,24, 49,56,112,121	47		
Behavioural culture	20-28,33-48,96-101, 129-136,227-240	37		
Values and attitudes	19,21,27,28,34-36, 104,105,147	37		
Achievements and accomplishments	87-92,93-95,98-99, 141,165-169	14		
Identity as self-perception (SP)		**30**	**7.0**	**1**
Autostereotype/mythified character	19,26,49,66,86, 99,127,244,247	26		
Heterostereotype	65,103,106,245	4		

Note. The numbers of the examples refer to the film sequences and/or the section of the accompanying commentary (see Appendix 2).

In this overall assessment of the film, images and commentary were considered as an entity, delimited by sentence boundaries. Sequences without a commentary were equated with a sentence. Coding was done using the ATLAS/ti computer program (Muhr, 1994), but since categorization was not absolute and there were inevitably examples that did not fall easily under a single heading, multiple-coding of sequences was allowed. It should be remembered that research is essentially "a process of exploration" (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983, p. 12) and that the instrument being proposed here is a preliminary heuristic device for investigating issues of national identity and not a standardized measure that has been exhaustively tested.

The profile exhibited by "Oh Canada!", which is presented in graphic form in Figure 5.3., suggests that the director and/or writer has seen identity primarily in terms of patriotic attachment and national sentiment, reflected principally in pride (in social progress, history, technical prowess), a sense of distinctiveness, and common ownership of a beautiful independent country. The film also stresses the importance of a sense of a shared culture, revealed as knowledge of Canada and participation in its everyday work and play. Identity as citizenship is less important but not an inconsiderable component of identity. It consists of sharing the national vision with the entitlements and obligations this entails.

Figure 5.3. National identity profile presented in "Oh Canada!"



The analytical framework proposed here is meant as exploratory only, and in one respect it is clearly inadequate: the profile of "Oh Canada!" has failed to reflect the theoretical importance of identity as self-perception, as seen in Chapter 2. Since the film was devised and produced in Canada, it could be argued that it is nothing but self-perception, i.e., an all-Canadian attempt to confirm certain dimensions of the Canadian autostereotype and establish a very favourable projected autostereotype. As the literature survey revealed (Chapter 2), identity interpreted as self-perception is a more diffuse construct, which makes the identification and tabulation of references to it problematic.

Use of the analytical framework here has been limited to investigation of the government film "Oh Canada!" and the perspective on national identity it provides. If the analysis were to be extended to the other data sources, certain problems affecting their validity would need to be resolved. Consider, for example, the main data source, the questionnaire. In the first place, it should be borne in mind that the original purpose of the questionnaire was not to characterize Canadian identity but to gather "authentic" information for a Canadian studies course dealing with aspects of Canada's geography, history, culture and social institutions. Informants' replies were inevitably shaped by the format and content of the questions devised by the author, with the result that the questionnaire may have biased the study to some extent. Although it appears to deal with important aspects of national identity, it may nevertheless have ignored other components central to individual informants' understanding of national identity. Only in the relative frequency of replies to each question (Chapter 3, Table 3.36.) is there a possible reflection of how individuals prioritize the components of national identity, but this measure is also flawed since there are several motives explaining a blank response. A different research instrument employed in different circumstances (e.g., an informal interview, a group discussion) might have produced a different typology of national identity.

Another problem in the profile approach is consistency and rigour of categorization. A careful examination of the framework presented in Table 5.1. reveals some duplication in the exemplars of each category. Knowledge of the country's history, geography and culture, for example, may be regarded as evidence of identity being multiply interpreted: as national sentiment, or as culture, or indeed as citizenship. Ultimately, the reduction to a common scale can only be done in an intuitive and imprecise way, but nevertheless obvious differences of emphasis and content will become apparent, indicating areas in the data requiring closer investigation. In this sense, with continual interaction between data and categories, the framework may be useful for theory development.

5.3. Recurrent themes in Canadian national identity

This section examines particular aspects of English Canada's national identity and compares their treatment in the three data sources. In this way the section complements and amplifies what was written earlier in the conclusion to Chapter 3 (3.6.), where several major facets of Perceived National Identity, as revealed by questionnaire responses, were discussed. Given the exhaustiveness of the analysis carried out in Chapters 3 and 4, the present discussion will confine itself to five key themes: 1) values in national identity; 2) the extantness of national identity; 3) the ambiguity of national identity; 4) the role of history in national identity; and 5) the importance of conspicuousness and prominence. The discussion of each theme also includes proposals for the development of social studies curricula. Such proposals are to be considered tentative only, subject to refinement and development in the light of further research and empirical validation.

It should also be remembered that the subsidiary data sources (film and curriculum guide) are offered merely as exemplars of possible differences in interpretation and emphasis underlying the three versions of national identity proposed. All comparisons are to be considered illustrative only. Clearly, considerable additional research would be required to confirm the generalizability of the differences identified here.

5.3.1. Values in national identity

A central component of national identity and cohesion is the sense that citizens share a common value and belief system. The ideal citizen -- whose creation is often promoted as the essential task of the educational system -- is one who comes to be regarded as embodying those values and beliefs. Data on the PNI (questionnaire) revealed that there was considerable consensus on what values underlie (or should underlie) Canadian society, confirming similar earlier findings (e.g., Kymlicka, 1992). Equality, tolerance, compromise, support for multicultural policies and a belief in social justice were prominent in informants' replies to questions asking for vital facts about Canada (Table 3.3.), Canadian sources of pride (3.5.), Canadian superiority (3.7.) and Canadian values (3.9.). Adherence to the same values is reflected in the TNI (curriculum guide), where more than 25% of the attitudinal objectives relate to different types of tolerance and strategies for successful interpersonal relations (Table 4.4.). Almost one-fifth of the film "Oh Canada!" is also devoted to showing Canadians' concern with issues of multiculturalism and diversity (Table 4.1.). In other words, PNI, TNI and INI appear to be in congruence. In a major educational success story, schools have transmitted a respected and officially-approved notion of

Canadian citizenship to their students, who in turn have incorporated it into their own value system and national self-image.

To a lesser extent, the three data sources show congruence in their concern with Canadian heritage and culture, the preservation of peace and order (as a prerequisite of individual freedom and stability) and the importance of education in a modern, democratic society. Differences between the data sources relate mainly to environmental concerns, attitudes to work and internationalization.

Although the PNI does not include environmental awareness as such amongst Canadian values (Table 3.9.), the environment ranks fifth as a source of pride (3.5.) and fourth as vital factual information about the country (3.3.). More importantly, it is the third biggest cause of concern (14.1%) amongst citizens, especially amongst the under-21s, following unity and the economy (3.11.). As noted above (section 4.2.6.), the INI document (film) twice refers to Canada's environmental activism, but the references are not given visual support. The country's outstanding natural beauty is presented as an enduring feature, linked primarily to outdoor activities and tourism. The forestry industry is seen in purely economic terms as an example of Canada's abundant resources and its leading-edge technology. The TNI document (curriculum guideline) includes several attitudinal objectives related to the environment (e.g., "developing respect for the environment and a commitment to the wise use of resources"; Ontario, 1986a, p. 7.), but this is only indirectly substantiated in the proposed classroom activities (e.g., discussing the location of a new shopping mall, investigating the impact of a cheap energy source).

A difference in values is also seen in the attitudes to work and leisure conveyed by the three documents. In the INI document (film), work situations are depicted more frequently than leisure pursuits, but a significant finding from the questionnaire data indicates that the good life (understood as a full social life, happiness, good health, enjoyment) is placed ahead of work as an important Canadian value (Table 3.9.), especially amongst 16-21 year-olds. Interestingly, money and power figure less prominently in the value systems of this age group. The curriculum guideline (TNI) is not preoccupied with students' leisure time pursuits; instead, it suggests several activities which will supposedly help them choose a satisfying and socially useful career. Students are also encouraged to find out about employment legislation.

With 10% of its attitudinal objectives referring to global awareness, the curriculum guideline (TNI) can be said to pay some attention to global issues, especially in grade 9 and 10 courses. Similarly, the film (INI) makes several references to Canada's role in the world, emphasizing its participation in global organizations as a "peacekeeper and conciliator". The outward-looking nature of Canadians is also demonstrated through a sequence showing a candlelight ceremony in support of anti-racism. Data from the questionnaire (PNI), however, reveals a very different understanding of internationalism. The overriding concern of informants is that Canada's

international status should be recognized, particularly its role as a peacekeeper and its freedom to act independently of the United States. Canada's international powerlessness is the third commonest misconception attributed to foreigners (Table 3.4.), although the 16-21 age group is less concerned about this. In terms of Canada's superiority to the US (Table 3.6.), respondents cited their country's less know-all, militaristic and imperialistic role on the international stage. Laudable though such self-perceptions are, they have little to do with resolving the economic, social and health problems facing the majority of the world's population. This somewhat blinkered westernized view of the world is also reflected in data on informants' preferred study destinations (Table 3.13.).

Despite the divergence in attitudes to the environment, work and globalization, the findings from the present illustrative data suggest that at least some of the values both presupposed by and determinant of government social policy are well established throughout English Canada. As such, therefore, they could function as that elusive basis for uniting Canadians and setting them apart from other nations (Fleras & Elliott, 1992). Unfortunately, the questionnaire data also revealed the tenuousness of the popular self-image: prominent among informants' sources of shame (Table 3.6.) were inequality and intolerance, accounting for over 25% of replies. In other words, one quarter of informants -- and over one third of the 26+ age group -- felt a certain personal inadequacy in the face of a Canadian reality marked by racism and flawed social justice. Chapter 3 suggested that while ordinary Canadians may accept the enormous challenges facing them in the pursuit of social equality and consider this an important dimension of their civic national identity, they may nevertheless feel that unrealistic expectations have been placed on them.

Without further research, it is difficult to make more than a tentative suggestion as to the possible consequences of this situation. One interpretation is that some students, aware of the credibility gap between curricular objectives and their own perceptions of social reality, come to see the entire social studies curriculum as an irrelevant imposition, which in turn colours their attitudes to its contents and working methods. A second, perhaps more worrying, reading is that concepts of tolerance, diversity and multiculturalism have been internalized in the same unthinking way that the questionnaire data (e.g., on Canadian writers and their books) indicate that historical and cultural information is learned in school: as mere factual content, as educational charades, or as empty clichés.

A further possibility is that the working methods proposed in the curriculum guideline may in themselves militate against students gaining a deep understanding of issues relating to equality and cultural pluralism. The approach underlying the cognitive skills component of the Ontario curriculum is the application of logic and systematicity in data-seeking and decision-making. The logical organizer is the favoured instructional device (Ontario, 1986a, pp. 45-65). Presumably, this may help students to become proficient in solving problems, even those involving quite

complex social issues -- at least on paper at a theoretical level. This, in turn, may lead them to believe that cultural pluralism is a problem like any other that should have been "solved" in the same rational, negotiated way. Unfortunately, this is belied by reality. As a result, the logical organizer and all it stands for are seen as ineffective and out of touch.

In making the above interpretations, the author is simplifying issues; firstly, by equating an official Ontario social studies curriculum with actual classroom practice, and secondly by assuming that educational input is the only factor determining young people's perceptions of their society. As has been repeatedly emphasized, the intended curriculum may only have a tangential influence on teaching contents and classroom scenarios. Other background and environmental factors will also affect the extent to which official objectives and methodologies are successfully transmitted. As purveyors of various "hidden curricula" in their attitudes and instructional styles, teachers can nullify the impact of even the most visionary curriculum plan.

