

## Chapter One

## CANADIAN IDENTITY



**Figure 1–1** Animal rights activists (left) gather near the Canadian embassy in Paris, France, to protest the annual seal hunt in Canada. The word “honte” on the Canadian flag means “shame.” Below, members of Princess Patricia’s Canadian Light Infantry carry the flag-draped coffin of 21-year-old Private Chadwick Horn, who was killed in Afghanistan in 2008.



## CHAPTER ISSUE

## What trends are shaping Canadian identity?

A national flag is a powerful symbol of identity — it represents “us.” Our national flag flutters at the top of the Peace Tower and probably in front of your school. People wave flags at events such as Canada Day celebrations or international hockey games. We also display the flag on solemn occasions, such as Remembrance Day, to honour those who gave everything for our country.

Because flags are powerful symbols, they can also be the focus of protests. People may deface or destroy a country’s national flag to show their displeasure with that country.

The photographs on the previous page show the Canadian flag being used for two different purposes. Examine each photograph, and then respond to the following questions:

- Why are national flags such powerful symbols of identity? Is the Canadian flag a powerful symbol of identity for you?
- What word or phrase sums up your immediate response to each photograph?
- What goals might the animal rights activists in the photograph on the previous page have been trying to achieve? Is defacing the Canadian flag an effective tactic? Why or why not?
- Why might draping a flag on a fallen soldier’s coffin have become a tradition? What might this practice symbolize?
- What other images symbolize Canadian identity for you?

## Key Terms

national identity  
country  
nation-state  
nation  
ethnic nation  
civic nation  
social justice  
demography  
social change  
refugees  
multicultural society  
pay equity  
gender wage gap  
culture  
politics  
government  
self-determination  
sovereignty  
referendum

## Looking Ahead

The following inquiry questions will help you explore what trends are most affecting Canadian identity:

- Is there a Canadian identity?
- How do social and cultural trends affect Canadian identity?
- How does politics shape Canadian identity?
- What else affects Canadian identity?

## LEARNING GOALS

In this chapter you will

- explore ideas about Canadian identity
- describe how Canada has been changing since 1982
- identify key events, trends, and developments that are shaping Canadian identity
- look at examples of conflict and cooperation in Canada from multiple perspectives



## CONNECTIONS

## Canada by the Numbers

Total area — 9 984 670 sq km

Land boundaries — 8893 km

Coastline — 202 080 km

Population — 35 158 300 (2013)

Population density — 3.7 people  
per sq km (2011)

## Is there a Canadian identity?

The debate over what is *the* Canadian national identity is older than Canada itself. It began when people were trying to figure out if it made sense to join together as a country, and what form that country should take. The debate persists today. It has gone on for so long that some people have joked that arguing about national identity is a Canadian national pastime.

**National identity** is the sense of a country or nation as a whole. But is there really a single Canadian national identity? There may be certain words that most people might use to describe the country, such as “diverse,” “bilingual,” and “polite.” But some Canadians would disagree even about those.

## Canada as a Country

Canada is a **country**, which is a synonym for **nation-state** — a political division with physical borders and a single national government. When viewed as a country, Canada is huge — the second largest in the world. Only Russia has more territory.

Canada may be geographically huge, but its population is relatively small. Canada’s average of 3.7 people per square kilometre gives it an extremely low population density. In contrast, the Chinese territory of Macau is the most densely populated area of the world. On average, more than 19 000 people live in every square kilometre of Macau.

Canada’s large size means that the country includes a variety of geographic regions that have diverse physical features and climates. People who live in the various regions may have different interests and lifestyles. Perhaps they have different accents, go ice fishing instead of snowboarding on winter weekends, work in manufacturing instead of the oil industry, or favour poutine over smoked salmon. These regional differences can affect the way people view the country as a whole. Canadians in one part of the country usually have a different perspective than do people in another part of the country. The result is a lot of different ideas about Canadian identity.

**Historical Perspective:** People’s ideas of their country change over time even if they live in the same place. Why might a person living in your community in 1982 have had a different view of Canada than you do?

**Figure 1–2** In Nova Scotia (left), ocean industries, including lobster fishing, account for more than 15 per cent of the province’s economic activity. In Ontario (right), the auto industry accounts for about 20 per cent of manufacturing and 5 per cent of the province’s overall economic activity. How might these statistics affect the way Ontarians and Nova Scotians view Canada?



**Figure 1–3** Tibetans play long horns, traditional musical instruments, at a Buddhist monastery. Tibet’s isolated location in the Himalaya Mountains meant that the region’s people developed a distinct language, religion, and culture, which they all share. Tibet is not a country, but is it a nation?

## Canada as a Nation

Many people use the words “country” and “nation” interchangeably. But they don’t mean the same thing. A country is a physical entity with legal borders, while a **nation** has nothing to do with legal borders. Rather, a nation is made up of people who share bonds based on language, ethnic background, religious or spiritual practices, cultural heritage, geography, or political beliefs — or a combination of these. These bonds help people feel a sense of belonging.

When all citizens of this nation share an ethnic heritage, it is called an **ethnic nation**. In Canada’s North, for example, people migrated to the Arctic thousands of years ago. They lived in a harsh environment where others could not survive. Over time, Inuit established a way of life, developing a distinct language, religion, and culture. Nunavut is not a country, but Inuit are a nation.

Canada includes nations within its borders: the Québécois nation, the First Nations, and the Métis nation. Is Canada a nation according to the definition given above? If Canada includes multiple nations, could it ever be united?

## The Nation of Shared Experience

Although the geography of various parts of Canada is different, perhaps the country’s rugged landscape and variable climate have helped define Canadian identity. Our history is rich in stories of people’s struggles to either tame or adapt to nature. Canadian author Margaret Atwood spotted this shared experience with nature. She noted that many Canadians share the experience of confronting and surviving nature. In her view, survival is the essence of Canada.

Canadian artist and writer Emily Carr had similar ideas: “It is wonderful to feel the grandness of Canada in the raw, not because she is Canada but because she’s something sublime that you were born into, some great rugged power that you are a part of.”

Is the Canadian environment a big factor in your idea of Canada? What other experiences do you share with your fellow Canadians that are not shared by non-Canadians?

## Voices

In the psychological sense, there is no Canadian nation as there is an American or French nation. There is a legal and geographical entity, but the nation does not exist. For there are no objects that all Canadians share as objects of national feeling.

— Charles Hanley in  
Nationalism in Canada, 1966

## Up for Discussion

Rather than worry about Canadian identity, wouldn’t Canadians be better off if they just got on with their lives?

## Voices

Canadians are an ambivalent lot: One minute they’re peacekeepers, next minute they punch the hell out of each other on the ice rink.

— Ken Wiwa, Nigerian journalist and author who has lived and worked in Canada





## Voices

For much of the 140 years since Confederation, the question has been: “Who are we, what does it mean to be Canadian?” That’s probably not what we should be asking, especially in such a vast land embracing every national culture on Earth . . . Successful nations are defined by a shared idea of what their country is or can be as that idea is more resolutely pursued.

—David Olive, journalist,  
in the *Toronto Star*, July 1, 2007

## The Civic Nation

Perhaps Canada is a different kind of nation — a **civic nation**. In this nation, citizens come from a wide variety of backgrounds and choose to live together according to shared political values and beliefs. Their agreement makes them a nation.

Canadian historian and politician Michael Ignatieff explained this idea in his book *Blood and Belonging: Journeys into the New Nationalism*: “[Civic nationalism] maintains that the nation should be composed of all those — regardless of race, colour, creed [beliefs], gender, language, or ethnicity — who subscribe to the nation’s political creed. This nationalism is called civic because it envisages the nation as a community of equal, rights-bearing citizens, united in patriotic attachment to a shared set of political practices and values.”

In the civic nation, national identity is rooted in the nation’s laws, because those laws help put into practice the commonly held political beliefs of the people. In Canada, these laws are set out in the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, which is part of the Constitution. The Charter protects Canadians’ fundamental rights and freedoms. This suggests that Canadian identity may be related to **social justice** — the process of building a better community and a better world where all people are equally valued and enjoy equal opportunity.

**Figure 1–4** Whatever form of nation you believe Canada to be, it will always be changeable. This graphic shows trends, developments, policies, and programs that are changing Canada as well as Canadians’ ideas about Canadian identity. As you come across them in this chapter, ask yourself how each of them might affect Canadian identity.



## Recall . . . Reflect . . . Respond

1. With a partner, read Charles Hanley’s words in Voices (p. 31). Discuss how Hanley might define “nation.” Compare this definition with David Olive’s. Would Hanley describe Canada as a country or a nation? What about Olive? Do you agree with either — or both? Explain your judgment.
2. In your opinion, can a country have an identity only if it is a nation? If so, what kind of nation? Support your conclusions.

## Viewpoints on History

# Being “Not American”

Canada’s geographic location next to the United States means that Canadians are often heavily influenced by American culture. As a result, Canadians sometimes try to express their identity by highlighting ways they are “not American.” For these Canadians, saying “I am not . . .” may be another way of saying “I am . . .”



**WILL FERGUSON** has written extensively — and often humorously — about being Canadian. This excerpt is from an essay titled “The National Psyche.”

You cannot discuss Canada without discussing the USA because the most overwhelming fact about Canada is not — as many believe — the weather. No. It isn’t the bone-chill of winter that defines Canada; it is instead the looming almighty presence of the United States.

