

AT THE INTERSECTION: MIGRANT STUDENTS' CANADIAN IDENTITIES
AND THE SOCIAL STUDIES CURRICULUM

by

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the diverse ways students perceive Canada, Canadians, and themselves as Canadians, in an effort to contribute to ongoing theory-building about Canadian identity. This study also evaluates social studies curriculum documents and textbooks in order to gain insights that could contribute to ongoing efforts for improvement of such resources. This is done by using students' Canadian identity as an entry point to analysis of a social studies curriculum document and three textbooks.

Fifteen students from a Vancouver secondary school are selected as instrumental case studies. Using multiple forms of data collection including questionnaires, individual and group interviews, their perceptions are thematically categorized into three dimensions that form Canadian identity (sentiment, citizenship, and values). Each dimension is further sub-divided into a number of features. The dimensions and features are also used as organizers for text analysis of British Columbia's grade eleven social studies Integrated Resource Package (IRP) and three textbooks suggested as resources for grade eleven social studies. Using "reflect", "expand", and "enhance" as sensitizing concepts, the text analysis focuses on whether or not the IRP and textbooks offer the potential for students to engage their perceptions.

Findings suggest that students have an overall positive perception of Canada, Canadians, and themselves as Canadians in all three dimensions, particularly with regard to sentiment. However, students' perceptions are also laced with significant tensions, particularly with regard to citizenship and values. Findings also suggest that the IRP and textbooks do reflect and expand students' perceptions and consequently offer the potential for engagement, but that textbooks largely do not enhance students' ability to confront tensions.

The results of this study underscore the complex nature of Canadian identity and the need to be sensitive to diverse conceptions of Canada and what it means to be Canadian. Further, it contributes to ongoing efforts to improve the potential of curricula and textbooks to engage students more fully in constructing their Canadian identities. Recommendations are offered for further research.

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

In the early years of the 21st century, the “nation” remains a contested concept. Among the ways it is understood is as a geopolitical unit, independent and sovereign and as a way of understanding groups of people who have developed common bonds based on shared values, cultural practices, and history.

Nations evolve or are established in a number of ways. Nations such as France or Japan evolved over time, coalescing French and Japanese peoples together and administering them through independent state systems. Others such as Nigeria or Tanzania became nations following their organization into colonies by imperialist nations. The boundaries and apparatus of state established to administer the colony served as a basis for the new nations when the imperialist nation withdrew or was cast out in revolution. Nations have also been the product of peace treaties following war. In this case, the victors, and occasionally the vanquished, negotiated the establishment of new nations for geopolitical reasons. Examples of this include Yugoslavia and Turkey following World War I and the Federal Republic of Germany after World War II. As well, many nations exist as associations of people who do not have sovereign state systems but remain bound together by common descent. Examples include the Kurds and Kosovar Albanians.

Regardless of how nations are understood or how they came to be, a nation's survival depends on its people being inspired to believe in the nation. Birch (1993) contends that nations are constantly being pulled in three opposing directions by the forces of globalization (integration of the economic, political, social and cultural systems of nations), fragmentation (disintegration of nations into smaller political, economic, social and cultural entities), and consolidation (maintenance and strengthening of the status quo). It is the forces of consolidation that inspire a sense of national community in the people of the nation, helping them to believe they are members of a group that is worthy of commitment and loyalty. The forces of consolidation are most often evident in the initiatives and workings of the state (the nation's governing and administrative

systems) but are also used by others who believe it to be advantageous to promote the development of national identity.

The topic of Canadian national identity has been the subject of numerous books, articles, conference presentations, and research projects over the past few decades. Authors and presenters have, at various times, lamented the lack of a coherent, unifying Canadian identity and the continuing dominance of the white, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant, male in Canadian cultural, economic, and political discourse (Isajiw, 1999). However, any effort to define Canadian identity in fixed or immutable terms has been an exercise in futility. It is futile because no Canadian identity has or ever will exist in such terms. Identity is a way of talking about the self, and the self in relation to others (Shotter and Gergen, 1989). People exist in a constant and dynamic state of being and becoming who they are. Their identity, and in this case their Canadian identity, is provisional, always changing with each new experience, idea, or piece of information. As Hiller (1996) states, "it is not that Canadians once had an identity and lost it, or that they never had an identity and are searching for it, but that the shape and structure [of Canadian identity] is changing over time" (317). This notion should not be interpreted to suggest that individuals change so rapidly or so radically that the attributes of Canadian identity can never be identified. Rather, it suggests that any examination of Canadian identity must acknowledge individual interpretations as those of a person constructing meaning and/or understanding in the midst of change.

Canadian identity, like all identities, is contingent. It is socially constructed, shaped through interactions with others (Berger and Luckmann, 1966) its meaning can be highly individual and for some, deeply personal. This makes it contested terrain and always open for debate. Hiller (1996) entreats Canadians to embrace the debate, suggesting that the debate is a sign of strength, vitality, and dynamism, and not one of inadequacy or self-doubt. Indeed, when identities are questioned, people and societies have the flexibility to confront challenges, uncover concealed beliefs and, if need be, alter perspectives.

One of the places where the forces of consolidation suggested by Birch (1993) are at work is in schools. Public schools are entities of the state and as such one of their mandates is to promote the nation. They try to inspire students to see themselves as

members of a national community worthy of commitment and loyalty. There are many ways in which schools fulfill this mandate. In most parts of Canada, students learn about the nation and what it means to be Canadian through social contacts such as teachers and friends, school rituals like the playing of the national anthem or readings on Remembrance Day, and celebrations such as multicultural festivals or sporting tournaments. Social studies is the school subject where topics and issues related to Canadian identity are perhaps most often addressed. Here, students learn, question, and occasionally debate what Canada means to them and to others who are a part of the national community. Formal curriculum materials such as the official curriculum document and textbooks are also key parts of the discourse in social studies and they, in their own ways, contribute to consolidation of the nation through the promotion of Canadian identity.

However, no single or fixed Canadian identity results from the promotion of the nation in social studies classrooms. Despite the messages conveyed by teachers, curriculum documents or textbooks (and these may vary widely), students are individuals who often have differing perceptions of Canada and Canadians, and understandings of themselves as Canadians. Students are exposed to messages about the nation but accept, internalize, remember, ignore, forget, or reject those messages based on their backgrounds, experiences, ideas, beliefs, and circumstances. Yet, the notion of schools and social studies curriculum materials more specifically, promoting Canadian identity is not in conflict with students interpreting messages about Canada and what it means to be Canadian in different ways. Rather, it is part of the dynamic social construction of identity and ongoing debate between others and self about what it means to be Canadian.

1. 1. Thesis Questions and Brief Outline of the Study

This study explores Canadian identity in an effort to contribute to ongoing theory-building about Canadian identity. I map the contours of a select group of students' Canadian identity through the diverse ways students perceive Canada, Canadians, and themselves as Canadians. A second purpose is to evaluate social studies curriculum documents and textbooks in order to gain insights that could contribute to ongoing efforts to improve them. I do this by using students' Canadian identity as an entry point to

analysis of a social studies curriculum document and three textbooks. The thesis questions are as follows:

- 1) What are students' perceptions of Canada, Canadians, and themselves as Canadians?
- 2) Do the social studies curriculum document and textbooks offer the potential for students to engage their perceptions?

Perceptions are observations and feelings to which one ascribes meaning (Zebrowitz, 1990; Tuan, 1977). Combining students' observations of and feelings about Canada, other Canadians, and themselves as Canadians, offers insight into the meaning they ascribe to the national community of which they are a part. Students' perceptions may be positive, negative, or neutral, as well as banal, sophisticated, clear, confused, ambiguous, accurate or erroneous. Regardless, they are part of students' dynamic and ongoing efforts to understand themselves and their world, and for this study used as evidence of their Canadian identity.

Ascertaining what students' perceptions are of Canada, Canadians, and themselves as Canadians also includes examining perceptions that elicit feelings of tension. *Tensions* exist when there is a difference between what a student believes is or ought to be and what a student observes others to be doing, feeling, saying, believing, etc. They are often expressed with anger, anxiety, confusion, or feelings of dissatisfaction or pause. Tensions are expressed in three distinct ways:

- 1) Students believe, value, observe, act, or feel differently about some aspect of Canadian life than they believe others in Canada generally do. They direct their feelings anger or dissatisfaction outward toward society generally and/or toward specific persons with whom they associate their tension.
- 2) Students believe, value, observe, act, or feel differently about some aspect of Canadian life than they believe a particular group of persons in Canada do. In this case, they direct their feelings of anger or dissatisfaction outward toward this particular group.
- 3) Students believe, value, observe, act, or feel differently about some aspect of Canadian life than they believe others in Canada generally do. They direct their feelings of anger, angst, or confusion inward on themselves, feeling they are "out of sync" or somehow asynchronous with their perception of Canadian norms.

In order to answer the first thesis question, I selected fifteen migrant students as case studies and obtained their perceptions using three different data gathering methods. I chose migrant students because of their heightened sensitivity to the world around them as they acclimatize to new surroundings. I analyzed students' perceptions using a framework for Canadian identity adapted from one developed by Hughes (1997). The framework included three dimensions of Canadian identity: sentiment, citizenship, and values. Each of these dimensions was further sub-divided into a number of features.

In order to answer the second thesis question, I used students' perceptions as an entry point into an analysis of a selected social studies curriculum document and three textbooks. I analyzed sections of these curriculum resources to see if they offer the potential for students to engage with their perceptions. This question and approach to answering it are based on fundamental beliefs about what social studies curriculum documents and textbooks that focus on Canada should offer students.

I accept that social studies curriculum documents and textbooks with a Canadian focus will convey messages to students that attempt to inspire loyalty, commitment, and support for the nation. These messages are part of the forces of consolidation which seek to maintain and strengthen the nation. However, in order for social studies to grow as a vital subject area of interest and relevance to students, efforts must be taken to improve the curriculum resources used. One of the ways of doing this is to evaluate whether curriculum resources provide a context that is rich in possibilities for students to enter into and participate in the ongoing debate about what Canada is and/or ought to be, and what it means to be Canadian

A rich context is open to multiple interpretations, layered meanings, ambiguity, critique, questioning, and problem-solving. It is flexible enough for all students exposed to the curriculum document or using a textbook to engage with their perceptions of Canada, Canadians, and themselves as Canadians. One way such a context can be created is by making the curriculum documents and textbooks inviting for students. This means including a variety of topics, issues, personalities, and events that are relevant to students to the extent that they broadly form part of their evolving Canadian identity. It means offering diverse perspectives on topics and issues which inform but may support and/or

challenge perspectives already held by students. Further, creating a rich context means expecting and providing opportunities for students to question the veracity of perspectives or arguments presented, as well as providing opportunities for students to answer questions and/or engage in tasks in which students resolve issues for themselves.

So how do I evaluate whether the social curriculum document and textbooks offer the potential for students to engage with their perceptions? First, I ascertain whether or not they *reflect* the dimensions and features of students' Canadian identity. This means reflecting the perspectives, topics, issues, personalities, and/or events that are identical *or* similar to those that are part of students' perceptions. In this way, students "see themselves" represented in the curriculum document and textbooks potentially making them more inviting, interesting, and relevant to students and perhaps increasing the possibility of them engaging in the debate about what Canada and being Canadian means.

Second, while students are impacted by curriculum documents they interact more directly with textbooks (Venezky, 1992). Thus the textbooks have a more prominent role in this study than do curriculum documents. Social studies textbooks should also *expand* students' understandings about the dimensions and features of their Canadian identity. Textbooks are considered to have potential when they "push" students into new territory, encouraging them to consider that which they may not have encountered before. This includes introducing personalities, events, topics, issues, and/or perspectives that students didn't communicate as part of their Canadian identity. Students also have knowledge, beliefs, and/or perspectives that are undeveloped or poorly developed and a textbook has potential when it offers richer, broader, and deeper information about that which students do communicate as part of their Canadian identity. Finally, a textbook has potential when it challenges perceptions that are erroneous or without merit and invites students to challenge the textbook. Textbooks with these attributes offer the potential for students to expand their understanding of Canada, Canadians, and themselves as Canadians.

Third, a textbook is considered to offer the potential for students to engage with their perceptions if there is evidence of efforts to have students *enhance* their ability to confront their tensions and arrive at self-developed resolutions. To do this, identical or similar topics and issues that reflect students' tensions are needed, along with questions or tasks that require students to make decisions. The potential for students' enhancing

their ability to confront tensions is further aided by the inclusion of suggested strategies or approaches to use in answering questions or responding to tasks. As well, suggestions of how the results can be presented and what constitutes successful accomplishment should also be provided. By allowing students to confront their tensions and assisting them in arriving at resolutions there is increased potential for students to see relevance in the textbook's content and the development of decision-making skills, as well as learning, questioning, and debating about what Canada and being Canadian means to them and others.

In this study I illustrate the varied perceptions that form the Canadian identities of migrant students and demonstrate the ways that experiences, family, friends, the media, and school informs their perspectives. I argue that the curriculum document and textbooks do offer the potential for students to engage with their perceptions as they reflect the various dimensions and features students' Canadian identity and the textbooks also expand students' understandings. However, I also argue that the textbooks offer only limited potential because they do not always enhance students' ability to confront their tensions by including topics and issues that reflect students' tensions or questions and/or tasks that are supported as suggested.

1. 2. Contributions to Knowledge

How does this study contribute to knowledge? The answer to this question is intricately related to why this study should be pursued in the first place. Canada, like other nations, is a dynamic construct. As time passes and new circumstances emerge the meaning of Canada changes for its people. If Canada is to continue to have meaning and remain a vital entity in peoples' lives it is important to "stay in touch" with how it is understood. This study examines the perceptions of a small segment of Canada's population and makes a contribution to the ongoing discourse and theory building about Canadian identity. Stated another way, this study builds on what came before and provides a possible starting point for what will come next.

Secondly, this study is one of the only studies to analyze social studies curricula and textbooks using migrant students. With modern forms of transportation at our disposal, migration is an age-old phenomenon that is increasingly affecting societies all

over the world, including the national identities that develop and continue to develop (Boyle, Halfacree, and Robinson, 1998). Approximately 250,000 people immigrate to Canada and thousands more migrate within Canada every year (Statistics Canada, 2000). Many of these are young people who become new students in social studies classrooms, beginning or continuing the formation of a coherent Canadian identity. This study contributes new information on and insight into the perceptions that form part of the Canadian identities of students in this understudied segment of the Canadian population.

Thirdly, it is imperative for educators to continue to research the subjects that are taught in schools and the curriculum resources that inform those subjects. By doing so, they can consider the possible rationale, content, and direction of a subject and the ways that curriculum resources support or inhibit those possibilities. Further, it behooves educators to conduct research on and assign judgments to those resources based on criteria. This study contributes to ongoing research in social studies and evaluates the potential offered by social studies curriculum documents and textbooks.

Finally, other studies have examined students' Canadian identities (Hughes, 1997) and aspects of Canadian identity in curriculum documents (Rempel, 2000) and textbooks (Clark, 1995; Bailey, 1975), but none has offered an approach to analyzing social studies curricula and textbooks based on students' Canadian identity. I do not wish to suggest that the social studies curriculum should be beholden to or strictly guided by the perceptions of students. Indeed, there is much to be offered from the expertise and experience of other stakeholders such as historians, politicians, community leaders, and parents, along with that of teachers, curriculum designers, and textbook authors and publishers. However, if students are also considered important stakeholders in the educational enterprise then it is of value to devise approaches to research that permit the input of students. This study includes such an approach, one that can be used to analyze other curriculum documents and/or textbooks.

1. 3. Limitations of the Study

One of the foci of this study was the Canadian identities of migrant students. The number of students selected to participate is relatively small and cannot be considered a sample of any population. Thus the claims that are made in this study are limited to the

students involved and are not generalizable to any other population. This limitation does not detract from the value of the study however. Generalizations are not its intent; rather it is to develop insight into these students' perceptions and contribute to the ongoing discourse and theory building about Canadian identity. Societies and nations are comprised of many particulars, each important in their own right, yet informative in generating a picture of the greater whole. Feagin, Orum, and Sjoberg (1991) and Yin (1984) caution that generalizations should not be emphasized in all research suggesting that there is much to be learned from the study of the particular.

Secondly, another focus of this study was the way students' Canadian identities intersected with a particular social studies curriculum document and three textbooks. The claims that are made in this study are limited to these curriculum resources and do not refer to or represent any others.

Thirdly, this study is limited to the extent that it cannot be replicated exactly. The Canadian identities of the migrant students in this study are interpretations based on their perceptions of Canada, Canadians, and themselves as Canadians. The information gathered is temporally, spatially, and contextually bound. It is improbable that were students to engage in the same research process today identical data would result. Similarly, because the data analysis is mediated through me, the researcher, and I have changed since the study began, it is possible, if not probable, that were I to engage in the same research process today different interpretations of the data would result. This limitation does not detract from the value of the study but simply illustrates the infinite diversity of people, knowledge and knowledge construction.

Fourthly, this study does not examine teachers and their implementation of the social studies curriculum or use of textbooks. These are worthwhile foci for research and would undoubtedly offer important information as to the ways the curriculum-in-use and textbooks-in-use inform students' Canadian identity. However, this study focused on the theoretical rather than actual intersection of the social studies curriculum, textbooks and students' Canadian identity. This permitted a broader analysis of students' Canadian identity as related to the curriculum resources than would have been logistically possible were students to have engaged with them directly.

Finally, this study does not explore students' actual reading of the textbooks. While this type of research would contribute much needed data on whether the potential of textbooks is fulfilled, it is also worthwhile to conduct pre-assessments of curriculum resources prior to or apart from student's readings. Students deserve to have as much thoughtful and considered analysis conducted on the resources as possible. Thus this study evaluated the *potential* of the social studies textbooks (and curriculum document) to engage their perceptions. It is left to future researchers to conduct studies on students' readings of the textbooks.

1. 4. Summary

In this chapter, I establish the connection between nation, national identity, schools, social studies, and social studies curriculum resources. As well, the two thesis questions to be answered are provided along with a brief outline of the study. I outline how this study offers a contribution to knowledge followed by an explication of the study's limitations.

The following is an outline of the chapters that follow. Chapter 2 reviews the literature in social studies, nation and national identity, and concludes with an examination of textbook studies.

Chapter 3 presents the students selected to participate in this study, their school, and the methods used in gathering data on students' Canadian identity. This is followed by an outline of the framework used in analyzing students' Canadian identity. Next, I explain the selection of the social studies curriculum document and textbooks and the methods used in analyzing them. Finally, issues of reliability and validity are explored.