If there is a connection between social studies curricula and the ambiguity of Canadian attitudes to cultural pluralism and social equality (as sources of both shame and pride), it may lie in the standardization and simplification inherent in any curriculum. A highly formalized and inflexible social studies curriculum is more likely to work against the development in students of an individual concept of tolerance that derives organically from each particular school and community context. Individualized school-based curricula would help teachers and students to construct their own meaningful interpretations of cultural pluralism and tolerance of diversity. Actualized through personal experience in the student's own community and then reflected upon, individually and collectively, such concepts might acquire meaning in students' lives. On this basis, a curriculum using the "expanding circles" framework -- the principle proposed in the Ontario curriculum guide -- would seek to develop students' understanding of the complexities inherent in a multicultural society and interdependent world. Ultimately, perhaps, such collective understanding might form a central thread of a genuinely shared national identity.

The sense of shame felt at Canada's social injustice by 25% of the questionnaire respondents (Table 3.6.) can also be seen as a positive feature of Canadian society, reflecting well on -- but not necessarily contingent on -- its educational system. It suggests that the task of removing inequality is still considered a worthwhile or conscience-pricking challenge by a sizable proportion of the population. In other words, the substance of the Canadian value system remains intact. If this is indeed the case, there may be a very important role for social studies in promoting and strengthening Canadian identity. Kymlicka (1992, p. 47) argues that the values accepted by most Canadians need not be interpreted as uniquely Canadian and that they may be shared throughout the world, even if their history and interpretation has been different in Canada. The role of social studies could be to develop an awareness of shared values and universal human experience within the unique context of a developing Canadian nation. Global education, which seeks to develop the

knowledge and attitudes underlying a global perspective (e.g., state-of-the- planet awareness, cross-cultural sensitivity), would thus become a significant component of a social studies curriculum seeking to establish a Canadian identity in a diverse and complex world.

5.3.2. The extantness of national identity

Each of the three documents communicates a set of assumptions about the degree to which a Canadian identity already exists in a recognizable and distinctive form: its extantness. Perhaps as expected, the government video (INI) stresses the unique and long-established character of Canada ("diversity -- cultural, economic and geographic -- is at the very heart of Canada's unique character and spirit"), a character which is revealed and confirmed through a particular western lifestyle dominated by work and leisure. Similarly, the social studies curriculum guide emphasizes that Canadian identity is well established, having been built up over the centuries through the contributions of generations of ordinary men and women, whatever their ethnic or cultural origin (e.g., Ontario, 1986b, p. 16). Nowadays, this sense of identity is most clearly expressed in personal commitment to a particular vision of society and citizenship.

The questionnaire data (PNI), however, suggests that English Canada's identity is far from extant. The ambivalence of national character has already been referred to (p. 145). One aspect of the self-deprecatory side of national character is the tendency for Canadians to define themselves by default, i.e., in parameters of non-American-ness. This may reflect a lack of confidence in those characteristics and values that are officially promoted as defining features of the nation. Or it may indicate frustration at the difficulty of establishing and nurturing identity in a country like Canada.

The achievement of a genuinely multicultural, egalitarian society will take time, but questionnaire data (e.g., Table 3.5.) reveal the pride felt by informants that Canada has made considerable progress towards this goal, termed "the Canadian dream" by one respondent. By proposing the idea of an evolving or emerging identity, social studies curricula could actively incorporate this sense of progress. Simultaneously, they could help to reconcile the differences in the levels of identity extantness indicated in the three versions of national identity. This would mean that the history curriculum should no longer be concerned with promoting Canadian identity as a fixed and unaltering legacy. Instead, building around a core of respected human values, apparently already well-established as definingly Canadian (5.3.1.), social studies could emphasize that national identity is a dynamic quest, with each individual discovering and actualizing his or her own particular interpretation of it.

To some extent, the Ontario guideline reflects this approach by emphasizing the cumulative contributions made to Canada's economic and social development by earlier generations. The proposal also receives support from the literature on nationalism and national identity (Chapter 2). Smith (1991), for example, emphasizes that the cultural basis of a civic nation evolves slowly and that national mythologies are constantly being remoulded to reflect ongoing historical and social change. New elements of national culture, understood in the broadest sense, are continually "invented" and incorporated into a dynamic "chameleon-like" national self-image, (e.g., Christmas traditions, workplace festivities, social welfare procedures, fashionable sports, literary successes). In this process, the "daily plebiscite" (Renan, 1882/1994) is not merely an affirmation of belonging to a nation, but a repeated reassessment of what entitlements and obligations belonging involves.

Stereotyping research (e.g., Eagly & Kite, 1987; Seago, 1947) also indicates that, despite some consistency over time and situation, attributed national characteristics are not immutable. The defects (apathy, self-effacement, conservatism, lack of patriotism) that Canadians find in their own national character (Table 3.14.) might play a smaller and less disturbing part in the autostereotype if the idea of an emerging and consequently unfixed national identity were promoted.

Deutsch's social communication theory refers to a third and fourth stage in creating the nation-state concerned with democratization and the equitable distribution of resources. The questionnaire data imply that, despite considerable consensus amongst informants on Canadian ideals and values, one quarter are painfully aware that Deutsch's stages 3 and 4 are incomplete in Canadian society. A social studies curriculum focussing on the idea of an evolving national identity tied to the achievement of these important political and social goals would be more likely to reflect the aspirations of such respondents.

The unrequited search for identity, often seen as a flaw in the Canadian self-image, could be made into one of its defining features, proof of the country's vitality and uniqueness. This approach would not devalue historical events or persons; indeed, in seeking continuous or recurrent strands of identity (e.g., "northness", "diversity"), students might be led to rediscover the importance of history and historical pride in their individual lives.

5.3.3. The ambiguity of national identity

It was pointed out in Chapter 2 that the word "identity" is ambiguous in English. It can refer to both distinctiveness ("identifiableness") and sameness ("identicalness"). This ambiguity suggests two distinct parameters of identity. If identity is seen primarily in terms of

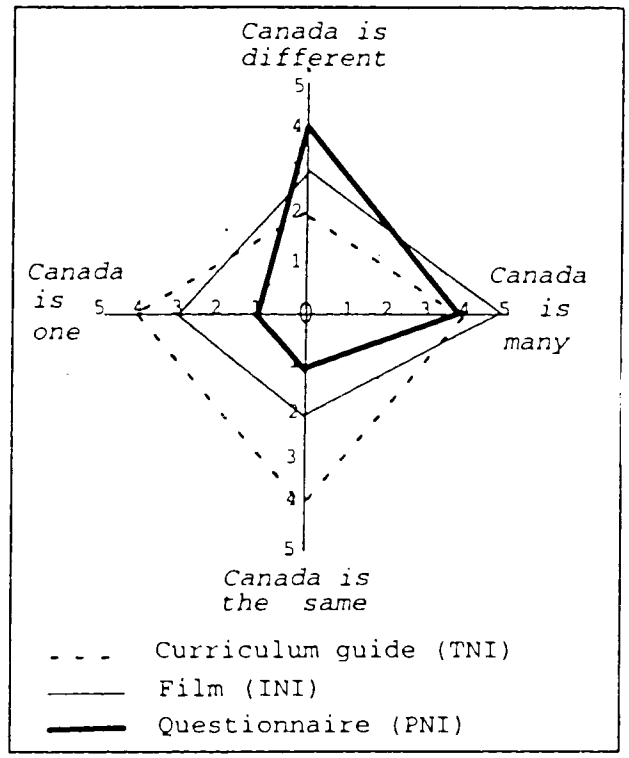
distinctiveness, the data may be assessed in terms of how much emphasis they give to uniquely Canadian features (i.e., the problems and achievements that make Canada conspicuous), and how much to features that show Canada as one nation amongst many, sharing a common humanity and tackling global problems. If, on the other hand, identity is understood primarily as sameness and unanimity, the data can be located along a parameter ranging from unity (i.e., an emphasis on homogeneity, national commonalities and cohesion) at one extreme and diversity (heterogeneity and pluralism) at the other. It should be emphasized that the two poles of each parameter are not mutually exclusive. It is possible to underline the nation's uniqueness while also pointing out its international presence and global solidarity. Similarly, a preoccupation with unity does not rule out mention of diversity and difference.

Using procedures similar to the ones described above (5.3.2.), additional profiles reflecting the duality of "identity" could be produced for the three data sources and the interpretations of national identity they illustrate. The film and the curriculum guide, for example, show a Canada where both internal diversity and unity are acknowledged as important and have been successfully reconciled. Questionnaire respondents, however, particularly in their answers to questions on Canada's current problems (Tables 3.11. and 3.12.), stress the country's perceived lack of unity and excess of diversity. In terms of the other dimension (distinctiveness - universality), the curriculum guide stresses Canadians' concern with social and environmental problems, domestically and to some extent internationally. The film shows that Canada is very similar to most Western countries in its political and economic structures, but, because of its importance as a vehicle for promoting tourism and trade links, it places more weight on Canada's uniqueness, especially on natural beauty and technological sophistication. On the other hand, questionnaire replies betray respondents' very strong desire to be seen as distinctively Canadian with a unique set of achievements, particularly with regard to Americans. Global awareness is limited to some environmental concern and knowledge of Canada's peacekeeping reputation.

Figure 5.4. is a preliminary attempt to create graphic profiles for the three documents. The plottings are based on an intuitive reading of the data sources (as presented in the preceding paragraph) and a reduction of their relative position on each dimension to a crude 0-5 scale. It must be stressed that the figure is primarily heuristic and is not the result of a precise, quantitative assessment of each document.

Substantiating the profiles displayed in Figure 5.4. would require a thorough analysis of the three documents (and of many more exponents of PNI, INI and TNI). Assuming, however, that the preliminary intuitive mapping suggested here is a starting point for further analysis, what features emerge? The lack of congruency or fit between the profiles is the most striking feature, suggesting that, despite considerable overlap (e.g., in recognizing Canada's diversity), the three documents understand identity differently, whether as identifiability or as identicality.

Figure 5.4. Profiles of distinctiveness and unity in three interpretations of national identity.



If social studies is a major factor in shaping and promoting national identity, any lack of match between the curricular interpretation of identity and that emerging from the government film and questionnaire data would be considered a cause for concern. Clearly, without further research, it is difficult to propose an ideal identity profile, either in general terms or with particular reference to Canada's needs. The discrepancy between PNI and TNI, however, as conveyed by Figure 5.4., particularly with reference to Canada's unity and global solidarity, suggests that existing social studies curricula may have misread several of the problems associated with establishing national identity.

If coherence between the three profiles is felt to be desirable, one solution would be for social studies curricula to include a more prominent global education component, emphasizing, for example, elements of a global perspective, such as state-of-the-planet awareness (Hanvey, 1976) and anticipation of complexity (Case, 1993). The suggestion is that the "reassuring sameness" that supposedly binds the nation together (Horsman & Marshall, 1994) may be more effectively promoted through a curriculum that emphasizes a sense of supranational, rather than national, community and commonality. This approach would also fit in with the philosophy presented

above (5.3.1.) where Canadian values, seen as universally human but with a distinct Canadian actualization, are proposed as cornerstones of national identity.

There are several points that support this approach. Firstly, it builds on existing elements of the national self-image (e.g., Canada's peacekeeping reputation, its role as conciliator, its generous refugee and immigrant programmes). International awareness, in contrast to the inward-looking focus of Americans, is also a component of the Canadian simple autostereotype, but some of the questionnaire data (e.g., Table 3.13.) suggest that there may not be a substantial basis for this self-attribution. An increased allocation of time to global education studies would provide the framework for a genuine expansion of horizons in the classroom. A third point is that a social studies curriculum with a strong global perspective is more likely to act as a counter to excessive nationalism, both pan-Canadian and between immigrant groups from countries affected by ethnic nationalism (e.g., Croatians, Tamils).