In Canada, we live in the shadow of the USA, and like anything attempting to grow in the shade, it can be a struggle. In the purest sense, the very definition of Canadian is “not American.” Canadians rejected the American Revolution and turned back armed invasions from the south at several crucial moments. As a country, we have fought long and hard for the right to be not American. Nonetheless, America is ever-present. Canada is swamped by U.S. pop culture to a degree that Europeans cannot even begin to fathom: it spills over our borders, it fills our airwaves and magazine stands. It is everywhere, but it is not ours.

In this role of “overwhelmed observers,” Canadians have become attuned to subtle nuances and small differences (a great deal of Canadian nationalism seems to spring from the fact that we say “zed” while Americans say “zee”).

In 2000, a company launched an advertising campaign that poked fun at the “not-American” sense of Canadian identity while, at the same time, tugging at Canadians’ patriotic heartstrings. The advertisement was hugely popular with Canadians. Here is the text of that campaign.

Hey, I’m not a lumberjack or a fur trader.  
I don’t live in an igloo, or eat blubber, or own a dogsled.  
And I don’t know Jimmy, Sally, or Suzy from Canada, although I’m certain they’re really, really nice.  
I have a prime minister, not a president.  
I speak English and French, not American.  
And I pronounce it “about,” not “a boot.”  
I can proudly sew my country’s flag on my backpack.  
I believe in peacekeeping, not policing,  
diversity, not assimilation,  
and that the beaver is a truly proud and noble animal.  
A toque is a hat, a chesterfield is a couch,  
and it is pronounced “zed” not “zee” — “zed”!!!!  
Canada is the second largest landmass,  
the first nation of hockey,  
and the best part of North America!  
My name is Joe!!  
And I am Canadian!!!

## Explorations

1. Do you agree with Will Ferguson’s statement that “the looming almighty presence of the United States” defines Canada? How does he explain the development of the “not American” form of identity?
2. Does the “I am Canadian” anthem make you feel proud to be Canadian? What makes it work or not work?
3. Is being “not American” a good foundation for a national identity? Why or why not?
4. How might the “not-American” Canadian identity affect Canada’s relationship with the United States?



# How do social and cultural trends affect Canadian identity?

Figure 1–5 Projected Change in Canadian Demographics, 2000–2051

What trends do you see in this graph? How might the “age” of a population affect ideas about Canadian identity? How might it eventually affect you and your sense of identity?

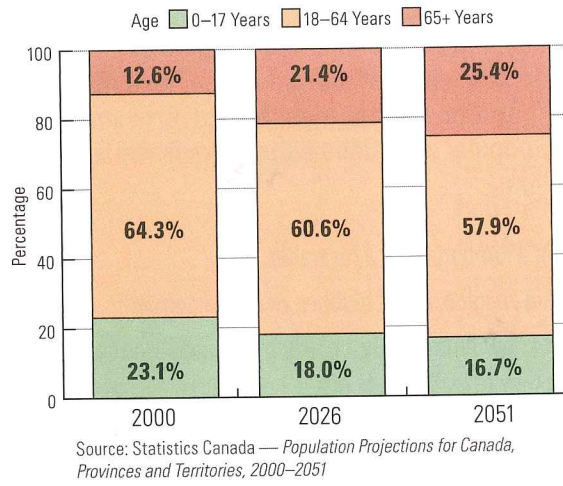


Figure 1–6 Top 10 Countries of Birth of Recent Immigrants,\* 1991–2011

Identify demographic trends in this table. How might these trends affect Canadian identity today? In 10 years?

Rank	1991 Census	2001 Census	2011 Census
1	Hong Kong	China	Philippines
2	Poland	India	China
3	China	Philippines	India
4	India	Pakistan	United States
5	Philippines	Hong Kong	Pakistan
6	United Kingdom	Iran	United Kingdom
7	Vietnam	Taiwan	Iran
8	United States	United States	South Korea
9	Lebanon	South Korea	Colombia
10	Portugal	Sri Lanka	Mexico

\* “Recent immigrants” are those who arrived in Canada no more than five years before a given census.  
Source: Statistics Canada, Censuses of Population, 1991–2011

Canadian identity has never been static, or fixed. Instead, Canadians’ ideas about themselves have evolved continually ever since Canada was founded. At the beginning of the 20th century, for example, more than 55 per cent of Canadians were of British heritage. And there was no such thing as Canadian citizenship — Canadians were British citizens. Most Canadians thought of Canada as an extension of Britain.

A lot has changed over the past hundred years or so. And as Canadian society and culture changes, Canadians’ ideas about who they are have changed too.

## Demographic Trends and Identity

Studying a country involves grouping citizens according to specific characteristics. This kind of study is called **demography** or demographics.

Demographers — people who study population statistics — gather, analyze, and interpret statistics related to age, income, and other characteristics. This study enables demographers to identify and predict trends.

## An Aging Population

Statistics have shown demographers that the population of Canada is aging. According to Statistics Canada, in 1991, 11.5 per cent of people were 65 years of age or older. By 2011, this figure had risen to 14.8 per cent.

At the same time, fewer babies are being born. Demographers suggest that this trend will continue. They predict that by 2056, up to 30 per cent of Canadian residents will be senior citizens, which will place a strain on social services. This imbalance will mean that fewer taxpayers will carry a heavier tax burden.

## Changing Immigration Patterns

Immigration has always been a significant demographic force in Canada. Immigrants are people who move to a new country to start a new life. In the decades after Confederation in 1867, most immigrants to Canada came from Britain and Western Europe, and, later, Eastern Europe.

As the 20th century progressed and Canada’s immigration policies became less discriminatory, this began to change. A growing percentage of immigrants arrived from non-European countries. As a result, Canadian society became more diverse. This trend has intensified over time.

## Increased Urbanization

At the beginning of the 20th century, only about 37 per cent of Canadians lived in cities and towns. But as time went on, the percentage of people living in population centres grew steadily. According to Statistics Canada, by 2011 more than 81 per cent of Canadians did so.

This change was especially dramatic between 1971 and 2001, when the number of people living in population centres jumped by 45 per cent — more than three times the growth rate in rural areas.

The change was fuelled, in part, by rural Canadians moving to population centres to get jobs. Another factor was immigration. About 63 per cent of immigrants settle in one of Canada’s three largest cities: Toronto, Montréal, and Vancouver. As a result, these cities are much more culturally diverse than other parts of the country.

## Aboriginal Population Growth

In 2006, the number of Aboriginal people — First Nations, Inuit, and Métis — in Canada topped one million for the first time since the federal government started keeping records. Statistics Canada tells us that over the next five years that growth trend continued, with the Aboriginal population increasing by 20.1 per cent. By comparison, the non-Aboriginal population increased by only 5.2 per cent.

So by 2011, 1 400 685 Canadians had an Aboriginal identity, which is about 4.3 per cent of the population. In 1996, that figure stood at only 2.8 per cent. Why the growth? Demographers point to the high birth rate among all Aboriginal peoples. They also point to a big jump in the number of people who have decided to self-identify as Métis. In the decade leading up to 2006, the number of Métis nearly doubled.

More Aboriginal people live in Ontario than in any other province. In 2011, 301 425 Aboriginal people lived in Ontario, representing 21.5 per cent of the entire Aboriginal population in Canada.

**Continuity and Change:** Choose one demographic trend and explain how it might affect ideas about Canadian identity.

## CONNECTIONS

As a result of the efforts of Inuit Senators Charlie Watt and Willie Adams, the Canadian Senate now uses Inuktitut, the language of the Inuit, when debates and committee meetings focus on issues that affect Nunavut. Interpreters translate the proceedings into English and French, Canada’s two official languages.

Figure 1–7 Commuters make their way to GO trains and the subway at Union Station in downtown Toronto. If you were using this photograph to illustrate trends in Canadian identity to a non-Canadian, what would you say? What trend is not represented?





## Social Change and Identity

**Social change** is fundamental change in how society works. It involves big shifts in behaviour and values. The feminist movement was social change. The abolition of slavery was social change. How we behave toward one another is fundamental to our idea of who we are as a society, so social change affects Canadian identity.

At the beginning of the 20th century, Canadian laws discriminated against specific groups. Laws discouraged people of Asian heritage, for example, from immigrating to Canada. Laws prevented women, Aboriginal people, and certain ethnic groups from voting.

But as the country's demographics changed, ideas about whose rights should be protected — and how — began to change. By the beginning of the 21st century, Canada had become a society that emphasized respecting the rights of all people.



**Figure 1-8** These Bhutanese refugees, who were once part of a religious minority in Bhutan, wait to apply to resettle in Canada and other Western countries. Canada stepped up to the plate and eventually promised to accept 6500. What does this say about the character of Canada?

## Becoming a Nation That Welcomes Refugees and Immigrants

Every year, Canada welcomes about 240 000 to 265 000 immigrants and refugees. At one time, Canada did not accept **refugees** — people fleeing persecution in their homelands. The country accepted only immigrants.

Canada's behaviour has changed. For example, in late 2008, 24 Bhutanese refugees were welcomed to Saint-Jérôme, Québec. By June 30, 2013, the Canadian government said it had resettled nearly 5500 more Bhutanese refugees across Canada. These refugees were among 100 000 people — mostly Hindus of Nepalese heritage — who had been forced out of Bhutan in the early 1990s. They had been living in refugee camps in Nepal. Canada decided to help because helping refugees is a cornerstone of Canadian policy.

Immigration policies have shifted over the years, too. At one time, immigration law automatically rejected people of certain ethnicities or from certain countries. Canada has since changed its approach to accept immigrants from any country in the world as long as they meet certain unbiased criteria. We measure potential immigrants using a point system to ensure fairness. Higher points are awarded for qualities such as advanced education, fluency in either English or French, solid work experience, or a job offer. Age is also a factor. Applicants between 21 and 49 years old score highest. Ethnicity is not a criterion.

