

CHAPTER 1 Nation and Identity



Figure 1-1 Canadian artist and filmmaker Joyce Wieland, shown at right, created this quilt, called *Confedspread*, for Expo 67, Canada's coming-of-age party. This world's fair, which took place in 1967 in Montréal, commemorated the 100th anniversary of Confederation. The celebration filled many Canadians with pride and marked a particularly optimistic time in Canadian history.

CHAPTER ISSUE

To what extent are nation and identity related?

JOYCE WIELAND WAS A PROLIFIC CANADIAN ARTIST in the prime of her career when she created *Confedspread*, the quilt shown on the previous page. Wieland was proud of her reputation as a cultural activist who both celebrated the Canadian identity and highlighted women's issues at a time when the art world was dominated by men.

Examine *Confedspread* carefully, then respond to the following questions:

- What words did Wieland combine to form the title of the quilt?
- What elements of Wieland's quilt symbolize her pride in her Canadian identity?
- What elements of the quilt represent the Canadian landscape?
- If you removed the flags from Wieland's quilt, would it still represent nation and identity for Canadians?
- How did Wieland's choice to represent her feelings in the form of a quilt make a statement about her identity?
- If you were preparing a similar piece to represent your collective and individual identity in Canada today, what would you include? How would these choices represent your ideas about Canada?
- What would you need to add to the quilt to reflect your identity in Canada?

KEY TERMS

nation-state

international

patriotism

ethnic

self-determination

sovereignty

civic nation

ethnic nationalism

LOOKING AHEAD

In this chapter, you will develop responses to the following questions as you explore the extent to which identity and nation are related:

- What are some concepts of nation?
- What are some understandings of nation?
- How can nation be understood as a civic concept?
- How do people express their identity through nation?

My Journal on Nationalism

Follow Joyce Wieland's example and use words or images — or both — to express your current ideas about nation and identity. Date your ideas and keep them in a notebook, learning log, portfolio, or computer file so that you can return to them as you progress through this course.

WHAT ARE SOME CONCEPTS OF NATION?

When people talk about nation, they often mean different things. Some people, for example, view “country” and “nation” as synonyms. Others think the two words mean different things. They believe that a country is defined by physical territory that is managed by a central government, while the idea of nation has nothing to do with physical borders or a government. They believe that “nation” refers to a shared state of mind or shared characteristics such as beliefs, language, religion, traditions, cultures, and customs.

➡ What does “nation” mean to you? What are some words that describe your concept of nation? Does your concept of nation involve physical borders or a state of mind — or both?

Are military monuments such as the Canadian National Vimy Memorial appropriate symbols of nationhood?



Nation as Us

“Every nation has a creation story to tell.” With these words, Canadian prime minister Stephen Harper began his speech to 15 000 people — dignitaries, soldiers, students, and civilians — who had gathered in France on April 9, 2007, for the ceremony rededicating the Canadian National Vimy Memorial.

The occasion marked the 90th anniversary of the Battle of Vimy Ridge, which took place on April 9, 1917, during World War I. Until then, Canadian soldiers had always fought with British forces. At Vimy, they fought together under a Canadian commander for the first time — and won a vital military position that the armies of Britain and France had failed to capture.

For many Canadians, the victory was an achievement that symbolized the country’s coming of age as a nation. Vimy gave many people a sense that when Canadians united, they could tackle, and achieve, great things. It gave Canadians a pride in “us” — and many Canadians continue to feel this pride today.

➡ Do you agree with Prime Minister Harper’s view that Vimy represents Canada’s “creation story”? Think about what you know about Canadian history. What other events might contend with Vimy as Canada’s creation story?



Figure 1-2 The Vimy Memorial took 11 years to build and stands on land granted to Canada by France to use forever. Carved into the memorial are the names of 11 285 Canadian soldiers who fought in World War I but whose bodies were never found.

Figure 1-3 Métis fiddler Sierra Noble of Winnipeg played “The Warrior’s Lament” at the Vimy Memorial rededication ceremony and at other memorial events in France. Noble, who was 17 at the time, was deeply moved by the experience. “I don’t know how I didn’t start to cry,” she said later. “There was such pride to be there.”



Country and Nation

The distinction between “country” and “nation” can be confusing, especially because other widely used terms seem to suggest that the two words are synonyms. Here are some examples:

- “**Nation-state**” means “country.”
- “**International**” means “between countries or nation-states.”
- “Nationalism” means, among other things, “striving for a country.”
- Only countries can be members of the United Nations.

Although the word “nation” has been part of the English language for hundreds of years, it was originally a Latin word that meant “people” or “race.” As a result, many people believe that the concept of nation refers to people and is different from the idea of country, or nation-state.

Think about Canada, for example. Canada can be thought of as a country — or nation-state — that extends from sea to sea to sea. It has physical borders and a single federal government that manages this vast territory on behalf of the people who live here. But Canada can also be thought of as a nation made up of people who share similar values and beliefs and are passionate about affirming and promoting them. Some people believe that Canada is a multi-nation state.

➡ Do you think of Canada as merely a country — the place where you live and where everyone shares the same federal government? Or do you view Canada as your nation? Is the idea of Canada and being Canadian part of your identity?

Nation as a Concept

The study of nation as a concept began a little more than two centuries ago. Ever since, sociologists, political scientists, anthropologists, historians, and other academics have tried to understand how this idea unites — and divides — people. Many of these academics have tried to define “nation” and to develop criteria to help them decide when a nation *is* a nation. The web on this page shows some of their views. Which view(s) do you agree with?



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

Would you or the people who attended the Vimy Memorial rededication ceremony in April 2007 agree with Charles Hanley’s words in “Voices”?



Figure 1-4 Some Understandings of Nation



What makes a nation a nation? For more than 200 years, thinkers have grappled with this question. Here is how three people have responded — at three different times.



One of the first to consider what makes a nation was **JOHANN GOTTLIEB FICHTE**, a German philosopher. In the early 1800s — when Germany was not a single country but a collection of small states — Fichte wrote that a nation is defined by shared linguistic, ethnic, and cultural origins.

The first, original, and truly natural boundaries of states are beyond doubt their internal boundaries. Those who speak the same language are joined to each other by a multitude of invisible bonds . . . ; they understand each other and . . . they belong together and are by nature one and an inseparable whole . . . From this internal boundary, which is drawn by the spiritual nature of man himself, the marking of the external boundary by dwelling place results . . . and in the natural view of things it is not because men dwell between certain mountains and rivers that they are a people, but . . . men dwell together . . . because they were a people already by a law of nature which is much higher.



ERNEST RENAN was a 19th-century French philosopher who believed that the concept of nation includes, but goes beyond, the idea of shared roots.

A nation is a soul, a spiritual principle. Two things, which in truth are but one, constitute this soul or spiritual principle. One lies in the past, one in the present. One is the possession in common of a rich legacy of memories; the other is present-day consent, the desire to live together, the will to perpetuate the value of the heritage that one has received in an undivided form. Man . . . does not improvise . . . To have common glories in the past and to have a common will in the present; to have performed great deeds together, to wish to perform still more — these are the essential conditions for being a people.



BENEDICT ANDERSON is an Irish specialist in international studies. In *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Anderson envisions a nation as an imagined political community. This description is often used today.

[Nation] is an imagined political community — and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign.

It is *imagined* because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion . . .

The nation is imagined as *limited* because even the largest of them encompassing perhaps a billion living human beings, has finite, if elastic boundaries, beyond which lie other nations . . .

It is imagined as *sovereign* because the concept was born in an age in which Enlightenment and Revolution were destroying the legitimacy of the divinely ordained, hierarchical dynastic realm . . . The gauge and emblem of this freedom is the sovereign state.

Finally, it is imagined as a *community*, because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship.

Explorations

1. Which description most accurately and completely describes your understanding of nation? Explain the reasons for your choice.
2. Which description do you think most accurately describes your understanding of Canada? Explain the reasons for your choice. Is this choice different from the one you made in response to Question 1? Explain why or why not.

Nation as a Collective Concept

When Johann Gottlieb Fichte, Ernest Renan, and Benedict Anderson — the thinkers quoted in “The View from Here” — wrote about nation, they used expressions such as “an inseparable whole,” “common glories,” “common will,” and “community.” These words and phrases suggest that the idea of a collective — or group — identity underlies the concept of nation.

Think about the groups and collectives you belong to. They may start with your family and school, and extend to many other collectives, including linguistic, religious, and social collectives. Though not all these collectives form the basis of a nation, thinkers agree that a sense of collective identity is essential to a sense of nation.

Paying attention to language can help you identify the collective aspect of nation. When retelling the tale of Snow White, for example, Arthur Quiller-Couch wrote: “As soon as the palace guns announced [the birth of a daughter], the whole nation went wild with delight . . . Even strangers meeting in the street fell upon each other’s neck, exclaiming: ‘Our Queen has a daughter! Yes, yes — Our Queen has a daughter! Long live the little Princess!’”

➔ Quiller-Couch’s description is revealing in two ways. First, think about why he used the phrase “the whole nation.” Did he mean a government? A territory? The people? Then examine how Quiller-Couch described people’s words about the queen. Strangers greeted one another saying “our queen,” not “the queen” or “my queen.” What does this choice of words suggest about the links between nation and collective identity?

Using terms like “we,” “us,” and “our” shows that people are thinking collectively. As you continue your exploration of nation and nationalism, watch for collective language like this.



An English lady on the Rhine [a river in Germany], hearing a German speaking of her party [of English visitors] as foreigners, exclaimed, “No, we are not foreigners; we are English; it is you that are foreigners.”

— Ralph Waldo Emerson, *American writer and philosopher, commenting in the early 20th century on the traits of the English*

Does using collective language like “we,” “us,” and “our” automatically place people in opposition to “them”?



Figure 1-5 Hockey fans like these, who were attending an NHL playoff game in Calgary, sometimes describe themselves collectively as the “Flames nation” or “Oilers nation.” When they do this, what collective identity are they expressing? Is this an appropriate use of the term “nation”?



VOICES



I love America more than any other country in this world: and exactly for this reason, I insist on the right to criticize her perpetually.

— James Baldwin, American writer, in *Notes of a Native Son*, 1955

Nation as a Patriotic Concept

Many of the thousands of Canadians who attended the Vimy Memorial rededication ceremony in April 2007 were expressing their **patriotism** — love of their country. They were also commemorating the patriotism of the soldiers who fought, and especially those who died, in World War I.

People express patriotism in different ways. James Baldwin, for example, whose words are quoted in “Voices,” was a black American. Baldwin expressed his patriotism by criticizing American society.

➔ To be patriotic, is it necessary to support everything your nation does? Can speaking out against a situation be, as James Baldwin points out in “Voices,” an important aspect of patriotism?

One Expression of Patriotism

In 2007, Historica, an organization dedicated to exploring Canadian history, posted a patriotism-related question on its online forum. The question asked high school students whether they would die for their country.

The response was mixed. “No, I would not die for my country!!!” wrote Lesley M of Corner Brook, Newfoundland and Labrador. “I would protest and argue and discuss and get royally angry for my country. I don’t really want to die for it. Dying seems a bit counterproductive to me.”

But Robert R of Oshawa, Ontario, said, “Yes, I would die for my country. I love my country and every Canadian citizen. To me, Canada is one of the greatest countries in the world.”

And Susan M of Marystown, Newfoundland and Labrador, said that her response would not necessarily be clear cut. “For me the answer would depend on the circumstances. If I was fighting for my country for a cause I believe in, I wouldn’t mind dying for Canada,” she wrote. “However, if the cause we were fighting for was something that I didn’t believe in, I would not be willing to die for my country. As I said, it all depends on the circumstances.”

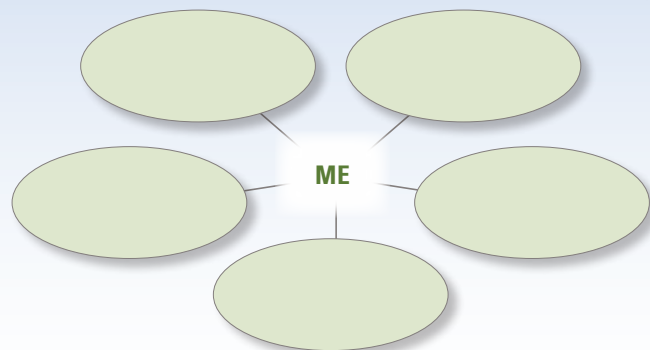
Is dying for one’s nation the highest expression of patriotism?



Reflect and Respond

Think about the understandings of nation that you have encountered so far — and which of these understandings most effectively express your own ideas. Jot down some of your ideas.

Then create a mind map with yourself at the centre. Organize your ideas in bubbles around this centre. Use size, colour, and shape to highlight the understandings of nation that are most important to your identity. Add a legend to explain your use of size, shape, and colour.



WHAT ARE SOME UNDERSTANDINGS OF NATION?

Peter Russell, a Canadian constitutional expert, believes that the term “nation” refers collectively to a people rather than to a country. “[The word ‘nation’] has a long, pre-modern existence as a term to designate a people who have an identifiable culture, history, language, etc.,” Russell told an interviewer.

Like Russell, many scholars believe that people with a similar worldview and ideas about themselves make up a nation. These collective ideas can develop from shared linguistic, ethnic, cultural, religious, spiritual, geographic, and political understandings.

Linguistic Understandings of Nation

Experts estimate that English is the first language of more than 380 million people around the world. But few would suggest that the world’s English speakers make up a single nation. Still, as Johann Gottlieb Fichte pointed out in “The View from Here,” a common language can sometimes create a feeling of belonging so powerful that it inspires a sense of nation.

Samuel Johnson, the 18th-century English writer who compiled the first English dictionary, said, “Languages are the pedigrees of nations.” Johnson’s words express many people’s belief that language helps create a shared worldview that gives people a sense of nation. Language plays an important role in creating the mindset of a distinct people, because language influences how people see the world. It creates a mental universe that is shared by the people who speak a language fluently.

This linguistic understanding of nation is very strong in Québec. The feeling of belonging to a linguistic nation is shared by Francophones across Canada. In Québec, French is the first language of more than 80 per cent of people. Many Québécois also share a history and cultural roots: their ancestors immigrated from northern France in the 17th and 18th centuries. In many cases, they also share a religion: Catholicism.

In recent years, many Francophones from countries such as Haiti, Lebanon, and Vietnam, where French is either an official language or widely spoken, have immigrated to Québec. These immigrants do not share a common cultural background with Francophones whose families have lived in Québec for generations, but they have swelled the number of people whose first language is French.