5.3.4. The role of history in national identity

The data sources differ in their interpretation of history and the importance they attach to it. In the case of the film, history is assumed to exist in the same way that natural beauty exists. Details are not needed since its existence is undeniable and consequently taken for granted. History for the respondents to the questionnaire appears to be a rather limited collection of clichéfied names and events that have become historical by virtue, presumably, of featuring in history textbooks, national anniversaries and TV docudramas. The Guideline, supposedly the key educational vehicle for delivering a memorable version of Canadian history, presents a non-celebratory but culturally-inclusive view of Canada's development, very much in the tradition of social history.

The approach underlying the Guideline, however, has implications for the promotion of national identity. An ethnically and culturally inclusive version of history may become exclusive in other less obvious ways. In the case of the Guideline, what has been excluded are those elements of historical story-telling with strong affective appeal that stimulate a positive and healthy sense of patriotism. These include many of the components dealt with under the heading "Identity as national sentiment " in Chapter 2, particularly a sense of historical uniqueness (2.3.2.), distinctive national symbols and ceremonies (2.3.3.), a sense of national pride (2.3.4.) and a sense of national sovereignty (2.3.5.). In this respect, the interpretation of national identity communicated by the Guideline differs from that proposed in the other documents. The promotional video shows an identity constructed very much around affective nationhood; similarly, sections of the questionnaire data suggest a strong sentimental, even nostalgic, attachment to Canada and Canadian institutions based on national pride and sovereignty.

Questionnaire replies suggest that, in the absence of a unifying and mythified history, there is a need for modern-day heroes -- whether charity runners, astronauts, sportspeople, inventors or entertainers -- to promote national pride and make up for self-doubt, political blundering and lack of solidarity (see, for example, Tables 3.24. - 3.30.). History appears to fulfil an important social psychological need which is not adequately met in courses dealing with aspects of civic awareness and participation. The implication is that history curricula could deal unashamedly with prominent Canadians and Canadian achievements in diplomacy, sports and the arts and sciences. Providing these celebrations of national achievement did not become overly chauvinistic and introverted, they could contribute to the growth in individuals of a national self-image that the majority of questionnaire respondents aspire to.

It is important to emphasize that the social studies curriculum should not be promoted as a vehicle for a nationalistic revival or narcissistic narrow-mindedness, but as a suitable context for developing the important strand of positive self-image deriving from a sense of nation-ness and belonging. There are all too many examples of the consequences of excessive nationalism (Ignatieff, 1993). In the case of Canada, with its geographical size, regional inequalities and defining French-English duality, a nationalistic revival would be more likely to fragment the country irreparably. Earlier proposals related to Canadian values (5.3.1.) and distinctiveness (5.3.3.) have stressed that a more celebratory treatment of Canadian history and achievements can and should take place within a framework of global concerns.

Questionnaire respondents' exhibited a strong awareness of Canada's geophysical nationhood (Tables 3.3., 3.21.). This is not surprising since the geography of one's country is a shared possession that cannot be denied or taken away. This feeling is echoed in the importance attached to landscape and scenery in the film "Oh Canada!" (Table 4.1.), used to illustrate the INI. Pride in Canada's physical expanse, climatic variation and diverse natural beauty, however, is not promoted in the Guideline, where geographical locations tend to be treated as mere sites for historical events (e.g., Quebec, Charlottetown, Winnipeg, Batouche). One result may be that students' lack of interest in the historical event (or the way it is taught) is transferred to the location itself, which may affect their mental image of Canada as a geophysical entity. As the concept shrinks and becomes less complex, parochialist thinking may be strengthened. If this is indeed the case, there is a clear need for increased cross-discipline cooperation in the design and implementation of curricula plans for geography and history.

Chapter 2 (2.3.4.) suggested that, in addition to a sense of historical uniqueness and value, national pride derives from modernity and technical prowess. "Oh Canada!" communicates this aspect of Canada very effectively and it is echoed in sections of the questionnaire data. The high (75% +) response rates to questions on Canadian inventions and products, entertainers, writers and sporting heroes, for example, suggest that this information confirming the country's

modernity is considered important by respondents and is easily available to them. Technological and medical achievements (e.g., the Canadarm space crane, telephone, insulin, snowmobile and CANDU nuclear reactor) featured in 60% of replies to a question on Canadian inventions (Table 3.28.). On the other hand, there was evidence that respondents did not rate their country's cultural and technical achievements very highly. In suggesting eleven categories of key factual information about Canada, for example, respondents ranked knowledge of its industry and technology tenth and of its sporting and cultural achievements eleventh (Table 3.3.). Data on common misconceptions about Canada (Table 3.4.) also suggest that international ignorance of Canada's technological sophistication is less worrying than propagation of an incorrect national stereotype and malignment of its climate. When asked to evaluate aspects of Canadian life by international standards, informants did not rate Canadian fashion, sport and industriousness as superior (Table 3.10.). Canadian televison programmes were rated as inferior, even though responses to a question on favourite Canadian TV programmes suggest considerable respect for CBC programming (Table 3.36.) .

The Guideline gives very limited coverage of popularized technical and cultural information. There is, for example, no mention of Canada's Nobel Prize winners and nominees (Banting and Macleod, Herzberg, Polanyi, Taylor, Pearson). In the interests of the economic survival of the nation (and the fulfilment of its social vision), it would not be unreasonable for history curricula to underline the importance of Canada's scientists and technicians in promoting the country's development.

5.3.5. The importance of conspicuousness and prominence

The questionnaire analysis referred on several occasions to Canadians' need to see their country or citizens achieve prominence, particularly in areas which either confirm that Canadians are different from Americans (e.g., as successful UN peacekeepers) or demonstrate that Canadians can outdo Americans (e.g., achieving the status of best country in the world). Linked to this need is the requirement that persons achieving prominence should be unambiguously recognized as Canadians. Correspondingly, persons who are correctly identified as Canadians, but who achieve prominence through their misdemeanours (e.g. Ben Johnson, UN troops in Somalia), cause national shame, which is felt quite deeply at the individual level. To call this a national inferiority complex may be a little harsh, but the data do seem to indicate that Canadians crave the approval of outsiders. Individuals who achieve success within the confines of Canada do not generate national pride, presumably because their success is interpreted in terms of a less competitive, scaled down, even subsidized, context: in a small pond, even a big fish is regarded as small.

The achievement of international prominence is also central to "Oh Canada!". Admittedly, one of the objectives of the film is to promote trade, so it is perhaps natural that it functions as an international showcase for Canadian expertise and leading-edge technology. But throughout the film the yardstick of success is global recognition, the celebration of conspicuous domains of excellence. The word "world", for example, occurs 15 times in the commentary, the third most frequent noun. Often it is collocated with phrases expressing Canadian ability to meet the challenge of internationalization (e.g., the Canadair aircraft "flies to customers all over the world"; Canadian bankers "meet the world head-on.").

The Guideline stresses the progress of the Canadian people in building a community of equal and active citizens. The course entitled "Contemporary Canada: Life in the Twentieth Century" (Ontario, 1986b, p. 56) devotes some time also to Canada's role in the global community, but this role is interpreted and presented officially; for example, in terms of its membership of key organizations. The rather cool, non-celebratory tone adopted for dealing with Canadian history similarly colours the treatment of Canada's international role. Such an approach may be welcomed as a counter to the effusive chauvinism of other countries, but, as the questionnaire data reveals, Canadians have a rather ambiguous attitude to patriotism. On the one hand, lack of patriotism is considered the main source of the nation's inferiority (Table 3.8.) and is prominent as a cause of shame (Table 3.6.). It is also a characteristic that clearly distinguishes the projected autostereotype from the projected heterostereotype (Table 3.18.). On the other hand, Canadian modesty and non-chauvinism are also considered points of superiority over the USA (Table 3.7.).

If an affective attachment to the nation is acknowledged as a component of national identity, including some degree of national pride and sense of uniqueness, then social studies curricula may have an important contribution to make in communicating information about Canada's sources of justified historical and contemporary pride.

One traditional approach to building national pride, one favoured by ethnic nationalists, is to glorify the achievements of local heroes and promote knowledge of national symbols and celebrations. This approach would seem to be supported in part by some of the data in the present study (see 5.3.4., above). Yet the data also reveal a powerful desire for wider recognition, a need that, for example, recent multimedia teaching materials supposedly bringing Canadian history to life (e.g., Rogers' CDROM on Canadian prime ministers) may not satisfy in the same way as an internationally publicized literary success or athletics world record. However vivid and detailed the recreation of historical events is (e.g., the 1992 historical vignette series of Canadian Moments shown on television and in cinemas across Canada), it cannot match the impact of a personally experienced moment of national history, especially one played out against an international backdrop. International sporting triumphs are particularly important in drawing the attention of the world's media.

A supposedly celebratory focus on purely local (i.e., national) heroes and events may merely increase citizens' sense of smallness and insignificance. A recent Ministry of Canadian Heritage initiative to distribute free flags for flying across the country may also prove to be counterproductive if only Canadians witness the display, or if receipt of the flag fails to generate interest in its unusual history and symbolism. The maple leaf flag is undeniably a powerful emblem of identity and sovereignty, but it achieves this significance only when placed alongside other flags or in an international context. Fluttering over a base in Bosnia, flying high over a G7 conference centre, slowly raised in an Olympic stadium, or waved by a child in honour of a state visit, the Canadian flag becomes an object of national pride for the simple reason that it is being seen and acknowledged by non-Canadians.

Dependence on external recognition, however, is also not without its dangers. If success is measured uniquely by international standards, then domestic evaluations cease to matter or are considered invalid. The determining factor is acceptability in the eyes of close neighbours and the world. In other words, the contents of the national autostereotype are increasingly determined by the need to shape a positive projected autostereotype. To economic and cultural dependency is added psychological dependency. The data (Tables 3.14. and 3.16.) suggest that the Canadian autostereotype already includes several elements which may have originated in the projected autostereotype (e.g., lack of patriotism, lack of enterprise). On the other hand, if global recognition is seen to be built on success and acclaim achieved at home, the result is likely to be a boost to national self-confidence, a confirmation of those long-standing values that are supposedly mediated through the school system and personified in each citizen.

If social studies can play a role in reconciling these two opposing interpretations of Canadians' quest for recognition (domestically and internationally), it may be in striking a better balance between issues of global import and matters of concern to Canadians as Canadians. In a preceding section (5.3.1.), shared values were recognized as an important, but not unique, component of Canadian national identity. Elsewhere (5.3.3.) it was suggested that a sense of national cohesion might be strengthened by increasing the amount of global education in the social studies curriculum. One concrete outcome of such thinking would, for example, be the development of courses under the headings "The History of Canada in the World" and "The History of the World in Canada". This juxtaposition recognizes the ambiguity of national identity and would offer many opportunities for validating the Canadian perspective, promoting a sense of cohesion and enhancing national historical pride, all within the important context of supranational developments and global commonalities.

5.4. Summary and review

This chapter has considered some of the central themes and contradictions characterizing the three versions of English Canada's national identity presented in Chapters 3 and 4. Two formats for analysis were offered. In the first, a quantitative model based on a framework deriving from the literature review in Chapter 2 was applied to the promotional film "Oh Canada!". The second analysis, less formal in its approach, considered five key themes prominent in the questionnaire data and compared their treatment in the other data sources. On the basis of the differences in content and emphasis observed, a number of tentative proposals were made for developing social studies curricula that are more congruent with or conducive to the national identity sought by questionnaire respondents.

The main ideas emerging from the study are as follows:

1. National identity is complex and research in the field has been hindered by its multidisciplinarity. The present study has attempted to develop and apply several models for a more inclusive and comprehensive treatment of national identity (the four-fold approach revealed by the literature review; the three-way categorization into Idealized, Transmitted and Perceived National Identity; the two-dimensional ambiguity of identity as unity and distinctiveness).