In the spring of 2014, the federal government proposed further changes to the Immigration Act that made it more difficult for immigrants to become citizens. Potential citizens would have to wait longer.

**Cause and Consequence:** In your opinion, do Canada's changes in refugee and immigration policy reflect Canadian identity, affect Canadian identity, or both? Supply the evidence that helped you form your opinion.

## Voices

After all, everybody wants to become full citizens. But they are making this a really long path. . . . We have formed ties, socialized, worked, and paid taxes in Canada. At workplaces, hiring priorities are given to citizens. Without voting rights, you can't change things in your community, and you become an underclass.

— Alex Linkov, a design engineer from Israel who waited four years to become a permanent resident

## Becoming a Nation of Difference

Immigration has changed the face of Canada. Statistics Canada tells us that in 2011, the country's people had more than 200 ethnic origins, and that 19.1 per cent of Canadians belonged to a visible minority. Today, ethnic diversity is a significant feature of Canadian society.

Canada dealt with this diversity by passing the 1985 Canadian Multiculturalism Act, which acknowledges “the freedom of all members of Canadian society to preserve, enhance, and share their cultural heritage.” Canada has become a **multicultural society** — one in which multiple ethnic and cultural groups coexist peacefully, without anyone feeling pressure to blend in. The idea is to promote mutual respect by leaving behind “us and them” for a new diverse “us.”

Has it worked? Some people, such as writer Neil Bissoondath, argue that multiculturalism has not worked well. He writes that Canada's multiculturalism policy was based on two false ideas. “First, it assumed that ‘culture’ in the larger sense could be transplanted. Second, that those who voluntarily sought a new life in a new country would wish to transport their cultures of origin.”

Yet, according to some markers, multiculturalism has succeeded. A 2008 Léger Marketing poll of immigrants living in Toronto, Montréal, and Vancouver found that 87 per cent of respondents felt a strong sense of belonging to Canada. People from many different ethnicities and cultures live side by side without major instances of conflict.

**Evidence:** Consider the evidence in your life. Do you see examples of conflict or acceptance of cultural diversity in your community?



**Figure 1-9** Shoppers check out the wares at Pacific Mall. This mall in Markham, Ontario, is the largest indoor Asian mall in North America. More than 65 per cent of Markham residents belong to visible minority groups — and people of Chinese origin make up more than half of the town's visible minorities. English signs can be hard to find. What do malls like this say about Canada?

## Voices

Multiculturalism ensures that all citizens can keep their identities, can take pride in their ancestry and have a sense of belonging. . . . The Canadian experience has shown that multiculturalism encourages racial and ethnic harmony and cross-cultural understanding.

— Citizenship and Immigration Canada

## Check Forward

You will read more about immigration, multiculturalism, and diversity in Chapter 2.



**Figure 1–10** Break dancer Luca “Lazylegz” Patuelli performed in the 2010 Winter Paralympics opening ceremony in Vancouver. Here, in Laval, Québec, on April 6, 2014, he gives a dance demonstration after giving a talk about overcoming physical disabilities and realizing your dreams. What might you gain by hearing his story?



## Becoming a Nation That Supports People with Disabilities

Canada's Charter of Rights and Freedoms bans discrimination on the basis of mental or physical disability. In 2010, Canada ratified the United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities. So Canada is making efforts to become a society that promotes and protects the rights of people with disabilities and that enables them to reach their full potential.

However, a 2014 government report shows that poverty remains a major problem among Canadians with disabilities. A majority are either underemployed or unemployed. Provincial and federal governments do run many programs aimed at improving the lives of people with disabilities. For example, in 2008, the federal government created a Registered Disability Savings Plan to help people with disabilities and their families save for the future. But are we doing enough?

**Cause and Consequence:** How does Canada benefit by improving the lives of people with disabilities?

## Becoming a Nation Where Women Have Equality

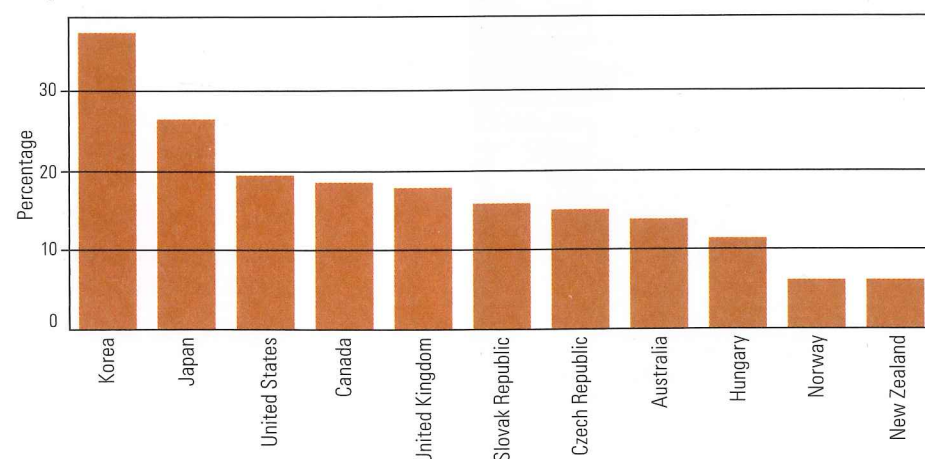
In the early 20th century, discrimination against women was the norm. A business that had women and men doing the very same job — such as teacher — could legally pay women a fraction of what men received. Today, the Charter makes this practice illegal because it is discrimination based on gender.

Manitoba and Ontario have gone further by passing specific laws requiring **pay equity** — equal pay for work of equal value. Imagine a company that employs men as parking lot attendants and women as receptionists. Without pay equity, the men could still be paid more than the women. The pay equity laws say that if the work of a parking lot attendant is deemed to be of equal value as the work of a receptionist, then the company must give the two groups the same pay.

The difference between men's and women's average incomes is called the **gender wage gap**. In 1987, for every dollar earned by men in Canada, women earned just 64 cents. By 2011, the gap had shrunk, with women earning 74 cents for every dollar earned by men. Eliminating the remaining gap may be difficult. In part, the gap is a reflection of fewer women advancing as far in their careers. For example, a woman may decide not to take a higher-paying job because it would demand too much time away from family. In part, however, the gap is still a reflection of gender discrimination.

**Figure 1–11** Gender Wage Gap in Selected Countries, 2012

The wage gap is expressed as a percentage of men's median earnings. How is Canada doing in comparison to similar countries? Is that enough? Should Canada put more effort into ensuring fair wages for women?



Source: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development Earnings Database

# Opening Eyes

Rehtaeh Parsons killed herself in April 2013 at the age of 17 after being the victim of sexist bullying on social media. Lara Shkordoff says that Parsons' life might have been different if her school had offered a gender studies course. "Instead of talking about what the girl did and how 'she had this coming to her,' the focus might have been on 'how these guys go through life not knowing about consent.'"

Long before this, in 2005, Sheetal Rawal and Sarah Ghabrial had been sitting in a dorm room at the University of Western Ontario talking about high school. "We were reflecting on our own high school experiences and how pervasive gender-based violence, harassment, and sexual assault was." It dawned on them that being a teenager could be a lot easier if high schools offered a course in gender studies.

But there was no such high school course. So the two joined with their friends Lara Shkordoff, Dilani Mohan, and Laurel Mitchell and decided to make it happen.

They called their campaign the Miss G\_\_ Project, a name taken from an unidentified American university student who died in 1873. Her doctor referred to her only as Miss G\_\_. He blamed her death on too much education: "She was unable to make a good brain that could stand the wear and tear of life, and a good reproductive system that should serve the race, at the same time that she was continuously spending her force in intellectual labor."

To achieve their goal, the founders of the Miss G\_\_ Project took action. They handed out flyers, held publicity events, networked with other women, developed a website, and lobbied educators, politicians, and bureaucrats.

The road to success was much longer than they expected. But eight years later, in September 2013, Ontario high schools could offer a Grade 11 full-credit gender studies optional course. In it, students have a chance to explore sexism, gender-based violence, and the impact of representations of men and women in the media. The Miss G\_\_ founders hope that the course will help make high school a better place to be.

**Figure 1–12** University of Western Ontario students Laura Shkordoff (bottom left), Sarah Ghabrial (top left), Dilani Mohan (top right), Sheetal Rawal (bottom right), and Laurel Mitchell (not shown) started the Miss G\_\_ Project to persuade the Ontario Ministry of Education to offer a gender studies course to high school students. It worked. Would you take the course?



## Explorations

1. The founders of the Miss G\_\_ Project chose the name of their campaign for a reason. What do you think was that reason?
2. Ontario Premier Kathleen Wynne said that the founders of the Miss G\_\_ Project "are changing the world." What is the relevance of this story to the idea of social trends and Canadian identity?



**Figure 1–13** The Greater Sudbury area — where nearly 30 per cent of people are Francophone — boasts the highest concentration of Francophones in a major city in Ontario. Greater Sudbury's website can be accessed in both English and French. Should all communities be required to provide online information in both English and French?



## Cultural Trends and Identity

**Culture** is the music, art, literature, architecture, food, traditions, and language of a people. It also includes people's beliefs and values — how they see the world. Culture is the collection of a people's attributes but it is also what they do, think, and feel.

Because of immigration and multiculturalism, many cultures are part of the Canadian fabric. However, there is also Canadian culture — the attributes of the Canadian people as a whole. This is hard to pinpoint because Canada is extremely diverse. But there are some common aspects of Canadian culture. For example, Canada is bilingual. Virtually all Canadians speak at least one of Canada's two official languages: English and French. In Québec, about 80 per cent of people are Francophones — people whose first language is French. Ontario is home to about 493 300 Francophones, the largest Francophone population outside Québec. Many Canadians speak both languages.