Chapters 4-6 present the findings and are organized according to the dimensions that form students' Canadian identity. Chapter 4 focuses on Canadian Identity as sentiment and is sub-divided into five features: 1) sense of commitment to land, territory, landscape or location, 2) sense of commitment to distinctive symbols, 3) sense of historical uniqueness, 4) sense of national sovereignty, and 5) sense of belonging. Chapter 5 focuses on Canadian Identity as citizenship and is sub-divided into four features: 1) civil rights and responsibilities, 2) political rights and responsibilities, 3) social rights and responsibilities, and 4) cultural rights and responsibilities. Chapter 6

focuses on Canadian identity as values and is divided into three features: 1) acceptance of diversity, 2) non-violence in interactions with others, 3) care for the natural environment.

Within these dimensions and features, students' perceptions of Canada, Canadians, and themselves as Canadians are analyzed. As well, the selected social studies curriculum document and textbooks are analyzed as to whether they have offer student the potential to engage with their perceptions.

In chapter 7, I reiterate the purpose of the study and how it was conducted, as well as summarize the results. This is a followed by a discussion of Canadian identity and what this study contributes to theory-building about Canadian identity. As well, I consider questions that remain outstanding which could be used to guide future research. Finally, I discuss improving the potential of curriculum documents and textbooks, what this study offers such efforts.

CHAPTER TWO

Literature Review

This chapter reviews the relevant literature related to 1) social studies, 2) nation and national identity, and 3) textbooks studies. In the course of reviewing the literature in each section, I position this study within the ongoing discourse in these fields and suggest how the literature relates and contributes to this study.

2. 1. Social Studies

Social studies is “an American invention”, introduced to educators for the first time in the 1916 publication *The Social Studies in Secondary Education* and adopted as a curricular subject by a committee of the National Education Association (Hertzberg, 1982: 5). It referred “to all subjects of study concerned with human relationships” and was created in response to new conceptions about student learning (van Manen and Parsons, 1985: 2). Educators suggested that optimal learning does not occur within rigid disciplinary structures but through construction of interdisciplinary connections (Parker, 2001). Indeed, early conceptions of social studies “denoted ‘correlated’ or ‘fused’ subjects, mainly geography, history, and civics” (Tomkins, 1985: 12). The definition of social studies has changed little in the decades since, only extending the disciplines to be integrated into this school subject. The National Council for the Social Studies (1992) defines social studies as,

the integrated study of the social sciences and humanities. Within the school program, social studies provides coordinated, systematic study drawing upon such disciplines as anthropology, archaeology, economics, geography, history, law, philosophy, religion, political science, psychology, and sociology, as well as appropriate content from the humanities, mathematics, and natural sciences (cited in Wright, 2001: 4).

The definition is currently accepted by many Canadian social studies educators as well. An example is offered in the official curriculum documents for British Columbia which defines social studies as “a multidisciplinary subject that draws from the social

sciences and humanities to study human interaction and natural and social environments” (British Columbia Ministry of Education, Skills, and Training, 97: 1).

Penney Clark (1997) states “the introduction of social studies in Canada was associated with the child-centred focus promoted by the progressive education movement in the United States” (70). Beginning in the late 1920s, social studies became a term used in programs of study and by the 1930s was being introduced into the elementary and/or secondary curricula in many Canadian provinces.

The primary purpose of social studies has been, and continues to be, education for citizenship (Clark and Case, 1999). George Tomkins (1985) states that “the goal of citizenship probably comes closer than any other to identifying the process that Canadians have usually believed that the social studies should serve” (15), while Alan Sears (1994) claims that citizenship education is the “primary focus of social studies” (6). Nevertheless, “citizenship education” is broad and vague, and provides enough room for contending interpretations, of which there have been many.

Ken Osborne (1997) points to four potentially, but not necessarily, competing themes in citizenship education: identity, political efficacy, rights and duties, and social and personal values. A sense of national identity consolidates the nation, promoting “a feeling of being one people different from all other people” (McLeod, 1989: 6). Osborne (1997) suggests that schools, and by extension social studies, are “vehicles by which national identity and consciousness could be created, the national language taught, and national traditions disseminated” (43). Students not only learn about their country but are encouraged to support it (Sears, 1996). The creation of a single national identity has always been something of a problem in Canadian citizenship education. Regional cultures, the English-French-Aboriginal triad that is part of the Canadian experience, and the cultural pluralism encouraged by policies of multiculturalism have precluded any unified and consensus notion of Canadian identity. However, within the recognition of questions and paradoxes posed by multiple identities (ethnic, regional, class, gender, etc.) citizenship education continues to help Canadians enhance their self-knowledge. It encourages Canadians to question and ponder “...who we are; what we want at this time and in this place; where we have been; where we are going; how we can get from one to

the other; what, as a people we have and what we need; what our responsibilities are to ourselves and to others" (Symons, 1975: 17-18).

Political efficacy refers to "the belief that people can make a difference in the political process" (Osborne, 1997: 49). An important part of citizenship education, it carries with it the assumption that citizens should demonstrate a "commitment to the ideals of...democracy" and be politically active (Sears and Hughes, 1996: 123). Political activity can take place in either the formal institutions of state or the ostensibly non-political life of civil society, providing society with vital voices that are skilled in holding office, dealing with disagreement, exercising tolerance, and working with others. Political activity has to be learned. It is based on a body of knowledge, skills, and values that among other things encourages in students the "...desire to participate in the political process to promote the public good and to hold public authorities accountable" (Kymlicka, 1995: 175).

In democratic nations such as Canada, citizenship education also involves the teaching of knowledge about rights and duties. Osborne (1997) suggests that rights "are what make [citizenship] valuable" as they provide citizens with opportunities to live their lives fully as individuals and as part of the larger society. They include rights to freedom of expression, to vote, and to live free of physical abuse. Duties refer to a corresponding set of "obligations" which may or may not be required as part of being a citizen but are conducted out of a sense of conscience and principle (Sears and Hughes, 1996). They include the obligation to pay one's taxes, to obey the law, and to vote in elections. Part of citizenship education also involves learning how to negotiate between rights and/or duties that may come into conflict. For example, how does one deal with pornography as a right to free expression when it violates community standards of decency, with abortion when the rights of an unborn child are weighed against the rights of the mother, or with laws that are believed to be unjust and/or immoral.

Finally, citizenship is a value-laden concept that entails more than "just knowledge and skills, behaviour and action based on values" (Osborne, 1997: 57). Though they may differ from nation to nation, some set of values is always informing the conduct of individuals and society. In Canada where there is no one officially sanctioned ideology at work, values are more diffuse and open for debate, yet there are still sets of

values that are widely accepted by the population. With regard to social values, Keith Spicer (1995), through the Citizen's Commission he chaired in connection with the Charlottetown Accord in 1992, identified equality and fairness, respect for minorities, consultation and dialogue, accommodation and tolerance, compassion and generosity, respect for Canada's natural beauty, respect for Canada's world image of peace, and freedom from violent change as "core Canadian beliefs" (18). Though there may be wide disagreement over values, citizenship education involves some teaching of and about values.

While Osborne's citizenship education themes seem, for the most part, mutually compatible, other theorists have attempted to map the disjunctions and differences in conceptions of the field. The most influential among those schemes was that devised by Robert Barr, James L. Barth, and Samuel Shermis (1977, 1978). They saw a subject divided among three traditions: citizenship transmission, social science and, reflective inquiry.

The aim of social studies as citizenship transmission is to instill in students the knowledge and values thought necessary for good citizenship. Based on the assumption that there are dominant societal values that students ought to accept; and that wisdom from the past must be passed to future generations, students study history, geography, civics, and other disciplinary fields to learn the virtues of being responsible, honest, loyal, patriotic, and respectful citizens. Children are understood to be born as *tabulae rasae* or "blank slates" onto which the knowledge and values of citizenship are written. The basic instructional approach is didactic as teachers pass on knowledge selected from an external authority through lectures and activities based on students reading the textbook and answering questions.

Social studies as social science is based on a belief that students become effective citizens by acquiring knowledge from the social sciences and the skills of social scientists. Content includes the concepts and research methodologies that students apply to problems derived from these disciplines. This tradition is academic in focus, believing that the social sciences can best explain human behaviour and that students can use these explanations in becoming good citizens.

Social studies as reflective inquiry aims to develop rational decision makers in the socio-political context. Students engage in structured and disciplined inquiry into the problems and issues that children face everyday as well as problems that are faced in the wider world. In this tradition, values are not absolute but changeable as is knowledge which is constructed by students through interaction with content. The assumption is that if students are presented with relevant problems they can be taught to develop their rational thinking and apply these skills to make their own decisions.

Penney Clark and Roland Case (1999) created a four-part model of purposes of citizenship education. It is an adaptation of the conceptual framework developed by Barr, Barth, and Shermis (1977, 1978) for Canada's educational context and differs in a number of ways. The first purpose is citizenship education as social initiation. Cited as the "most common and long-standing view of the purpose of social studies" (20), social initiation promotes a core body of knowledge, skills, and values deemed necessary for students to function in and contribute to society. Students are socialized into society by internalizing a perspective or "...received' conception or image of our society, our history and the model citizen" (Clark and Case, 1999: 21). Historians like Jack Granatstein (1998) would espouse this perspective, believing that there are "basic details about their nation and their society that every thinking citizen requires" (66). Citizenship education as social initiation should not be confused with indoctrination. Though early manifestations did have indoctrinary and assimilationist qualities, more recent versions of this perspective offer broader conceptions of society's values. However, students are not taught to question the foundations of the received worldview. This purpose is similar to the citizenship transmission tradition devised by Barr, Barth, and Shermis (1977, 1978) but differs in that it is a narrower notion. Citizenship transmission, as outlined by Barr, et. al. includes any form of transmission of a worldview, both mainstream and obscure. Clark and Case (1999) focus exclusively on mainstream perspectives. The citizens cultivated through social initiation are knowledgeable about their nation and the world. As well, they know and respect the norms and values of their society and feel a sense of connection to their fellow citizens. Still, they may also be parochial in their worldview, limited in their perceptions of who constitutes a citizen, mired in national mythology, less likely to raise critical questions, and less skilled in answering them.

The second purpose is citizenship education as social reformation. Clark and Case (1999) identify perspectives that “focus on encouraging a better society [and seeking]... to help students acquire the understandings, abilities and values that will launch them on this path” (21). Similar to social initiation, social reformation teaches students about the history and workings of the nation and the world, but rather than accepting a received perspective, entreats students to critique society and institute changes. This approach to citizenship education empowers students to engage actively in critical thinking for the betterment of society. It embodies the sentiments expressed by S. H. Engle and A. S. Ochoa (1988) who believe that “in a democracy, citizenship consists of two related but sometimes disparate parts: the first socialization, the second countersocialization” (16). Jerome Bruner (1971) became a proponent of this perspective believing that disciplines such as history ought to be taught in the context of problems facing society (21). Canadian supporters include Max van Manen (1980) who encourages teachers to suggest to their students that being a “socially conscious person” includes “social criticism of all forms of hegemony” (114), and Osborne (1996), who believes that citizenship had to be activist in nature and citizens “had to be involved in the issues confronting them” (52). The type of citizen cultivated is one that is knowledgeable about their nation’s history and society, skilled at critical analysis, and activist in bringing about change. However, this perspective may also lead to the undermining of social and political cohesion, and encourage excessive skepticism.

The third purpose is citizenship education as personal development. Clark and Case (1999) suggest that the conceptual framework developed by Barr, Barth, and Shermis (1977, 1978) neglects a student-centred vision. In Clark and Case’s four-part model, citizenship education as personal development espouses that a “good society will follow from creating well-adjusted individuals” (Clark and Case, 1999: 22). In seeking to meet students’ needs and educate what Dewey might have termed the whole child, the understandings, abilities and attitudes to be developed are those needed for students to make sense of their own lives and experiences. Having its origins in the progressive movement of the 1930s, and related to what D. L. Brubaker, L. H. Simon, and J. W. Williams (1977) call the student-centred tradition, the activities and projects evident in this type of social studies classroom are those of importance to society *and* the interests

of the child (Jenness, 1990). The type of citizen cultivated is self-assured, makes connections between self and the world, and is actively engaged in constructing their own beliefs and positions on issues. However, there is the risk that students may not obtain depth of knowledge or be interested in and thus engage in learning about things beyond their immediate interests.

The fourth and final purpose is citizenship education as academic understanding. This perspective suggests that the "acquisition of the understandings, skills and attitudes of social scientists and historians is thought to provide the best preparation for citizenship in a complex world" (Clark and Case, 1999: 23). The focus is not concerned with students completing tasks of personal interest or about confronting problems of social significance, but is about learning important concepts and skills necessary to draw "intellectually defensible conclusions" (Clark and Case, 1999: 23). Drawing on the social science tradition outlined by Barr, Barth, and Shermis (1977, 1978) and similar to Brubaker's, et. al. (1977) social studies as structure of the disciplines, it is a form of academic understanding advocated by Bruner (1960) early in his career, believing that students had the capacity to learn disciplinary concepts, methods of reasoning, and techniques of inquiry. Although Kieran Egan (1997) is not concerned with the creation of mini-historians, he advocates the teaching of an academic history that seeks to "understand the past in its own terms, in its uniqueness, for its own sake and the sake of the pleasure of such understanding" (13). Peter Seixas (1997) has advocated another form of academic understanding in his conception of "historical thinking" (119). Historical thinking seeks to help students not only learn historical facts, but make sense of the past through a focus on concepts such as significance, epistemology and evidence, continuity and change, progress and decline, empathy as historical perspective-taking and moral judgment, and historical agency (119-125). Each is viewed as a central tenet of history teaching and essential for historical understanding.

The type of citizen cultivated in the academic understanding perspective is one that has mastered the knowledge, methods of reasoning and techniques of inquiry of particular disciplines. Further, s/he can use these to draw defensible conclusions about issues related to the disciplines. However, the citizen may not be exposed to or make the interdisciplinary connections necessary to confront the world's problems.

The four related themes of citizenship education identified by Osborne (1997), the three traditions created by Barr, Barth, and Shermis (1977, 1978), and the four purposes outlined by Clark and Case (1999) show the multiplicity of philosophies that fall under the rubric of citizenship education. It is possible, however, to point to certain landmarks and trends that have shaped the field, as taught, as conceptualized, and as researched in Canada in the last half-century. As suggested earlier, social studies became part of many provincial curricula during the 1930s, emerging out of the child-centred progressive education movement in the United States. By the late 1950s questions were being raised about the effectiveness of progressive education (Clark, 1997). Debate coalesced around Hilda Neatby's (1953) *So Little For the Mind: An Indictment of Canadian Education*. She questioned the intellectual aimlessness of progressive education and suggested the superiority in the classic distinctions of geography, history, and politics, as well as the logical arrangement of place, time, and causation inherent in these disciplines.

The structure of the disciplines approach to teaching social studies was further aided by the international political climate that saw the launching of the Soviet satellite Sputnik in 1957, inspiring a rejection of progressivism by American educators in favour of the intellectual rigor of the social science disciplines. Jerome Bruner's (1960) *The Process of Education* declared that the goal of education was to give students "an understanding of the fundamental structure of whatever subject we choose to teach" (11). Throughout the 1960s, the disciplines were harnessed in an effort to help students learn how to analyze and solve problems. Students were encouraged to master key concepts, inquiry skills, and a substantive body of disciplinary knowledge. There was an increase in emphasis on history and geography as separate disciplines in Canadian schools. Teaching materials involved students in the use of primary documents, maps and other data sources to draw conclusions. Edwin Fenton (1966), inspired by Bruner's beliefs, developed an inquiry model that enjoyed some prominence in Canada during this period. His model explicitly taught methods of inquiry and encouraged the treatment of history as a series of problems.

The publication of A. B. Hodgetts' *What Culture? What Heritage?* in 1968 had a significant impact on social studies in Canada. The result of concern about American

cultural domination and the loss of Canadian identity, the publication was the final report of a two-year, comprehensive survey of civic education for the National History Project. With data drawn from interviews, questionnaires, student essays, curricula, courses of study, textbooks and other literature, as well as visits to 847 classrooms in all provinces and in both official languages, Hodgetts concluded that the state of civic education in Canada was abysmal. He related a picture of stifling teaching methods, students suffering from boredom and apathy, textbooks that offered a chronological story of uninterrupted political and economic progress and bland consensus interpretations of the Canadian experience. The main recommendation that emerged from Hodgetts' study was for the establishment of a Canadian Studies Consortium based on an inter-provincial network of regional centres involving persons from every level of education.

The Canada Studies Foundation was formed in 1970 and was organized into three curriculum development groups: the Laurentian Project in Ontario and Québec, Project Atlantic Canada focusing on the Maritime provinces and Newfoundland and Labrador, and Project Canada West involving the four western provinces. It also was part of the profusion of Canadian social studies materials that appeared on the educational market in the 1970s and 1980s, producing 150 publications alone. According to Tomkins (1986), the emphasis of the Foundation's work was on the development of programs at elementary and secondary school levels "designed to encourage interdisciplinary course content, innovative teaching methods and the kind of intellectual skills, attitudes and value systems that civilized living in a country like Canada requires" (331). The Foundation sought to promote a form of citizenship education that conveyed a national, pan-Canadian identity with the intent that "...questions and inquiry issues relevant to 'continuing Canadian concerns' should be based on the essential characteristics of Canadian society,--its bilingual, culturally diverse, regional, vast, exposed, northern, industrialized, urbanized, democratic and federal nature" (Tomkins, 1986: 331). It sponsored issues-oriented materials which included "...case studies of current Canadian social issues for analysis and discussion. Students were expected to explore the various perspectives on these issues and come to a decision as to their own positions" (Clark, 1997: 86).

By the time the Canada Studies Foundation folded in 1986 researchers had begun to ask about the results of its efforts. A. D. Bowd (1978) conducted a study in response to Hodgetts' and other's claim that Canadian students were ignorant about Canada, and that poor Canadian studies programs were to blame. He argued that many of these studies compare the knowledge of Canadian students about their country's history and political institutions with similar knowledge for American students and this comparison was unfair given the different political institutions of Canada and the United States. Instead, Bowd compared Canadian students with students from another parliamentary democracy, Australia. He concluded that despite differences in performance on parts of the instruments, "the similar level of knowledge about their own political institutions is more striking than the differences that exist with respect to some items" (Bowd, 1978: 7).