2. The literature survey (Chapter 2) emphasized that, for the foreseeable future, the nation state will continue as a major defining unit on the international stage, and national identity will remain an important factor in individual experience. Citizens with a positive sense of national pride and a healthy, secure national self-image are more likely to participate in the democratic process and contribute their diverse skills to achieving the social and economic goals set by the nation. Education plays a key role in this process, with much of the responsibility formally allocated to social studies.

3. Analysis of the questionnaire data revealed the ambivalence and discomfort of Canadian national identity. Responses were contradictory, especially in the ambiguity of cultural pluralism and tolerance as sources of national pride. Respondents also displayed ambivalent attitudes to features of Canadian national character and patriotism. Despite a mainly positive self-image, assessment of national character and achievement appeared to be based on external yardsticks. Concern with conspicuous success, especially in outdoing the USA, shows the national autostereotype to be lacking along a number of important dimensions (e.g., enterprise, assertiveness, patriotism and unity).

4. Despite considerable overlap between the three versions of national identity, as revealed by the questionnaire data (PNI) and the subsidiary documents (film and curriculum guideline, illustrative of INI and TNI respectively), there were differerences in content, emphasis and

recognition of the extantness of Canadian national identity. Whereas the government promotional film presented an image of a content, hard-working nation, characterized by diversity, modernity and harmony, questionnaire responses suggested that there is still a considerable way to go in realizing this vision and in actually pinpointing the modal defining features of Canadian-ness.

5. If one task of education is to bring about a greater degree of fit between governmental projections and individual experiences of national identity, social studies take on a very important role, both in interpreting official policy and in producing citizens able and willing to determine that policy. In a context of globalization, however, social studies must also reconcile the needs of national integrity and well-being with concern for issues affecting all humankind. In its concluding chapter, the study suggests that Canadian heritage education, delivered in a more openly celebratory manner, but still underlining Canadian values, might be effectively linked with an expanded global education component. With this dual focus, social studies could promote an emerging Canadian national identity, understood in terms of both unity (identicalness) and distinctiveness (identifiableness).

5.5. Improving the questionnaire

The questionnaire is marred by several design defects. Specific improvements could be made in the following areas:

1. Clearer designation of the target group

The inclusion of a relatively small number of respondents aged 30 or over, predominantly from Western Canada, and a single class of high school students from New Brunswick may have produced distortions in the results. These imbalances would need to be corrected in selecting a sample for any future version of the questionnaire.

2. Multiple-choice format

In terms of data coding, the open-ended format of the questionnaire is inefficient and time-consuming. In the case of questions requiring factual information, one solution would be to select the twenty answers most frequently given in the present questionnaire, standardize their presentation, arrange them in alphabetical (or random) order and offer them to respondents, who would be instructed either to mark, say, five items or to rank them according to the criteria given. Replies to those questions related to values and perceived national differences would be more problematic and clearly any attempt to standardize the reply format would reduce the richness of

the data. One approach would be to incorporate a particular value in a statement (e.g., "Canadians are reluctant to show their patriotism") and use a Likert agreement-disagreement scale. Such questions would need to be carefully written and piloted.

The low response rate for several questions (Table 3.37.) indicates that for many informants the questionnaire took on the nature of a test. Instead of actually naming their most admired figures in the Canadian art world, for example, they may have been simply writing down any names they were able to recall at that moment. Their failure to recall three such names is in itself interesting, as revealed in section 3.6.2. Supplying a ready-made list of alternatives would simplify the respondents' task and allow them in theory to make a considered choice. On the other hand, the empirical veracity of the choice could not be substantiated, except through follow-up discussion.

3. Trait assessment

In order to simplify the collection of data on stereotypical traits, the Anderson list could be used, but respondents would merely check the ten or so key adjectives they primarily associate with a particular stereotype. A core list of some twenty or thirty adjectives based on the results of the initial survey (Chapter 3) would be used. A similar technique was used in some of the pioneering work on stereotypes done by Katz and Braly (1933). Alternatively, a seven-point semantic differential scale using the polarities revealed by the present study (e.g., ignorant - educated, arrogant - humble, patriotic - unpatriotic, aggressive - apathetic, materialistic - happy-go-lucky) might yield similar results and would incorporate the theoretically important notion of parameters of difference.

4. Background variables

The independent variables of ethnic and socio-economic background were not included in the demographic data collected. It is self-evident that these factors play an important part in determining perceptions of Canada and Canadian society, and should therefore be taken into account in any future version of the questionnaire.

5. Additional questions

The questionnaire does not include enough questions that tap into the affective and symbolic dimension of national identity. Items relating to national symbols, rituals and everyday realia would enrich the data (e.g., things that Canadians would miss if they were away from home for

any length of time, how they celebrate Canada Day, the mementos they would give to visitors, their favourite foods).

5.6. Suggestions for further research

Apart from extending the analytical framework employed in this study to cover a wider range of documents illustrating the three interpretations of national identity, a number of other potentially fruitful areas of investigation suggest themselves.

On several occasions, the study has stressed that a social studies curriculum guideline may have very little to do with what actually takes place in the classroom. An obvious extension of the study would be to develop and investigate a fourth version of national identity, tentatively termed Activated National Identity. Data on classroom procedures used to promote national identity and their effects would be gathered through observation and interviews with teachers and students. This approach would also shed light on the role of the "hidden curriculum" in shaping national identity.

In discussing the ambiguity of the word "identity", three partially overlapping two-dimensional profiles were proposed (Section 5.3.3.) in an attempt to capture the differences in emphasis of the three data sources. Although the discussion was careful to avoid suggesting an ideal profile of national identity, it would be useful, both theoretically and empirically, to try to define the characteristics of such a profile. A clearer understanding of the desired "shape" of national identity would certainly simplify the formulation of educational goal statements and help to harmonize the activities involved in its manufacture. Given the complexities and incongruencies of national identity, as revealed by the present study, the specification of an ideal profile would represent a major research challenge.

Assuming that agreement could be reached on a generally acceptable profile of Canadian national identity, the problem of promoting that profile would then have to be tackled. What would be the relative role of the various agencies (government, media, schools) impacting on the individual citizen? Would social studies continue to be mainly responsible for citizenship education? Or might music, sport, or the fine and performing arts share some of the burden? How would local, provincial and national loyalties be reconciled in promoting an English pan-Canadian identity?

A third area of study concerns stereotyping. Given the interesting differences discovered between the various Canadian stereotypes, it would be a natural development of the study to

obtain similar data on American stereotypes with regard to Canadians. Presumably there would be areas where the stereotypes coincide and where they differ. A study of those areas of match and mismatch, whether between the countries' respective projected heterostereotypes ("they think they are") and simple autostereotypes ("we are"), or between their simple heterostereotypes ("they are") and projected autostereotypes ("they think we are"), may have important implications for intercultural communication and for the development of social studies curricula.

A fourth possible follow-up involves applying the research design to other pairs of nations whose histories reflect the same pattern of political, economic and cultural relations characterizing the history of Canada and the USA. Obvious examples include Scotland and England, Finland and Sweden, Portugal and Spain, and perhaps New Zealand and Australia. Evidence from Finland (e.g., Laine-Sveiby, 1987), for example, suggests that the same polarization of national characteristics takes place. Other questions to be answered include the following: Is the quest for conspicuousness a feature of the weaker member in every such pair of nations? Does the weaker member prioritize in its own national self-image those values and characteristics that it deems absent or neglected in its neighbour's society? How does the weaker member attempt to boost its national self-image?

Appendix 1. Questionnaire.

The Canada I Want the World to Know About

This questionnaire is about the way you see Canada and the way you would like outsiders to see Canada. Try to answer all the questions as fully, honestly and frankly as you can. Your answers will be treated in the strictest confidence. If you run out of space for your answers, write on a separate sheet. Remember to return the sheet with your questionnaire. Thank you for your contribution!

Background Information

Name (not required) .....

Sex ..... Age .....

Hometown/Province .....

Home language(s) .....

Foreign countries visited.....

.....

Foreign languages spoken .....

.....

Occupation(If student, school or college)

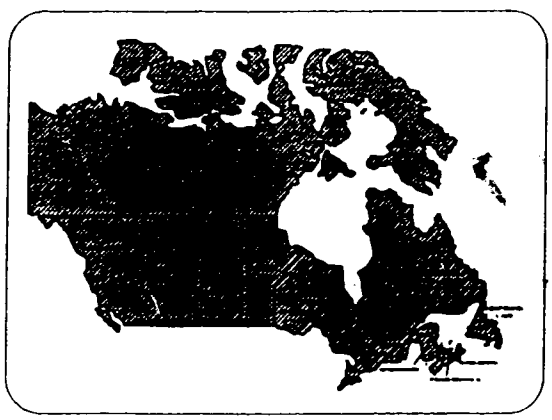
.....

Other information .....

.....

.....

Glyn Hughes
Teacher Education Department
University of Jyväskylä
Finland



1. What, in your opinion, are the three most important pieces of factual information foreigners should know about Canada?

1) .....

.....

2) .....

.....

3) .....

.....

2. What are the three most common misconceptions that foreigners have about Canada and Canadians?

1) .....

.....

2) .....

.....

3) .....

.....

3. Which three pieces of landscape or scenery in Canada would you most like a visitor to see?

1) .....

2) .....

3) .....

4. Which three towns or cities in Canada would you most like to take a visitor to see?

1) .....

2) .....

3) .....

5. Which three places in Canada would you least like to take a visitor to see?

1) .....

2) .....

3) .....

6. Which three Canadian men or women are, for you, the key figures in Canada's history?

1) .....

2) .....

3) .....

7. Which three Canadian men have been, for you, the most important in the last ten years of Canada's history?

1) .....

2) .....

3) .....

8. Which three Canadian women have been, for you, the most important in the last ten years of Canada's history?

1) .....

2) .....

3) .....

9. When you think about your home town or region, who for you has been the person who has put your town on the map?

.....

10. Which three events do you think have been the most important in Canada's history?

1) .....

2) .....

3) .....

11. What three Canadian products and/or inventions are you proud of?

1) .....

2) .....

3) .....

12. Which **three** Canadian men or women do you most admire in the field of sport?

1) .....

2) .....

3) .....

13. Which **three** Canadian men or women do you most admire in the field of entertainment?

1) .....

2) .....

3) .....

14. Which **three** Canadian men or women do you most admire in the field of politics?

1) .....

2) .....

3) .....

15. Which three Canadian men or women do you most admire in the field of business life?

1) .....

2) .....

3) .....

16. Which three Canadian men or women do you most admire in the field of art and culture?

1) .....

2) .....

3) .....

17. Who, in your opinion, are Canada's three greatest writers?

1) .....

2) .....

3) .....

18. Which **three** books by Canadian writers would you recommend to a visitor?

1) .....

2) .....

3) .....

19. What are your three favourite Canadian TV programmes?

1) .....

2) .....

3) .....

20. What features of Canadian life and society are you proud of?

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

21. What features of Canadian life and society are you ashamed of?

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

22. In what ways is Canadian society better than American society?

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

23. In what ways is Canadian society worse than American society?

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

24. What do you think are the three most important values of everyday Canadians?

1) .....

.....

2) .....

.....

3) .....

.....

25. What three problems in modern Canada are you most worried about?

1) .....

2) .....

3) .....

26. What three adjectives best describe the typical Canadian?

1) .....

2) .....

3) .....

27. What three adjectives best describe the typical American?

1) .....

2) .....

3) .....

28. What three adjectives do you think the typical American would use to describe the typical Canadian?

1) .....

2) .....

3) .....

29. What three adjectives do you think the typical American would use to describe him/herself?

1) .....

2) .....

3) .....

30. What three adjectives best describe the typical British person?

1) .....

2) .....

3) .....

31. What three adjectives do you think the typical British person would use to describe the typical Canadian?

1) .....

2) .....

3) .....

32. What three adjectives do you think the typical British person would use to describe him/herself?

1) .....

2) .....

3) .....