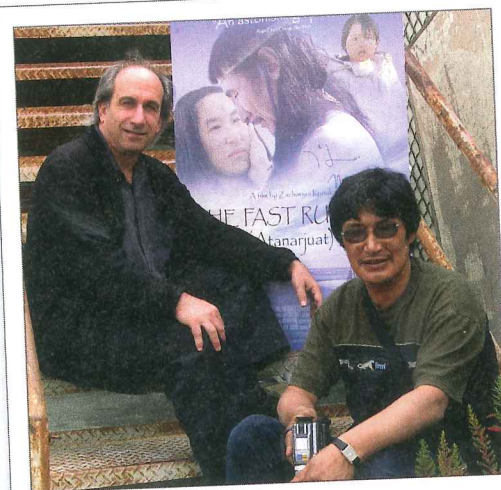
**Continuity and Change:** Canada's Francophone population is gradually declining. In 1991, Francophones formed 24.3 per cent of the population. By 2011, they made up only 21.3 per cent. In the long run, how might this cultural trend affect Canadian identity?

## Picturing the Impact of Cultural Trends on Canadian Identity

**Figure 1–14** Customers scramble to get a copy of Canadian writer Alice Munro's newest novel, *Dear Life*, after she won the 2013 Nobel Prize in Literature. Not so long ago, women had a hard time getting published. Today, women's and men's voices can be heard in equal measure in novels, short stories, and blogs alike. What changed?



*Raising Her Voice*



*Telling Our Stories*

**Figure 1–15** Together, Norman Cohn (left) and Inuk Zacharias Kunuk began bringing Inuit storytelling to the mainstream film theatre with their first feature film, *Atanarjuat: The Fast Runner*, made in 2001. Their production company, Isuma, is 75 per cent owned by Inuit. As Aboriginal peoples tell their own stories to mainstream society, how might they influence Canadian identity?

## Media and Identity

Perhaps the most powerful cultural trend influencing Canadian Identity is the huge increase in our exposure to media. Media consists of everything that we watch, listen to, or read. In the form of radio, music, television, Internet, film, books, newspapers, and magazines, media provide the raw materials we use to form our ideas about who we are. What does it mean to be male or female? What does ethnicity imply? What is fun? What is good and bad? What does it mean to be Canadian?

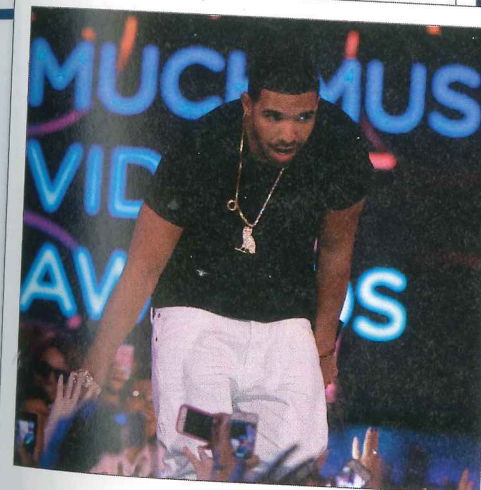
Take, for example, the trend in media to include more gay and lesbian individuals in everything from sitcoms to television talk shows. The trend began in the 1980s, with Canadian comedy shows such as *CODCO* and *Kids in the Hall*, and American sitcoms such as *Will and Grace*. Comedies led the way to inclusion of gay and lesbian characters in serious shows, and widespread acceptance of openly gay media personalities such as commentator Rick Mercer, talk-show host Ellen DeGeneres, game show host Elvira Kurt, country singer-songwriter k.d. lang, indie-rock duo Tegan and Sara, and fiddler Ashley MacIsaac.

**Cause and Consequence:** As gay and lesbian media personalities became more common, so did the acceptance of openly gay political figures such as Svend Robinson, Kathleen Wynne, and Scott Brison. What's the connection?

## Voices

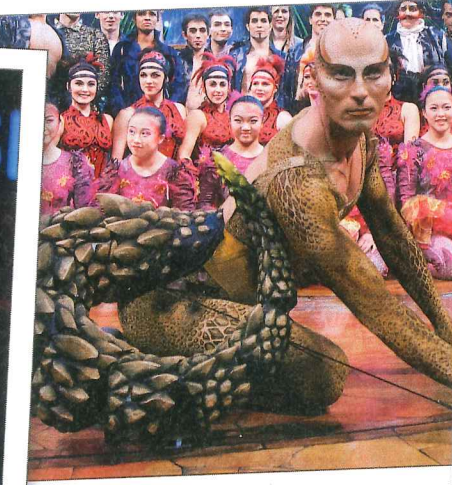
I'm here today because I am gay and because maybe I can make a difference, to help others have an easier and more hopeful time. Regardless, for me, I feel a personal obligation and a social responsibility.

— Canadian actress Ellen Page, when she came out in 2014



*Giving It Back*

**Figure 1–16** Toronto-born recording artist, rapper, and songwriter Drake greets his fans during the 2013 Much Music Video Awards in 2013. Canada's dedication to building a multicultural society has given Canada the chance to see great talent flourish from within. What does Drake's success say about him? About us?



*Going Global*

**Figure 1–17** Artists pose for a photograph during the unveiling of Cirque Du Soleil's new show *Amaluna* in Montréal, in 2012. Québécois Guy Laliberté and Gilles Ste-Croix gathered circus talent — and circus styles — from around the world to create a contemporary circus like no other. In 2014, Cirque was the largest theatrical producer in the world. Does the Cirque model of cultural expression erode Canadian identity or support it?



*Coming Out*

**Figure 1–18** Ellen Page comes out very publicly in 2014, while speaking at Time to Thrive, a conference to promote the welfare of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) youth. Do you think that media personalities who are gay have a responsibility to come out? Why or why not?



# Context: Doing Right by First Nations

Is it part of Canadian identity to protect all peoples' spiritual beliefs? Your immediate response might be, "Yes, it says so in the Charter of Rights and Freedoms." But let's look a little more closely at Canada's historical record.

In the early 20th century, multiple artifacts, including buried remains and burial artifacts were taken from First Nations throughout Canada. Why would people believe it was acceptable to put the bodies of First Nations people in a museum? It has everything to do with the context of the early 20th century. Consider the following:

- At that time, many natural history museums shared a mindset: they wanted to collect a sample of everything in natural history. Jonathan Haas of the Field Museum in Chicago says, "We thought we could go out and collect the diversity of the world: You collect one emu and you collect one Haida." He says the collection was "science gone amok."
- Scientists at that time assumed that First Nations would soon be extinct. This idea stemmed from the devastation of First Nations populations by smallpox. Scientists and relic hunters alike took what they could find or dig up, sometimes from empty villages.
- Prejudice at the time meant that many people did not respect First Nations spiritual beliefs. So First Nations remains were not respected in the same way as the remains of non-Aboriginal people.

Exploring historical context like these three points does not mean trying to find reasons to agree with the action. It merely means trying to understand *why* people acted the way they did.

Today, many Canadians believe that burial artifacts and bodily remains should be repatriated — returned to the descendants of their owners. The Haida people



**Figure 1-19** Nika Collison poses with the 150 bentwood boxes in which remains are to be buried after they are returned from the Field Museum of Chicago. As the coordinator of the Haida Repatriation Committee, Skidegate chapter, Collison travels the world to find Haida artifacts and remains and negotiate their return. Why would museums and private collectors cooperate?

in British Columbia have been leaders in repatriation efforts. At right, a Haida spokesperson explains why repatriation is so important to her community.

Haidas have strong spiritual beliefs that make the repatriation project important. We believe that everyone has a spirit. The spirits of our ancestors have gone with the skeletal remains that are locked in museums. We believe there are 300 Haida spirits in museums that want to come home to Haida Gwaii. We all felt these spirits.

— Lucille Bell, Tsiij Gitaneen clan

## Explorations

1. What practices did Canadians accept in the past that Canadians today would not accept? What context helps explain why people acted the way they did?
2. If and how a country addresses historic wrongs speaks volumes about that country's identity. What should Canada be doing to address the stealing of artifacts and remains from First Nations?

## Protecting Canadian Cultural Identity

Culture and identity are strongly linked. Over the years, many Canadians have worried that the overpowering influence of our neighbour to the south will drown out everything Canadian.

"Ninety-six per cent of the movies that appear in our cinemas are foreign, most American," wrote journalist Susan Riley. "Four out of five magazines sold on every newsstand are foreign, most American. Three-quarters of the television we watch every night is foreign, most American. Seventy per cent of the content on Canadian radio stations is non-Canadian, mostly from the U.S."

In response, governments have found numerous ways to ensure that Canadians can hear Canadian voices and see Canadians stories portrayed in television and film. To promote Canadian culture, the government created the Department of Canadian Heritage in 1993. This department is responsible for programs and policies related to the arts, the media, culture, communication networks, official languages, and sports. The department oversees the CBC, the national public broadcaster, as well as the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC). The CRTC sets rules for radio and TV broadcasting.

One rule requires private broadcasters, such as CTV and Global, to air a certain minimum amount of Canadian content — commonly referred to as *Cancon* — every week. This rule has generated several successful Canadian series, such as *Degrassi High*, *Rookie Blue*, *Orphan Black*, *Murdoch Mysteries*, *Trailer Park Boys*, and *The Real Housewives of Vancouver*. Programs like these ensure that Canadians see Canadian stories on TV and that Canadians can pursue entertainment careers in Canada.