Two studies were undertaken to assess the effects of the emphasis on Canadian studies. The results of the first study conducted by K. Kirkwood and W. Nediger (1983) were combined with the results of a second undertaken by Kirkwood, S. Khan, and R. Anderson (1987). The first reported the results of a survey of 10, 821 students in grades 7 and 10 from across Canada. The second study used the same survey questions on 3, 230 grade 12 students in British Columbia a year later. The survey included questions that ask whether "every Canadian should know the words to O Canada" and "we are fortunate to be living in Canada" (Kirkwood, et. al., 1987: 204). The authors concluded that "findings concerning the attitudes of students toward Canada and issues concerning Canadians were heartening" and largely "positive" (Kirkwood, et. al., 1987: 208).

Charles S. Ungerleider (1990) surveyed 3,161 randomly chosen students from grade 8 through 11 in British Columbia. The survey "sought to determine how much knowledge the students had about the rights and freedoms contained in the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms* and whether they were in agreement with the rights and freedoms granted" (15). He found that students' knowledge of freedoms contained in the Charter of Rights and Freedoms included a mean of 52.7% for democratic rights, 57.2% for legal rights, 66.9% for fundamental freedoms, 67.5% for equality rights, and 74.8% for language rights, and that the level of knowledge in each area corresponded closely to the level of agreement with the rights. Ungerleider (1990) stated that "we can take pride in the fact that we have created the conditions for students of all backgrounds to learn their

rights and freedoms and to willingly accord those rights to others”, however he suggested that low scores in knowledge and support of democratic rights along with evidence that immigrant students whose first language is not English “do not value themselves as highly as their Canadian-born, English-speaking...counterparts” is cause for concern (17). Similar conclusions were evident in research conducted by Sears (1994) who suggested that students express “moderate support of human rights”, though not at a level researchers hoped (34).

Carl Bogнар, Wanda Cassidy, and Pat Clark (1998) from Simon Fraser University conducted a study involving 135,000 British Columbia students in grades 4, 7, and 10, in both English and French. They measured attitudinal outcomes of the B. C. social studies curriculum in terms of students’ tolerance/appreciation of others and their willingness to participate in citizenship activities. The results revealed positive attitudes toward multiculturalism, creating a sustainable environment, and equity for women. A small core of boys exhibited negative attitudes and the number of boys with negative attitudes grows as students move through the grades. Across all grades, more boys than girls wish that they could vote and as they move through the grades, both genders report increasing levels of discussion about political and international issues. The study also found that students fail to demonstrate many of the citizenship attitudes and practices envisioned by social studies education.

While the studies of the 80s and 90s continued to ask questions about knowledge and citizenship, rights and responsibilities, it was impossible to miss the impact on the citizenship education field of a broader concern with the “politics of identity.” How were students interpreting their own social locations, as they related to those located elsewhere? Studies like Stéphane Levesque’s (2001), probably inconceivable a couple of decades earlier, were thus conceptualized around group differences. He conducted a study that detailed “how regional, multicultural, and national divergences in Canadian politics and education have contributed to the emergence of different forms of nationalism, identity, and citizenship in Canada” (ii). He gathered data from social studies classrooms in two multi-ethnic high schools, one in Montréal and one in Vancouver. He discovered that citizenship education is understood to be *raison d’être* of history and social studies in both provinces and students share many similarities with

regard to their understandings of citizenship rights, pluralism, and participation, but because of different cultural and historical contexts differences emerge in their understandings of identity.

The emphasis of research on student identity and how diversities are reflected in student populations has been based on the belief that differences between groups provide knowledge about the complexity of Canadian identity. Research in citizenship education, however, has yet to tackle the cultural, geographical, regional, and historical diversities among others that are inscribed within *individual* identities. More textured analyses of individual student's identity as opposed to broad group comparisons have not yet received much attention. My study is designed to address this problem.

2. 2. Nation and National Identity

As stated in the introductory chapter, the concept of "nation" is contested. An understanding of Canadian identity involves reviewing the concepts that are most related to it, nation and national identity. In this section, I review the literature on nation beginning with definitions and distinctions from the related concept of state.

Johnson, Gregory and Smith (1994) call a nation "a community of people whose members are bound together by a sense of solidarity rooted in a historic attachment to territory and a common culture, and by a consciousness of being different from other nations"(404). Nations define themselves according to criteria of what constitutes the community of people and delimit themselves to those people who meet the criteria. As Johnston (1991) states, "clear boundaries need to be defined and defended, so that people not only know that they are...of a place...but who is not of it" (187). Using these definitions, Canada is a nation based on its historic attachment to the northern portion of America and a common culture to the extent that Canadians share many of the same expressions, behaviours, and beliefs. Perhaps most importantly, Canada is a nation because most of its people think of it as such, and distinguish themselves from all other nations in the world. It must be noted that some groups of people living in Canada view themselves sharing their Canadian-ness with other aspects of their identity such as ethnic heritage. Others do not view themselves as Canadians at all, thinking of themselves in other terms.

The concept of nation is sometimes used interchangeably with that of state and while all independent and sovereign nations are also states, the concept of state has a specific meaning. Weber (cited in Sack, 1986) calls the state, "the pre-eminent power container of the modern era" (18), developing rational structures of governance and the means of violence to enforce its authority. Johnson (1995) supports this definition of state claiming that states are "a social institution that holds monopoly over the use of force [which] defines its authority to generate and apply collective power" (275). Giddens (1985) concurs by stating that the state is "a political organization whose rule is territorially ordered and which is able to mobilize the means of violence to sustain rule" (20). In other words, the state is vested and/or assumes the authority to use its power to create, develop, and enforce various forms of law (e. g. policies, rules, edicts, and acts) over the nation.

Gellner (1983) suggests that all nations strive to become independent and sovereign, developing their own state apparatus. This occurs when people, or possibly groups of people, evoke feelings of nationalism in the larger population in an effort to consolidate the national community and establish authority over the community through the instruments of state. The state further cultivates a national consciousness and, if necessary, defends the nation against competing or threatening forces (Brodie, 1999). In short, people who think of themselves as a nation aspire to the formation of their own internationally recognized state. Canada's democratically elected government is the keeper of the instruments of state, and it works to foster a collective sense of nationhood in all Canadians. It seeks to consolidate the unity of the nation through its signaling to Canadians that they are living in and are a part of Canada. Billig (1995) refers to this as "banal nationalism" (6) whereby the taken-for-granted signing of Canada through symbols (e. g. flags, stamps, coins, logos, official names, and personages) constantly affirms this to Canadians. The Canadian government also does this in more overt ways through its orchestration of Canada Day celebrations, establishment of a Canada Heritage office, and development of educational resources used in provincially administered school systems (Sears, 1996).

The complicated aspect of nation and state is readily apparent when it is recognized that nations and states do not always occur simultaneously. There are nations

all over the world that have not achieved statehood. The Kurds, for example, perceive themselves to be a people forming a national community but they have not established their own instruments of state. Instead, they are a nation scattered throughout a number of other nations, forming a minority in Turkey, Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan, Georgia, and Armenia (United Nations, 2000). Though the Magyars largely live in Hungary, forming 97% of Hungary's population, the greater Magyar nation comprises significant populations in surrounding Yugoslavia, Romania, Slovakia and Czech Republic (United Nations, 2000). Conversely, most nations who have established their own instruments of state have multiple nations living within their borders. For example, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland have, in addition to people who think of themselves as British, significant populations that think of themselves as Scottish, Irish, Welsh, and to a much lesser extent English. Canada is also another example of a nation comprised of multiple nations. There are a significant number of Quebecois, as well as Aboriginal peoples, who consider themselves to be nations, distinct from all others (Kymlicka, 1995).

It must be noted that simply because a group of people form an ethnic minority within a sovereign or internationally recognized nation, they do not necessarily think of themselves as a nation (Kymlicka, 1995; Hall, 1999). For example, Hispanics in the United States do not think of themselves as a nation, but rather consider themselves Hispanic-Americans or simply Americans. Likewise, people of Japanese ethnicity living in Canada do not see themselves as part of a larger Japanese nation. Instead, they consider themselves Japanese-Canadians, Canadians, or possibly Japanese people who live in Canada. In these cases, Hispanic-Americans or Japanese-Canadians are examples of the multi-ethnic and multi-cultural character of the United States and Canada. This distinction is an important one because for people who consider themselves to be a nation but form a minority in larger geopolitical entity, the aspiration for independence can be powerful (Hobsbawm, 1992). Many minority nations find their status intolerable, often feeling diminished or persecuted, and actively engage in consolidating a sense of national cohesion with the aim of legitimating themselves as an independent nation and member of the world order of nations with their own instruments of state (Breuilly, 1993; Smith, 1995; Hroch, 1985). However, Gellner (1983) believes that "our planet...contains room

for a certain number of independent or autonomous political units...the...number of potential nations is probably much, *much* [italics in original text] larger than that of possible viable states" (2). Thus, nationalist struggles continue unabated throughout the world. Ignatieff (1993) suggests these nationalist struggles range from the relatively peaceful (Quebecois of Canada, Corsicans of France, and Tibetans of China) to the incredibly violent (Tamils of Sri Lanka, Basques of Spain, and Chechnyans of Russia). It should be noted that not all minority discontent involves the desire for independence in the conventional sense. Canada's aboriginal peoples have a consciousness of being different from other people, but rather than seeking their own independent nation with instruments of state many desire a form of self-government with continued economic, political and social ties to Canada. This idea is akin to what the Catalans have achieved in Spain and the proposal for sovereignty association originally put forth by Quebec's former premier Rene Levesque (Cairns, 2000).

The conceptions of nation and state described thus far are a western construct that emerged out of the nation-building¹ era of the 18th and 19th centuries. Also called the *Staatsnation* or self-determined political community (Meinecke, 1970, cited in Miller, 1995), Alter (1994) and Kohn (1955) refer to the type of nation that emerged during this period as the western or civic nation. The western or civic nation is a socio-political entity in which membership is based on a set of laws enacted by the state, laws that the people develop, believe in and adhere to and usually includes democratic institutions such as those in Great Britain, France, Switzerland, and the United States (Calhoun, 1997). Along with its political-legal basis, this model, according to Miller (1995), incorporates the elements of active representation, historical continuity, common territory or geographical space, and a common public culture.

The first element of the western or civic nation is the notion of active representation. Nations are, according to Miller (1995) "communities that do things together, take decisions, [and] achieve results" (24). The nation "becomes what it is because of the decisions it takes" (Miller, 1995: 24). This is done through proxies who

¹ See Hobsbawm (1992) for a more extensive examination of this point, but briefly stated the nation-building era involved the movement to formalize state structures and assert jurisdiction over territory. Generally speaking, prior to the 18th century the state governments of western European nations had a

are seen as embodying the national will—politicians, judges, police, and the military. These people, as instruments of state, become the active representatives of the nation. Concurrent to this is the idea of a *patria*, a community of laws with a single political will. It entails some common regulating institutions to give expression to common political sentiments and purposes. It confers on citizens of the nation a sense of political and legal equality (Smith, 1991; Johnson, 1995). In short, citizens have civil, political, and social rights and duties that are not conferred on outsiders.

Miller (1995) suggests that the second element of the western or civic nation is that it embodies “historical continuity” (23). Nations stretch backward into the past and though the national origins may be lost, forgotten, or shrouded in the mists of mythology, there is a sense the group has a common genesis. This sense may come from commonly celebrated military victories, revered monuments, or a feeling of pride about heroic deeds of particular forebears. Places and people of veneration and exaltation contain “inner meanings who can be fathomed only by the initiated, that is, the self-aware members of the nation” (Smith, 1991: 9). Miller (1995) insists that historical continuity also stretches forward in time through a collective belief in a common future. Therefore, contemporary members of the nation are custodians who maintain and consolidate the nation for future generations.

The third element of the western or civic nation model is the idea of a common territory or geographical space. Not any space or stretch of territory will do however, nations must have their “homeland” (Miller, 1995: 24) or “historic land” (Smith, 1991: 9). It is a territory that embodies and in many ways defines the people. The cradle of the people is the land “where terrain and people have exerted mutual, and beneficial influence over several generations” (Smith, 1991: 9).

The fourth element is the idea of a common public culture. A nation “requires that the people who share it should have something in common” (Miller, 1995: 25). Smith (1991) states that a “demarcated homeland...presupposes a measure of common values and traditions among the population, or at any rate its ‘core’ community” (11). The nature and content of common values and traditions is highly disputed. However, most models,

tenuous claim over much of their territory with few border controls, state officials to administer the laws, or local military regiments to enforce the law.

to varying degrees of emphasis, suggest symbols, myths, and social practices such as national language(s) are significant to the nation (Smith, 1991; Gellner, 1997).

Contrasting the western or civic nation model is what Alter (1994) and Miller (1995) refer to as the eastern or ethnic nation model. This model is based on Meinecke's (1970, cited in Miller, 1995) discussion of the *Kulturnation* or passive cultural community. The eastern or ethnic nation model shares some of the same elements as the western or civic model, including historical continuity and, to a much lesser extent, common territory or geographical space and a common public culture. However, the eastern or ethnic nation model is based not on a belief in or adherence to a set of laws developed by citizens, but rather a community of common descent. This notion emerges from Eastern Europe and Asia and is intricately tied to the primordialists (Kedourie, 1993; Geertz, 1963; Minogue, 1967) who view nations as extensions of pre-modern ethnic communities. Members of this type of nation are bonded together by a common genealogy, one that is inherent and irrevocable. Nationalist projects, under this model, are the struggle to bring to fruition centuries long bonds which are "in the blood" (Kedourie, 1993). As Smith (1991) states "whether you stayed in your community or emigrated to another, you remain ineluctably, organically, a member of the community of your birth and are forever stamped by it" (11).

Outsiders are differentiated from members of the nation because they are not included in the extended "family tree" (Smith, 1991: 12). Nationalist mobilization is possible through appeals to the "fictive super-family" and the need to protect and defend the family can substantiate almost any claim. Common language, customs, and the folklore of art, music, and dance further inspire unity and provide for the visceral expression of the family bond that is the nation.

These two models of the nation have inspired differing political communities in different parts of the world. Canada is largely an example of the western or civic nation model despite it being a multi-national state, while Israel is largely reflective of the eastern or ethnic nation model despite it being one of the approximately 200 fully independent and sovereign states in the world today.

Still, models that outline objective criteria for what constitutes a nation have proven incredibly controversial and somewhat problematic. Hobsbawm (1992) says, "no

satisfactory criterion can be discovered for deciding which of the many human collectivities should be labeled this way" (5). Every attempt to establish objective criteria for what constitutes the nation has failed because "exceptions can always be found" (Hobsbawm, 1992: 6).

Theorists emphasize that nations are largely based on belief. Miller (1995) states that "nations exist when their members recognize one another as compatriots, and believe that they share characteristics of the relevant kind" (22). Smith (1991) adds that the nation is a "faith achievement" (17), while Gellner (1983) writes that nations are "the artefact of...convictions, loyalties, and solidarities" (7). Each of these theorists differs on many points but they share the conviction that members of the nation must perceive themselves as such for the nation to exist.

Renan (1882; translation 1994) suggests that though the nature of nations may be bound up in territory, history, and a common public culture, nations essentially depend on a "daily plebiscite" whereby members reaffirm their desire to maintain community bonds and move forward into the future. Anderson (1991) refers to the nation as an "imagined community" based on a belief that all members, whether they will ever be known on a personal level or not, are compatriots. His thesis expands on Renan's century old treatise by suggesting that belief in the nation is transmitted through cultural artefacts which are available to everyone who belongs—books, newspapers, pamphlets, and more recently the electronic media. Anderson (1991) does not suggest that nations are spurious inventions, but that they depend for their existence on collective acts of imagining which find their expression through such media.

If nations are in important ways subjectively constructed, so too, do they construct the subjectivity of their members. Here we confront the concept of "national identity." Castells (1997) views the nation as "people's source of meaning and experience" (6) and agrees that national identities are subjective, contingent, and transformative. Calhoun (1994) explains this notion further when he states, "we know of no people without names, no languages or cultures in which some manner of distinctions between self and other, we and they, are not made...Self-knowledge—always a construction no matter how much it feels like a discovery—is never altogether separable from claims to be known in specific ways by others" (9-10). Here, groups of people form an identity by which they know and

understand themselves and can be known by others. This identity binds them to others that share this identity while distinguishing them from those who do not. Identity is constructed and given meaning on the basis of "...a cultural attribute, or related set of cultural attributes, that is/are ... sources of meaning" (Castells, 1997: 6). The nation offers a variety of cultural attributes that can serve as a source of meaning including language, religion, practices, beliefs, and shared history. Castells (1997) hastens to add that "for a given individual, or for a collective actor, there may be a plurality of identities" (6). These would include what Ghosh (2002) identified as gender, race, ethnicity, religion and sexual orientation, but does not include what sociologists have called roles such as mother, neighbour, union member, hockey player, churchgoer, etc. (Calhoun, 1994). The reason for the distinction, according to Castells (1997) is that roles are

...defined by norms structured by the institutions and organizations of society. Their relative weight in influencing people's behaviour depend upon negotiations and arrangements between individuals and organizations. Identities are sources of meaning for the actors themselves, and by themselves, constructed through a process of individuation (7).

This is a distinction that Tilly (1996) contends is artificial given that the lines between roles and identities are fluid. Nevertheless, a plurality of identities does not necessarily mean that identities exist in conflict or competition. Billig (1995) claims that "in different contexts, different identities become salient" (69), while Hutnik (1991) claims that "self-categorizations act as switches that turn on (or off) aspects of...identity" (164). For example, when a discussion on motherhood occurs a person's gender identity is active in making meaning of the discussion contents (mothers being female, therefore understandings of what it means to be female are active). Other identities such as race or sexual orientation remain in, what Billig (1995) calls, a state of "latency", as they may not be pertinent in the context of the discussion (69). However, if for example, racial or sexual identities are significant to the discussion and helpful in constructing meaning they can become active. Further, understandings of what it means to be a mother (role) and female, white, and gay (identities) may change because of the discussion. Likewise, multiple national identities can co-exist. A person can simultaneously view him or herself

as Quebecois and Canadian, identifying each label as a national identity. Such is the flexible, dynamic, and socially constructed character of identity.