33. What three adjectives best describe the typical French person?

1) .....

2) .....

3) .....

34. What three adjectives do you think the typical French person would use to describe the typical Canadian?

1) .....

2) .....

3) .....

35. What three adjectives do you think the typical French person would use to describe him/herself?

1) .....

2) .....

3) .....

36. What three adjectives best describe the typical Finnish Canadian?

1) .....

2) .....

3) .....

37. By international standards, how do you rate the following aspects of life in Canada? Mark + for 'better/higher than average', - for 'worse/below average', and = for 'the same'.

	+	=	-
Standard of living	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Clothing and fashions	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Sporting achievements	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Educational level	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Work quality	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Industriousness	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Contentment with life	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
TV programmes	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]

38. If you had the chance of studying abroad for a year, which country would you go to?

.....

39. In my opinion, the best thing that could happen to Canada at the moment is:

.....

.....

.....

.....

Appendix 2. Storyboard, timing and commentary of "Oh Canada!"

Reprinted with permission from Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade

Time	Sequence number and image	Spoken commentary with sequence
00:00	1. Shrinking concentric neon-blue circles explode in a flash to reveal the globe. As it spins, the outlines of the continents appear in neon-red. The globe realigns itself over Canada. The outline of the country glows and is filled with green. Zoom in.	
00:16	2. Low-level flyover across reeds and water.	
	3. Flyover. Prairies.	
00:20	4. Flyover. Glacier in Rockies.	
00:23	5. Flyover. Along river and up waterfalls.	
00:28	6. Flyover. Coastal shoreline. A flock of	
00:35	birds takes flight.	
	7. Flyover. Qu'Appelle River valley.	
00:41	8. Flyover. Prairie wheatland. Bales of hay.	
00:51	Deer take fright. Camera soars.	
01:02	9. Flyover. Soar over mountain peaks.	
01:07	10. Fade to lakeview with mountains in the distance. Title in lower foreground: OH CANADA!. Fade out and in to:	
01:17	11. Rocky Mountain view with forests.	
01:22	12. Arctic icebergs.	(11) Canada is about as big as the continent (12) of Europe with coasts on the Atlantic,
01:28	13. Trans-Canada highway in country.	Pacific and Arctic Oceans.
01:33	14. Vancouver Burrard Inlet.	(13) From east to west it spreads across six time zones (14) so that when people in
01:37	15. St John's Quidi Vidi harbour	British Columbia are just beginning their
01:40	16. Alberta Badlands.	day, (15) it's already afternoon in Newfoundland.(16)
		Yet for all its size Canada has only about 26 million people, about half as many as Great Britain. Large areas of the country
01:56	17. View of Winnipeg.	are almost unoccupied while most of the population (17) is gathered into cities near the southern boundary. Canadian cities
02:05	18. View of Toronto with the CN Tower.	have experienced spectacular growth in the last few decades (18) and until now they
02:10	19. Highway 401 at rush-hour.	include over three-quarters of the country's population. This has led, of course, to (19) all the charms and challenges that are
02:18	20. City street. Pedestrians.	familiar to city-dwellers almost anywhere
02:22	21. Ditto. 2 women talking.	in the world. (20) But for the most part Canadians enjoy a high standard (21) of
02:26	22. Young man on bicycle.	living, based on a diversified and resilient
02:29	23. 2 men (Chinese and European) on sidewalk.	economy.
02:31	24. Woman (Portuguese or Italian) serving on market stall.	(24) Most Canadians are descended from people who once called a different country,
02:37	25. Jamaican Rastafarian man walking.	(25) even a different continent, home.
02:40	26. Man carrying tray of food along sidewalk.	(26) Each people has left its distinctive imprint on Canadian society, and

02:47	27. Menu stickers on the window of a French snackbar.	(27) current immigration continues to expand this rich mosaic of diverse
02:53	28. Toronto 505 streetcar passing through Chinatown.	backgrounds. Indeed, (28) diversity – cultural, economic and geographic – is at the very heart of Canada's unique character and spirit.
03:01	29. Rockies. Snowy landscape. Wipe to:	
03:09	30. Mist and sunlight in wintery forest. Wipe to:	
03:11	31. Ditto.	
03:15	32. Wolf in snow.	
03:18	33. Woman cross-country skier.	
03:21	34. Adults and children skating in Stanley Park.	
03:26	35. Close-up of child (5-6 years) in red and white clothes trying to balance herself on skates.	
03:31	36. Adults surround the child. The child falls on her backside.	
03:37	37. Ski-lift. Skiers going up and down cross.	
03:44	38. Woman doing mogul freestyle skiing.	
03:52	39. Freestyle skiing high jump.	
03:54	40. Ditto.	
03:55	41. Snowboarders	
03:58	42. Ditto.	
04:00	43. Snowboarder comes to halt in front of camera.	
04:01	44-48. Hockey match. Shots of players shooting, tackling, the referee. Fade out and in to:	
04:12	49. Flyover of Atlantic coast.	(49) Fishermen seeking a rich harvest of cod were the first Europeans to brave the rocky and dangerous coast of eastern
04:30	50. Atlantic fishing boat at sea surrounded by seagulls.	Canada. (50) Five hundred years later, (51) the sea is still the main source of livelihood
04:34	51. Outport harbour.	in the coves and harbours of the Atlantic provinces.
04:38	52. Pulling in nets on the quay.	
04:43	53. Fisherman preparing fish.	
04:46	54. Small fishing boat setting out.	
04:49	55. Fishing boat going out to sea.	(55) Fish were only the first in a long list of natural products that have been sources of Canada's wealth through all of its history.
04:57	56. Flyover of Rocky mountain lake.	(56) Even today, natural resources remain important to Canada and the world. Canada produces much of the world's potash, nickel, gold and uranium.
05:16	57. Flyover of lake shoreline with forest.	
05:24	58. Cedar tree falling.	
05:30	59-60. Felling and stripping machinery at work.	(59) Canada's modern forest industries produce, among other things, (60) half the

05:47	61. Flyover of logs floating.	world's supply of newsprint. (61) The wealth created by Canada's abundant natural resources has provided the base for
05:54	62. Helicopter flying past Canada Place in Vancouver.	today's (62) complex, many-layered economy. The Canadian economy is a highly developed mix of private and public
06:07	63-65. High-rise office blocks.	enterprise (63) centered on a banking system (64) that is among the largest and (65) most stable in the world.
06:14	66-69. Currency trading room. Men dealing by phone.	(66) The currency trading room is the pressure cooker of the banking business where Canadian bankers meet the world, head-on. (67, 68) From here traders buy and sell millions of dollars every hour in markets all over the world. (69) Canada's banks are pivotal to the way Canadians do business and their influence is felt well beyond the country's borders.
06:48	70-72. Toronto stock exchange. Male dealers signalling.	
06:56	73-76. Dealers at work in exchange. One female black dealer.	(73) Another high-pressure financial centre found in several large cities is (74) the stock (75) market. Along with banks, stock markets are the principle (76) channels for investment, both from inside the country and from abroad.
07:18	77-79. Skidoo factory assembly line. Male workers.	(77) Over a quarter of Canada's gross domestic product depends on exports to other nations. (78) Everything from raw materials and agricultural products to electronics and manufactured goods. (79) The biggest market by far is the USA and the Canada - US Free Trade Agreement will enhance what is already the largest bilateral relationship in the world.
07:43	80. Ocean-going freighter.	(80) But Canadian trade goes far beyond
07:50	81-83. Vancouver container terminal operations.	the shores of North America. (81) For centuries Canadians have traded across the Atlantic. Now they're also looking (82) to the nations of the Pacific Rim. (83) This is reflected in the rapid growth of west coast ports like Vancouver.
08:07	84. Freighter.	(84-86) And while some Canadians reach
08:14	85-91. Newt Suit demonstration.	out across the sea, others venture beneath it. (87) The design and development of submersibles has become something of a west coast specialty. (88) The Newt Suit is one result. (89-90) Combining the hard shell of a submarine with the flexibility of a diving suit, (91) it allows the diver to drop three hundred meters and perform delicate

08:40	92. Diver demonstrates equipment. He carries a pack bearing the Canadian flag.	work in an atmosphere of normal surface pressure and temperature. (92)
09:04	93-95. Male workers test submersible machinery.	(93) As the world looks to the ocean floor for its raw materials, (94) designers are developing a whole range of undersea vehicles for performing specialized work (95) at great depth.
09:23	96. Male and female students walking across university forecourt.	The scientists and technicians who perform this and other research (96) receive their training at universities, colleges and technical schools that are found in cities and towns across the country. (97) These schools teach everything from technical skills to the professions, (98) the humanities and the creative arts. (99) And Canada welcomes students from other nations. (100) Each year over 50,000 students from 175 countries enrol in Canadian schools, (101) blending easily into Canada's multicultural mosaic.
09:32	97. Two male students at computer keyboard.	
09:39	98-99. Campus shots. Male and female students talking.	
09:48	100. Chinese female student and South American male student in computer room.	
09:55	101. Asian and European student talking in campus park. Fade out and in to:	
10:01	102-107. Anti-apartheid candlelight rally in Toronto. Audience holding candles. Black child holding candle. Cheering.	(102-103) With their diverse national backgrounds Canadians are an outward-looking people with a (104) strong interest in the affairs of the world. (105) In Toronto this candlelight ceremony is a public expression of support for (106) efforts to end racism and oppression in southern Africa. (107)
10:30	108-115. GATT conference in Montreal. Predominantly male delegates discussing. Also woman addressing two men. Various nationalities.	(108) At an official level this interest is expressed by Canadian participation in over 200 international organizations. (109) This meeting in Montreal brings together over 100 countries to (110) discuss world trade problems through the (111) General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. (112) Canada is well known for its leadership in the United Nations as (113) a peace keeper and conciliator. (114) Through the UN, the Commonwealth and la francophonie, Canada also works to solve (115) problems that threaten the world's environment and to provide development assistance to countries in need.
11:02	116. Flyover Parliament Hill.	(116) Canada itself is a federation of ten provinces and two territories with its capital in Ottawa. The federal parliament includes a prime minister and cabinet, an elected house of commons and an appointed senate.
11:28	117. Houses of Parliament.	(117) Through history and tradition the British monarch is the formal head of state,
11:35	118. Canadian flag in breeze.	but Canada is in every respect an (118) independent nation.