**Cause and Consequence:** Are your favourite TV shows created in Canada or elsewhere? On a scale of 1 to 5 (1 = weak, 5 = powerful), rate the effect of your TV-viewing choices on your sense of Canadian identity. Explain your rating.

## Up for Discussion

Do rules requiring Canadian broadcasters to air a specific amount of *Cancon* amount to censorship?

**Figure 1-20** Entertainment journalist and former Canadian reality TV star Arisa Cox hosts *Big Brother Canada*, which premiered in 2013. In your experience, is a Canadian adaptation of an international television format a good way to protect Canadian identity? Why or why not?



## Recall ... Reflect ... Respond

1. How do demographic trends, social change, and cultural trends influence Canadian identity? In your answer, show that you understand what these trends are. Provide an example of each trend influencing Canadian identity.
2. Is there one Canadian identity or many? Explain your answer.
3. Keeping in mind some of the trends that are affecting Canadian identity today, predict what Canadian identity will look like in future.



## How does politics shape Canadian identity?



**Figure 1–21** Self-government helps communities make decisions that are best for themselves. What evidence of self-government do you see in this image taken in Iqaluit, the capital of Nunavut?

In a broad sense, **politics** is the process of steering society in a particular direction. Political methods include persuasion, negotiation, making laws, and force.

In a narrow sense, politics is **government**: exercising organized control of a population. Canada has three levels of government: federal, provincial, and municipal. The United Nations is another form of government. So are First Nations governments. Most organizations have some form of governance, such as a student council, to make decisions.

Politics includes power struggles, for example, when people do not agree on political policy or when one government clashes with another. Two major power struggles have marked Canada: the struggles of Aboriginal peoples and the Québécois for more power. Both aspire to **self-determination** — the power of a people to control its own affairs.

### Aboriginal Peoples and Self-Determination

Aboriginal peoples in Canada enjoyed self-determination before Europeans started arriving in the 1600s. More than 600 First Nations each made their own laws, governed themselves, and negotiated with one another.

But as newcomers flooded in, British and then Canadian governments took away these nations' power to govern themselves. Canada passed the Indian Act in 1876 to control First Nations and set out how they would be run. Late in the 20th century, Aboriginal peoples began to assert their right to self-determination with some success. In 1982, they won an important victory when Aboriginal and treaty rights were affirmed in Canada's Constitution.

### Conflict in Oka, Québec

The continuing struggles of Aboriginal peoples to better control their own affairs have led to conflict. For example, in the spring of 1990, the village of Oka, Québec (a non-Aboriginal community), decided to expand a golf course. The expansion was to take place on land that Mohawks from the nearby Kanesatake reserve claimed was part of their traditional territory.

But their land claim had been denied on a technical issue.

To stop the expansion, Mohawk protesters set up a barricade, and a standoff began. When the Sureté du Québec, Québec's provincial police force, tried to storm the barricade on July 11, violence erupted. Shots were fired, and a police officer was killed.

Finally, the Québec government called in the army. Soldiers gradually cut off the protesters' contacts with the outside world, and on September 26, the crisis ended. Many of the protesters faced criminal charges, but most were found not guilty. The federal government later bought the disputed land and turned it over to the Mohawks.

### The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples

The Oka crisis helped Canadians see that something was wrong that needed fixing. A poll taken shortly afterward showed that 70 per cent of Canadians believed that the government had broken its treaty obligations to Aboriginal peoples. In response, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney set up a royal commission in 1991.

Governments establish royal commissions to look into — and recommend solutions to — controversial issues. The goal of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples was to answer this question: "What are the foundations of a fair and honourable relationship between the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people of Canada?"

After several years, the commissioners summed up their recommendations as follows: "The main policy direction, pursued for more than 150 years, first by colonial then by Canadian governments, has been wrong." The report urged Canadians to view First Nations, Inuit, and Métis in a radically different way — as nations with a right to govern themselves in partnership with Canada.

**Cause and Consequence:** How does providing peoples within Canada with a degree of self-government affect those peoples? Other Canadians? Ideas about Canadian identity?

### Québécois and Sovereignty

A political tension that is uniquely Canadian is the perennial power struggle between French and English Canada. The country began as a cooperative venture, between English politicians led by John A. Macdonald and French politicians led by George-Étienne Cartier. But ever since, some Francophone Québécois have believed that Québec would be better able to protect its language and cultural identity on its own. They believe the only answer is **sovereignty** for Québec. For sovereignists, or separatists, self-determination within Canada is not enough. They want to separate and make Québec an independent country.

In the final decades of the 20th century, separatist governments in Québec held two **referendums** — special votes on specific issues — to find out if the people of Québec wished to separate from Canada. The most recent referendum took place on October 30, 1995.

As referendum day approached, observers predicted a high turnout and a very close vote. When the polls closed, Canadians were glued to their radios and TV sets. As the results began to pour in, the outcome seemed to seesaw. In the end, the people of Québec voted to stay in Canada by the slimmest of margins: 50.5 per cent to 49.42 per cent.

More recently, in 2014, Parti Québécois Premier Pauline Marois hoped to gain a majority government in Québec and hold a third referendum. But the people of Québec threw her out of power. The Parti Québécois attracted only 25.4 per cent of the vote.

### Voices

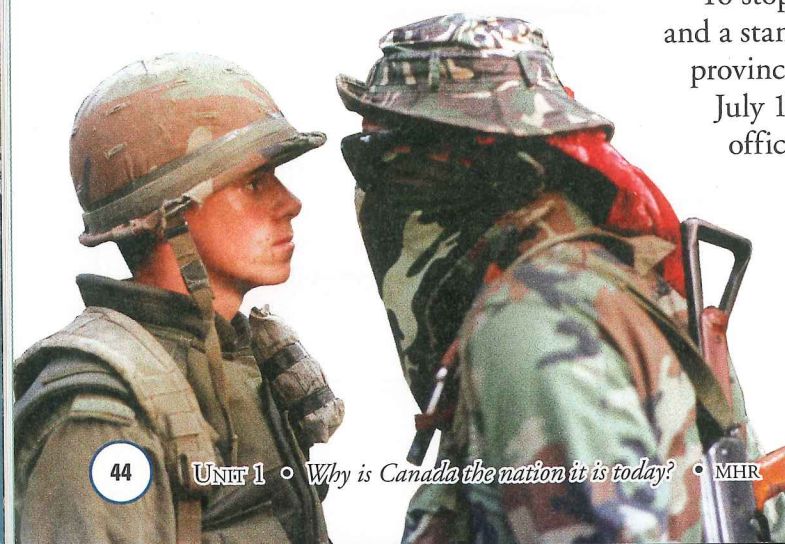
Aboriginal peoples are nations . . . They lived as nations — highly centralized, loosely federated, or small and clan-based — for thousands of years before the arrival of Europeans. As nations, they forged trade and military alliances among themselves and with the new arrivals. To this day, Aboriginal people's sense of confidence and well-being as individuals remains tied to the strength of their nations. Only as members of restored nations can they reach their potential in the twenty-first century.

— People to People, Nation to Nation, 1996

### CONNECTIONS

An extraordinary 93.5 per cent of eligible voters cast ballots in the 1995 referendum on Québec sovereignty.

**Figure 1–23** Three days before the 1995 sovereignty referendum, thousands of Canadians from across the country travelled to Montréal to take part in a huge unity rally. At the rally, people waved both Québec and Canadian flags. What message might they have been trying to send?





# Seeing a Motion from Many Sides

Historians sometimes have a hard time sorting out what really happened in the past because people have different experiences of events. One person sees peaceful protesters while another sees an unruly mob. But searching out different perspectives on the same event can help us understand it better.

The event: In November 2006, Prime Minister Stephen Harper passed a motion recognizing Québécois as “a nation within a united Canada.” He said, “Tonight was an historic night. Canadians across the country said

yes to Québec, yes to Québeckers, and Québeckers said yes to Canada.” But his perspective was just one perspective of his motion.

## The Motion

... is “nothing else but the recognition of ethnic nationalism.”  
— Conservative MP Michael Chong, who resigned from cabinet in protest

... was “political gamesmanship ... played to the hilt by Prime Minister Stephen Harper.”  
— a *Globe and Mail* editorial

... “poses serious risks to Canada’s long-term stability and strength,” because it advocates “a highly decentralized view of Canada.”  
— Roy Romanow and John Whyte

... “represents a constructive gesture toward ... federalist Québeckers.”  
— Benoît Pelletier, Liberal member of the Québec National Assembly.

... was a mere “symbolic recognition of [our] nation.”  
— Gilles Duceppe, Leader of the Bloc Québécois

... “elevates the status of one segment of Canadian society over another [and is] completely wrong.”  
— Phil Fontaine, National Chief, Assembly of First Nations

**Figure 1–24** This figure shows Stephen Harper’s motion from the perspective of six different onlookers. Who else might see it differently?

## Explorations

1. Create a chart to explore the similarities and differences among the seven perspectives on the “nation within a united Canada” motion (Harper’s perspective plus the six perspectives in Figure 1–24.)
2. What insight did you gain by considering multiple perspectives rather than just one?
3. Why do historians typically seek out the views of more than one witness or participant in an historic event?

## Influencing Canadian Identity Through Programs and Policy

Canadian governments wield a lot of political power. They choose what policies to promote and what programs to fund. Consequently, they influence how the country develops and, in turn, what Canadians think about their country. For example, if a government decided overnight to double the money it spends on foreign aid, Canadians might start thinking that generosity is a more obvious aspect of Canadian identity.