Also of note is national identity as it relates to immigrants. Kymlicka (1995) and Habermas (1996) suggest that nations based on the western or civic model have the flexibility to confer citizenship on those who migrate to and assume residency in the nation. As Miller (1995) states, "it is by no means essential that every member should have been born there...immigration need not pose problems, provided only that the immigrants come to share in a common identity, to which they may contribute their own distinctive ingredients" (26). Immigrants can begin to develop common bonds with their adopted nation and begin developing a new national identity, one that does not necessarily conflict with any other national identities that may be part of their sense of self. No one can clearly ascertain when an immigrant begins to share in a common identity with others of the nation, but the immigrant students who participated in this study had been living in Canada for a number of months, learning new social and cultural practices, establishing relationships with friends, making connections with others through school, community organizations, and jobs, and indicated an intention to obtain their Canadian citizenship when able to do so. This can reasonably be interpreted to be evidence of they are establishing bonds with Canada and are at least beginning to develop a Canadian identity. Unquestionably, their Canadian identity differs from those of the students who were born and raised in Canada, but then all of the students differ in a number of ways, illustrating the dynamic, individual, and flexible nature of national identity.

There is a growing body of literature interested in how national identity is manifested and how it interacts with other roles and identities. Castells (1997) suggests national identity can be conceptualized as being informed by three other identities. These include 1) legitimizing identity, 2) project identity, and 3) resistance identity. The legitimizing identity "generates a civil society [through] a set of organizations and institutions, as well as a series of structured and organized social actors, which reproduce, albeit in a conflictive manner, the identity that rationalizes the source of domination" (Castells, 1997: 9). The source of domination being the nation itself, a concept that, through the instruments of state and those with vested interests, works to consolidate its

existence and to maintain the status quo of a geo-political world order based on a system of nations. A person's national identity explicitly and implicitly legitimizes the nation. Billig (1995) claims that nations are "daily reproduced within the wider world...[and] a whole complex of beliefs, assumptions, habits, representations and practices [are] also reproduced. This complex must be reproduced in a banally mundane way" (6). Billig (1995) calls mundane reproduction "banal nationalism" or "flagging" of the nation (6). Through this and explicit national celebrations, remembrances, and mythologies, a person's national identity, becomes a powerful, perhaps even "primary" force of meaning construction in the lives of people (Hughes, 1997: 21). This is not to suggest that all people view the nation as a primary, significant, or purposeful source of meaning for their identity structure. Particular life roles such as churchgoer or housewife may be far more important to people. However, Billig (1995) would claim that national identity continues to be present, even in its latency ready to be activated when called upon, while Castells (1997) would claim that national identity is a manifestation of the domination of nation as the basis of the geopolitical world order.

While legitimizing identity consolidates and reproduces the nation, the project identity transforms the nation. The project identity requires individuals to become subjects (collective social actors through which individuals develop holistic meaning of their experience). The transformation of individuals into subjects results from the combination of "individuals against communities, and...individuals against the market." An example of a project identity is that of feminists redefining their position in society and, by so doing, seeking to transform the overall social structure in which the nation has been historically based. This notion is evident in a number of studies in which gender, race, ethnicity, religion, and sexual orientation intersect with nation and national identity and results when "an individual...creating a personal history, of giving meaning to the whole realm of experiences of individual life" (Touraine, 1995: 29).

Resistance identity does not consolidate, reproduce or transform the nation, it undermines the nation. Resistance identities can be formed by any group who oppose the social, cultural, political, or economic norms of the nation. They resist by engaging in the "the exclusion of the excluders by the excluded" (Castells, 1997: 9). Examples of resistance identities are apparent in some religious fundamentalists, gay communities,

and people living in ghetto neighbourhoods. In these cases, people's religious, sexual, and socio-economic identities are identified as being repressed and marginalized by the state and in their mind this de-legitimizes the nation itself. People who develop resistance identities believe that the liberation of their other identities is more important than the nation itself. A particularly potent example of resistance identity is found in nationalist based separatist movements. Scheff (1994) claims that nationalist movements of this variety "arise out of a sense of alienation from the nation on the one hand and resentment against unfair exclusion, whether political, economic, or social on the other" (281). When national minorities activate their national identity in a separatist or independence movement, a potent form "collective resistance" develops (Etzioni, 1993: 14). The resistance identity of the national minority seeks to de-legitimize the nation with the desire to form a new nation with the instruments of state. A resistance identity that manifests itself in a nationalist separatist movement is at once a force of fragmentation for one nation and a force of consolidation for another.

There is also a growing body of literature concerned with the relationship between national and global identities. Though the two can theoretically co-exist, issues surrounding environmental degradation, as well as increasing economic, political, and cultural integration strengthen the forces of globalization and raise questions about the continued viability of distinct nations and national identities (Kennedy, 1993; Ohmae, 1995; Horsman and Marshall, 1994).

The literature on national identity informs my belief that people create a language with which to understand themselves and to understand themselves in relation to others. Through shared cultural attributes the group forms bonds that are the basis of a nation and the nation becomes a source of meaning, of identity. National identity is contingent, subjective, and transformative, being daily reproduced through the banal and overt forces of consolidation as well as constantly being threatened by forces of globalization and fragmentation.

2. 3. Textbook Studies

The official curriculum documents are the "vehicle by which organization and structure of intended learnings are communicated" (Eash, 1991: 71), encompassing

“...the content of instruction in a subject area. [It is] an overall plan of goals, subjects...materials, and intended learning outcomes of institutionalized teaching and learning as expressed in official [form]” (Baller, 1991: 138). According to Eash (1991), curriculum documents usually consist of five widely agreed on components. These include: 1) a framework of assumptions about the learner and society, 2) aims and objectives for learning, 3) content or subject matter with its selection, scope, and sequence, 4) modes of transaction, including methodologies and learning environments, and 5) evaluation. The authority of the curriculum document rests in its production by persons vested with jurisdiction over education. In Canada that role was constitutionally assigned to provinces in the British North America Act of 1867 and the provincial states have established ministries of education to develop and administer educational policy. The purpose of curriculum documents is to “provide direction to teachers while ensuring a level of consistency and standard across student populations” (Franklin, 1991: 63).

Not all five of the components noted by Eash (1991) are provided in every curriculum document but implicit assumptions and decisions are made on the way subject matter and learning activities are to be organized (Bailey, 1988). Again, depending on the jurisdiction and the time period, flexibility accorded teachers in making decisions about what to teach, how to teach, and how to evaluate have varied significantly. Some curriculum documents are very prescriptive, clearly outlining topics, and teaching and evaluation methodologies, while others allow the teacher significant decision-making power (Molnar, 1985).

Textbooks are a key classroom manifestation of the curriculum (Woodward, Elliott and Nagel, 1988). Indeed, Doyle (1992) states that textbooks are “an important means by which the curriculum is made manifest in teaching episodes” (493). According to Clark (1997) they have been “central to the quality and content of education since the inception of public schooling in Canada. They are ubiquitous in classrooms and have formed, and continue to form, the basis of instruction” (7). Westbury (1991) claims that textbooks “surround and support teaching of all kinds, at all levels of instruction [and are] the central tools and objects of attention in all schooling” (74).

A significant amount of research has been conducted on textbooks over the years including analyses of textbook production, distribution, and authorization (Parvin, 1965;

Apple and Christian-Smith, 1991) and the cognitive strategies employed to assist students in learning (Armbruster and Anderson, 1980; Baker and Brown, 1983; Dansereau, 1983; Bransford, 1984). Studies have examined the ways textbooks are actually used in the classroom by teachers (Patton, 1980; Alverman, 1989), their content quality (Hodgetts, 1968; Fitzgerald, 1979) and structural or organizational quality (Beck, McKeown, and Gromoll, 1989; Mikk, 2000). As well, research has been conducted on textbook bias and ideological selectivity with regard to ethnicity, race, social class, gender, and political values (Dewar, 1972; Anyon, 1979; Luke, 1988).

Osborne (1996) suggests that from such research several conclusions can be made, particularly in relation to social studies textbooks. First, textbooks are “not objective, non-controversial, magisterial statements of objective truth...[and] are far from value neutral” (150). Secondly, textbooks are “to a greater or lesser extent vehicles for the transmission of ideology” often over- or under-representing certain groups of people and conveying particular values while ignoring or condemning others (150). Thirdly, textbooks, especially those in the social sciences, are “often bland and boring” rarely offering more than superficial treatment of topics, as they are “written to cover a programme of study that has to be completed in a set period of time” (150). Finally, “students do not pay that much attention to their textbooks...[and] reading is much more passive than active. [They] are used rather than enjoyed. The information they convey has a very short life, being retained only till the next test or examination” (151).

Of the many areas of research conducted on textbooks, studies that analyze the ways the nation and various groups in the nation have been represented in textbooks have the most relevance.

The various representations of Canada, and various groups in Canada, are evident in the following chronology of Canadian textbook studies. This review is not exhaustive but it shows what textbooks studies have found with regard to representations of who is present/valued or present/diminished or invisible/unvalued; what cultural values are to be embraced, debated, or rejected; what events are worth including/omitting and to what end; and how much or little diversity of the Canadian population is evident in Canadian social studies and history textbooks.

Hodgetts' (1968) *What Culture? What Heritage?* examined a number of textbooks from across Canada and noted the presentation of opposing views of Canadian history in the textbooks of English and French Canada. According to the report, English Canadian textbooks presented a "white, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant political and constitutional history" while "saintly, heroic figures motivated by Christian ideals and working almost exclusively for the glory of God" were most evident in French Canadian textbooks (Hodgetts, 1968: 20, 31).

Marcel Trudel and Genevieve Jain (1970) also noted different realities being presented to Anglophone and Francophone students. They concluded that different historical periods were emphasized, with the period of French colonization (pre-1663) given extensive emphasis in French-language texts but only limited notice in English-language texts. However, the English-language texts tried to give an overall history of Canada but the French-language texts focused almost exclusively on Quebec. Also noted was concern with the survival of French culture in French-language textbooks and the prominence of religion, particularly the Roman Catholic Church.

Using quantitative analysis, Garnet McDiarmid and David Pratt (1971) noted in *Teaching Prejudice* that in the 143 authorized social studies textbooks in Ontario there were many examples of bias in favour of Christians and Jews and prejudice against certain groups, particularly Indians, Negroes, and Muslims. This study had an impact on the creation of guidelines to help eliminate racial, ethnic, cultural, and religious bias in future Ontario textbooks (Ontario Ministry of Education, 1980). Other studies conducted by various provincial human rights commissions, ministries of education, and cultural organizations in the following decade obtained similar findings, especially with regard to Aboriginal peoples, (Paton and Deverell, 1974).

Ken Dewar (1972) examined six Canadian history texts published between 1960 and 1962, discovering that the texts romanticized Canadian history for the purposes of socializing the reader into conservative nationalist values. Indeed, "by their portrayal of Canada as [the] best of all possible worlds they constitute, in effect, a defence of the essential features of the present status quo in Canadian society, and thereby uphold the interests of the contemporary ruling classes" (127).

In 1975, Patrick Babin examined 1,719 textbooks listed in Ontario's *Circular 14* for bias. Rather than discovering bias in the representation of minority groups Babin concluded that there was bias in the omission of minority groups from textbooks.

Gordon Bailey (1975) analyzed 123 Canadian elementary social studies textbooks to determine their contribution to the socialization of Canadian students. This socialization process was examined in terms of the development of a sense of national identity. He concluded that textbooks presented the physical parameters of social experience, defining community in terms of its geographic features rather than social dimensions. As well, dominant assumptions about the environment, technology, and progress were largely unquestioned and unexplored.

Osborne (1980) conducted a historical study on 29 Canadian history textbooks published between 1886 and 1979 to determine how Canadian workers were portrayed. He concluded that the textbooks had very little to say about the Canadian working class and that the textbooks conveyed a message of acceptance of the status quo, emphasizing the virtues of hard work, moderation, perseverance, and determination.

Valerie Murray (1986) researched five elementary social studies textbooks in British Columbia and organized the content into three dimensions: social conflict, social discourse, and social knowledge. Murray concluded that the textbooks promote a consensus view of society and fail to address societal tensions.

Beth Light, Pat Staton, and Paula Bourne (1989) focused on the portrayal of women in 66 Canadian history textbooks. They concluded that women were represented much less than men, their activities were not treated seriously by the authors, and that there was a tendency to blame female family members for men's faults and failures.

Marshall Conley (1989) examined excerpts from Canadian history textbooks used throughout the 20th century and concluded that they were used to promote particular kind of Canadian identity. He observed an idealized picture of Canadian life and culture, one that was united and free from conflict. Indeed, the ideal Canadians were "people who intend to better themselves, who will work hard without complaint, who can make a virtue out of necessity, who are moderate, self-reliant, respectable, and temperate" (147).

Clark (1995) conducted a historical study of citizenship education using British Columbia textbooks. The study analyzed 169 social studies textbooks, approved for use

in British Columbia schools from 1925 to 1989, following three significant events in education: the Putman-Weir Report (Putman and Weir, 1925), the Chant Report (British Columbia, 1960), and the inauguration of the Canada Studies Foundation in 1970. The purpose of the study was to examine the different views of Canadian identity evident in the textbooks and how these views changed over time (through the three eras). A profile was created for each textbook examining eleven aspects of Canadian identity. These aspects were categorized under three themes: the conception of the ideal Canadian in the texts, the conception of Canada as a nation in the texts, and the conception of the student reader.

Clark (1995) discovered that the vision of Canadian identity changed considerably over time, in terms of each of the themes explored. In the Putman-Weir era, the predominant feature of Canadian identity in the textbooks involved an increasing sense of independence combined with a continuing sense of allegiance and commitment to Great Britain and the British Empire. Characteristics of good citizenship included loyalty to Canada and Great Britain. Canadian identity was also gendered as women were excluded from this portrait. So too, were Asians and aboriginal peoples, while more desirable immigrants were included because they were needed to populate the land. The Chant era offered a vision of Canadian identity that took for granted Canada's independence from Great Britain. The relationship with the United States became more central, as did Canada's role on the international stage. According to Clark (1995), Canadian identity in textbooks was defined as not-being-American. Textbooks during this era become more inclusive of women, though in roles presented as peripheral (housekeepers, child-rearers). Asians and aboriginal peoples continued to be presented in negative ways while other immigrants were characterized as contributing significantly to the progress of the nation. Finally, in the Canada Studies era, textbooks promoted Canadian nationhood and greater inclusiveness. Women, aboriginal peoples, and immigrants of all origins, along with the elderly and physically challenged people, were included in the texts, and generally presented positively.

Finally, Tim Stanley (1995) conducted a cultural and historical examination of British Columbia textbooks in the 1872 to 1925 period. He suggested that early textbooks extolled the virtues of British patriotism, enterprise and skill, and depicted Asians as the

inferior and backward. Indeed, they “fostered an ‘ideology of difference’ which legitimated the white occupation of the province as both natural and morally necessary, at the same time it rendered the First Nations and Asians as ‘Other’” (39).

There has been little recent research published in this area but the studies included here suggest that changing constructions and representations of Canada and Canadians have and continue to be part of social studies and history textbooks. These studies contribute information to the ongoing discussion of what content and representations of Canada and Canadians ought to be in textbooks. What these studies do not explicitly consider are the representations of Canada and Canadians in textbooks relative to the Canadian identity of students who engage with them. Students bring perceptions of Canada and Canadians to their reading of textbooks and use these in constructing an understanding of what the nation is, while simultaneously learning more about the nation. My study addresses this issue by analyzing an official curriculum document and social studies textbooks to determine how they address Canada and Canadians in reference to the Canadian identity of students.

2. 4. Summary

I examined the literature related to social studies, demonstrating that its primary purpose has been and continues to be citizenship education. This is followed by an outline of themes apparent in social studies and of approaches to the field. I concluded my examination of social studies with an overview of literature and studies conducted in social studies since it became a school subject in Canada during the 1930s. I argued that recent research has focused on conceptualizations of identity and citizenship within groups while this study maps the terrain of individual’s identities, specifically Canadian identity.

I also explored the literature related to nation and national identity. National identity is contingent, subjective, and transformative, being daily reproduced through the banal and overt forces of consolidation as well as constantly being threatened by forces of globalization and fragmentation. I argued that Canadian national identity is largely of the western or civic variety and is flexible enough to include immigrants as members of the nation.

Finally, I reviewed a number of textbook studies conducted in Canada that related to various aspects of Canadian identity and citizenship. I suggested that unlike previous studies this study considers the representations of Canada and Canadians in textbooks relative to the Canadian identity of students who engage with them.

CHAPTER THREE

Conducting the Research: Type, Approach, and Methods

In this chapter, I discuss the type and approach to research as well as the methods used in conducting this study. The chapter is divided into sections that proceed as follows: 1) the students and their school: gathering the data 2) a framework for analyzing Canadian identity, 3) analyzing the curriculum and textbooks, and 4) reliability and validity. The chapter concludes with a summary.

3. 1. The Students and their School: Gathering the Data

Qualitative inquiry encompasses many approaches including constructivism (Lincoln and Guba, 1998), interpretativism (Denzin, 1992; Smith, 1989), naturalistic inquiry (Lincoln and Guba, 1998), and post-positivist inquiry (Quantz, 1992). All share “an interpretative...approach to its subject matter... attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them” (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994: 2).

Case study design is also interpretive, allowing for holistic description of a “specific phenomenon such as a program, an event, a person, a process, an institution, or a social group” (Merriam, 1988: 9). R. E. Stake (1998) notes that “the case” is a bounded system, identifiable and delimited, selected because it is an example of some issue, concern, or hypothesis. By focussing on the particular, the researcher can “uncover the interaction of significant factors characteristic of the phenomenon” (Merriam, 1988: 10).

Case studies have been categorized and used in a number of ways. The way that has the most relevance for this study is a categorization based on purpose. Stake (1998) identifies instrumental case studies as those that “provide insight into an issue or refinement of a theory” (Stake, 1998: 88). Interest in the case itself is secondary to the study’s ultimate purpose. The case plays a supportive role, facilitating understanding of something else. The case may be looked at in depth and its contexts may be scrutinized, but only because it helps the researchers pursue an external interest. Here, students are the instrumental cases as they provide insight into and offer refinement to a theory of

Canadian identity. As well, the cases are instrumental for conducting analysis of an official social studies curriculum document and three social studies textbooks to discover how they address students' Canadian identity.