11:39	119. Bilingual signs in Ottawa.	(119) There are two official languages, English and French. The government works in both.
11:48	120-123. Male and female pedestrians in Montreal. Various ethnicities.	(120) About one in four Canadians call French their mother-tongue. (121) In the province of (122) Quebec French is the (123) majority language in the government,
12:03	124-125. Montreal Studio of Fashion Design. Female instructor assesses female student's jacket design in French.	the courts and at (124) work, in this case at the Montreal Studio of Fashion Design. (125)
12:20	126. Pan over Montreal and St Lawrence.	(126) Montreal is an important manufacturing and financial centre, and after Paris it's the world's second centre for
12:34	127. Modern highrise and church in Montreal.	francophone culture. The big city (127) chic of Montreal is set off by Quebec's rich history to give the province a mixture of
12:39	128. Quartier du petit Champlain, Quebec.	old-world charm and sophistication (128) that attracts millions of Canadian and foreign visitors every year.
12:43	129. Teenage skateboarders.	
12:46	130. Tapping feet of accordionist.	
12:48	131. Accordionist singing French song.	
12:54	132. Woman driving caleche.	
12:57	133. Caleche in Quebec street.	
13:00	134. Artists at work in Quebec square.	
13:03	135. Quartier du Petit Champlain.	
13:05	136. Skateboarders (as 129).	
13:08	137. Flyover of prairies.	(137) Not all Canadians live in cities, of course. Between the Great Lakes and the Rockies stretch 1500 kilometers of prairie
13:23	138. Prairie wheatfield.	grassland, (138) most of it devoted to
13:33	139-141. Grain harvesting. Male driver.	growing grain. (139-140) The farms in this region are among the most mechanized and productive on earth, and (141) their surplus production has been one of Canada's key exports for a century.
13:50	142. Prairies and grain elevators	(142) Large as they are, the settled regions of Canada are a small fraction of the
13:58	143. Horses grazing on meadow.	country's total area, (143) much of which remains wilderness.
14:03	144. Mountain goat grazing.	(144-145) Protecting the environment and
14:07	145. Badlands.	preserving this natural heritage has
14:10	146. Prickly-pear cactus.	(146) become a priority for Canadians
14:12	147-149. Deer grazing, disturbed by shout.	(147) conscious of its importance to the history and future of their way of life. (148-149)
14:25	150-153. Cowboys herding cattle.	
14:42	154-164. Calgary Stampede. Cowboys preparing for and competing in chuckwagon race. Crowd. Fade out and in to:	
15:25	165. Bush plane over northern Canada.	(165) Canada's aircraft industry built an international reputation on the bush-plane

15:40	166-168. Canadair Challenger factory. Male workers.	simple, rugged aircraft designed for the Canadian north. (166) Today's aircraft designs take the industry far beyond such specialized applications. (167) In planes like the Canadair Challenger, for example, designers have used state-of-the-art techniques to create a business jet that was (168) a market success before the first prototype even left the drawing-board.
16:04	169. Challenger takes off.	(169) Today they fly to customers all over the world.
16:13	170-181. Vancouver sky-train. Trains arriving and departing. Passengers in train and disembarking. Female train operators at work with computers.	(170-171) Another Canadian specialty is urban transportation and (172) designs like this commuter system in Vancouver are taking mass transit into the twenty-first century. This system is so completely automated that the trains don't even have onboard drivers. (173) Instead, two operators in a central control room run the whole system with the aid of computers. (174-179) The operators can monitor (180) and control up to forty trains and the stations they (181) service: work that once required a hundred or more people.
17:14	182-183. Bombardier subway transit factory. Male workers.	(182) Innovations like this have made mass-transit systems and equipment an important export. These subway cars will go to New York city. (183) Canadian trains also run under the streets of Paris, Chicago and Mexico City. (184-185) Canada has been a leader in the design and development of communications satellites since its first one was launched in 1972. (186-187)
17:33	184-188. Satellite under construction. Male workers in white coats at work.	(188) It only makes sense that a country wider than the Atlantic Ocean would develop a special expertise in communications technology. Satellites are only one component. (189) Land lines and microwave networks crisscross Canada, carrying television, telephone, computer and radio (190) signals. (191)
18:08	189-191. Transmission antennae and communication towers.	(192) Telecommunications add a whole dimension to life in Canada's north. (193-194) From the native communications studios in the northern city of Thompson, Ray Smith's (195) Cree language broadcasts go out to Indian reserves dotted on lakes and (196) rivers over thousands of square kilometers of impassable bush. (197) Through radio and television, people on reserves like Nelson House are brought into a much wider community of northern
18:24	192-195. Local radio station at Thompson. Male announcer at work.	
18:47	196-197. Signal picked up on small transistor radio by men working on the roof of a house.	

		native peoples and through them linked to the rest of the country.
19:10	198. Baffin Island jet landing.	(198) Two thousand kilometers farther north, in the high Arctic of Baffin Island, passengers and mail arrive on a jet specially modified to operate from gravel runways. (199) Even up here where the ice is never completely gone, (200) satellites bring news and weather in the Inuktitut language to the Inuit people of Arctic Bay. (201-202)
19:25	199. Baffin Island landscape.	
19:32	200. Large satellite dish.	
19:37	201. Arctic Bay street scene. Inuit women walking.	
19:43	202. Inuit children playing on water's edge.	
19:47	203-213. Inuit couple building a kayak. Preparing, cutting and stitching seal hide. Kayak launched and paddled. Husky pups.	Canada's (203) communications systems offer greater access to the (204) world for people like David Kalak and his wife Leea (205) without asking them to leave their communities or give up their traditional lifestyles. (206-213)
20:43	214-219. Males descending whitewater rapids in canoes.	
20:54	220-221. Birds (eagles?) soaring.	
21:03	222-226. Male hang-glider launched. Soars and swoops over Cape Breton coastline.	
21:36	227. Male and female ballet dancer.	
21:40	228. Audience watch a musical.	
21:46	229. Male pop singer and saxophonist.	
21:50	230. Male and female Russian folk dancers.	
21:54	231. Male guitarist performing at children's event.	
21:58	232. Chinese boy emerges from water slide at West Edmonton Mall Waterpark	
22:01	233. Poolside at West Edmonton Mall Waterpark.	
22:04	234-237. Disabled Children's sports event. Wheelchair event and prize-giving.	
22:10	238-240. Three girls' hair stands on end in static electricity. Fade out and in to:	
22:22	241. Three people in furcoats with hoods over their faces.	(241-242) Most of Canada has between four and six months of winter, (243) even in the south. January nights can drop to below minus 30 degrees and stay there for days, (244) or even weeks. It's a difficult climate for people who have lived here all their lives. (245) For newcomers it can be a painful adjustment (246-247) But even Canadians don't like to go all winter without a bit of summer relief. (248) And since tropical beaches don't come naturally to Canada, (249) someone had to build one. (250)
22:26	242. Man scraping car windscreen.	
22:30	243. Traffic on a winter's day.	
22:37	244. People in walkway on winter's day.	
22:42	245. Winter traffic.	
22:48	246-250. West Edmonton mall waterpark. Families on 'beach', swimming.	
23:16	251-255. Waterslide. Start, inside flume, hitting water.	

23:28	256. West Edmonton Mall Waterpark. External in winter.	(256) The Water park at West Edmonton Mall is a natural extension of the indoor shopping complexes that have proliferated
23:44	257. Eaton Centre Mall.	across Canada, (257) in every city and
23:43	258. Man and woman on escalator. They kiss.	many small towns. Some are suburban malls, (258) some run above or below busy
23:46	259. Connecting passages above city street.	downtown streets. (259) In a few cities you
23:53	260. Three people (as 239) approach and enter building. Fade out and in to:	can walk for kilometers without going outdoors. (260) In the extremes of Canada's
24:03	261. Close-up of ice melting.	winter, indoors is a natural direction to go.
24:06	262. Waterfall.	
24:09	263-265. Spring river in flood.	
24:19	266. Flyover of lake with melting ice.	(266) Canada. Technical and economic sophistication born from unlimited wilderness and abundant natural resources.
24:23	267. Flyover of lake (as 10). Islands.	(267) Vast distances made nothing by
24:32	268. Flyover. Prairies.	instantaneous communications. (268) One
24:37	269. Flyover Atlantic lighthouse.	nation built from a hundred nations. (269)
24:43	270. Flyover. Forest.	Canada. (270) Looking toward the twenty-first century with confidence and creativity.
24:50	271. Flyover. Mountain peaks.	
24:56	272. Male fun-runner crosses finishing line.	
24:59	273. Close-up of elderly Japanese man with pipe	
25:03	274. Car driving past grain elevators.	
25:06	275. Canadair Challenger assembly.	
25:08	276. Male worker at Skidoo factory.	
25:12	277. Aerial view of ocean-going freighter.	
25:15	278. Male stockmarket dealers.	
25:16	279. Young male executive rollerblading.	
25:18	280. Male waiter setting table in CN Tower restaurant.	
25:20	281. Female executive cycling through city traffic talking on a mobile phone.	
25:22	282. Man places piece of artwork on a table.	
25:24	283. Male film crew at work on dolly-track.	
25:29	284. Male pianist/synthesizer player in a recording studio.	
25:32	285. Female whitewater canoeist.	
25:34	286. Aerial view of water-skier on a lake.	
25:36	287. Holidaymakers on an Atlantic beach.	
25:40	288. Flyover coastal sea. Someone waves from motorboat below. Fade out and in to:	
25:46	289. Close-up of autumnal maple leaves. Fade out.	
25:50	290. Title: A Credo Production.	
	291. Title: for External Affairs and International Trade Canada.	
	292. Title: Canada.	
	293. Title: Copyright Minister of Supply	
25:53	and Services 1989.	

List of references

Alexandre, L. (1989). Genderizing international studies: Revisioning concepts and curriculum. *International Study Notes, 14 (1),* 5-8.

Allen, G. (1990, June 25). The two nations poll: where North Americans stand on 32 questions. *Maclean's,* 50-54.

Allen, V.L., & Wilder, D.A. (1979). Group categorization and attribution of belief similarity. *Small Group Behaviour, 10,* 73-80.

Allport, G. (1954). The nature of prejudice. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

Alter, P. (1994). *Nationalism* (2nd ed.). London: Edward Arnold.

Andersen, P. (1991). Explaining intercultural differences in nonverbal communication. In L. Samovar & R. Porter (Eds.), *Intercultural communication: A reader* (6th ed.) (pp. 286-296). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

Anderson, B. (1991). *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origins and spread of nationalism.* London: Verso.

Anderson, N.H. (1968). Likableness ratings of 555 personality trait words. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 9,* 272-79.

Anderson, N.H. (Ed.). (1982). *Methods of information integration theory.* New York: Academic Press.

Appadurai, A. (1990). Disjuncture and differences in the global cultural economy. In M. Featherstone (Ed.), *Global culture: Nationalism, globalization and modernity* (pp. 295- 310). London: Sage Publications.

Argyle, M. (1982). Intercultural communication. Reprinted in L.A. Samovar & R.E. Porter (Eds.) (1991), *Intercultural communication: A reader* (6th ed.). (22-32). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing.

Arnal, M. (1989). The philosophical and social foundations of multiculturalism in education. In S.V. Moins (Ed.), *Multicultural and intercultural education: Building Canada.* (pp. 45-51). Calgary: Detselig.

Bandura, A. (1977). *Social learning theory.* Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Banks, J.A. (1993). The canon debate, knowledge construction, and multicultural education. *Educational Researcher, 22 (5),* 4-14.

Barbalet, J.M. (1988). *Citizenship: Rights, struggle and class inequality.* Milton Keynes: Open University Press.

Bar-Tal, D., Graumann, C.F., Kruglanski, A.W. & Stroebe, W. (Eds.) (1989). *Stereotyping and prejudice: Changing conceptions*. Harrisonburg: Springer-Verlag.

Bar-Tal, D. (1989). Delegitimization: The extreme case of stereotyping and prejudice. In D. Bar-Tal, C.F. Graumann, A.W. Kruglanski & W. Stroebe (Eds.), *Stereotyping and prejudice: Changing conceptions* (169-181). Harrisonburg: Springer-Verlag.

Barnlund, D.C. (1975). Communication in a global village. Reprinted in L.A. Samovar & R.E. Porter (Eds.) (1991), *Intercultural communication: A reader* (6th ed.) (22-32). Belmont, CA.: Wadsworth Publishing.

Baron, R.A. & Byrne, D. (1991). *Social psychology: Understanding human interaction*. (6th ed.). Needham Heights: Allyn and Bacon.

Bashevkin, S.B. (1991). *True patriot love: The politics of Canadian nationalism*. Toronto: Oxford University Press.

Beernaert, Y., Van Dijk, H., & Sander, T. (1993). *The European dimension in teacher education*. Brussels: Association of Teacher Education in Europe.

Berton, P. (1987). *Why we act like Canadians*. (Revised ed.). Markham, ON: Penguin Books.

Bibby, R. (1990). *Mosaic madness: The poverty and potential of life in Canada*. Toronto: Stoddart.

Birch, A.H. (1989). *Nationalism and national integration*. London: Unwin Hyman.

Birch, A.H. (1993). *The concepts and theories of modern democracy*. London: Routledge.