Depending on which government is in power, it will have a particular vision of what it believes Canada can be, and will use its powers to try to achieve that dream.

An example of a government influencing Canadian identity occurred when Minister of Heritage James Moore made changes to the Canadian Museum of Civilization in Gatineau, Québec. According to a 2008 poll completed by Ipsos-Reid in partnership with the Dominion Institute, more Canadians correctly answered questions about American history and politics than they did about their own. Moore explained the problem this way: “We live in a country where so many young people aren’t taught and don’t know and don’t have access to those stories that made this country so great and so brilliant.”

To help address this situation, Moore changed the name of the Canadian Museum of Civilization to the Canadian Museum of History. He also dedicated \$25 million to renovating the museum with a new focus on the highlights of Canadian history.

Some argue that the federal government is rewriting Canadian history by carefully selecting pieces of our past to tell an incomplete story that focuses on accomplishments. This approach to history tends to leave out the blotches in Canada’s history and the minor stories of ordinary life. Advocates of Historical Thinking such as Peter Seixas, who is quoted in the Voices feature, argue that history education should not blindly celebrate the past. Instead, it should help us understand the past so as to better live in the present.

**Ethical Dimension:** Should Canadians learn about the victories of our history, such as World War II? Should they debate historical events such as the internment of Japanese Canadians during that same war? How can each approach contribute in different ways to national identity?

## Recall ... Reflect ... Respond

1. List five political developments or government policies that have affected Canada or Canadian identity. In each case, who was affected, and how? What was the effect on Canadian identity?
2. This section described two struggles for self-determination that have led to disagreement and confrontation. In each case, what different perspectives were involved? In each case, what happened?
3. In this section, you examined three government attempts to affect Canadian identity directly (including the Thinking Historically feature on the next page). Does a national government have an obligation to try to shape national identity? What are the possible dangers of doing so? What are the possible benefits?

## Voices

The Historical Thinking Project has never espoused “celebration” or nationalism as goals for history education. Rather, it has sought to promote students’ competencies in making knowledgeable, rational contributions to current debates about our common pasts and common futures.

— Peter Seixas, Director of the Historical Thinking Project

## ... CONNECTIONS ...

The renovated Canadian Museum of History will include the Last Spike, hockey legend Maurice (Rocket) Richard’s jersey, and artifacts from Terry Fox’s Marathon of Hope.



# Organizing Our Way to the Big Picture

Historians are always curious about what happened when, how fast, and why. Sometimes the best way to see the big picture is to create a timeline of events.

Consider the history of the Own the Podium (OTP) program in Canada. Since 2005, the federal government has been providing about half the funding for OTP. This nonprofit organization supports Canadian athletes.

What does OTP have to do with Canadian identity? The information below might help you answer this question, but be warned: you're going to have to organize it first!

In 1988, Canada hosts the Calgary Winter Games, but doesn't win a single gold.

A 2012 Harris/Decima poll shows that seven in ten Canadians support using tax dollars to fund OTP.

In 2005, OTP sets two goals: to win the most medals at the Vancouver Winter Games in 2010 and to rank in the top three in the following Paralympic games.

In 2005, the federal government agrees to give OTP \$11 million per year for five years for winter sports alone.

After the 2010 Games, the federal government raises its annual commitment for winter sports to \$22 million.

In 1976, Canada hosts the Montréal Summer Games, but doesn't win a single gold.

The government spends only \$4 million per year leading up to the Turin Winter Olympics in 2006.

Leading up to the 2014 Sochi Games, the federal government contributes \$31 million per year for 11 winter sports.

"We had the best coaches, trainers, physios. Access to the best facilities made all the difference."

— Mike Riddle, after winning silver for Canada in Men's Snowboard Cross at the 2014 Sochi Winter Olympics

Winter Games	Gold Medals	Total Medals	Canada's Rank
2006 Turin	7	24	5
1992 Albertville	2	7	9
2010 Vancouver	14	26	1
1998 Nagano	6	15	4
2014 Sochi	10	25	3
1988 Calgary	0	5	13
2002 Salt Lake City	7	17	4

**Figure 1-25** Canada's results in selected Winter Games. What makes it hard to notice trends in this table?



**Figure 1-26** During the Sochi Olympic Games, pet owners posted pictures like this one of Pablo. In what other ways do Canadians show their national pride during the Olympics?

## Explorations

- The above information is unorganized for a reason — so you can see how difficult it is to see trends until data is organized.
  - Choose a selection of key events from the information above that you think will help show the story of the OTP program and its effect on Canadian identity.
  - Create a timeline to organize your selected events. If you wish, illustrate the timeline.
- Governments can shape a country by funding some programs and not others. Did the federal government affect Canadian identity by funding the OTP program? Use evidence in your timeline to support your opinion.
  - What connections can you see among events?
  - How would you describe the pace of change at different points on your timeline? Is it moving forward slowly? Speeding ahead? Slowing down? Jumping backward?

## What else affects Canadian identity?

Asking what affects Canadian identity is like asking what's trending on social media today — every day is different. One day, a war has ended and Canadians breathe a sigh of relief, realizing they are no longer a country at war. Another day, oil prices spike, and Canadians feel more confident of Canada's financial well-being. Yet another day, a Canadian movie star comes into town, and we all feel a little more glamorous.

Yet certain underlying currents sway us more solidly in one direction or another. We may not win every international hockey tournament, but we win a lot of them. So Canadians' belief that their country is a hockey powerhouse is pretty solid. Let's look at a few other examples of underlying currents.

## Economic Trends and Identity

Canada's major industries play a huge role in how we see ourselves as well as how the international community sees us. We are lucky enough to have extensive natural resources, which we use to drive primary industries. A hundred or so years ago, Canada was largely a country of farmers, fishers, and loggers. Those industries have grown, but now we're also a mining giant and a consistent supplier of oil and gas to the world. Canada's diverse economy now sustains the population with businesses and jobs in services, manufacturing, finance, and high tech.

How does the economy affect identity? What we make and sell and work at every day shapes who we are. If most of Canada's workers were farmers — as we were a hundred years ago — we would think of ourselves as a nation of farmers. But we're not.

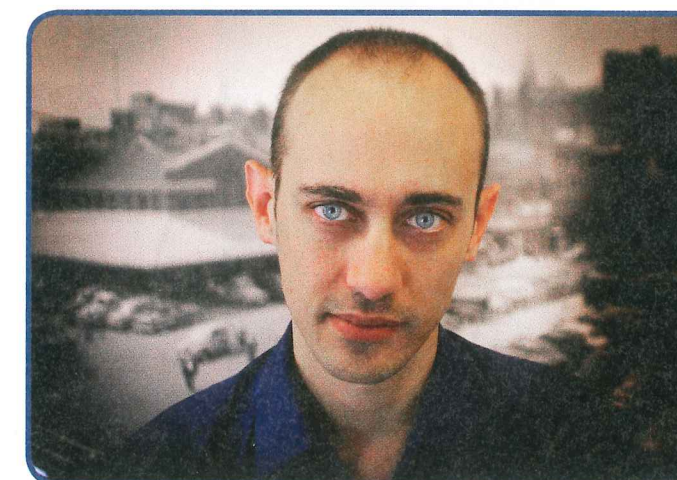
## Times Change, We Change

Until a few decades ago, Canada had a robust manufacturing sector. Many Canadians worked in auto manufacturing and textile industries. Since the late 1990s, though, Canada has steadily lost manufacturing jobs, largely because countries where low wages are the norm are producing goods more cheaply than Canada. Ontario lost 300 000 jobs in manufacturing between 2003 and 2013.

Worldwide economic conditions can affect Canada hugely. Canada itself weathered the 2008 economic downturn fairly well. But the rest of the world did not. And when Americans stopped buying Canadian goods, Canadian exporting companies suffered. The struggles of the manufacturing sector have affected Ontario more than any other province because its manufacturing sector was large.

**Cause and Consequence:** When the economy is not strong, Canadians are asked to reinvent themselves, learn new skills, and be open to opportunities. How does this impact how we see ourselves as Canadians? How is the changing nature of our economy affecting our identity?

**Figure 1-27** Ottawa-based Shopify sells e-commerce software that makes it easy to set up an online store. Shopify has 100 000 customers in 80 countries, including Amnesty International. However, owner Tobias Lutke credits the success of his company to American investment firms that financed his business. How can we better create an identity of innovation?



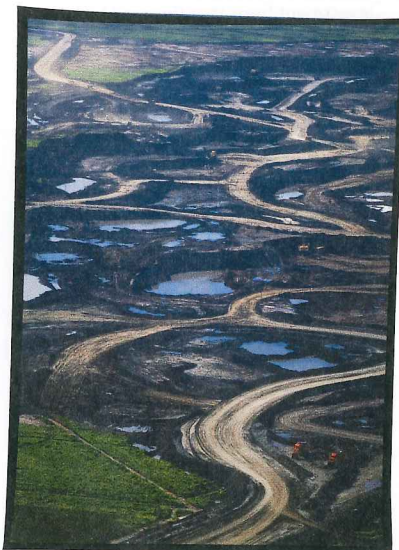


## Voices

To be seen as truly ethical when it comes to energy policy, Canada must slow down tar sands development, clean up the environmental problems, implement a national carbon tax, improve the regulatory and monitoring regime, and make sure that Canadians are reaping their fair share of the revenues. . . . Rather than subsidizing the tar sands and all the fossil fuel industry through massive tax breaks, we should be investing in energy technologies that will benefit our health, economy, and climate.