I chose to focus on a segment of the student population for which there has been little research conducted, specifically recently migrated students. Though migration has been a constant feature of human history, advances in transportation and communication mean that people can move further and with more ease than ever before (Hardwick and Holtgrieve, 1996). Migrants are increasingly changing the demographic nature of nations and impacting the competing forces of consolidation, fragmentation, and globalization (Birch, 1993). Unlike people who have never migrated from one place to another, the act of moving one's permanent residence impacts on perceptions (Boyle, Halfacree, and Robinson, 1998). Migrants move from being immersed in the culture of one location to living in the culture of another. They are exposed to new ideas, perspectives, and practices in their new location, assimilating, adapting, and/or rejecting as they deem necessary (Boyle, Halfacree, and Robinson, 1998). Some of the new ideas or perspectives that migrants are exposed to in their new location are those related to the nation. Though they may share many similarities, people living in different locations develop different ways of understanding the nation based on their geographical situation, historical experiences, and demographic composition (Hiller, 1996). In short, locations develop unique cultural milieus. If a person visits St. John's, Newfoundland, it does not take long to recognize that the Canada understood by the people of St. John's differs from the Canada understood by the people of Trois Rivieres, Regina, or Vancouver. One can reasonably expect that the dynamic, always in progress, and never complete nature of Canadian national identity would be affected by migrating from one location or cultural milieu to another.

This point is magnified for migrants who have migrated to Canada from another nation. For these migrants, they are not only being exposed to new ideas, perspectives, and practices related to the nation, they are also developing a new understanding of the nation to which they have migrated, developing a new national identity that they reconcile with their other identities (Boyle, Halfacree, and Robinson, 1998).

Subjects in this study: 1) were students enrolled in a school in Vancouver, British Columbia, 2) had migrated to Vancouver within the previous 24 months, and 3) indicated they were Canadian citizens or intended to obtain Canadian citizenship. The first criterion was based on Vancouver having an extensive population comprised of migrants from other parts of Canada and the world (Statistics Canada, 2000); as well, Vancouver was the city from which I conducted the study.

The second criterion was developed to ensure a change of cultural milieu with change of location. Eyles (1985) posits that migration from one location to another involves attuning oneself to a new place, developing a sense of that place, and part of that involves an understanding of the nation from that place. I wanted students who were likely to have contemplated their perceptions of Canada, Canadians, and themselves as Canadians. Steele (1981) suggests that migrants have heightened sensitivity to their surroundings and that information gathering is optimal in the first 6 to 12 months after arrival in a new location. However, the period of recent migration was extended to 24 months to ensure that a sufficient number of students could qualify for this study.

The third and last criterion was included to ensure data would be suggestive of Canadian identity. Though students' may also have other national identities and that identities are dynamic, contingent, and provisional, I wanted some indication of a bond between students and the nation of Canada.

The students selected for participation in this study were enrolled at Portage Secondary School in Vancouver. Burgess (1984) suggests that sites from which research participants are drawn should be selected based on their potential to afford persons who meet the criteria for participation, who are willing to participate, and where the researcher has established contacts. Portage Secondary School met the criteria. I consulted Statistics Canada (2000) to ascertain which areas of Vancouver had the highest percentage of recent immigration. By entering the postal codes of various secondary schools into the Statscan website, a detailed profile of immediate school vicinities emerged¹. Portage Secondary School was chosen as the site from which students could be drawn because its census profile suggested significant potential for contacting recently migrated students.

¹ When a postal code is entered, a census profile results based on data from streets with the same postal code prefix (first three characters).

The area surrounding Portage Secondary School was relatively affluent in comparison to other sections of the city, with an average annual income of \$47,566 per taxpayer and had undergone significant demographic change since 1991 with a 35.5% increase in immigrants. No information was available concerning the settlement patterns of migrants from other parts of Canada. The racial breakdown was 56% white, 34% Asian, 4% South Asian or Indian, 2% Black and 4% other (Statistics Canada, 2000). The ethnic composition was difficult to ascertain, however the self-identification method used by Statistics Canada suggests that the figures are as follows: 60% view themselves as Canadian, 11% identify as hyphenated Canadians with the most prominent ethnicities being Chinese, British, and Irish, 20% identify as Chinese (including Hong Kong) solely, 4% view themselves as Taiwanese, 2% identify as Korean, 1% view themselves as Indian, while 2% identify as other ethnicities.

A second reason Portage Secondary School was selected was because I had a contact in the school. Through a liaison, I had been introduced to the school principal and forwarded him a description of the study for his consideration. I arranged an informal interview with him for April 1, 1999, which lasted for approximately one hour. The principal expressed interest in having his students participate, stating "it would be good for Portage" (Field Note Book #1, 04-01-99: 1). Satisfied that both the University of British Columbia and the Vancouver School Board had approved this study (see Appendices #1A and 1B respectively), the principal gave permission for me to proceed.

During the one hour interview with the principal, I learned about the school's structuring of grades, classes, programs, extra-curricular activities and scheduling. Further information was gathered from a publication on student engagement in which Portage Secondary School participated as an anonymous case study (Smith, Donahue, Vibert, 1998). As well, a grade 12 history teacher took me on a school tour. This information was combined with that gleaned from student interviews and my own observations over the next six weeks to construct a school profile.

The school reflects the area of which it is a part in many ways. Located in a part of Vancouver that was settled by British immigrants of considerable means, the school opened in the early part of the 20th century. The principal indicated that the school had

“about a thousand” students, but the administrative assistant confirmed an enrolment of 1,174 students from grades seven to twelve for the 1998-99 school year.

The principal stated that the mandate of the school was focussed on “scholastic achievement” balanced with “elite programs of sport and the arts.” He wanted the students to graduate as “well-rounded individuals” and be able to enter “any university they desire.” One way the school acted on this philosophy was through the development of the “advanced-classes” concept during the 1980s. Gifted and high-achieving students could apply for a limited number of spots in an enriched program of study. The application process involved interviews and a written composition for entry in either grade eight or ten. Students could enter at other grades if openings became available due to students leaving the program for various reasons. The advanced-classes concept organized students into grade cohorts that stayed together throughout their secondary school career, though in grade twelve there were classes that mixed students in the advanced-classes with students in the regular school program. The advanced-classes featured smaller class sizes, more independent study, flexibility in topics for study, increased one-on-one interaction with teachers, and field trips that ranged from outdoor orienteering to theatre trips to New York. The school, especially advanced-classes, had significant parental involvement. Parents raised funds for programs and frequently chaperoned at school events and on field trips.

A couple of students indicated that there was a sense of elitism that pervaded the advanced-classes and jealousy from the regular school program. However, they said this did not affect sportsmanship on school teams or the formation of friendships.

One of the observations I made during my time at the school was the segregation between Asian and non-Asian students. Though not universal, a high proportion of Asian students interacted only with other Asian students. Non-Asian students did the same, though this group was more racially diverse. Early in the interview process, a student noted for me that the Asian students eat together in the cafeteria while the other students eat their lunch in the halls, outside, or off school grounds. As well, the Asian students park their “nice cars” in a particular section of the parking lot while other students park their cars on the side streets around the school. The student did not think this was intentional or that it was because either group disliked or was fearful of the other. She

said, "it's just the way it is." During a tour of the school one of the teachers also noted this aspect of the school's culture. When referring to the class graduation pictures hanging on the wall he noted the changing "face" of Portage over the years. He said the increasing number of Asian students to "about 50% of the school" was having an impact on student relations "both good and bad" (Field Note Book #1: 15). He did not elaborate. This point aside, principal, teachers, and students said how much they liked Portage Secondary School. Students noted their feelings of safety and the better education they were receiving, especially when compared to another local secondary school that many of their friends attended.

With the site chosen and a profile of the school developing, the selection of recently migrated students began. It was suggested by the principal that the chances of finding recently migrated students that fit the criteria were greater in the senior grade (grade 12) because their backgrounds were more diverse than students in the other grades. Further, the senior students had more time available to engage in data gathering and had more flexibility in their schedules. Since this study examines the theoretical intersection between students, curriculum document, and textbook, it was not imperative that the cases or students actually have completed grade 11 social studies in British Columbia and encountered the SS-11 IRP, or used the three social studies textbooks being analyzed in this study. Indeed, selecting cases from a pool of students that met the criteria and were accessible was more important than ensuring congruence with grade level of the social studies curriculum document and textbooks.

To begin the selection process, I offered a written questionnaire to 105 grade 12 students on April 6-7, 1999 (see Appendix #3A for the questionnaire, and Appendix #3B for the same questionnaire with questions referenced by numbers). It was introduced at the beginning of history, geography or law classes and took about 15 minutes to complete. Students chose whether or not to complete the questionnaire and could withdraw from participation at any time. All questionnaires were collected before students left the classroom. Based on the information provided, those who met the criteria and indicated interest in participating in this study were contacted in order to obtain their written consent and the written consent of their parent or guardian (see Appendix #1C). Of the 105 students who completed questionnaires, 16 met the criteria and were selected

to participate further. All submitted consent forms before one student asked to withdraw from the study for personal reasons; this left 15 students, 8 girls and 7 boys. The nations students migrated from included Taiwan, Korea, Jamaica, United States, Hong Kong, Russia, and Greece, while other students migrated from places within Canada, including Winnipeg, Calgary, Ottawa, Whitehorse, Whistler, Edmonton, Prince George, and Richmond Hill.

Three methods were employed to gather data on students' Canadian identity: 1) questionnaire, 2) individual interviews, and 3) group interviews. Each method is nested in the subsequent one, revealing perceptions of and tensions with Canada, Canadians, and themselves as Canadians, and contributing to a greater understanding of students' Canadian identity.

This written questionnaire was one page in length and included 13 questions (see Appendices #3A-C). This questionnaire served a number of purposes. First, it provided information necessary to identify students who met the criteria; of the total 105 questionnaires completed, 89 did not meet the criteria. Secondly, it provided students with insight into the topic of this study, allowing them to make a more informed decision about whether or not to participate if selected. Thirdly, the questionnaire provided the first data set concerning students' Canadian identity.

The questionnaire was piloted to ensure that the questions were clear, spelling and grammar were correct, and that the design or layout of the questionnaire was coherent and easy to follow. Suggestions for revision were offered and incorporated into the final edition of the questionnaire. Nevertheless, this questionnaire was flawed in two ways. First, in an effort to keep the questionnaire to a single page compromises were made concerning the font size and the spaces provided for written responses. Two students complained that there was not enough room to write on the sheet. I encouraged them to write on the back of the sheet if necessary. However, if the questionnaire were to be used again I would enlarge the font and extend the questionnaire to two pages in order to provide adequate space for written responses.

Secondly, the wording of Question# 9 was problematic for one student. She was an aboriginal student and felt that the three pre-established choices did not apply to her. She felt that to identify herself only as Canadian erased her aboriginal heritage, while

identifying herself as a hyphenated Canadian made her feel “almost Canadian” but not quite, which she adamantly disavowed (Field Note Book #2: 2). I encouraged this student to use the back of the sheet and identify herself in a way that she felt most comfortable. However, if this questionnaire were to be used in the future I would include a space for respondents to identify themselves as they feel appropriate.

The second method of data gathering used in this study was the semi-structured individual interview. The purposes of interviews are to establish “...a human-to-human relationship with the respondent and the desire to *understand* rather than *explain*” [italics in original] (Fontana and Frey, 1998: 57). Unlike structured interviews that have pre-established questions and frequently have pre-established category options for responses, and unstructured interviews that are more free-flowing or conversation-like, semi-structured interviews allow the interviewer to maintain focus on the topic and address the established questions, yet they allow the respondent to respond at length, deviate from the topic, and reshape the focus if desired (Denzin, 1989). Rather than playing a neutral role in the interview process, the interviewer is a partner in the dialogue, infusing his or her opinions, perspectives, and personal stories as one might in a conversation (Mischler, 1986).

The strength of this type of interviewing is its lack of formality. It provides the opportunity for respondents to reveal dimensions and aspects of the topic that the interviewer might not or could not have anticipated. Further, because the interviewer is perceived to be a conversation partner rather than cordial but distant researcher, a sense of trust is more likely to be developed, potentially leading to richer data. In other words, the interviewer is no longer perceived to be an intruder or voyeur in the respondent’s world, but rather an interested and involved participant (Fontana and Frey, 1998).

The difficulty with semi-structured interviewing is the possibility of being distracted from the purposes of the interview. Interviews can go astray, leading to the accumulation of data that, while interesting, may be of little use. Another difficulty is the potential to overly influence the interview. In an effort to develop a trusting relationship and put respondents at ease with a friendly attitude, interviewers sometimes contribute too much to the dialogue, unwittingly becoming directors of the interview rather than facilitators or co-participants (Creswell, 1994). This difficulty can be addressed using

“active listening” techniques such as rephrasing the respondent’s words in order to obtain greater clarity, asking for examples, or offering counter-examples in an effort to explore his or her points further (Wiersma, 1986). Though the interviewer is free to insert her or himself into the interview, s/he must not forget that it is respondent’s words that are most important.

I chose to interview each of the 15 students individually because of the benefits that come from conversing with one person at a time with no one competing for attention. The only voices heard are those of the researcher and the researched, one facilitating and one supplying data. This allows the interviewer to follow up on responses in an effort to gain greater clarity, obtain further examples to illustrate what is meant by a particular comment or statement, and in some cases offer counter-examples for the interview respondent to consider. A second benefit to individual interviews is that it alleviates the respondent’s potential concern about embarrassing him or herself in front of peers or other persons who have a greater influence on their daily lives (Holstein and Gubrium, 1996).

The individual interviews were conducted April 20-May 3, 1999 at the school (see Appendix #2 for the interview schedule) in the corner of the school cafeteria. The principal had suggested that by enclosing an area of the cafeteria with portable dividers the students and I would have the necessary privacy and quiet to conduct interviews. I walked to the student’s classroom to meet them for our pre-arranged interview and walked back with them to the cafeteria. The walk to the cafeteria, which often involved going between different buildings, enabled me to engage the student in casual conversation, discover a little about their lives, perceptions of the school, and put them at ease. Each interview lasted at least 60 minutes and was tape-recorded. Several interviews lasted longer because students wished to continue, and had the flexibility of schedule to do so. At the conclusion of the interview, I recorded observations and impressions about the student, pace of the interviews, areas of concern with regard to questioning, and comments made by the student that might be used in the group interview segment of the data gathering process.

The individual interview served three purposes. First, it provided the second data set concerning students’ perceptions and tensions. Secondly, it was an opportunity to

clarify and explore information that students provided on the questionnaire, enhancing the validity of the data. Thirdly, it provided data used in the subsequent group interviews.

Since I wanted to ask questions that elicited information on students' Canadian identity I had to have a sense of what constitutes Canadian identity in the first place. Hughes (1997) developed a framework of Canadian identity based on interviews with 150 high school students. I used this framework as a starting point for designing questions that would bring forth students' perceptions of Canada, Canadians, and themselves as Canadians. The questions served as a guide to ensure that I maintained focus, had a sense of direction, pushed the interview forward toward a conclusion, and obtained the type of information desired (see Appendix #4 for a list of individual interview questions). Questions were not always asked in exactly the order shown in Appendix #4. Occasionally the student would answer a question before it was asked, precipitating a move onto other questions. Sometimes questions would be asked, answered, and then revisited again later. Although this part of the study is concerned with students' Canadian identity, I did not ask about this directly. Concepts such as Canadian identity are difficult to grapple with and requests to have students "describe your Canadian identity" would likely have met with blank faces and confusion. As McCracken (1988) states "most questions cannot be asked directly. They can be answered only by asking other questions, and piecing answers together" (73).

The questions in Appendix #4, Part A: Biographical Information, provided the opportunity to learn more about aspects of students' lives. Students were put at ease talking about a topic with which they were familiar. Feelings of trust were also enhanced as the interviewer shared similar information about him self (e.g. you're an only child too!). Learning more about the contexts in which students lived their lives also provided important information for interpreting students' perceptions.

The questions in Appendix #4, Part B: Migration, explored the circumstances that led to their migration to Vancouver. As well, feelings about the migration potentially coloured perceptions and interpretations of Canada and Canadians and thus provided important information.

The questions in Appendix #4, Part C: Official Citizenship, Self-Perception, and Home, verified citizenship status. As well, the questions moved beyond official status

into self-perception (i.e., do they or do they not see themselves as Canadian) and feelings of being at home (i.e., where they feel most connected).

Appendix #4, Part D: Perceptions of Canada and Canadians explored what the nation and other members of the national community meant to students, how they perceived tensions that may exist. Through the topics they emphasized, words they used to describe and explain, and tone of voice employed, a greater understanding of identity was possible.

The questions generated much data, but also had weaknesses. There were a fair number of questions to be covered in a 60-minute interview, especially as these questions were asked in a two-way conversation. Though each interview covered all of the questions, on at least two occasions the interview seemed rushed. In retrospect, were these interviews to be conducted again I would reduce my input into the interview, reduce the number of questions to be asked, or extend the length of time.

The third method of data gathering was the semi-structured group interview. Group interviews entail questioning several individuals simultaneously in formal or informal settings. They are not meant to replace individual interviewing, rather they provide "another level of data gathering or a perspective on the research problem not available through individual interviews" (Fontana and Frey, 1998: 53-54). Several people are brought together in an effort to more closely approximate a group discussion or conversation. Like the individual interview, the group interview can be designed with a structured, unstructured, or semi-structured format

For the semi-structured group interview, the interviewer acts as a partner or participant in the discussion, remains aware of the topic, and maintains the focus, direction, and pace as the interview unfolds. However, the interviewer must also be mindful of the group dynamic during the interview. Merton (1956) notes that the interviewer

...must keep one person or small coalition of persons from dominating the group; second he or she must obtain responses from the entire group to ensure the fullest possible coverage of the topic. In addition, the interviewer must balance the directive interviewer role with the role of moderator, which calls for the management of the dynamics of the group being interviewed (cited in Fontana and Frey, 1998: 55).

Researchers must also remain aware of the possibility that “the emerging group culture may interfere with individual expression” meaning a form of “group think” may result (Fontana and Frey, 1998: 55).

The strength of this method is that rather than focusing on a single respondent attention is dispersed among a number of respondents. This has the potential to reduce any feelings of intimidation respondents may experience (Creswell, 1994). As well, respondents do not have to respond to only the interviewer’s questions and comments, they can respond to each other’s. This offers more catalysts for discussion, alleviating the possibility of the conversation stagnating or winding down prematurely.

The difficulty with this data gathering method is that since respondents are constantly interacting with each other, time is easily consumed reducing the possibility of the interviewer accessing each respondent’s perspectives. Using this method in concert with others, especially the individual interview can mitigate this difficulty.