Bissoondath, N. (1994). *Selling illusions: The cult of multiculturalism in Canada*. Toronto: Penguin Books.

Bodenhausen, G.V. (1988). Stereotypic biases in social decision-making and memory: Testing process models of stereotype use. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 55*, 726-737.

Breuilly, J. (1993). *Nationalism and the state*. (2nd ed.). Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Brislin, R.W. & Pedersen, P. (1976). *Cross-cultural orientation programs*. New York: Gardner Press.

Brislin, R.W., Cushner, K., Cherrie, C. & Yong, M. (1986). *Intercultural interactions: A practical guide*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications Inc.

Buttjes, D. (1981). *Landeskundlisches Lernen im Englischunterricht* [The learning of country knowledge in English teaching]. Paderborn: Schoningh.

Byram, M. (1989). *Cultural studies in foreign language education*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Byram, M., Esarte-Sarries, V. & Taylor, S. (1990). *Cultural studies and language teaching: A research report.* Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Canadian Heritage. (1996). *Strengthening and celebrating Canada.* [online]. Canadian Heritage. Available from: http://www.pch.gc.ca./mai...tfolio/port-e/port-e.htm. [Accessed Aug 29 1996].

Case, R. (1993). Key elements of a global perspective. *Social Education 57 6),* 318-325.

Cattell, R.B. (1965). *The scientific analysis of personality.* Chicago: Aldine.

Chidley, J. (1996, February 12). Bolstering the CBC. *Maclean's,* 90.

Cialdini, R.B., Borden, R.J., Thorne, A., Walker, M.R., Freeman, S. & Sloan, L.R. (1976). Basking in reflected glory: Three (football) field studies. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 34,* 366-375.

Citizenship and Immigration Canada. (1979). *A look at Canada.* Reprinted 1994. Minister of Supply and Services Canada.

Citizenship and Immigration Canada. (1994). *The Canadian citizen.* Minister of Supply and Services Canada.

Commission of the European Community, Task Force Human Resources, Education, Training and Youth. (1991). *Memorandum on higher education in the European Community.*

Commission on Citizenship. (1990). *Encouraging citizenship.* London: HMSO.

Conway, J.F. (1994). Reflections on Canada in the year 1994. *Journal of Canadian Studies, 3,* 146-157.

Cooley, C.H. (1902). *Human nature and social order.* New York: Scribners.

Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly. (1989). *Recommendation 1111 (1989) on the European dimension in education.*

Council of Europe, Standing Conference of European Ministers of Education. (1991). *Resolution no. 1 on 'The European dimension of education: Teaching and curriculum content'.*

Damen, L. (1987). *Culture learning: The fifth dimension in the language classroom.* Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

Davis, N. & Davis, R. (1996, December 20). Re: You and me and the CBC. *Canadian Issues Forum.* [online]. Available from CANADA-L@VM1.NCGILL.CA [Accessed Dec 20 1996].

de Bono, E. (Ed.). (1974). *Eureka! An illustrated history of inventions from the wheel to the computer.* New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Department of the Secretary of State of Canada. (1988). *Being Canadian.* Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada.

Department of the Secretary of State of Canada. (1991). *Symbols of nationhood.* Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada.

Dey, I. (1993). *Qualitative data analysis: A user-friendly guide for social scientists.* London: Routledge.

Djilas, A. (1995). Fear thy neighbour. The breakup of Yugoslavia. In C.A. Kupchan (Ed.), *Nationalism and nationalities in the New Europe* (85-106). Ithica: Cornell University Press.

Dovidio, J.F. & Gaertner, S.L. (1986). Prejudice, discrimination, and racism: Historical trends and contemporary approaches. In J.F. Dovidio & S.L.Gaertner (Eds.), *Prejudice, discrimination, and racism* (pp. 1-34). Orlando: Academic Press.

Dudycha, G.J. (1942). The attitudes of college students toward war and the Germans before and during the Second World War. *Journal of Social Psychology, 15,* 317-324.

Duncan, B.L. (1976). Differential social perception and attribution of intergroup violence. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 34,* 590-598.

Eagly, A.H. & Kite, M.E. (1987). Are stereotypes of nationalities applied to both women and men? *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 53(3),* 451-462.

Edwards, J. (1985). *Language, society and identity.* Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Encyclopedia. (1995). *The 1996 Canadian encyclopedia plus.* Toronto: McClelland & Stewart.

Eskelinen, J. (1995, February). *Globalization and social cement.* Unpublished lecture given at Jyväskylä University, Finland.

European Community. (1988). *Resolution on the European dimension in education.* In Official Journal of the European Community, #C345, 21-12-87, pp. 212-214. Luxembourg: Office of Official Publications of the European Communities.

European Community. (1992). *Treaty on the foundation of the European Community (EC) as amended on 7 February 1992. Articles 126 and 127.*

Eysenck, H. (1990). Biological dimensions of personality. In L.A. Pervin (Ed.), *Handbook of personality: Theory and research.* New York: Guilford.

External Affairs and International Trade Canada.(1990). *Canada: An overview.* Ottawa: External Affairs.

Facts. (1970). *Facts about Finland* (11th ed.). Helsinki: Otava.

Fernández-Armesto, F. (Ed.). (1994). *The Times guide to the peoples of Europe.* London: Times Books.

Fishbein M. & Ajzen, I. (1975). *Belief, attitude, intention, and behaviour: An introduction to theory and research.* Reading, MA.: Addison-Wesley.

Fiske, S.T. & Taylor, S.E. (1991). *Social cognition.* (2nd ed.). New York: McGraw-Hill.

Fleras, A., & Elliott, J.L. (1992). *Multiculturalism in Canada.* Scarborough, ON: Nelson Canada.

Gardener, R. & Lambert, W. (1972). *Attitudes and motivation in second language learning.* Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Gellner, E. (1983). *Nations and nationalism.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Goble, N.M. (1981). Education and the national interest. In J.W.G. Ivany & M.E. Manley-Casimir (Eds.), *Federal-provincial relations: Education in Canada.* Toronto: OISE Press.

Government of Canada. (1991). *Shared values: The Canadian identity. Ottawa.*

Grant, G. (1965). *Lament for a nation: The defeat of Canadian nationalism.* Toronto: McClelland & Stewart.

Grant, J.N. (1992, November). *Citizenship education from a Canadian perspective: Pressure groups and federal intervention.* Paper presented at the 1992 N.C.S.S. Conference, Detroit, MI.

Graumann, C.F & Mantel, M. (1989). Discriminatory speech acts: A functional approach.In D. Bar-Tal, C.F. Graumann, A.W. Kruglanski & W. Stroebe (Eds.), *Stereotyping and prejudice: Changing conceptions* (pp. 183-204). Harrisonburg: Springer-Verlag.

Hamilton, D.L. & Gifford, R.K. (1976). Illusory correlation in interpersonal perception: A cognitive basis of stereotypic judgments. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 48,* 5-17.

Hamilton, D.L. & Sherman, S.J. (1989). Illusory correlations: Implications for stereotype theory and research. In D. Bar-Tal, C.F. Graumann, A.W. Kruglanski & W. Stroebe (Eds.), *Stereotyping and prejudice: Changing conceptions* (pp. 59-82). Harrisonburg: Springer-Verlag.

Hamilton, D.L. & Trolier, T.K. (1986). Stereotypes and stereotyping: An overview of the cognitive approach. In J.F. Dovidio & S.L. Gaertner (Eds.), *Prejudice, discrimination, and racism* (pp. 127-163). New York: Academic Press.

Hammerley, H. (1982). *Synthesis in language teaching: An introduction to linguistics.* Blaine, WA: Second Language Publications.

Hammersley, M. & Atkinson, P. (1983). *Ethnography: Principles in practice.* London: Routledge.

Hanvey, R. (1976). *An attainable global perspective.* New York: Global Perspectives in Education.

Havel, V. (1992). Speech at the Helsinki Summit of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, 1992, *Financial Times,* 7th July 1992.

Heater, D. (1990). *Citizenship: the civic ideal in world history*. London: Longman Group.

Hewstone, M. (1989). Changing stereotypes with disconfirming information. In D. Bar-Tal, C.F. Graumann, A.W. Kruglanski & W. Stroebe (Eds.), *Stereotyping and prejudice: Changing conceptions* (pp. 207-223). Harrisonburg: Springer-Verlag.

Hiller, H.H. (1991). *Canadian society: A macro analysis*. (2nd ed.). Scarborough, ON: Prentice-Hall Canada.

Hobsbawm, E.J. (1983). Mass-producing traditions: Europe, 1870-1914. In E.J. Hobsbawm & T. Ranger (Eds.), *The invention of tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hobsbawm, E.J. (1990). *Nations and nationalism since 1780*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hodgetts, A.B. (1968). *What culture? What heritage?* Toronto: OISE Press.

Hofstede, G. (1984). *Culture's consequences: International differences in work-related values*. (Abridged ed.). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Horsman, M., & Marshall, A. (1994). *After the nation-state: Citizens, tribalism and the new world disorder*. London: HarperCollins.

Hroch, M. (1985). *Social preconditions of the national revival in Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hughes, A.S. (1992). *Understanding citizenship: A Delphi study*. Unpublished report prepared for Senator Noel Kinsella, November 1992.

Hughes, G. (1993). A mirror on Canada: A preliminary analysis of dimensions of the Canadian identity. Unpublished manuscript, Simon Fraser University, Faculty of Education, Burnaby, BC.

Hughes, M. (1988). *Nationalism and society: Germany 1800-1945*. London: Edward Arnold.

Hutchinson, J. & Smith, A.D. (Eds.). (1994). *Nationalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ignatieff, M. (1993). *Blood and belonging: Journeys into the new nationalism*. Toronto: Penguin.

Inkeles, A., & Levinson, D.J. (1969). National character: the study of modal personality and sociocultural systems. In G. Lindzey & E. Aronson (Eds.), *The handbook of social psychology: Vol. 4* (pp. 418-506). Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

Katz, D. (1949). The psychology of nationalism. In J.P. Guilford (Ed.), *Fields of psychology* (pp. 163-181). New York: McGraw-Hill.

Katz, D. & Braly, K.W. (1933). Racial stereotypes of 100 college students. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 28*, 280-290.

Kedourie, E. (1961). *Nationalism* (2nd ed.). London: Hutchinson.

Kedourie, E. (1993). *Nationalism* (4th ed.). Oxford: Blackwell.

Kennedy, P. (1993). *Preparing for the twenty-first century*. London: HarperCollins.

Kirkwood, K.J., Anderson, R.M. & Khan, S. B. (1984). *A survey of secondary pupils: Their knowledge and attitudes regarding Canada*. Toronto: The Canada Studies Foundation.

Kluckhohn, F. & Strodtbeck, F. (1961). *Variations in value orientations*. Evanston, IL: Row, Peterson and Company.

Kohn, H. (1955). *Nationalism: Its meaning and history*. Princeton: Van Nostrand.

Kupchan, C.A. (1995). *Nationalism and nationalities in the New Europe*. Ithica: Cornell University Press.

Kymlicka, W. (1992). *Recent work in citizenship theory*. Ottawa: Corporate Policy and Research, Multiculturalism and Citizenship Canada.

Laine, E. (1987). Affective factors in foreign language learning and teaching: A study of the filter. Report 1. Theoretical concepts and framework, operationalization of the concepts and the first pilot stage of research. *Jyväskylä Cross-Language Studies, 13*. Jyväskylä: University of Jyväskylä.

Laine-Sveiby, K. (1987). *Kansallinen kulttuuri strategiana. Suomi-Ruotsi-eroja ja yhtäläisyyksiä*. (National culture as a strategy. Finland and Sweden - differences and similarities). Helsinki: EVA.

Lash, S. & Urry, J. (1987). *The end of organized capitalism*. Cambridge: Polity.