—David Suzuki, science broadcaster and environmental activist

**Figure 1–28** This aerial photo hints at the extent of the oil sands. More than 420 square kilometres of boreal forest have been dug up, and virtually none has been restored. Yet every day more than a million barrels of crude oil flow out of Alberta's oil sands plants, fuelling the economy. Do Canada's new efforts to increase development in the oil sands make us a powerhouse or a climate destroyer?



## Oil Sands Boom in Alberta

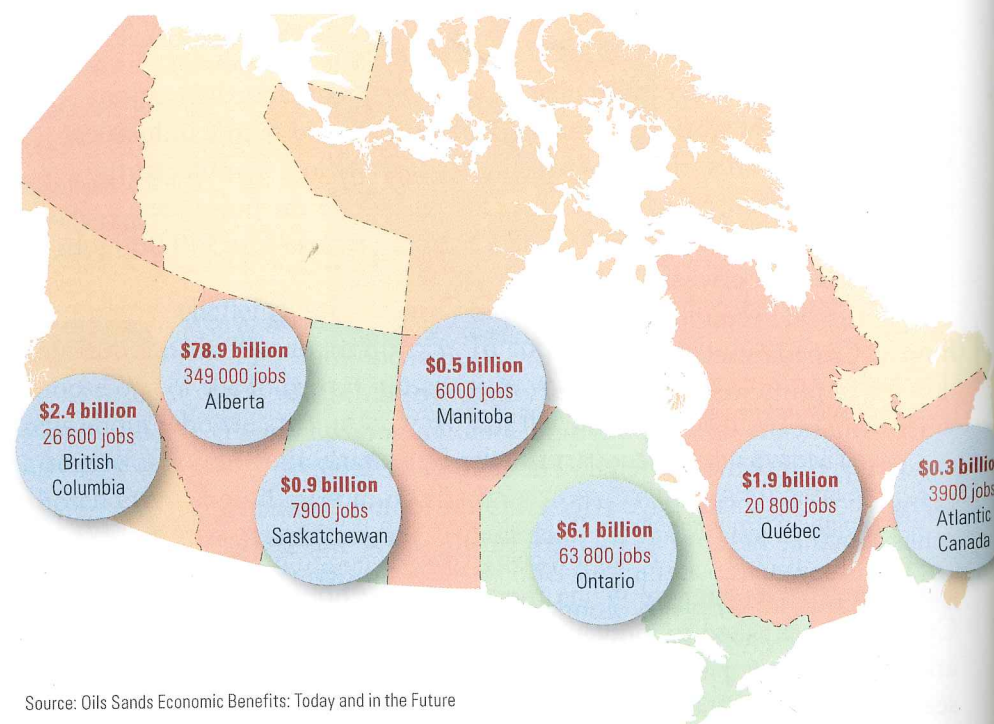
Perhaps no industry defines Canada as much as the oil and gas industry. The Canadian oil sands are ranked as the third largest oil reserve in the world. *Time* magazine has described the oil sands as “Canada’s greatest buried energy treasure.” Development of this vast resource has expanded trading relationships with other countries such as China and the United States.

In terms of job creation, in 2012 the oil sands generated \$91 billion and 75 000 jobs across Canada. Over the next 25 years, this is expected to grow to more than 905 000, as estimated by the Canadian Energy Research Institute. The oil sands have provided work opportunities to both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Canadians. According to the Oil Sands Developer Group, oil sands companies have given \$5.5 million to support Aboriginal community programs and employ more than 1700 Aboriginal people.

However, the oil sands have earned the nickname “Scar Lands” because of the extensive environmental damage the industry causes. Oil sands mining is open-pit mining, so the landscape is literally dug up to allow access to the oil sands below. Critics point out that extracting and processing oil sands is more energy intensive than it is for conventional oil. Therefore, the greenhouse gas emissions are greater. Not all Aboriginal people in Alberta are in favour of the oil sands industry, as it tears up their traditional territories, on which they depend. Do these practices reflect your values?

**Figure 1–29** Economic Benefits of the Alberta Oil Sands, Direct and Indirect, 2012

The economic benefits of the Alberta oil sands spill over to the entire country. In addition, many Canadians travel to Alberta for jobs not available in their own regions. Do the economic benefits outweigh the environmental and social costs?



Source: Oils Sands Economic Benefits: Today and in the Future

## Science and Technology and Identity

Developments in science and technology affect both our working lives and personal lives. Inventors find new ways for us to submit homework assignments, make purchases, cook food, have fun, and keep in touch. Scientists and engineers continue to seek ways to do everything from desalinating seawater to building flying cars. And the right cure can even save your life. Science and technology affect life in Canada in innumerable ways.

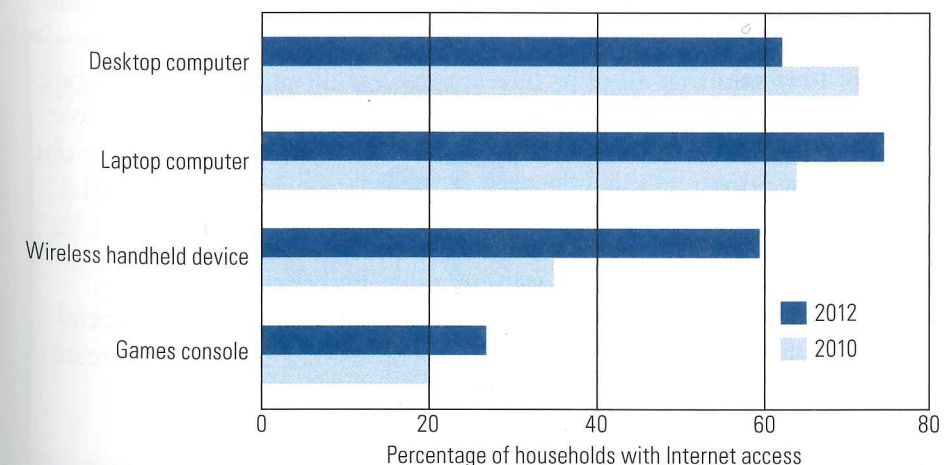
Communications technologies are probably making the most visible difference in our lives. According to Statistics Canada, 78 per cent of households have at least one cellphone and 83 per cent have access to the Internet. How much do we use the Internet? The Canadian Internet Registration Authority reports that in 2013, Canadians were spending an average of 45.6 hours online per month compared with the world average of 24.4 hours. That makes Canadians the heaviest users of the Internet in the entire world!

Canadians enjoy access to all the new technologies, practically as soon as they can be invented. Cloud computing, for example, allows you to store files, data, and programs on the Internet instead of on your computer's hard drive. That means that you can access your personal information from anywhere through an Internet connection. Although there are growing concerns regarding privacy, many argue that cloud computing will make life easier and businesses more profitable. Here are a few other ways that technological developments have changed our lives. We can now

- watch movies in 3D or 4K (resolution of 4000 pixels)
- watch television on a tablet by streaming shows through the Internet
- make things by printing them on a 3D printer (such as shoes and children's toys)
- wear a cellphone that looks like a watch and tracks your heart rate while you're chatting with a friend

**Figure 1–30** Devices Used to Access the Internet

What trends can you identify? What causes might explain these trends? What impact will these trends have on the quality of life for Canadians?



## Voices

All generations [in Canada] seem to be embracing smartphones, wireless Internet, and tech solutions in order to stay connected, stay organized, cope with emergencies, and manage the unpredictable.

—Nora Spinks, CEO of The Vanier Institute, 2013

## Up for Discussion

New technologies hit the marketplace every day. Which new state-of-the-art device is going to turn your life upside down in the next decade?



## Voices

If you're gay and you're in public life, I'm sorry, you don't have to run around with a Pride flag and bore everyone, but you can't be invisible, not anymore.

— Commentator Rick Mercer, in response to the “It Gets Better” Project

## The Power of Social Media

Social media are forms of electronic communication that allow for sharing information, personal messages, and digital content such as videos or music. Social media are different from traditional media by virtue of

- who uses them (most users are younger)
- how easy they are to use (very easy, if you know how)
- immediacy (very quick — almost instantaneous)
- whom you can reach (sometimes a personal audience of followers, but potentially everyone on the Internet)

The use of social media in Canada is growing exponentially. According to a 2013 report by Media Technology Monitor, one in three Anglophone Canadians check a social media feed every single day.

### Turning Us into Bullies

Social media has been changing not only how often and how we interact but also what we discuss and how we behave with one another. Cyberbullying, for example, is on the increase. The anonymous nature of some forms of social media makes people more willing to bully others. Take the case of Amanda Todd, who committed suicide at the age of 15 in Port Coquitlam, British Columbia, in 2012. After a revealing picture of Todd was shared using social media, she became a target for relentless bullying. Unable to cope any longer, she released a video on the Internet outlining what had happened. Weeks later she committed suicide.

### Ending the Bullying

In response to increasing suicide rates among LGBT teens, Dan Savage and Terry Miller wanted to create a personal interaction with LGBT youth. So they started the “It Gets Better Project,” in which celebrities make and post videos on the Internet to inspire LGBT youth to persevere against bullying. Many prominent personalities, from talk-show host Ellen DeGeneres to politician John Baird, stood up to help LGBT youth know that they are not alone.

Rick Mercer, of CBC’s *The Rick Mercer Report*, joined the campaign and contributed a video rant supporting LGBT teens. But after Ottawa teen Jamie Hubley committed suicide in 2011, Mercer created another rant that was more serious. He said that all of us have a responsibility to stop the bullying now, and that LGBT people in the public eye need to be role models by coming out publicly. (Mercer had already come out in 2003.) The rant video went viral, and the resulting social media discussion went on for weeks.