In November 2006, the Conservative government of Prime Minister Stephen Harper created a sensation when it passed a motion recognizing that “the Québécois form a nation within a united Canada.” The carefully worded motion referred to Québécois — the people — rather than to Québec — the geographic and political entity.

➡ Why do you suppose Harper chose to call the Québécois, but not Québec, a nation? How significant is Harper’s distinction between Québécois and Québec?

FYI

Tremblay is the most common last name in Québec, where most Tremblays are descended from a 17th-century couple who married and had 10 children. But this situation is changing as more and more Francophone immigrants from countries such as Vietnam make new homes in Québec. In Montréal, Québec’s largest city, statisticians predicted in 2007 that people named Nguyen — a common Vietnamese last name — may soon outnumber Tremblays.



Figure 1-6 Every year, Québécois celebrate Fête nationale on June 24. This holiday originally combined summer solstice celebrations with a Catholic festival marking the feast day of St-Jean-Baptiste, who is considered the patron saint of French Canada. In 1977, the Québec government officially named this holiday Fête nationale. What difference might this change make to the way this festival is celebrated? What is the significance of the word “nationale” in the name of this holiday?

VOICES



Koreans have developed a sense of nation based on shared blood and ancestry. The Korean nation was “racialized” through a belief in a common prehistoric origin, producing an intense sense of collective oneness. Koreans . . . believe that they all belong to a “unitary nation” (*danil minjok*), one that is ethnically homogenous and racially distinctive.

— *Gi-Wook Shin, a director at the Walter H. Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center, 2006*

Figure 1-7 This Korean woman is walking past a street vendor in Seoul, the capital of South Korea. Each of the people in this photograph is a distinct individual, yet most share certain ethnic characteristics, such as language and customs. What might be the benefits of living in a community with people who share these characteristics?



Ethnic Understandings of Nation

If someone mentioned the Ukrainian nation, you would probably conclude that she or he was talking about people who live in the European country of Ukraine and whose language, culture, and ancestors are Ukrainian. Although many people of Ukrainian heritage, including many Albertans, do not live in Ukraine, and although some citizens of Ukraine are not of Ukrainian heritage, your conclusion would be generally accurate. Many nations come into being because people share the same **ethnic** — racial, cultural, or linguistic — characteristics. The Korean, Japanese, Somali, and Norwegian nations, for example, are based largely on ethnicity.

Many people support the idea of basing nation on a common ethnicity because they believe that this will protect a people’s collective identity. But others believe that this idea is dangerous because people may come to loathe and fear people they think of as “other.” In extreme cases, this can lead to racism and intolerance.

Cultural Understandings of Nation

Culture — the ways of life that a people share — can also inspire a sense of nation. The cultural aspects of nation are often closely related to ethnicity, but this is not always the case. In Canada, for example, the cultures of First Nations are often distinct from one another. The culture of the Haida people, whose traditional territory is on the West Coast, is different from the cultures of First Nations of the Prairies.



Figure 1-8 Nicole Nicholas (left) is a Haida teenager who grew up in British Columbia, where her people created totem poles as a form of spiritual, cultural, and artistic expression. Joe Big Tobacco (right) is a Siksika, shown dancing at a powwow sponsored by the Blackfoot Canadian Cultural Society. These young people share an Aboriginal heritage, but they are from different areas with distinct cultural traditions that have been shaped, in part, by the land they inhabit.

Religious Understandings of Nation

Religion can also form an important understanding of nation. The Jewish nation, for example, has existed for about 3000 years. For most of this time, Jews did not have a territory of their own. Then, in 1948, the country of Israel officially came into being.

Though Jewish communities had existed in various countries around the world, communication between them was limited by both geography and politics. As a result, these various Jewish communities often developed their own distinct culture and language. Jews might speak, for example, Hebrew, Yiddish, Ladino, and other languages. Despite these differences, the Jewish sense of nation survived, at least to some extent, as a result of people's shared religious beliefs.

Geographic Understandings of Nation

Compare a political map of the world with a relief map, and you will see — in broad terms — the effects of geography on the development of nations. Mountains, oceans, and deserts are physical barriers that often forced peoples to develop in isolation from other peoples. Take Tibet, for example. For thousands of years, Tibetans were isolated on the vast Tibetan plateau. As a result, they developed a distinct language and culture, as well as religious beliefs and their own forms of government.

➔ Examine the map of Tibet in Figure 1-10. What physical features isolated the people of the Tibetan plateau? How might this isolation have influenced Tibetans' collective identity as expressed through their language, culture, religion, and forms of government?



Israel is the very embodiment of Jewish continuity: It is the only nation on earth that inhabits the same land, bears the same name, speaks the same language, and worships the same God that it did 3000 years ago. You dig the soil and you find pottery from Davidic times, coins from Bar Kokhba, and 2000-year-old scrolls written in a script remarkably like the one that today advertises ice cream at the corner candy store.

— Charles Krauthammer, Pulitzer Prize-winning political commentator, 1998

Figure 1-9 On July 1, 2006, the Qinghai–Tibet Railway carried its first passengers between Golmud, in the Chinese province of Qinghai, and Lhasa, the capital of Tibet. In its first year, this rail line transported more than 1.5 million people into Tibet. How might this development affect the collective identity of Tibetans?

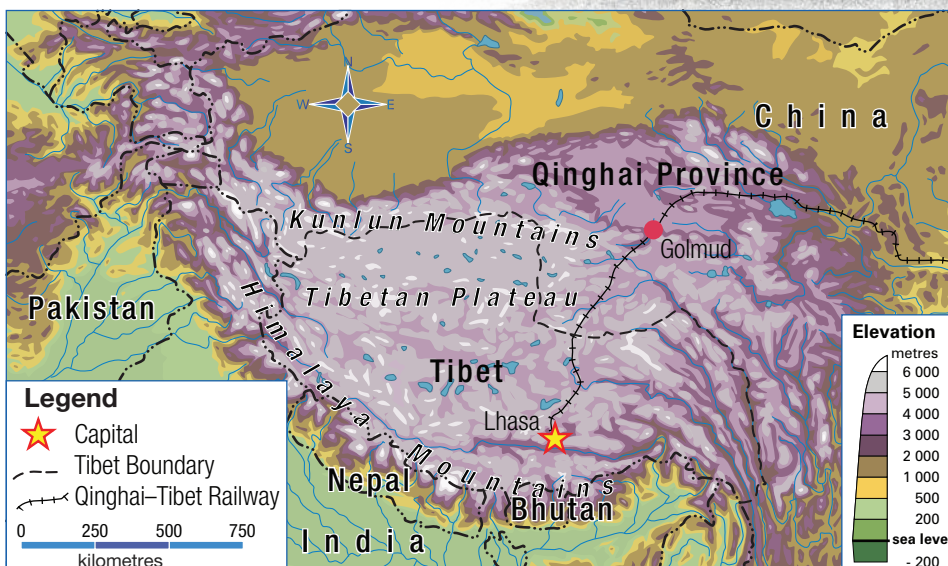
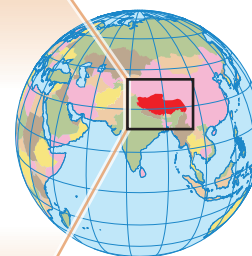


Figure 1-10 Tibet





NOT JUST A PLATFORM FOR MY DANCE

this land is not
just a place to set my house my car
my fence

this land is not
just a plot to bury my dead my seed

this land is
my tongue my eyes my mouth

this headstrong grass and relenting
willow

these flat-footed fields and
applauding leaves

these frank winds and
electric sky

are my prayer
they are my medicine
and they become my song

this land is not
just a platform for my dance

— Marilyn Dumont, Métis poet, in *A Really Good Brown Girl*, 1996

Nation and Relationship to Land

Land can influence the development of nations in ways that go far beyond the isolation created by geographic barriers. Different geographic areas, for example, provide different resources, which influence the way people live. What are some geographic influences that affect your life?