Five group interviews were conducted from May 5-13, 1999 at the school (see Appendix #2 for the interview schedule). All students had completed their individual interviews by the time group interviews began. Every effort was made to have gender balance and an equal number of students in each group interview. However, differing student schedules made this impossible within the confines of the school day, thus the group interview conducted on the morning of May 6, 1999 had four students, while the last group interview conducted on the afternoon of May 13, 1999 had only two students. This may have affected the group dynamic of the interview but it did not unduly affect the content of the discussion itself.

The setup and location were similar to those of the individual interview. Each interview was scheduled to last 60 minutes though most lasted longer as students became very interested and involved in the discussion. On two occasions one student in the group had to leave after 60 minutes due to classes or obligations elsewhere in the school. The remaining students continued with the interview. Group interviews were tape-recorded, and field notes were logged into a notebook after each group interview.

The group interviews served three purposes. First, they provided additional data concerning students’ Canadian identity. Secondly, they provided an opportunity to clarify responses offered on the questionnaire and in individual interviews, enhancing the

validity of the data. Thirdly, they provided an opportunity for students to respond to statements made during the individual interviews, exploring their thoughts in greater depth than would be possible if relying only on the questionnaire or individual interview.

The third purpose highlights a difference in design when compared to the first two methods. Rather than pre-establishing questions to facilitate responses I used statements made by the students during their individual interviews. I felt that further questions would not elicit additional or richer data from students but responding to their own statements might. As well, having students respond to their own statements enhanced the perception that they were involved in a conversation, able to critique, challenge, change, or affirm themselves and others.

Following each of the individual interviews I listened to the taped recordings. Five to six provocative statements were extracted from these recordings and compiled onto a list. As each individual interview was completed the list of extracted statements grew longer. When individual interviews were completed May 3, 1999, final statements were added to the list bringing the total number to 78. From this list, 15 statements were chosen to be catalysts for discussion during group interviews (see Appendix #5A-B). Every effort was given to choose statements that represented the breadth of topics discussed in the individual interviews. As well, attention was given to choosing statements that represented positive, negative, and neutral perspectives. The 15 statements used in group interviews came from 13 students. The statements of two students were not included because they were similar to statements made by other students.

At the beginning of each group interview I informed students they would be responding to statements made by them and other students participating in the study. In an effort to deter students from searching for their own words and simply justifying them for the sake of consistency, I told them that not all students' statements were represented and that a statement made by them may or may not be present. I gave each student in the group a sheet of paper containing the 15 statements placed in random order, and asked them to choose the two they agreed with the most and circle the statement numbers. I then asked them to choose the two they disagreed with the most and place an X through the statement numbers. Starting with the student to my left, the first statement with which

they agreed was read aloud. If other group members chose the same statement they usually chimed in with agreement. Students were encouraged to do this as it reduced the procedural feeling of the interview and helped ignite discussion. I sometimes challenged statements, offering alternative perspectives, always careful to move the discussion throughout the group. The same procedure was followed with subsequent statements of agreement and disagreement until everyone had had the opportunity to share their choices and offer responses.

This process was not without a limitation. The statements used were selected as the interview process unfolded. This was necessary because of time constraints (i. e., exams, graduation, and the conclusion of the school year). Ideally, analysis of the individual interview data would be completed before statements are selected for group interviews. Nevertheless, the group interviews served their purposes. They provided additional data concerning students' Canadian identity and offered an opportunity to clarify and further explore responses offered on the questionnaire and in individual interviews, enhancing the validity of data analysis.

In preparation for the data analysis process, students were assigned a pseudonym to protect their confidentiality. Tape recordings from individual and group interviews were assigned a tape number and transcribed during June-August, 1999 (see Appendix #2 for pseudonyms and corresponding tape recording numbers). As an initial step, I consulted the categories developed by Hughes (1997) in his framework of Canadian identity. I compared his categories to those suggested by the data to see if there were similarities. I wove back and forth between Hughes' framework and the data several times, using some of his categories and developing new ones that were more suggestive of the data. Tesch (1990) calls this process "segmenting" (22). Each segmented parcel of data deemed to reflect a particular category was colour coded with a thematic sticker. The same parcel of data was saved on a thematically titled computer file. Bogdan and Biklen (1992) call this process "coding categories" (64) while Marshall and Rossman (1989) call it "generating categories, themes, or patterns" (133).

The themes or categories that developed from this process formed what are called the "dimensions" of students' Canadian identity. Three dimensions were evident: Canadian identity as 1) sentiment, 2) citizenship, and 3) values. These dimensions were

further sub-divided into a number of “features.” The data for each case were coded and categorized into the feature(s) that they most related.

Data analysis proceeded by interpreting each parcel of data for meaning based on what was stated, how it was stated, how it related to other data gathered from that student, and the meaning that could be interpreted given what is known about the student and the contexts in which they lived. Given that there were 15 students, not all of the data analyzed could be used. In order to facilitate presentation of results, selected perceptions and tensions of each student were merged together under the dimension and feature headings. Since students often had similar perceptions and tensions, the person(s) who expressed the point most clearly are included herein along with an indication of how many others shared these perceptions and tensions. If, however, the perceptions and tensions differed between students within the same feature, then as many different perspectives are presented as necessary to convey the diversity in students’ Canadian identity. The results of the data analysis are presented in chapters 4-6 under dimension and feature headings.

3. 2. A Framework for Analyzing Canadian Identity

In this section, I present an explanation of the three dimensions, sentiment, citizenship, and values that comprised students’ Canadian identity. As stated earlier, these dimensions are broad categories developed in a process of weaving back and forth between pre-established categories presented in Hughes’ framework of Canadian identity and the data gathered from the 15 case studies. Each dimension is further sub-divided into features.

3. 2. 1. Canadian Identity as Sentiment

“Sentiment” is often associated with tender feelings of sentimentality and a tendency to sentimentalize. That is not my intent when using the term. Rather, sentiment means, a mental attitude or response to a person, object, or idea based on feeling instead of reason (Ginsberg, 1973). Here, sentiments are the affective part of identity, conveying the perceptions and feelings a person has about the nation. They can range from rapturous sentimentality to feelings of indifference or non-commitment to rejection, anger, disgust

or frustration. In this dimension I explain the sentiments that form the basis of what people perceive and feel about Canada. This dimension is comprised of five features: 1) sense of commitment to land, territory, landscape or location, 2) sense of commitment to distinctive symbols, 3) sense of historical uniqueness, 4) sense of national sovereignty, and 5) sense of belonging.

Sense of Commitment to the Land, Territory, Landscape or Location

The ways that people understand their nation are many. One of the most significant is in a sense of commitment to the land. People can express sentiments that range from a deep, visceral, connection to the land whereby the very soil, mountains, rocks, rivers, and trees *are* the nation to feelings of detachment or perhaps viewing the land as something to be conquered, owned, and used to satisfy wants and needs.

A second part of this feature involves sense of commitment to the territory. People have a mental map in their heads of what their nation looks like, its extent, its shape, the features of the land, and the positioning of bodies of water. Borders between their nation and others are significant because they indicate where fellow citizens live as insiders as opposed to non-citizens or outsiders. Some have strong feelings about what territory is or must be considered part of the nation, while others are disinterested or willing to consider alternative visions of the nation's territory.

A sense of commitment to the landscape is the third part of this feature. For some, the natural landscape (or cityscape) becomes the image of Canada itself, indelibly connected in the mind of Canadian and tourist alike. The images symbolize the character or essence of Canada and Canadians. For example, people might consider the Canadian Shield as synonymous with Canadians' vigour, hardiness, and perseverance or Toronto's skyline as representative of the urbane Canadian. For others, the natural landscape in Canada is perceived as an empty wilderness, harsh, cold, and unforgiving, a sign of Canada's lack of development and a source of distance between human communities to be overcome in an effort to alleviate feelings of disconnectedness and isolation. Cityscapes might be perceived as symbolizing corporate domination or groups of people living side by side yet unknown to each other.

The fourth and final part of this feature is a sense of commitment to location. Hughes (1997) suggests that particular locations in the nation are “distinguished by myths, legends or key historical events, and become national shrines” (31). These locations become a focal point for feelings about the nation. Examples might include Parliament Hill as the centre of political power or Craigellachie in British Columbia as the site where the fabled “Last Spike” in the Canadian Pacific Railway was nailed. Some people focus on locations that evoke feelings of sadness as they are sites of events perceived to be tragic or unjust. An example might be the Plains of Abraham in Quebec where the French were defeated by the British in 1759.

Sense of Commitment to Distinctive Symbols

Canadian identity as sentiment includes a sense of commitment to distinctive symbols. Though the land, territory, landscape and locations are distinctive symbols in their own way, others must also be considered. Hughes (1997) states,

apart from a national flag, anthems, currency and passport; nations will develop other rituals and institutions to express their nationhood. These include capital cities, war memorials, national monuments, oaths of allegiance, national holidays commemorating key events or people, folk costumes, festivals, aerobatic performance teams, military pageants and parades, national sports, national airlines and national souvenirs (33).

These symbols become part of peoples’ national identity. As Smith (1991) states, symbols, customs and ceremonies lie at the core of identity...they embody nationalism’s basic concepts, making them visible and distinct for every member, communicating the tenets of an abstract ideology in palpable, concrete terms that evoke instant emotional responses from all strata of the community (77).

Symbols can also be a source of discomfort, frustration, and anger. For some, the maintenance of the British monarch as Canada’s symbolic head of state evokes negative sentiments. Others deem the displaying of national flags, fireworks during national celebrations, and the use of symbols on everything from key chains to beer steins as excessive, gaudy, and inappropriate. Anxieties about jingoism are often raised as are concerns about the cheapening of the meaning behind the symbols used.

Sense of Historical Uniqueness

Part of what defines a nation in the identity structure of its people is historical uniqueness. This refers to identification with parts of a nation's ongoing story that tells us who we are, how we should live, and what we ought to believe. It is a story (or stories) that has emerged from the past and is distinctive from those of all other nations (Calhoun, 1994). Smith (1991) states,

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

As well, it refers to the perception that we are part of the nation's story, the current generation in a long history of people who were part of our national community. It is a belief that we are contributing to that story while sharing it with others of our generation. It is a perception that each person of previous generations, along with the events of their lives illustrate in some way what it means to be of this nation (Alter, 1994). People and events deemed to be of particular significance are called heroes and historically significant events. Occasionally, they are mythologized, in order to provide current and future generations with "a moral map" (Smith, 1991: 140).

In Canada, examples might include Agnes MacPhail, Jacques Cartier, Samuel de Champlain, or Alexander Mackenzie as their accomplishments come to represent the moral and meritorious character of Canada as it continues its journey through time. Their lives, however mythologized, reaffirm to contemporary Canadians that this is a nation or "collectivity for which predecessors have made sacrifices and that contemporaries can take pride in emulating" (Birch, 1993: 221). Events like the Charlottetown conference, completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and the battles of Vimy Ridge and Ortona, also fulfill this role. They exemplify that this nation has participated in the march of time in worthwhile and often heroic ways, and teaching current and future generations valuable lessons about who and what Canadians are (Francis, 1997). Occasionally people and events of the past evoke feelings of shame, embarrassment disgust, or anger. They are people and events that are remembered because they demonstrate the difficult road Canadians have taken, exemplify beliefs and attitudes that some believe should not be

repeated, while challenging Canadians to do better in the future. Examples might include the expulsion of the Acadians from the colony of Nova Scotia in 1755, the banning of the aboriginal ceremony known as the potlatch through the Indian Act of 1876, and the internment of the Japanese camps in the interior of British Columbia during World War II. In some cases people that are revered as heroes by some Canadians are perceived to be villains by others. Such is the case with Louis Riel, a Métis leader who led two western rebellions in 1870 and 1885. He remains a controversial figure in Canadian history eliciting positive sentiments as a leader who represented the interests of his people against a national government perceived to be remote and unjust, and negative sentiments as a traitor and murderer for opposing the authority of the Canadian government and killing Thomas Scott.

Sense of National Sovereignty

National sovereignty is premised on the belief that nations should be masters of their own house, establishing the instruments of state, and achieving international recognition of their independence. Independence or sovereignty offers the opportunity to make decisions on behalf of the nation while determining the future of the nation. As a form of sentiment, a sense of national sovereignty is figuratively analogous to becoming an adult with sovereignty over one's economic, political, and socio-cultural decisions. In the Canadian context, it has come to mean defending the right and ability to make those decisions free from the influence of other nations, specifically the United States. Canada has enacted many policies and spent significant amounts of money asserting independent jurisdiction over its territory, borders, waterways, airspace, natural resources, while creating a national airline, a system of national banks, and media outlets and other cultural businesses all subject to Canadian laws (Bashevkin, 1991).

Others are less concerned with issues of national sovereignty, encouraging integration of Canada's political, economic, cultural, and defence institutions with those of other nations through the United Nations, the World Trade Organization, or NORAD.

Sense of Belonging

The previous five features of Canadian identity as sentiment are examples of how a person perceives Canada and Canadians. This feature is concerned with how a person feels about her/himself as a member of the national community in Canada. When a person has positive perceptions of Canada and other Canadians, there is an increased sense of belonging. Hellman (1999) states that,

to feel a sense of belonging one must feel at home...not necessarily within the strict confines of one's domain of residence...but in a time and place which psychologically and emotionally fulfills that deepest human need to be one with the universe...cosmically connected to something outside one's corporeal self...to feel a sense of peace and contentment (73).

A sense of belonging also refers to the ways a person relates to others in the national community, whether they accept or reject their membership. In the case of Canadian identity, a sense of belonging is intimately connected to perceptions of and debates about who is and is not a member of the nation. When one is considered a member of the nation there is the potential for increased feelings of connection to others in the nation. If a person is not considered a member of the nation by society or does not perceive him or herself to be a member of the nation, feelings of alienation, homelessness and placelessness can result.

Some people might feel as if they are members of the nation but for various reasons also express feelings of discomfort. Recent immigration from another nation, migration from one region to another, or encountering policies or social interactions where one's race, ethnicity, religion, gender, sexual orientation, socio-economic status, marital status, or age are perceived to be "problematic", can elicit feelings of marginalization and alienation.

3. 2. 2. Canadian Identity as Citizenship

The second dimension of students' Canadian identity is citizenship. As a concept, citizenship has been interpreted in many ways. Educators have made it the purpose of schooling and the focus of social studies. Canadian educators have interpreted citizenship education to include the development of a sense of national identity and patriotism, political efficacy, rights and responsibilities, and social values (Sears, 1997). American

educators have also have also espoused these goals while further incorporating character or moral development (Marker and Mehlinger, 1992). While character or moral education is a part of citizenship education in Canada, it has been more implicit than explicit.

In this framework, citizenship is exclusively focussed on the relationship between citizens and the state. Students potentially offer a range of perceptions about the four features that comprise this dimension of Canadian identity. They are: 1) civil rights and responsibilities, 2) political rights and responsibilities, 3) social rights and responsibilities, and 4) cultural rights and responsibilities.

Civil Rights and Responsibilities

Civil rights are those that a person possesses simply by being a citizen of the nation. These rights are considered inalienable and are the cornerstone of individual liberty and freedom. Marshall (1950) described civil rights as “composed of the rights necessary for individual freedom—liberty of person, freedom of speech, thought and faith, the right to own property and to conclude valid contracts, and the right to justice” (8). Civil responsibilities refer to the judicious and prudent exercise of civil rights in ways that do not infringe on the rights of others. For example, some believe we have a responsibility not to use the right to freedom of religion to impinge on the right of others to freedom of thought, speech, or association. Some people believe that people have a responsibility to exercise one’s rights in support of the economic, social, or political order rather than applying them in ways that undermine the established order. Others would disagree with this point saying that it behoves people to exercise their rights in ways that allow the individual to live the best life possible. In Canada, laws are established to clarify rights, responsibilities and their limitations, but it is a source of ongoing debate and legal interpretation.

Political Rights and Responsibilities

Political rights are those that individual citizens exercise in the governance of the nation. Marshall (1950) described political rights as “the right [of individuals] to participate in the exercise of political power, as a member of a body invested with political authority or as an elector of the members of such a body” (8). Political

responsibilities refer to the insuring that political rights are extended to all persons deemed to be members of the nation and to the exercise one's political rights when called on to do so in elections. Here, students might offer perceptions about representation in political institutions such as parliament, as well as the right to vote and run as a candidate in elections.

Social Rights and Responsibilities

Social rights refer to the provision of services and amenities that ensure life and promote livelihood. Marshall (1950) believed that social rights are important for the exercise of civil and political rights. He stated,

If you...explain to a pauper that his property rights are the same as those of a millionaire, he will probably accuse you of quibbling. Similarly, the right to freedom of speech has little real substance if, from lack of education, you have nothing to say that is worth saying, and no means of making yourself heard if you say it (Marshall, 1950: 21).

Here, students offer perceptions on social rights that might include the provision of state funded and accessible education, health care, employment insurance, and social assistance, along with subsidized housing, minimum wages, and job search and work placement programs.

Students also offer perceptions on social responsibilities. These focus on whether the state and other agencies should provide social assistance to people and if everyone has a responsibility to ensure that social assistance or welfare system is maintained through judicious use and funding by all citizens.

Cultural Rights and Responsibilities

The rights of cultural expression are generally assumed to be in place for individuals who comprise the cultural mainstream. However, for people who comprise groups that are or have been outside the mainstream other considerations are possible. Cultural rights are opportunities for greater representation of views afforded groups of people who, because of their gender, race, ethnicity, language, or other characteristics, have been economically or socially disadvantaged in mainstream society (Taylor, 1994). Kymlicka (1995) and others suggest that "communities of interest" should be granted a

political voice in government through the guaranteed apportionment of seats in parliament, committees, federal commissions, and in the case of Quebec, on the Supreme Court and in the Senate (176). Students offer perceptions on these cultural rights as well as others that might include the provision of second language programs, minority language television and radio stations, special education programs for the physically and mentally challenged, and affirmative-action employment programs for women and visible minorities, and publicly funded cultural festivals. Students also consider what, if any, cultural responsibilities might exist to provide recognition, representation, and services to disadvantaged groups.