**Historical Significance:** In your opinion, what makes social media powerful? How are they changing Canada? Is the development of social media historically significant? How could you use social media to create positive change about an issue that matters to you?

**Figure 1–31** Nominee and presenter Rick Mercer signs autographs for fans at the Gemini Awards in Toronto in 2011. Why do celebrities have such power to influence us? Do they have a responsibility to speak up and be role models?



## From Peacekeepers to Peacemakers

Many people, both in and outside Canada, view this country as a nation of peacekeepers. Jim Travers, a political columnist with the *Toronto Star*, captured this idea when he spoke at a forum on peacekeeping: “Peacekeeping ranks up there with hockey . . . it is important in our self-definition.”

It was a Canadian idea. Lester B. Pearson, who became prime minister in 1963, proposed the idea to the United Nations in 1956. As it started out, peacekeepers helped two warring countries move from a state of war to a state of peace. Sometimes this involved mediating. Sometimes it meant establishing a buffer zone between the two warring parties. Canadians took pride in this new approach that favoured mediation over force.

For more than 30 years, the vision of Canadian Forces as peacekeepers was accurate. From 1956 to 1990, Canada participated in all UN peacekeeping missions. But in the 1990s, the nature of peacekeeping was changing. More and more missions involved peacekeepers in civil conflicts *within* countries instead of *between* countries.

Keeping the peace became much more dangerous. Sometimes one party would decide that the peacekeepers were siding with the other party and would attack them. In the 1990s, for example, peacekeepers in the former Yugoslavia were forced to fight back against armed attacks. In Rwanda, in 1994, it was even worse. Peacekeepers under the command of Canadian general Roméo Dallaire were powerless to stop a genocide.

Canada is one of 47 countries that sent forces to Afghanistan in 2001. Though this mission was approved by the United Nations Security Council, it was led by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). The assignment was not a peacekeeping mission. Instead, it was a *peacemaking* mission. Canadian forces fought militia of a fundamentalist Muslim movement called the Taliban. Canada tried to maintain the peace in Afghanistan until 2011, and remained to train Afghan forces until 2014.

**Historical Significance:** What’s the difference between “peacekeeping” and “peacemaking”? For Canadians, was the decision to use Canadian forces in Afghanistan historically significant? How might this decision affect ideas about Canadian identity?

## Voices

Very few countries took peacekeeping as seriously as Canada. Other Western powers saw it as a nuisance, or at best an opportunity to influence events to advance their own interests.

— Carol Off, journalist, in *The Ghosts of Medak Pocket*, 2004

### Check Forward

You will read more about peacekeeping and peacemaking in Chapter 5.

**Figure 1–32** Canada’s Peacekeeping Record

What does the data tell you about Canada’s role as peacekeepers?

Number of Canadians who served on UN peacekeeping missions, 1956–2011	125 000
Number of Canadian peacekeepers killed	125
Canada’s most extensive peacekeeping mission	1600 (in former Yugoslavia — 1990s)
Number of Canadians serving as peacekeepers worldwide (March 31, 2014)	122

## Recall . . . Reflect . . . Respond

- How has Canada’s economy changed over the years? What are the key trends in Canada’s economy today?
- Identify two or three major developments in science and technology that you think have most changed Canadians’ lives. Who do you think would most benefit from this development? Who wouldn’t?
- In response to the increasing incidents of cyberbullying on social media, the government introduced Bill C-13, which makes it a crime to share an intimate image of an individual without his or her consent. In your opinion, will a law like this work? Or is the influence of social media too strong?
- Explain how trends in the economy, science and technology, social media, or Canada’s international role are likely to affect Canadian identity.



# Chapter 1 Review

## Knowledge, Understanding, and Thinking

1. Is Canada a country, an ethnic nation, or a civic nation? (It can be more than one.) In your answer, show that you understand what these terms mean.
2. How can a trend, event, or development that is affecting Canada or Canadians also affect Canadian identity? Use an example to explain your answer.
3. Identify five events, trends, or developments that have affected Canada as well as Canadian identity since 1982. Rank them according to their level of impact. Provide reasons to explain your rankings.
4. Why might one event, trend, or development be more significant for one group of Canadians than another? Include an example.
5. Is there “a” Canadian identity? Explain why or why not.
6. Describe your version of Canadian identity.

## Communicating and Applying

7. Do religious groups have an effect on Canadian identity? To answer that question, draw on your experience in your own community as follows.
  - a) How is the variety of religions represented in your community changing?
  - b) How are schools and other institutions in your community making accommodations for a variety of religious practices?
  - c) To what extent are Canadians in your community accepting and respectful of other Canadians’ religious beliefs?
  - d) What is the influence of religious leaders in your community?
  - e) How do religious organizations help people in your community have a sense of belonging?
  - f) How do religious organizations influence Canadian identity?

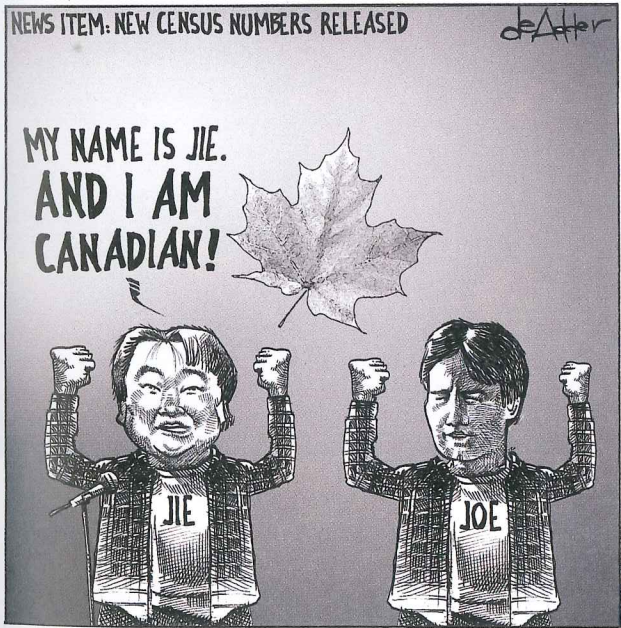
8. **Historical Significance:** When relating the stories of past events, historians cannot include everything that happened — nor can the writers of educational resources. The authors must make choices, and these choices are often made on the basis of historical significance. A person, event, or development becomes historically significant when it has affected the lives of many people and its effects are long lasting. With a partner, consider the choices you would make in response to the following questions.
  - a) Which of the events or developments explored in this chapter do you believe will prove to be the most historically significant? Record the criteria you used to make your choice.
  - b) Judgments about historical significance may vary over time. How might the significance of the events or developments you selected be viewed differently 10 years from now?
  - c) What is judged significant may depend on an individual’s or a group’s perspective. Create a T-chart like the one shown below. Select any event or development from this chapter. Then answer the question in the chart from the perspectives of a Canadian who lives in Canada and a non-Canadian who does not live in Canada; that is, imagine how they would respond.

Event: _____	
Is It Historically Significant?	
The perspective of a Canadian:	The perspective of a non-Canadian:

9. **Evidence:** Cartoonist Michael de Adder drew the cartoon in Figure 1–33 in 2008, soon after demographers at Statistics Canada released census figures showing that members of visible-minority groups made up 16.2 per cent of Canada’s population and that 41 per cent of immigrants were born in Asia and the Middle East.
  - a) Describe exactly what you see in the cartoon. Include all details.
  - b) Analyze why de Adder included each component of the cartoon, that is, the names on the shirts, the way the characters are standing, and so on.
  - c) What was de Adder’s message about Canadian identity?
  - d) What does the cartoon say about de Adder?
  - e) How does de Adder’s cartoon represent ways that Canadian identity has stayed the same over time? What does it say about the ways that Canadian identity has changed over time?

Figure 1–33 A 2008 Michael de Adder Editorial Cartoon

This cartoon plays on a beer commercial at the time in which a Canadian named Joe proudly proclaims, “I am Canadian.”



10. **Historical Perspective:** In *A History of the Canadian Peoples*, historian J.M. Bumsted wrote: “On every international indicator of quality of life — such as health standards, cultural achievements, infrastructure . . . political rights, and civil liberties — Canada continues to rank at or near the top. The statistics confirm what Canadians themselves instinctively knew: Canada is a great country and a good place to live.”
  - a) Create a mind map with “Canada” at the centre. In bubbles around this central bubble, write words or phrases that you think represent what Bumsted meant when he wrote “Canada is a great country and a good place to live.”
  - b) Imagine that you are a laid-off autoworker, a Québécois, an Ontario Francophone, a worker in Alberta’s oil patch, or someone else who might have been affected by the events and issues explored in this chapter. Decide whether the person you chose would agree with Bumsted’s judgment. Explain your response.
11. **Evidence:** Nurjehan Mawani is a lawyer who focuses on human rights. Mawani told a conference on diversity: “The subject [of defining Canadian identity] is a unifying national pastime, inviting endless analysis in the media, in literature, and in policy discussions. Canadian identity is hard to define precisely because we Canadians are always maintaining a delicate balance. We must constantly manage the tension between the forces of cultural diversity and the need for national unity.”
  - a) In your own words, explain what Mawani is saying.
  - b) In your opinion, is Canadians’ obsession with their national identity something negative? Or does this kind of self-analysis actually reflect something positive about Canada? What does our obsession say about Canada?
12. Decide on a topic for an awareness campaign or political demonstration that you believe will help create the Canada of your dreams. Create a plan for your team to help make your campaign or event a success. In it, explain how the action will benefit Canadians. Explain whose opinion you will try to change, what message you want to communicate, and how you will communicate that message.