“Spirit of place” is a phrase that is often used to describe the spiritual connection between human beings and a particular place. In *Nitsitapiisinni: The Story of the Blackfoot People*, the writers described the unique relationship between the Siksika people and their traditional territory, which lies east of the Rocky Mountains in what is now southern Alberta and Saskatchewan and the American state of Montana:

Our sacred sites are places where significant things happened to our ancestors. This is where the ancient stories took place. These sites are uniquely important to us. They tell us that our ancient stories are true. They tell us that we belong to this place in a way that no other human being can.

Our sacred geography shows us our path through life. By following this path, our people will live long and productive lives.

Examine the preceding quotation, as well as Figure 1-11 and Marilyn Dumont’s poem. With a partner, create a graphic organizer or another image to depict the connections between geography and people’s relationship to the land.

Spiritual Understandings of Nation

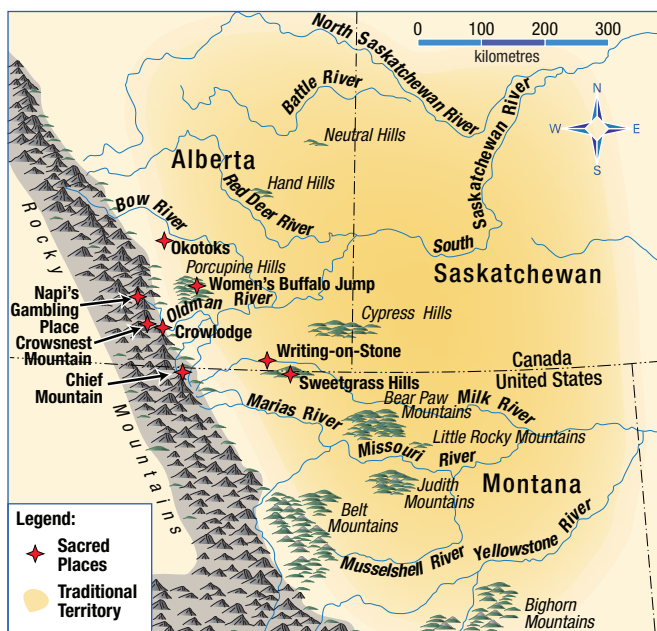
A people’s relationship with the land is sometimes bound up with spiritual connections that unite them. Southern Alberta and Saskatchewan, as well as northern Montana, for example, contain many sites that are sacred to Siksika. These sites help bind people to the land and are an important aspect of their spiritual identity.

Spiritual ties also connect Jews, Christians, and Muslims to the city of Jerusalem. For people of all three faiths, Jerusalem is a holy city.

Jerusalem’s Temple Mount, for example, is the holiest Jewish religious site. Two ancient temples stood on this site. Many important Jewish religious traditions are associated with these temples, which were destroyed by warfare. Jews believe that a third temple will be built on the site when the Messiah — the promised deliverer of Jews — arrives on Earth.

The Temple Mount is also important to Christians because New Testament stories describe the association of Jesus with the Jewish temple that was located there. And the site is sacred to Muslims, who call it “Noble Sanctuary.” Long after the Jewish temples had been destroyed, two Muslim religious shrines, the Dome of the Rock and the Al-Aqsa Mosque, were built there.

Figure 1-11 Siksika Sacred Places



Political Understandings of Nation

In 1965, the United Nations General Assembly was debating what to do about the Chinese takeover of Tibet. The takeover had started in 1949, and Tibetans had been living under Chinese control for about 15 years.

The debate revolved around whether Tibet was a nation. During the discussion, Frank Aiken, the Irish ambassador to the UN, argued that Tibet was indeed a nation. As proof, he cited Tibetan history: “For thousands of years, or for a couple of thousand years at any rate, [Tibet] was as free and as fully in control of its own affairs as any nation in this Assembly.”

Aiken’s criterion was political. He reasoned that if Tibetans had controlled their own political affairs for thousands of years, then Tibet must be a nation. This view is shared by many. They believe that when deciding whether a people are a nation, the *desire* for **self-determination** — the power to control one’s own affairs — is an important consideration. This consideration may be more important than actual **sovereignty** — the political authority to control one’s own affairs.

➔ If they do not have sovereignty, do Tibetans have the right to call themselves a nation?

In 1975, the Dene Nation of the Northwest Territories expressed this idea in a declaration. The declaration insisted on the right of the Dene to be regarded by the world as a nation. The declaration also said:

The Dene find themselves as part of a country. That country is Canada. But the Government of Canada is not the Government of the Dene. The Government of the N.W.T. is not the government of the Dene. These governments were not the choice of the Dene, they were imposed on the Dene . . .

Our plea to the world is to help us in our struggle to find a place in the world community where we can exercise our right to self-determination as a distinct people and as a Nation.

What we seek then is independence and self-determination within the country of Canada.

Web Connection



Many Tibetans believe that their nation is an independent country and have set up a government in exile. To find out more about Tibet and its government in exile, go to this web site and follow the links.

www.ExploringNationalism.ca



The Métis Nation, as an Indigenous peoples, developed its own identity, language, culture, way of life, and self-government prior to Canada’s crystallization as a nation-state . . . Based on this existence, the Métis Nation possesses the inherent right of self-determination and self-government.

— Clément Chartier, *president of the Métis Nation, in The Métis Nation, 2007*

Reflect and Respond

Create a chart like the one shown. In the first column, list the understandings of nation explored in this section. In the second column, identify one people for whom this understanding is particularly important. In the third column, rate each understanding on a scale of 1 to 5 (1 = not very important; 5 = very important).

Then choose two people you identified in the second column and think about how their rating might compare with yours. Explain the reasons for the similarities or differences.

Understandings of Nation		
Understanding	People for Whom Understanding Is Important	My Rating of Importance 1 = Not very important 5 = Very important

HOW CAN NATION BE UNDERSTOOD AS A CIVIC CONCEPT?

When did Canada become a nation? In 1867, with Confederation? In 1917, at Vimy Ridge? In 1982, when the Constitution was proclaimed? On another date? Or not yet?



An early draft of the Constitution Act, 1982, opened with the words “We, the people of Canada . . .” This phrase was later taken out, because some people disagreed with it.

➔ Consider what the deleted phrase implies — that Canada is a nation. Some people, such as Charles Hanley, who was quoted in “Voices” on page 21, disagree with the idea of Canada as a nation. What do you think? Try testing Canada against the criteria established in the previous section of this chapter. Is language, for example, a foundation of Canada? Is ethnicity? Religion? Geography?

As a result of this test, you may conclude — like Hanley — that Canada is not a nation. But other people disagree. John Ibbitson, for example, is a columnist and political commentator who believes that Canada works as a nation precisely because it is not built on any one understanding.