3. 2. 3. Canadian Identity as Values

The third dimension of students' Canadian identity is values. Values, according to Brislin, Cushner, Cheerie, and Young (1986) "are the constructs, the groupings, and the orientations by which people decide what is normative, preferred or obligatory of members of their society" (299). Value constructs are culturally and contextually bound. Rockeach (1973) defines values as the "core conceptions of the desirable within every individual and society" (2). Values are a part of culture, whether the culture of the family, school, neighbourhood, workplace, city or nation. Rockeach (1973) and Brislin, et al. (1986) suggest that deeply held values do not change easily however. Indeed, there is a relative continuity of values that is historically based. Values are passed on from person to person, and generation to generation. Kallen (1995) states, "the most important part of culture is that it is a learned phenomenon; it is acquired, for the most part, through the ordinary processes of growing up and participating in...daily life" (20). According to this perspective, members of a particular group whether it be a family, school, ethnic, racial, or national group, are "likely to share certain patterns of living [and values] with other members who identify themselves, or might be identified, with the group" (James, 1999: 21). In short, values connect the members of the group and become part of the group's identity.

Unlike the previous two dimensions where students offered a range of perceptions on features, here students were asked to identify values they perceived to be shared by Canadians and whether or not they also shared these values. Students identified three

values they believed in and they also believed were shared by other Canadians. They are: 1) acceptance of diversity, 2) non-violence in interactions with others, and 3) care for the natural environment.

Acceptance of Diversity

All nations are populated by a diversity of peoples. There are people of differing genders, ethnicities, religions, sexual orientations, languages, socio-economic classes, ages, weights, and heights, physical and mental abilities. These are aspects of peoples' identity, informing how they think of themselves, others, and the world at large (Ellsworth, 1997). Such diverse aspects of identity also inform differing conceptions of how people can and should live, how diversity can and should be perceived, and how to best to govern a diverse society. Acceptance of diversity forms a part of some people's national identity, their understanding of what they and their nation believes and/or ought to believe. As well, it is a value that informs their perception of how they and their nation ought to act and the type of society that is worth cultivating. Here, students offer their perceptions of this value.

Non-Violence in Interactions with Others

One of the basic needs that all humans share is security of person (Weiner, Zahn, and Sagi, 1992). All people want to feel safe, to be free from the threat of violence and possible death. Nations also share this need. They want to feel, in a collective sense, safe from attack, whether internally or externally initiated. Nevertheless, violence does exist. Some people and nations use violence, whether in acts of aggression or in self-defence. Here, students contribute their perceptions to the social debate about how to live a life that recognizes that violence exists while trying to cultivate a society that is non-violent in its interactions with others, what are appropriate responses to and punishments for violence, and when, if ever, violence is acceptable.

Care for the Natural Environment

If the natural environment is defined as the air we breathe, the water we drink, and the soil that grows our food and provides foundation for our homes, then we all live

in the natural environment. The natural environment supplies all people with resources needed for human life. However, as human beings live their lives they alter the natural environment in a number of ways. Some of them are benign such as footprints in the sand on a beach, while others are less so, including the release of toxic chemicals into the air, water and soil. Students offer their perceptions to the ongoing debate about care for the natural environment, what it means to “care”, and the value and purpose of the natural environment.

3. 3. Analyzing the Curriculum and Textbooks

This study explored the intersection between student identities, curriculum document, and textbook. More specifically, it analyzed the curriculum and textbooks through the prism of students’ Canadian identities. As stated in chapter one, I do not wish to suggest that the social studies curriculum should be beholden to or be strictly guided by the perceptions of students. Indeed, there is much to be offered from the expertise and experience of other stakeholders such as historians, politicians, community leaders, and parents, along with that of teachers, curriculum designers, and textbook authors and publishers. However, it is students who must learn within the requirements of a curriculum document and it is students who hopefully learn from the use of textbooks. By exploring the dimensions and features of students’ Canadian identities and using them as an entry point into an analysis of a social studies curriculum document and textbooks we are considering the curriculum from the perspective of those who have the most to gain from improvements.

In text analysis, many researchers employ a quantitative approach, engaging in frequency counts to help ascertain meaning and to construct theory. However, R. Gilbert (1989) suggests that analyzing textbooks using only a quantitative approach is “reductionist and methodologically superficial”, pointing out that frequency counts that focus on a unit of analysis, such as a word or phrase, oversimplify the way a reader constructs meaning (63). First, this approach ignores the way the reader progressively constructs meaning through processes such as repetition and anticipation. Second, this approach does not take into account the way in which a text is sequenced and organized, aspects that are as important to meaning construction as individual elements of the text.

Third, it assumes that the meanings of semantic units such as words and phrases do not vary according to context. The meaning of semantic units varies depending on the location within a discourse. For example, if environmental sustainability is the chosen term and is highlighted as a term of importance but it is discussed near or at the end of the textual passage, claims about its importance are undermined. Gilbert (1989) also points out that the fact the categories for and units of analysis must be chosen by the researcher detracts from the objectivity of this approach. He states, "the apparent objectivity of [quantitative] content analysis is, even in its own terms, spurious, as the highly controlled frequency counts can be based only on earlier arguments of interpretation" (62-63).

The text analysis conducted in this study is qualitative in nature and uses what Clark (1995) calls a "descriptive analysis approach", acknowledging that official curriculum documents and textbooks are authored in particular social, cultural, and political contexts, while interpreting how they address the features that comprise the dimensions of students' Canadian identity.

One of the most important documents that intersect with students in school is the official curriculum known in British Columbia as the Integrated Resource Package (IRP). I chose to analyze the grade 11 social studies (SS-11) IRP because it focuses on Canada's domestic and international relations in the 20th century. Here, students are encouraged to develop as "thoughtful, responsible, active citizens...able to acquire the requisite information to consider multiple perspectives and make reasoned judgements", to "critically reflect upon events and issues in order to examine the present, make connections with the past, and consider the future", and "develop an appreciation of...what it means to be Canadian" (SS-11 IRP, 1997:1). These statements indicated that the SS-11 IRP had the potential to address the array of dimensions and features of students' Canadian identity of the courses offered in the British Columbia social studies program.

The SS-11 IRP was introduced into the public schools of British Columbia in 1997 and is the last in a series of IRPs that form the kindergarten to grade 11 social studies program (B. C. Ministry of Education, Skills, and Training, 1997: 1). It was

piloted in various classrooms throughout British Columbia before becoming the officially mandated curriculum in September, 1999.

A project team co-ordinated by former social studies teachers Ron Basarab and Richard Lord, and Greg Smith of the Curriculum Resources Branch, authored the SS-11 IRP. They worked with evaluators and reviewers, British Columbia B. C. Ministry of Education, Skills, and Training personnel, and other educators working in school districts, teacher associations, and the British Columbia Teacher's Federation. Its development was informed by,

The Kindergarten to Grade 12 Education Plan, teacher-practitioners and educators, representatives of education partner groups, the 1989 BC Assessment of Social Studies Provincial Report, the 1992 Social Studies Needs Assessment Summary, the 1992 Scholarly Review, the 1993 Social Studies Curriculum Assessment Framework, the 1996 BC Assessment of Social Studies Provincial Report, and curriculum resources from other jurisdictions and BC postsecondary institutions (SS-11 IRP, 1997: 1).

The SS-11 IRP was organized around ten themes or strands called curriculum organizers. The curriculum organizers are Skills and Processes I and II, Social Issues I and II, Cultural Issues, Political Issues I and II, Legal Issues, Economic Issues, and Environmental Issues. Under each strand were four components. The first component included all the provincially prescribed learning outcomes (PLOs). PLOs are the "knowledge, enduring ideas, issues, concepts, skills, and attitudes" the province expects students to know and be able to do in a particular subject and grade. They are stated in observable terms completing the phrase: "It is expected that students will..." (SS-11 IRP, 1997: III). In SS-11, there are a total of 50 PLOs for students to accomplish. The second component included a number of suggested instructional strategies (SISs). These are techniques, activities, and methods a teacher can choose to use in meeting the diverse needs of their students as they address the PLOs of the IRP. The third component was a number of suggested assessment strategies (SAS). These are ways a teacher can choose to gather information about student performance. Finally, the fourth component listed a number of provincially recommended learning resources (RLR). These are resource materials that have been reviewed and evaluated by teachers in British Columbia in collaboration with the provincial B. C. Ministry of Education, Skills, and Training.

Teachers can choose whether or not to use these resources as they address the PLOs for their particular grade.

I focused my analysis of the SS-11 IRP on the PLOs and SISs. The PLOs are the part of the curriculum or IRP that is mandated; teachers must address these in their given grade and subject. This is the part of the social studies curriculum that intersects with students most. SISs support the PLOs and though optional give an indication of what is possible in the classroom. I decided that the suggested assessment strategies (SASs) were for assessing student performance and would not be useful for an exploration of students' Canadian identity. Save for the three social studies textbooks chosen for specific analyses and outlined later in this section, I did not focus on the recommended learning resources (RLRs). There was insufficient information on each resource to adequately analyze how they might be helpful in addressing students' Canadian identity.

Using Appendix A in the IRP, a chart listing all of the PLOs together, each PLO was categorized according to the feature of students' Canadian identity they could reasonably be interpreted to reflect. All PLOs were categorized at least once though some were interpreted to reflect more than one feature. The same process was completed for the SISs. Once categorized, the PLOs and SISs were interpreted as to the ways they reflect the features of students' Canadian identity and how they could be used in social studies classrooms. The results are presented in the data analysis chapters (chapters 4-6) under dimension and feature headings.

I also analyzed three textbooks approved as RLRs for use in SS-11. They are three of the resources most widely available in British Columbia's social studies classrooms. The first textbook, *Canadian Issues* (CI) was authored by Daniel Francis, Jennifer Hobson, Gordon Smith, Stan Garrod, and Jeff Smith. CI was published in 1998 by Oxford University Press and was 396 pages in length. As per the title, this textbook is structured around issues deemed to be relevant to Canada and Canadians. Issues are defined as "ideas, values, events or problems that give rise to different points of view or interpretation" (1). They may be social, cultural, political, legal, economic or environmental or any combination thereof. The book is comprised of an introduction, table of contents, 11 units of study, glossary and index. The units of study follow a decade by decade chronology through the 20th century. At the beginning of each unit, the

issues are listed in a matrix with specific titles and page numbers assigned. As well, there is a checklist provided to assist teachers in focusing on social, cultural, political, legal, economic or environmental issues as desired. Each issue in a unit is given two pages of space for various types of text including titles, sub-headings, textual content, pictures, document reproductions, tables, biographies, alternative viewpoints, and so on. Two teaching aids are provided with each issue. "Keywords" highlight new and important vocabulary related to the issue and used in the textual passage. "Making Connections" offers questions or tasks to complete in an effort to mine the information presented. Also included in each unit of study is one "Skill Builder." This is a deviation from the issues that comprise the unit, and is an effort to develop skills deemed important to help students think through challenging questions or tasks, or use in other contexts.

The second textbook is *Canada: A Nation Unfolding* (CNU) and is authored by Diane Eaton and Garfield Newman. Published in 1994 by McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited, it is 436 pages in length. The textbook is structured around historical events deemed salient to the development of Canada in the 20th century, and incorporates issues considered significant to the development of Canadian identity. As the introduction states, "the book and the topics within enable you to appreciate Canada's past and present and...help you define what it means to be Canadian" (1). Special emphasis is placed on Canadian-American relations, French-English relations, Canada's international role, Canada's multicultural heritage, and native culture in contemporary Canadian society. This book also examines the Canadian economy, government and legal system. The layout of the textbook includes a prologue, table of contents, 7 units of study, epilogue, photo and text credits, and index. The units of study follow a chronological march through the 20th century and each unit is comprised of 2 or 3 chapters on a specific theme. The chapters are approximately 20 pages long and are filled with various types of text including titles, sub-headings, pictures, picture text, graphics, tables, textual inserts, cartoons, maps, and document reproductions. At the end of each chapter four teaching aids are provided. The first is "Knowing The Key People, Places and Events", offered to highlight new and important names, places, events, and vocabulary related to the chapter. Second is "Focus Your Knowledge" and includes questions or tasks for students to complete to ensure they obtained the main points of the chapter. "Apply Your

Knowledge” contains questions or tasks designed to have students explore the main points by making connections to their perspectives and histories. Finally, “Extend Your Knowledge” includes thinking tasks whereby students make and justify decisions and create new products using their newly acquired knowledge. At the end of each unit is a “Skills Focus” section whereby students can learn skills and are introduced to strategies that are deemed important from thinking through questions and tasks, can be used in future careers, and be applied to other contexts.

The third textbook was titled *Canada Today* (CT), authored by Carl F. Smith, Daniel J. McDevitt, and Angus L. Scully. This 3rd edition was published in 1996 by Prentice-Hall Canada, Inc. and is 492 pages in length. The textbook is structured around topics and issues deemed to be salient to the development of Canada in the 20th century and is designed to “help young Canadians understand that people make a difference...[and] shows how Canadians in the past have dealt with issues and found solutions” (ix). The book is comprised of preface, table of contents, skills development section, 4 units of study, glossary, credits and index. The units of study do not follow a chronology. Instead, they are clustered around broad titles called “Who We Are”, “Geography and Economy”, “Government, Law, and Politics” and “Canada In The World.” Each unit is sub-divided into 4 chapters for a total 16. The chapters are focused on specific topics or issues related to the broad unit title. The chapters are approximately 30 pages long and are filled with various types of text including titles, sub-headings, pictures, picture text, graphics, tables, textual inserts, maps, and document reproductions. Each chapter has three teaching aids. The first is called “Focusing On The Issues” and is positioned at the beginning of the chapter. This teaching aid introduces the chapter topic and suggests some of the major questions raised by the content of the forthcoming chapter. The second is “Reviewing The Issues.” It appears at the end of the chapter as a summary, attempting to put the topic of the chapter in perspective for the future. A third teaching aid is positioned throughout the chapter and includes a number of titles that appear with varying degrees of frequency. The most prominent are “Reading Better”, a section asking students specific facts from the chapter, “Thinking It Through”, a section requiring students to analyze information learned, and “Using Your Knowledge”, which are critical tasks designed to have students engage in synthesis and decision-making.

To assist in the analyses of the textbooks, I developed charts. I charted each sub-heading provided in CNU and CT, and issue title used in CI, separately (see Appendix #6 for a sample text analysis chart). To assist in tracking, the chart identified the textbook title, sub-heading or issue title, and page number(s). I constructed columns for interpretation of the text message found in the written passages, description and analysis of pictures, and other forms of text such as maps, timelines, textual inserts, cartoons, questions, and tasks. A fourth column identified the feature(s) of students' Canadian identity the sub-heading or issue could reasonably be interpreted to be related.

Not all of the sub-headings or issues analyzed could be presented. Indeed, many sub-headings and issues communicated similar messages. I selected those portions of the textbooks that best reflected and expanded students' Canadian identity, or reflected and enhanced students' ability to confront their tensions for presentation herein. The results are presented in chapters 4-6 under dimension and feature headings.

3. 4. Reliability and Validity

All research is concerned with producing reliable and valid knowledge in an ethical manner. Case studies and text analyses are no exception. They must be believed and trusted as well as present insights and conclusions that are reasonable to readers, educators, and other researchers, given the data collected. In this section, I address the specific concerns of reliability and validity as they relate to this study.

A concern of any inquiry is its reliability. Reliability in research is understood to mean the extent to which one's findings can be replicated. Early qualitative researchers felt compelled to relate traditional notions of reliability used in quantitative research to procedures used in qualitative research (see Goetz and LeCompte, 1984). Later qualitative researchers have, according to Creswell (1994), "created their own language to distance themselves from positivist paradigms" (157). This was done because traditional notions of reliability are based on the assumption of one reality that, if studied repeatedly, will offer the same results. This is a problematic notion in the social sciences because humans are involved and their contexts and behaviours are never static. In the case of education, what is being studied is understood to be dynamic, multifaceted, and highly contextualized. As Merriam (1988) states, "achieving reliability in the traditional

sense is not only fanciful but impossible" (171). Lincoln and Guba (1985) and more recently Erlandson, Harris, Skipper, and Allen (1993) suggest thinking about trustworthiness, dependability, and consistency of the results, rather than reliability. All can be considered viable stances on the question of reliability.

Merriam (1988) proposes three techniques to ensure that results are dependable. Firstly, the researcher should clearly explain the assumption or theory behind the study, his or her position, and the social context from which the data were collected. Secondly, triangulation or multiple methods of data collection and analysis should be used. Thirdly, an audit trail whereby independent judges can authenticate the findings of the study by following the trail of the researcher. In this study, dependability is apparent in my communication of what I believe constitutes evidence of students' Canadian identity, as well as my conception of the role of official curricula and textbooks in social studies education. As well, different methods of data collection were used including questionnaires, individual, and group interviews, and curriculum document and textbook analysis. I have explained what was done in each step of the process and have left an audit trail that can, within the confines of student anonymity, be verified.

The second element of concern in any inquiry is validity, specifically internal and external validity. According to J. W. Creswell (1994), internal validity is understood to be the extent to which results are accurate and match reality. However, this type of validity is based on the assumption that there is a single reality to which the results can be compared in order to ensure accuracy. J. W. Ratcliffe (1983) suggests that accuracy should not be the concern because "data do not speak for themselves; there is always an interpreter, or a translator"; data do not exist separate from their interpretation (149). Merriam (1988) states internal validity in qualitative inquiry is "to uncover the complexity of human behaviour in a contextual framework, and to present a holistic interpretation of what is happening" (168). In this sense, it is better to consider internal validity in terms of the reasonableness of data interpretation and cogency of analysis presented.

Still, Creswell (1994) suggests there are three strategies that can be used to increase internal validity. Firstly, find convergence among sources of information, different investigators, or different methods of data collection. Secondly, receive

feedback from informants or “member checks” (158). Thirdly, include peer examination of the findings.

In this study, the dimensions and features of students’ Canadian identity were derived from a weaving back and forth between a framework on Canadian identity posited by a fellow researcher and data gathered from students. Opportunities were provided for the verification, clarification, and expansion of data gathered from students in each stage of the interview process. Finally, members of my thesis committee as well as several educational colleagues discussed my analysis of students’ perceptions and tensions as well as the analysis of the SS-11 IRP and the social studies textbooks throughout the research process.

External validity is often understood to mean the generalizability of findings from the study. Again, this notion is problematic. Researchers choose case study and text analysis in qualitative inquiry because they want to understand the case and the text in depth, not because they want to make claims that are generalizable to all populations or texts. Eisner (1998) argues that “readers will determine whether the research findings fit the situation in which they work” (204). Generalizations are possible if the reader associates or finds significance in the results for his or her own environment. The logic is therefore analogical. Generalizations need to be thought of as “tentative guides” or ideas to be considered not prescriptions to follow (Eisner, 1998: 209).