LeBlanc, C., Courtel, C. & Trescases, P. (1990). *Etude nationale sur les programmes de français de base - Le syllabus culture*. Ottawa: Association canadienne des professeurs de langues secondes.

Lehtonen, J. (1991). The role of national stereotypes in intercultural communication, in E. Stembek (Ed.), *Culture and communication* (pp. 175-184). Frankfurt-am-Main: Verlag für interkulturelle Kommunikation.

Lehtonen, J. (1992). Suomi-kuva ja kansallinen identiteetti [The image of Finland and national identity]. *Hallinto-lehti, 5*, 34-36.

Lewis, R. (1996, June 10). The end of loyalty. *Maclean's*. 2.

Linville, P.W., Fischer, G.W. & Salovey, P. (1989). Perceived distributions of the characteristics of in-group and out-group members: Empirical evidence and a computer simulation. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 57*, 165-188.

Lippman, W. (1922). *Public opinion*. New York: Harcourt Brace.

Lipset, S. M. (1990). *Continental divide: the values and institutions of the United States and Canada*. New York: Routledge, Chapman and Hall.

Longman. (1978). *The Longman dictionary of contemporary English.* Harlow: Longman Group.

Luard, E. (1990). *The globalization of politics: The changed focus of political action in the modern world.* Basingstoke: Macmillan.

Lustig, M.W. (1988). Value differences in intercultural communication.. In L.A. Samovar & R.E. Porter (Eds.), *Intercultural communication: A reader* (5th ed.) (55-61). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

Mackie, D.M., Allison, S.T., Worth, L.T. & Asuncion, A.G. (1992). The generalization of outcome-biased counter-stereotypic inferences. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 28,* 43-64.

Markus, H.R. & Nurius, P. (1986). Possible selves. *American Psychologist, 41,* 954-969.

Marshall, G. 1994. (Ed.). *The concise Oxford dictionary of sociology.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Marshall, T.H. (1950). *Citizenship and social class.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Mathews, R. (1988). *Canadian identity.* Ottawa: Steel Rail Publishing.

McDonald, M. (1996, August 1). Local heroes. *Maclean's,* 34-56.

McLeod, K.A. (1989). Exploring citizenship education: Education for citizenship. In K.A. McLeod (Ed.), *Canada and citizenship education.* Toronto: Canadian Education Association.

Mead, L.M. (1986). *Beyond entitlement: The social obligations of citizenship.* New York: Free Press.

Microsoft. (1995). *Encarta 1996 World Atlas.* [Computer program]. Redmond, WA: Microsoft.

Minitab. (1993). *MINITAB Release 9 for Windows.* [Computer program]. State College, PA: Minitab.

Morgan, C. (1993). Attitude change and foreign language culture. State of the art article. *Language Teaching, 26,* 63-75.

Mouffe, C. (1993). *The return of the political.* London: Verso.

Muhr, T. (1994). *ATLAS/ti: Computer aided text interpretation and theory building. Release 1.1E User's manual.* (2nd ed.). Berlin.

Multiculturalism and Citizenship Canada. (1991). *The evolution of citizenship legislation in Canada.* Prepared by William Kaplan. Ottawa: Citizenship Registration and Promotion Branch.

Multiculturalism and Citizenship Canada. (1991b). *Operation of the Canadian multiculturalism and citizenship act: Annual report 1989-1990.* Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada.

Multiculturalism and Citizenship Canada. (1992). *Canadian citizenship: What does it mean to you?* Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada.

Multiculturalism and Citizenship Canada. (1994). *The Canadian citizen.* Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada.

Offe, C. (1985). *Disorganized capitalism: contemporary transformations of work and politics.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Ontario. (1986a). *Curriculum guidelines for history and contemporary studies. Part A: Policy and program considerations.* Toronto: Ministry of Education, Ontario.

Ontario. (1986b). *Curriculum guidelines for history and contemporary studies. Part B: Intermediate division.* Toronto: Ministry of Education, Ontario

Osborne, K. (1991). *Teaching for democratic citizenship.* Toronto: Our Schools/Our Selves.

Osborne, K. (1992). The emerging agenda for Canadian high schools. *Journal of Curriculum Studies, 24(4),* 371-379.

Oxford University Press. (1988). *Micro-OCP* [computer program]. Oxford: Oxford University Computing Service.

Peabody, D. (1985). *National characteristics.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Pettigrew, T.F. (1959). Regional differences in anti-Negro prejudice. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 59,* 28-36.

Pettigrew, T.F. (1979). The ultimate attribution error: extending Allport's cognitive analysis of prejudice. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 5(4),* 461-476.

Phillipson, R. (1992). *Linguistic imperialism.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Pierson, C. (1991). *Beyond the welfare state?: The new political economy of welfare.* University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press.

Pike, G. & Selby, D. (1988). *Human Rights: An Activity File.* Bury St Edmunds: Mary Glasgow Publications.

Porter, R.E. & Samovar L. (1991). Basic principles of intercultural communication. In L.A. Samovar & R.E. Porter (Eds.) (1991), *Intercultural communication: A reader* (6th ed.) (pp. 5-22). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing.

Ravitch, D. (1992). A culture in common. *Educational Leadership, 49(4),* 8-11.

Reid, A.E., & Burns, M.M. (1992). *Canada and the world: An international perspective on Canada and the Canadians.* Winnipeg: Angus Reid Group.

Reid, D. (1988). *A concise history of Canadian painting* (2nd ed.). Toronto: Oxford University Press.

Renan, E. (1994). Qu'est-ce qu'une nation? In J. Hutchinson & A.D. Smith (Eds.), *Nationalism* (pp. 17-18). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Robinson, G. (1988). *Crosscultural understanding*. London: Prentice Hall.

Rogers, C.R. (1959). A theory of therapy, personality and interpersonal relationships, as developed in the client-centred framework. In S. Koch (Ed.), *Psychology: A study of science. Volume 3*. New York: McGraw Hill.

Rokeach, M. (1973). *The nature of human values*. New York: The Free Press.

Rothbart, M. & Park, B. (1986). On the confirmability and disconfirmability of trait concepts. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 50,* 131-142.

Rousseau, J.-J. (1915). *The political writings of Rousseau*, edited by C.E. Vaughan, 2 vols., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Rousseau, J.-J. (1782/1953). *Considerations on the government of Poland*. London: Nelson.

Sagar, H.A. & Schofield, J.W. (1980). Racial and behavioural cues in black and white children's perceptions of ambiguously aggressive acts. *Journal of Personality and Social Psycholgy, 39,* 590-598.

Sallinen, A. (1995, August 6). Suomi-kuvan parantelussa on vielä paljon tehtävää [There is still a lot to do to improve Finland's image]. *Keskisuomalainen*, p. 2.

Samovar, L.A. & Porter, R.E. (Eds.). (1991). *Intercultural communication: A reader* (6th ed.). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing.

Schwartz, S.H. and Struch, N. (1989). *Values, stereotypes, and intergroup anatagonism*. In D. Bar-Tal, C.F. Graumann, A.W. Kruglanski & W. Stroebe (Eds.), *Stereotyping and prejudice: Changing conceptions* (pp.151-167). Harrisonburg: Springer-Verlag.

Seago, D.W. (1947). Stereotypes before Pearl Harbour and after. *Journal of Psychology, 23,* 55-63.

Sears, A. (1992, November). *Issues for the future of citizenship education in Canada*. Paper presented at the 1992 N.C.S.S. Conference, Detroit, MI.

Sears, A. (1994). Social studies as citizenship education in English Canada: A review of research. *Theory and Research in Social Education, XXII, 1,* 6-43.

Sears, A. and Hughes, A.S. (1994, June). *Citizenship education and current educational reform*. Paper delivered at the Canadian Society for the Study of Education, Calgary.

Seelye, H.N. (1984). *Teaching culture*. Lincolnwood, IL: National Textbook.

Shulman, D. (1991). *Discussion papers on citizenship*. Ottawa: Citizenship Registration and Promotion Branch, Multiculturalism and Citizenship Canada.

Smith, A.D. (1990). Towards a global culture? In M. Featherstone (Ed.), *Global culture: Nationalism, globalization and modernity* (pp. 171-191). London: Sage Publications.

Smith, A.D. (1991). *National identity*. London: Penguin Books.

Smith, A.D. (1992). National identity and the idea of European unity. *International Affairs, 68*, 55-76.

Smith, A.D. (1995). *Nations and nationalism in a global era*. London: Polity.

Smith, R.E. (1993). *Psychology*. St. Paul, MN: West Publishing.

Steiner-Khamsi, G. (1996). Minority-inclusive history in secondary schools: Adopting methods of comparison and multiperspectivity. *The European Journal of Intercultural Studies, 7(1)*, 29-44.

Stephan, W.G. (1985). Intergroup relations. In G. Lindzey & E. Aronson (Eds.), *The handbook of social psychology (Vol. 2)* (pp. 599-658). New York: Random House.

Stephan, W.G. (1989). A cognitive approach to stereotyping. In D. Bar-Tal, C.F. Graumann, A.W. Kruglanski & W. Stroebe (Eds.), *Stereotyping and prejudice: Changing conceptions* (pp. 37-57). Harrisonburg: Springer-Verlag.

Stern, H.H. (1992). *Issues and options in language teaching*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Stroebe, W. & Insko, C.A. (1989). Stereotype, prejudice, and discrimination: Changing conceptions in theory and research. In D. Bar-Tal, C.F. Graumann, A.W. Kruglanski & W. Stroebe (Eds.), *Stereotyping and prejudice: Changing conceptions* (pp. 4-34). Harrisonburg: Springer-Verlag.

Suleiman, E. (1995). Is democratic supranationalism a danger? In C.A. Kupchan (Ed.). *Nationalism and nationalities in the New Europe* (pp. 66-84). Ithica: Cornell University Press.

Symons, T.H.B. (1975). *To know ourselves: The report of the Commission on Canadian Studies*. Ottawa: Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada.

Tajfel, H. (1982). *Social identity and intergroup relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Taylor, S.E. (1981). A categorization approach to stereotyping. In D.L. Hamilton (Ed.), *Cognitive processes in stereotyping and intergroup behaviour* (pp. 83-114). Hillsdale, N.J: Erlbaum.

Tesch, R. (1990). *Qualitative research: Analysis types and software tools*. London and Philadelphia: Falmer Press.

Theroux, P. (1984). *The kingdom by the sea*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.

Tomalin, B. & Stempleski, S. (1993). *Cultural awareness*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Trope, Y. (1989). Stereotypes and dispositional judgment.In D. Bar-Tal, C.F. Graumann, A.W. Kruglanski & W. Stroebe (Eds.), *Stereotyping and prejudice: Changing conceptions* (pp. 133-149). Harrisonburg: Springer-Verlag.

Turner, B. (1992). Outline of a theory of citizenship. In C. Mouffe (Ed.), *Dimensions of radical democracy* (pp. 33-62). London: Verso.

Valdes, N. (Ed.). (1986). *Culture bound: bridging the cultural gap in language teaching.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Weinfeld, M. (1981). Myth and reality in the Canadian mosaic: "Affective ethnicity". *Canadian Ethnic Studies, 13,* 80-100.

Werner, W., Connors, B., Aoki, T., & Dahlie, J. (1977). *Whose culture? Whose heritage? Ethnicity within Canadian social studies curricula.* Vancouver: Centre for the Study of Curriculum and Instruction.

Whitaker, R. (1992). *A sovereign idea: Essays on Canada as a democratic community.* Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Word, C.O., Zanna, M.P. & Cooper, J. (1974). The nonverbal mediation of self-fulfilling prophecies in interracial interaction. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 10,* 109-120.

Zebrowitz, L.A. (1990). *Social perception.* Pacific Grove, CA: Brooks/Cole.