Ibbitson opened his 2005 book, *The Polite Revolution: Perfecting the Canadian Dream*, with these words: “Some time, not too long ago, while no one was watching, Canada became the world’s most successful country.”

Shared Values and Beliefs Expressed in Law

The Charter of Rights and Freedoms forms the first 34 clauses of Canada’s Constitution. The Charter begins with these words: “Whereas Canada is founded upon principles that recognize the supremacy of God and the rule of law . . .”

The phrase “rule of law” is important because laws reflect the kind of society that people want to live in. Laws can be rules about littering, speeding on roads, and committing serious crimes, but they can also go much farther — and in the Canadian Constitution, they do. They express the values and beliefs that Canadians choose to embrace and agree to abide by as a condition of citizenship.

These values and beliefs are enshrined — included so that they will always be preserved and protected — in the Constitution so that they cannot be changed by a simple act of Parliament. Changing the Constitution is a complicated process that requires widespread agreement. Why do you suppose the complex amending process was set up?

The fundamental freedoms set out in Section 2 of the Charter express the foundational values and beliefs of Canadians. When people, no matter what their ethnicity, culture, and language, agree to live according to particular values and beliefs expressed as laws, they have created a **civic nation**.

Web connection



To find out more about the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, go to this web site and follow the links.

www.ExploringNationalism.ca

Figure 1-12 Charter of Rights and Freedoms

Section 2 Fundamental Freedoms

2. Everyone has the following fundamental freedoms:
- freedom of conscience and religion;
 - freedom of thought, belief, opinion and expression, including freedom of the press and other media of communication;
 - freedom of peaceful assembly; and
 - freedom of association.

The Making of a Civic Nation

“Civic” is an adjective that refers to citizens, who are a key element of a civic nation. “Civic government” refers to government by citizens, and “civic involvement” refers to the involvement of citizens. Your community, for example, may have a publicly funded civic centre, a place where citizens can participate in local government and take part in public events.

One understanding of the concept of civic nation combines two key elements: citizens — and their shared values and beliefs. A civic nation emerges from the choice of citizens to live together according to shared principles. A civic nation-state gives people the opportunity to live together under laws that reflect their shared values and beliefs and a similar worldview. When they do this successfully, they become a civic nation.

People agree to abide by shared laws.

Mutual respect for laws enables people to live together peacefully.

This is what politician, political scientist, and historian Michael Ignatieff believes. In his book *Blood and Belonging*, Ignatieff wrote: “[Civic nationalism] maintains that the nation should be composed of all those — regardless of race, colour, creed, 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.”

Canada as a Civic Nation

Canadians do not share a religion, spiritual beliefs, language, ethnicity, or culture — but in a civic nation-state, these commonalities may not matter. The only important criterion may be, as Ignatieff wrote, an agreement to live together according to certain rules.

In *The Polite Revolution*, John Ibbitson suggested that Canadians’ choice to live together as a civic nation is the reason the myth — even the joke — of Canadian politeness has arisen. But he also said that, joke or not, this politeness is at the core of what Canadians are. “It is the means by which we accommodate each other,” he wrote. “It is the secret recipe for a nation of different cultures, languages and customs whose citizens all get along. Canadians have used politeness to foment a social revolution. And from that revolution our Canada has emerged — young, creative, polyglot, open-minded, forward-looking, fabulous.”

➡ Do you agree with Ibbitson’s portrayal of Canada as a civic nation? Explain your response.



Ethnic nationalism claims . . . that an individual’s deepest attachments are inherited, not chosen. It is the national community that defines the individual, not the individuals who define the national community.

— Michael Ignatieff, politician, political scientist, and historian, in *Blood and Belonging: Journeys into the New Nationalism*, 1995

Figure 1-13 A Hindu woman carries a Québec flag as she marches in a Canada Day parade in Montréal. On the basis of this photograph, what conclusion might you draw about the idea of Canada as a civic nation?





Civic nationalism — of the French, British, and American type — defines the nation not in terms of ethnicity but in terms of willingness to adhere to its civic values. Allegiance is essentially directed toward the state and its civic institutions and values. Ethnic nationalism — of the German and Polish type — defines the nation in terms of ethnic origins and birth. Allegiance is directed primarily at the nation, at the traditions, values, and cultures incarnated in a people's history.

— Michael Ignatieff, politician, political scientist, and historian, in *Blood and Belonging: Journeys into the New Nationalism*, 1995

Nation and Nation-State

One understanding of the term “civic nationalism” suggests that a sense of nation emerges from the creation of a nation-state. When a people or a number of peoples choose to live together according to certain laws, a nation emerges — and the character of this nation evolves over time.

Britain is an example of a civic nation that has emerged this way. Britain began as a nation-state made up of four nations: the Irish, Scottish, English, and Welsh peoples. Today, people of these four nations continue to live within the British nation-state, or country, but immigrants from other nations are also included. All these peoples form a British civic nation on the basis of shared values and beliefs, as well as other common ground that has evolved over time.

➔ Compare your understanding of Canada with the model of the British civic nation. How is the idea of Canada as a civic nation similar to — or different from — the British model?

Civic nationalism is different from **ethnic nationalism**, which is founded on shared ethnicity, culture, and language. In the early 19th century, for example, German-speaking peoples lived in a number of relatively small kingdoms, duchies, principalities, and city states. But supporters of the idea of a single German nation-state believed that the German nation consisted of all people of German descent, including those living in Czechoslovakia, Austria, Switzerland, and elsewhere. In 1871, people in the small German-speaking states, such as Bavaria, Prussia and Saxony, united to form the nation-state of Germany.

How Forms of Nationalism Emerge

Ethnic Nationalism

Pre-existing characteristics or traditions lead to a shared sense of nation.



The people may then create a nation-state if they choose to live together with others who share their sense of nation.

Civic Nationalism

A group of people or peoples choose to live together in a nation-state according to shared values and beliefs, often expressed in a constitution.



The characteristics of the nation evolve over time, as common beliefs and values enable people to respect their differences.

Reflect and Respond

Think about the idea of a civic nation. Which comes first, the nation-state or the nation? Are they the same thing? Do they exist at the same time?

Use Canada and another nation-state as examples to support your response.

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk

Founding the Turkish Nation

During World War I, the Ottoman Empire, which was ruled by a Turkish sultan, fought on the side of Germany. When the war ended in victory for the Allies, the sultan surrendered. Control of Ottoman territories, including large parts of present-day Turkey, was parcelled out to Britain, France, Greece, and Italy.

The sultan agreed to the peace settlement — but other Turks did not. One of those who disagreed was Mustafa Kemal.

During the war, Kemal had successfully led Turkish troops in resisting an Allied invasion at Gallipoli. For this exploit and others, Turks viewed him as a hero. Kemal envisioned Turkey as a new nation: an independent republic controlled by the people rather than by sultans, religious leaders, and foreign countries.

Kemal’s charismatic style drew many Turks to his cause, and in 1919, the Turkish War of Independence began. This struggle lasted three years, but by 1922, all foreign troops, as well as the sultan, had fled the country.

Kemal was elected president, a position he held till his death in 1938. He and his supporters set about transforming Turkey into a nation whose people’s values were similar to those of many European countries.

- All Turkish citizens were granted the right to vote.
- Old Ottoman laws, which had been based on religious laws, were replaced by new laws.
- Traditional dress was discouraged, and European-style dress was required in public.
- Women gained the same political and social rights as men.
- Turkish became the country’s official language — and Turkish script was changed to an alphabet more like the Roman letters used in European languages.
- An education system designed to promote tolerance was developed.

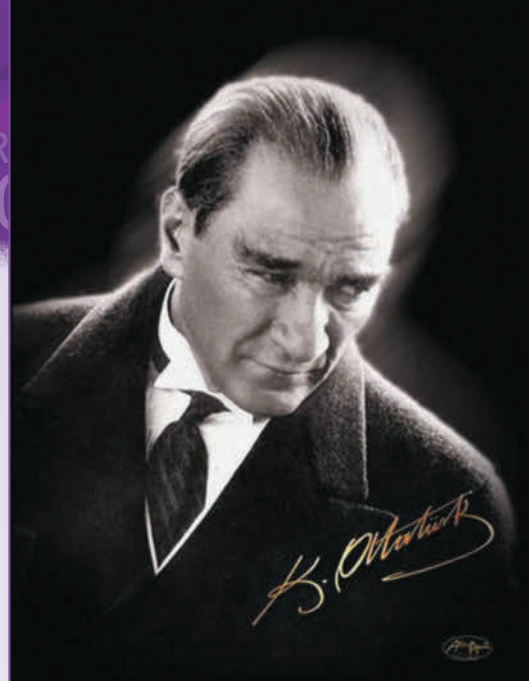


Figure 1-14 The Turkish people revered Mustafa Kemal so much that they gave him an additional last name: Atatürk, which means “father of the Turks.” Atatürk once said “My biggest success is the Turkish Republic.”

Kemal also believed that the Turkish republic should exist in peace alongside other nations. Many Turks view his greatest achievement as encouraging them to switch their loyalty from a ruler to their nation.

In 1927, Kemal gave a famous speech designed to arouse the patriotism of Turkish young people. Here are some of his words:

Turkish youth!

Your first duty is to project and preserve the Turkish independence and the Turkish Republic forever. This is the very foundation of your existence and your future. This foundation is your most precious treasure . . . Youth of Turkey’s future, even in [terrible] circumstances, it is your duty to save the Turkish independence and republic. You will find the strength you need in your noble blood.

Explorations

1. In your own words, explain the meaning of the words on the sign depicted in the poster in Figure 1-14: This is how we established the republic.
2. Was Mustafa Kemal Atatürk’s vision of a Turkish republic based on the notion of an ethnic nation or a civic nation — or both?
3. Reread Atatürk’s message to Turkish youth. What responsibility was he assigning to Turkish young people? Do you think a Canadian leader would direct a similar message to Canadian young people? If he or she did, how would you respond? Why?

Developing Effective Inquiry Questions

FOCUS ON SKILLS

Many great thinkers believe that asking questions is the key to developing understanding and knowledge. The French anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss, for example, once said, “The scientific mind does not so much provide the right answers as ask the right questions.”

But how do you know when you are asking the “right questions”? In the prologue, you learned about powerful questions. Issue questions — the kind that provide the structure of *Exploring Nationalism* — are powerful questions. Asking effective inquiry questions can help you guide your responses to these powerful questions.

Think about Turkey, for example. Suppose you are conducting research to develop responses to this issue question: Should laws require Turks to wear Western-style dress?

In a group, follow these steps to develop effective inquiry questions that will help guide your exploration of the issue question.

Steps to Developing Effective Inquiry Questions

Step 1: Conduct a quescussion

Write the issue question where everyone in the group can see it.

Warm up your thinking process by working with a group to conduct a “quescussion,” a term that combines the words “question” and “discussion.”

This idea-generating strategy was developed by Paul Bidwell of the University of Saskatchewan. Its goal is to open your mind to original, creative ideas by holding a discussion in which the participants can only ask questions. To ensure that only questions are asked, say “Statement!” if a group member makes a statement rather than asking a question.

Appoint a recorder to note group members’ questions on a sheet of chart paper and start the quescussion.

Step 2: Choose a few effective inquiry questions

Examine the group’s questions and choose three to five that you think might work as inquiry questions. In some cases, you may wish to revise a question generated during the quescussion to tighten the focus or the approach.

Use the criteria shown on the following page to help your group develop its list of questions.

Step 3: Select the most effective inquiry question.

As a group, choose the inquiry question that you believe most closely matches the criteria set out in Step 2.

RULES FOR A QUESCUSSION

- As in a brainstorming session, speak up whenever you like — but do not interrupt others.
- Feed off the ideas of others.
- Ask questions that deal with feelings, not just facts (e.g., How might adopting Western-style dress create conflicts for some Turks?).
- Ask “why” questions (e.g., Why would Atatürk make this law about Western-style dress?), “if . . . then . . .” questions (e.g., If Turks dress more like Europeans, will they then be more European?), and “because” questions (e.g., Because Turks dress like Europeans, will they think more like Europeans?).

Step 4: Revise your question

Appoint a spokesperson to present your group’s question to the class and to explain why you chose it. Invite your classmates to comment on your question, then rejoin your group and discuss the feedback received. Revisit your question and decide whether you wish to revise it.

Step 5: Assess the effectiveness of your inquiry question

If you wish, you may assess the effectiveness of your inquiry question by conducting preliminary research on the Internet or in the library. As you do this, you may find it necessary to revise your question. Meet with your group to discuss possible revisions.

CREATING EFFECTIVE INQUIRY QUESTIONS CHECKLIST

Criterion	Question 1	Question 2	Question 3	Question 4	Question 5
• Does the question seek information?					
• Is the question relevant to the topic or issue question?					
• Responses can be found through research.					
• You don’t already know the answer.					
• There may not be a right or wrong answer.					
• The question is focused and specific, not general and sprawling.					
• The question is connected to the issue you want to explore.					
• The question will help you find a variety of points of view and perspectives.					
• You find the question interesting, and you would really like to explore it.					

Summing Up

As you progress through this course, you will encounter many opportunities to develop, select, and revise inquiry questions. Following Steps 1 to 4 can help you do this.

HOW DO PEOPLE EXPRESS THEIR IDENTITY THROUGH NATION?



[When I am among my own people], they understand me, as I understand them; and this understanding creates within me a sense of being somebody in the world.

— Isaiah Berlin, philosopher and historian, in "Two Concepts of Liberty," 1958

The desire to belong is one of the strongest desires a human being can feel. Think, for example, about the sense of belonging you feel when you are part of a group such as your family, your friends, your school, or your community.

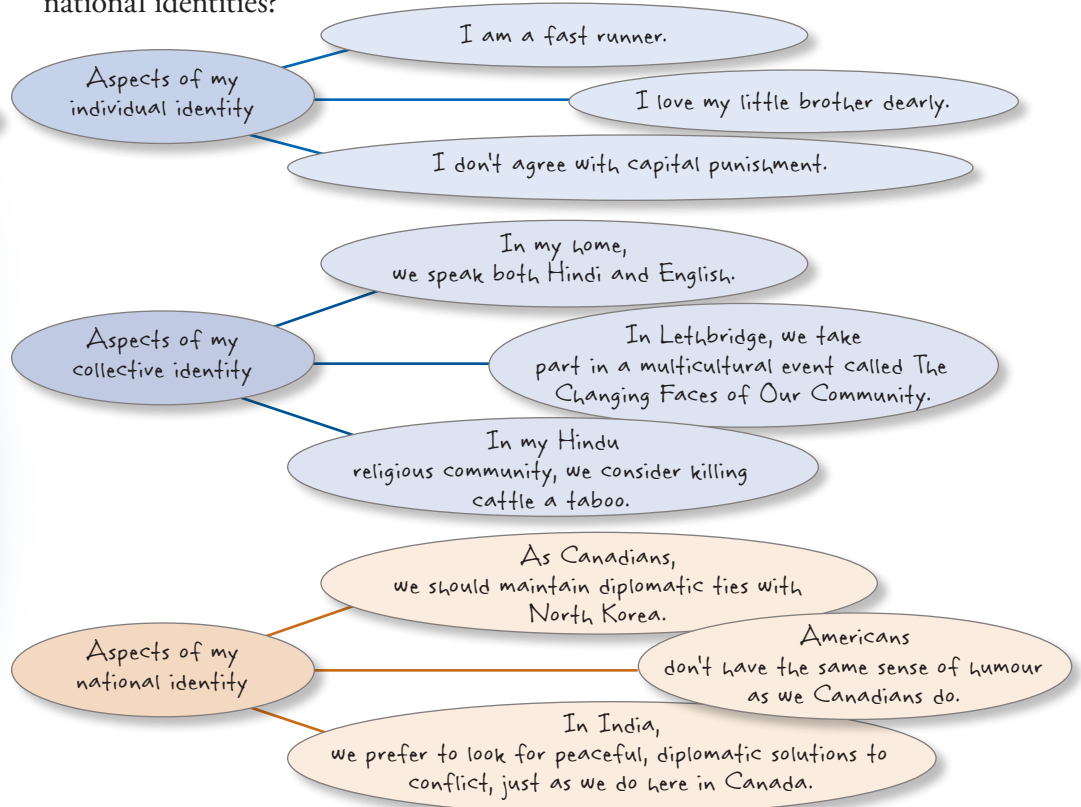
The idea of nation has the power to spark feelings of belonging to a much larger collective, and there are many similarities and areas of overlap between collective identity and national identity. This is largely because factors, such as language and religion, often inspire a sense of collective identity — and a sense of national identity.

National identity is a kind of collective identity that is shared by large groups of people. In his book *Personal Identity, National Identity and International Relations*, psychologist William Bloom set out his understanding of national identity: "National identity describes that condition in which a mass of people have made the same identification with national symbols — have internalized the symbols of the nation — so that they may act as one psychological group when there is a threat to, or the possibility of enhancement of, these symbols of nationalism."

When Bloom wrote that people have internalized the symbols of nation, he meant that they had taken in these symbols and made them — consciously or unconsciously — part of themselves, their personality, and their beliefs.

➡ Examine the graphic in Figure 1-15. It shows statements that a Lethbridge teenager of Indian heritage might make and how these might reflect her individual, collective, and national identities. Think about the language she uses. When does she use "I"? When does she use "we"? How do these words reflect the difference between individual, collective, and national identities?

Figure 1-15 Expressions of Individual, Collective, and National Identity



The Evolution of National Identity

The degree of connection people feel between their collective identities and their national identities depends to an extent on how their nation came into being and the extent to which it has evolved.

- A nation can develop because people feel strong shared bonds and wish to decide their own future. In this case, the feeling of collective identity is there in the beginning, and this helps create feelings of nationalism.
- Alternatively, a nation can come into being because people who belong to diverse collectives decide that they wish to live together in a nation-state according to shared values and beliefs. Mutual respect is the foundation of the nation-state — and a new nation may or may not emerge from this.



When I'm in Alberta, I'm an Edmontonian or a Calgarian; when I'm in Ottawa, I'm an Albertan or westerner; but when I'm in Washington or Singapore or Sydney, I'm Canadian.

— Preston Manning, founder of the Reform Party, in *The Globe and Mail*, 2007

Taking Turns

How is nation a part of who you are?

The students responding to this question are Harley, a member of the Kainai Nation near Lethbridge; Jean, a Francophone student who lives in Canmore; and Violet, a Métis who is a member of the Paddle Prairie Métis Settlement.



Harley

I think two nations are part of who I am. The first is Kainai. The Kainai and other First Nations people have lived here longer than any other Albertans. Just last week, my grandmother took me to Áísínai'pi. I hadn't been there before, but my grandmother has told me stories about the ancient times. I will take my children and grandchildren there some day, because I want them to know our history, too. I feel as if Canada is part of me, too, but these feelings are mixed. My grandfather fought in the Second World War because he wanted us all to live in peace here in Canada. He was a proud Canadian, and we are proud of him. He was a great Canadian — and a great Kainai.

My friend Wadji is a Francophone from Lebanon, which went through a long civil war. We sometimes talk about how his sense of Canada as part of his identity seems much stronger than mine.

I tend to think of my nation as Franco-Alberta, but Wadji identifies more with Canada. Even though I was born here and he wasn't, and even though we go to the same Francophone school, his goal is to join the English-speaking culture. He sees this as a way of blending in and becoming "Canadian," but I think people can be Canadian in many different ways. Affirming and promoting your own culture is just one of them.



Jean



Violet

For me, the answer isn't clear. Right now, I identify with the Métis people in our settlement, but I'm also thinking a lot about what will happen when I graduate from high school. A lot of kids leave Paddle Prairie to go to college or to get jobs in other places — and don't come back except to visit. They're still Métis, but they've made their lives somewhere else. And when that happens, I think being Canadian starts to become as important to them as being Métis. I want to be a biologist, so I plan to go to university. After that, if I want to work as a biologist, I'll probably have to move away. Will my feelings about nation change? I'm kind of scared — and sad — that they will.

Your Turn

How would you respond to the question Harley, Jean, and Violet are answering? Explain the reasons for your response. How does your identification with a nation or nations reflect one or more of your aspects of collective identity?



Figure 1-16 Comedian Seth Rogen is one of the latest in a long line of comedians who have helped boost Canada's reputation as a pretty funny country. Rogen co-wrote and starred in the 2007 blockbuster teen comedy *Superbad*. Is the Canadians-are-funny myth accurate? Does this myth affect your identity? How?

Myths and National Identity

National myths — shared stories, ideas, and beliefs that may or may not be accurate — are key to creating a sense of nation. These national myths can include everything from ancient traditional stories to beliefs about what makes a nation special. Many myths reach back into unrecorded history and have been passed on orally through generations. These shared stories, such as fairy tales and true stories of heroism or bravery, connect people with their past and shape the way they look at the world.

Although myths may or may not be accurate, they often include truths about who people think they are. Myths help people connect their sense of themselves — their identity — to the much larger group of people who form the nation.

➡ Think about the stories told in your family, perhaps at family gatherings or other special family events. How do these stories connect you with your family's past and shape your family's shared view of the world?

Changing Myths

A nation's myths are not static. In the case of a nation founded on a common ethnicity, the myths may change and evolve over time. In the case of a civic nation, the creation and evolution of myths are what lead to a growing sense of a common collective identity among all citizens.

In the case of Canada, for example, one recently created myth suggests that Canadians are funny — and that this collective sense of humour has helped generate an unusually large number of comedians who have achieved international fame. “During the past few decades,” wrote Scott

Feschuk in *Reader's Digest Canada*, “Canada has definitively emerged as the class clown of the global schoolhouse: Many of today's funniest American comedians are in fact Canadian — a list that includes Jim Carrey, Mike Myers, Martin Short, Eugene Levy, Catherine O'Hara, Dave Foley, Samantha Bee, Norm Macdonald, Leslie Nielsen, Michael J. Fox, Tom Green and Dan Aykroyd.”

The relationship between citizens and national identity is often reciprocal — it goes both ways. Myths influence the sense of national identity of people born into a nation or who immigrate to a nation — and these people in turn influence the myths of the nation. Do you, for example, think your identity is partly influenced by Canada's reputation as a comedy powerhouse?



Figure 1-17 A canoeist heads out for a paddle on Moraine Lake in Banff National Park. The great Canadian outdoors is part of the Canadian myth of *coureurs de bois*, early gold seekers, and outdoor enthusiasts. Stories of coping with a harsh environment — including giant mosquitoes, freezing temperatures, and playing hockey on outdoor rinks — recur in Canadian literature. Do you think a passion for the outdoors is part of the Canadian national identity? Is it part of your identity? In what way?

National Myths and Canadian Identity

In addition to myths of Canada as a country of funny people who spend a lot of time participating in outdoor activities, many Canadians embrace the idea of Canada as a hockey nation. Since 1994, hockey has been Canada's official winter sport, and in 2004, a national survey by Pepsi-Cola Canada found that 82 per cent of those polled agreed that all children living in Canada should have an opportunity to play hockey if they want to. And 79 per cent of respondents identified the history or tradition of hockey as the factor that makes the game so important to Canadians.

Hockey also says Canada to many people in other countries. When, for example, the Canadian men's hockey team finished out of the medals at the 2006 Winter Olympics in Turin, Italy, an American reporter wrote: "In Canada . . . the birthplace of hockey where the game is a religion, the early exit will be viewed as nothing short of a national disaster."

Reinventing an Iconic Canadian Sport

At one time, hockey was considered a sport for young men only. Now, this Canadian game is played by people of all ages, including women such as Sheema Khan, who was born in India but immigrated to Montréal with her family at the age of three. Khan is Muslim and wears a hijab. In a column in *The Globe and Mail*, she described how co-workers greeted the news that she had grown up playing hockey:

All of a sudden, eyes looked up in disbelief. "You played hockey?" asked a friend incredulously. "Yes," I replied with a smile, thinking, "Doesn't every Canadian play hockey at some point in their life?" And then it hit me. Muslim women, especially hijabis [women who wear head scarves], aren't expected to be interested in sports, let alone play. Perhaps a calming sport like croquet. But hockey?

Come on! I grew up cheering the Montreal Canadiens . . . [and] playing street hockey, driveway hockey and table hockey.

Khan went on to play intramural hockey at McGill University and later started a women's intramural league when she was studying at Harvard University in the United States. As a child in the early 1970s, Khan had admired Montréal Canadiens goalie Ken Dryden, and she still loves hockey — but with one difference. "Now," she wrote, "I imagine myself as Hayley Wickenheiser, scoring with only seconds left to play."

➔ On another occasion, Khan expressed her thoughts about wearing a hijab while playing the Canadian game: "We have various notions of what defines 'Canadian' identity . . . and we are now facing a choice of whether such definitions can include beliefs and customs which have not been part of historical markers of national identity." What did Khan mean? How was she challenging and changing ideas about Canadian identity?

CHECKFORWARD

You will explore more about national myths and how they shape Canadian identity in Chapter 14.



Canada has no fewer than six distinct seasons: Tax; Hockey; More Hockey; Still More Hockey; Summer (also known as the July Long Weekend, also known as "Was that it?"); and finally, Good God, Isn't the Hockey Season Over by Now?!

— Will Ferguson and Ian Ferguson, in *How to Be a Canadian*, 2001

Figure 1-18 Team Canada's Carla MacLeod of Calgary scores a goal against Sweden at the 2005 world women's hockey championship. How have MacLeod and Sheema Khan, whose experience is described on this page, helped change the way hockey is viewed? How do these changes show an evolution in Canadian identity?



4. Joseph Montferrand (1802–1864) was a Canadian logger who worked on the Ottawa River. Over the years, he became a larger-than-life folk hero. To Canadian loggers, he was a hero who defended them against their English bosses. To English speakers, he was a symbol of the strength and hardiness of early Canadian settlers. Over time, stories about Montferrand’s exploits grew into tall tales about Joe Mufferaw, an English version of his name.

In the 1970s, Stompin’ Tom Connors wrote and recorded a song about Joe Mufferaw. The following are some verses:

Big Joe Mufferaw paddled into Mattawa
all the way from Ottawa in just one day
Hey-Hey
On the river Ottawa the best man we ever saw
was Big Joe Mufferaw, the old folks say
Come and listen and I’ll tell you what the old folks say

And they say Big Joe put out a forest fire,
halfway between Renfrew and old Arnprior
He was fifty miles away down around Smith Falls
but he drowned out the fire with five spit balls.

The verses of Stompin’ Tom’s song glorify Mufferaw’s strength and concern for community well-being. With a partner, choose one important aspect of identity

that is closely related to nation (e.g., bravery, civic involvement, obeying laws, questioning, compassion, helpfulness). Develop a tall tale using Joe Mufferaw or a character of your own choosing or invention to highlight the importance of the characteristic you and your partner chose.

Share your tall tale with the class by telling the story, creating a comic strip, or writing and playing a song — or in some other interesting way.

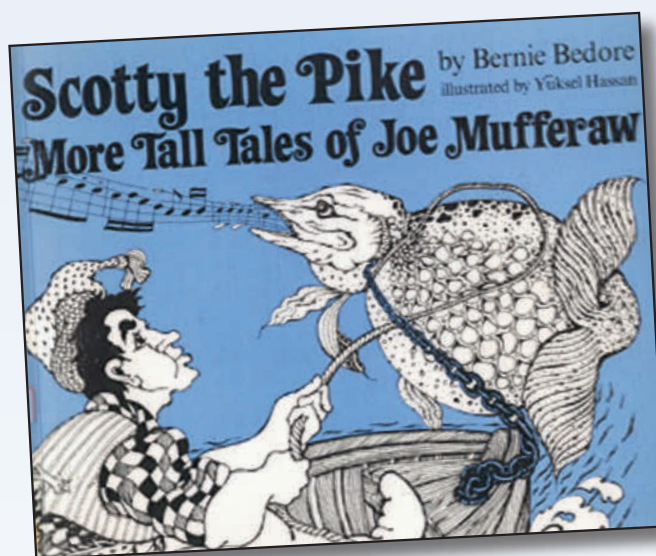


Figure 1-19 Bernie Bedore wrote two books highlighting tall tales about Joe Mufferaw. Both were illustrated by Yüksel Hassan, a Canadian of Turkish heritage.

Think about Your Challenge

Look back at the challenge for this related issue. It asks you to create a coat of arms that represents your response to the related-issue question: To what extent should nation be the foundation of identity?

Review the material in this chapter and the activities you completed as you progressed through the chapter. Make notes about ideas that could be useful in completing the challenge. Your notes might include

- your current thoughts on the aspects of your identity that most affect — or are most affected by — nation, nation-state, and nationalism
- ideas about symbols that will represent your understandings of the connections between your identity and nation, nation-state, or nationalism
- some critical questions you might use to analyze and evaluate the information you will explore and use in your coat of arms