3. 5. Summary

Fifteen students enrolled at Portage Secondary School in Vancouver, British Columbia, were selected because they had migrated within the previous 24 months, and either had official Canadian citizenship status or intended to obtain it. Their perceptions of Canada, Canadians, and themselves as Canadians were used as evidence of their Canadian identity. Data were gathered using a questionnaire, individual and group interviews, and supplemented with contextual information about the school. Analysis of the data defined three dimensions of students’ identity as sentiment, citizenship, and values. The dimensions were sub-divided into features.

The SS-11 IRP for the province of British Columbia and three textbooks sanctioned for use in classrooms were selected to see how they address the features of the

dimensions that form students' Canadian identity. Using these dimensions and features the IRP and textbooks were analyzed based on how they reflect and expand students' Canadian identity, as well as how they reflect and enhance students' ability to confront their tensions.

CHAPTER FOUR

Canadian Identity as Sentiment

Sentiment is often associated with tender feelings of sentimentality. However, in this study sentiment refers to the feelings expressed by a person or group of people with regard to another person, object, or idea. The feelings are infused with emotions which may be positive, negative, mixed, or neutral in character. Sentiment is the affective part of national identity, expressing how a person feels about the nation. Students' perceptions of Canada, Canadians, and themselves as Canadians that are most indicative of the affective part of their national identity are presented as five features that include: 1) sense of commitment to land, territory, landscape or location, 2) sense of commitment to distinctive symbols, 3) sense of historical uniqueness, 4) sense of national sovereignty, and 5) sense of belonging. These features are also evident in the IRP and social studies textbooks.

4. 1. Sense of Commitment to the Land, Territory, Landscape and Location

This feature of Canadian identity is based on students' perceptions of the land, territory, landscape, and locations of Canada. A sense of commitment to the land involves connections between land and person. A sense of commitment to territory is defined as a person's feelings about the nation's physical shape, position of its physical features, and extent of political and legal jurisdiction. A sense of commitment to the landscape entails feelings about the physical features such as snow-capped mountains, rivers, lakes, and waterfalls. Finally, a sense of commitment to location refers to perceptions concerning specific places that are considered representative of the nation.

An analysis of diverse perceptions that characterize this feature of students' Canadian identity is introduced by Karen, a 19 year-old of mixed white and aboriginal heritage. She was born in Lethbridge, Alberta and was the only child of an American-born white mother who studied anthropology and worked as a First Nations cultural worker. Her father was aboriginal and serves on a band council in Alberta. Karen's parents divorced when she was a year and a half old and her early childhood was itinerant. Her mother traveled the United States and Canada giving classes to aboriginal

women on creating First Nations cultural products. Karen spoke of living in Arizona, New Mexico, and Chicago. Mother and daughter eventually settled in a small community in Montana but Karen also spent many summers with her father in Alberta. Karen migrated to Canada alone twenty-one months prior to our first interview, only moving to Vancouver eight months previously following a short stay in a small community on the British Columbia-Montana border.

Karen was a student in the regular school program and couldn't wait to complete her studies. She said, "It's all right here. Nothing wrong with it, I guess. I just hate being in one place too long and I'm ready to get on with my life". She felt isolated and alone at Portage Secondary School as her friends didn't attend the school and she did not participate in any extra-curricular activities. Karen lived with her boyfriend and had a part-time job at a clothing store. She worked many hours but found time to exercise at Tae-Bo classes and "hang out" with her friends. Karen was uncertain about her future but was considering attending acting school or a local culinary institute in the fall.

Karen identified herself as a Canadian who is also a "Blood squaw" on the questionnaire (Appendix 3B: Question #9). She stated that her home was either the Blood reserve in southern Alberta or the small community in Montana where she grew up (Appendix 3B: Question #11). When asked about her response during the individual interview Karen replied, "I'm definitely a Blood...I really take pride in that part of myself... I don't feel American even though I said my home is X, Montana. I think only of that little place and my friends there, not America. Do you see? I'm Canadian. I was born in Canada and I live here now. My mother is American but I don't feel connected to that country at all". This author's impression of Karen was of a strong, self-assured young woman who had witnessed diverse ways of living and encountered a great deal of prejudice. Yet, she had not permitted it to make her bitter or angry. Rather, Karen used her life experiences to press for greater awareness, understanding, and compassion. Karen spoke frankly, refusing to use politically correct terminology or avoid controversial perspectives especially when discussing relations between aboriginals and non-aboriginals.

What are students' perceptions of Canada, Canadians, and themselves as Canadians?¹ With regard to a sense of commitment to land, only Karen offered perceptions that could be interpreted as such. Part of her response to the request to describe Canada to a stranger on a train (Appendix 4, Part D: Question #1), included the following,

Canada has many Indians. They're my people. That sounds weird... We've always had a deep connection with the land. It is part of what sustains us. We know that we are a part of it. We don't own it or feel that it is to be conquered and used for whatever. Instead we (pauses) we live with it.
(Tape #2)

Karen perceived a relationship between her "people" and the land, calling it a "deep connection". She didn't see the relationship as one of ownership, rather she perceived "Indians" to be symbiotically entwined with the land, of the land. She stated at one point that "you grow up learning that it is important to never forget that it is the land that gives life" (Tape #2). This perspective had been passed down to her from her parents, other family members, and people on her father's reservation in southern Alberta. This belief or sense of commitment to the land was part of her aboriginal heritage but it is unclear if she associated her feelings about the land in any direct way with Canada. Indeed, her sense of commitment to land may be an expression of her aboriginal identity, her Canadian identity, or both. Regardless, Karen did not express tension with her sense of commitment to the land but revealed tension with what she perceived to be a lack of commitment to the land in others. At various points in the interview process Karen expressed tension with the way Canadians and Americans use

¹It is important to note that in the data analysis chapters, statements made by students are separated from the data analysis text. Students' statements are single spaced and indented twice. Further, it is clearly indicated if the words are from the written questionnaire, individual interview, or group interview. Statements taken from the interviews are referenced using the number assigned the tape recording (see Appendix #2). Occasionally statements made by a student are in reference to something said by another student or myself. In such cases, the interjection is enclosed in [square brackets] and the speaker is indicated either by my first name or the pseudonym assigned another student. Finally, the speaking patterns of students are laced with idiomatic sounds and words. They tended to use a wealth of sounds and words like "ummm", "like", "right", "okay", and "yeah". These sounds and words, while a key part of the students' quest to express him or herself, distract the reader when placed in written form. Most idiomatic sounds and words have been removed unless considered important in conveying emotion, personality, or used as a form of emphasis.

and abuse the land, treating it as if it were a storehouse of resources to be extracted, manufactured, and consumed. At one point in the group interview Karen complained,

You people don't get it. We can't live this way. Taking all the time. There's going to be nothing left. I'm not talking about five hundred years from now, I'm talking about now. We're running out of trees, fish, air, everything. It doesn't have to be this way. (Tape # 16)

Though other students were deeply concerned with the way the environment was being treated, none expressed their concern in a way that suggested they perceived themselves to be of the land, that it was a part of their identity or sense of self. Karen believed that people ought to care for the land in a way that demonstrates stewardship rather than dominance and exploitation. She spoke with great passion and with a deep sense of frustration at Canadians she believed treated the land poorly and with a lack of respect.

While Karen was the only student to demonstrate a sense of commitment to land, all students expressed perceptions of Canada that indicated a sense of commitment to territory. In response to the request to describe Canada to a stranger on a train (Appendix 4, Part D: Question #1) students took great joy in sharing their knowledge of Canada. Some recited the names of all the provinces and territories; others offered elaborate descriptions of Canada's physical regions, while others talked about the Canada being a "northern nation". Karen illustrated this point when she shared her knowledge of Canada's territory. She said,

Canada is totally great. You have the Rockies in B.C. and Alberta, the wheat fields in Saskatchewan and Manitoba, the forests and minerals of Ontario, Quebec, and all the farmland out in the east, up north there are minerals too but very few trees. It is so diverse here. I've always felt connected to Canada, maybe it is my father's family, I don't know. I'm not sure, but I feel a part of this place, you know? (Tape #2,)

Dorion, a recent immigrant from Jamaica, took great pride in talking about this aspect of Canada. In response to the same question, she said,

Well Canada is huge, like really big. It has ten provinces, B.C., Alberta, Ontario, umm Newfoundland, you know, and two territories in the north [TODD: there are now three territories] That's right! What is the new one called, Noona? Nonnasomething? [TODD: Nunavut] Is that how you say

it? Nunavut. Yeah, and there's all the oceans and stuff. It's an incredible country. (Tape #5)

Comparisons between former homelands and Canada abounded. For Dorion, the enormity of Canada's size was overwhelming, especially in comparison to Jamaica. She said,

There is so much space in Canada. You can go for miles and still be in the same country. It's shocking when you compare Canada to Jamaica. Jamaica is very small. You learn to live differently on a small island. Nothing is wasted if you can help it [TODD: Do you think land is wasted in Canada?] Maybe a little but we have so much. (Tape #5)

Even the possibility that land might be being wasted was not enough to bring forth tension. In Dorion's mind, people can be excused for being a little wasteful when they live in such territorial vastness. However, two students expressed tension with Canada's size and climate. Paul said,

Canada is so big. It has so much space. I find this a little difficult maybe. I don't leave the city much because it is so boring when you are not in the city. All there is are trees and emptiness. I like it in the city better. Things are closer together. [LATER IN THE INTERVIEW PAUL EXPRESSED TENSION WITH CANADIAN CITIES]. It is so quiet in the city even on the main streets there is not the noise you have in Hong Kong. I think it is because all the houses are together, the businesses are all together, the industry is together. In Hong Kong everything is mixed together. There is the noise, you get used to it. It is nice. You feel safe. Here it is so quiet. It seems boring to me and I feel unsafe without people around. (Tape #3)

For Paul, a recent immigrant from Hong Kong, Canada's vastness was overwhelming and disconcerting. He perceived open spaces as "emptiness" and "boring", preferring the higher population density and activity of the city. However, Paul was still struggling to find a sense of comfort and safety in urban design and rhythms that differed significantly from that of Hong Kong. Paul demonstrated how much we habituate ourselves to particular types of living, finding feelings of contentedness and security in places that we feel at home, and how difficult it is to adapt to new ways of living.

A recent immigrant from Taiwan, Angie, demonstrated this point as well. As she tried to describe Canada to a stranger on a train (Appendix 4, Part D: Question #1) she

revealed her tension with Canada's northern climate and the culture Canadians have created to adapt to that climate. She said,

Let me see, Canada is a very large place. It has many provinces and much space. It is very cold with long winters. That is all I knew before I come here from Taiwan, that it is cold. People do many things in the outdoors in Canada. It is nice but I am not so much a person for outside. I do not like this much. (Tape #7)

For Angie, living in a nation with "long winters" and a people that "do many things in the outdoors" had been challenging. This was a new experience for her and she was struggling and perhaps resisting adaptation. The tensions that Paul and Angie expressed should not suggest that they disliked Canada, indeed both offered many comments to suggest otherwise. However, their tensions illustrated that not all people perceive Canada's size and climate exclusively in positive terms.

Another source of tension interpreted to relate to students' sense of commitment to territory was made evident when the topic of Quebec's possible separation from Canada was broached. In their descriptions of Canada to a stranger (Appendix 4, Part D: Question #1) a few students included references to political uncertainty about the future unity of Canada. The comments revealed tension with the change such an event would have on Canada's territory. Karen said,

Losing Quebec would be terrible. I can understand how people would feel sick about that. It would be like amputating part of your body. No, I think that would be wrong. Canada includes Quebec. I don't mean that we should go to war to force them to stay but it wouldn't be Canada without them either. Quebec should be here for all Canadians to enjoy. They shouldn't just go with their own feelings but remember that it's everyone's. (Tape #16)

For her, "Canada includes Quebec", and any change to the political composition of Canada would alter the very nature of the nation. She compared the idea of separation to amputation, claiming that Canada "wouldn't be Canada without them". Karen chastised people in Quebec who support the idea of separation from Canada suggesting they are selfish and should remember that Quebec belongs to "everyone", meaning all Canadians. This perspective was shared by Diana and Michael. Diana said,

That (separation) would be very sad. It would be like all the greed and power stuff getting its own way, you know? My dad talked about what it

was like when Quebec almost separated, I don't remember it much even though I was in Ottawa, but he says it was really tense, like really tense. People were crying and couldn't deal with it. I've been to Quebec many times and I think I would have been upset too. It just wouldn't be right. (Tape #12,)

Ottawa-born Diana recalls the feelings of her father during the Quebec referendum of 1995. Though she couldn't remember it well, the idea of separation made her feel "sad" implying a tension with what such an event would mean for Canada's political territory and her conception of the nation. However, her explicit source of tension was the perception that Quebec's separation from Canada would symbolize "all the greed and power...getting its own way". This statement suggested that she perceived separatist supporters in Quebec to be greedy and not above using whatever power they have to bring forth a territorial and political change to Canada she does not consider to be "right".

Michael, a recent arrival from Edmonton, revealed a perception suggesting that he also considered Quebec to be part of "his" Canada. During the group interview he selected a statement with which he agreed (Appendix 5: Statement #12) and explained his views on separation,

The whole thing makes me mad. We shouldn't let them go. It's that simple. No one should have the right to destroy the country. It's my country too! [KAREN: but you wouldn't force people to stay, would you?] I don't know. I don't believe in war or anything but it's just wrong. Quebec should not leave. It would ruin everything for everybody. (Tape #16)

Michael perceived the idea of Quebec's separation from Canada as a demonstration of selfishness. He, like Karen and Diana, felt helpless and victimized by the selfish actions of others, actions that were, in his mind, altering the nation beyond recognition. Having cast themselves in the role of victim, these students couldn't conceive that the people of Quebec who support separatism might not be acting out of selfishness or greed but view themselves as nationalists trying to achieve self-determination. Indeed, these students didn't demonstrate an understanding that change and the impact of change can be interpreted from a number of positions. Karen, Michael,

and Diana did not express the possibility that *they* might be perceived by Quebec nationalists as “selfish” for trying to keep Quebec in Canada against its will.

All of the students made references about Canada that indicated a sense of commitment to the landscape. Images of Canada as a postcard nation covered in snow, dotted with lakes, and bounded by oceans were plentiful. On the questionnaire students were asked to offer three images that come to mind when they think of Canada (Appendix 3B: Question #13). Michael’s responses of “mountains”, “forests”, and “snow” are illustrative of what most students wrote. During the individual interview he explained,

Canada is like this amazing country. It has miles and miles of wilderness, trees, forests, fields. There are mountains, lakes. You can go into the north and find icebergs and glaciers and stuff. It has the most unbelievable variety. You know we take it for granted like I don’t really think about it very much but it is incredible. We are so lucky here in Canada because of all this land. (Tape #8)

For Michael and most of the students in this project, Canada was a beautiful nation of natural wonder, diverse and expansive. Immigrants as well as migrants from other parts of Canada, students from urban areas as well as those from more remote centres perceived Canada in very similar terms. They expressed no tension with their perceptions, choosing to revel rather than critique. Jessica, a recent migrant from Whitehorse, duplicated Michael’s perceptions. She said,

Canada is this amazing country made up of ten provinces and two territories. It has incredible mountains and rivers, the sky is blue, the fields are green and gold. It’s like a poem, you know? I come from the north so it may have more meaning for me because I lived in the outdoors a lot, but I don’t think so. We’re all like inundated with these images. It would be pretty hard not to think of Canada as the outdoors. (Tape #14) [This point resurfaced during the group interview as well] I love the wilderness, all the trees and lakes and things. To me that’s Canada, the animals, moose, deer, even the beavers and skunks, they all represent Canada. We’re a people who live outdoors. (Tape #17)

Jessica was one of the only students who made direct reference to where the images she had about Canada might come from. Her experiences growing up in northern Canada and living a lifestyle that included outdoor activity contributed to her perspective.

Yet, Jessica believed that perceptions of Canada as a wilderness postcard might come from other sources, saying “we’re all inundated with these images”. She apparently believed that media in all its manifestations have cultivated and propagated this image of Canada, offering it back to Canadians and people around the world. Indeed, it can be interpreted that this media representation of Canada has worked given that Jessica views the trees, lakes, and animals as “all represent(ing) Canada”.

Only a few students offered perceptions that suggested a sense of commitment to location. Pavel, a Russian-born immigrant to Canada, offered a particular location as one of the images that came to mind when he thought about Canada (Appendix 3B: Question #13). He said,

I learned about Canada before we came. A little bit in school but mostly after I knew we were moving here. I was, was really amazed at how similar Canada is to Russia. The northern climate, all the animals, the lakes. I thought that it would be easy to come here. I think it’s more beautiful here though. We went to Banff last summer. It was really beautiful. The only place I remember seeing in Russia as beautiful was near my uncle’s home. It was on a lake and the trees were very big. (Tape #1)

For Pavel, Banff was the embodiment of Canada’s natural beauty, confirming what he learned about Canada before his arrival. Banff also offered Pavel a connection to his memories of Russia, particularly a cherished place near his uncle’s home. This connection to his homeland may have helped make the transition from a life in Russia to a life in Canada easier.

Diana offered the “parliament buildings” as one of the images that came to mind (Appendix 3B: Question #13). She said,

The parliament buildings in Ottawa is the centre of Canadian politics. You can go through the parliament buildings. They’re beautiful. We have lots of places like that. Toronto is the business centre, Montreal, Vancouver, those are the places where the action is. (Tape #12)

For Diana, the parliament buildings were a focal point for the nation; they represent “Canadian politics”. This representation was only enhanced by their beauty and accessibility by the public. She segued from the parliament buildings to other locations. Urban centres such as Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver were considered Canadian focal points of activity. Though she didn’t articulate what Montreal and Vancouver

represented, her reference to Toronto as the “business centre” suggest that Diana viewed them as representations of Canadian vitality, energy, opportunity, and promise. Indeed, this perception was shared by two other students. Lea, a recent migrant from Whistler, offered “cities” as an image that came to mind when she thought of Canada (Appendix 4, Part D: Question #3). She explained,

Everyone probably thinks about the land and the forests and stuff, you know, all the big north and whatever, and it's true that Canada is very lucky that way. But when I think about Canada, for me, I think about like the big cities. Like Vancouver or Toronto or Montreal. Like they have so much to do, places to go. You can go to Canada's Wonderland and they have all these Canada things there. Montreal has the whole French thing happening and that's very Canadian. [TODD: Why do you think the cities are an important aspect of Canada?] It's just that the cities are where we live, it's where you can meet all the people and learn what we're about. I love it here. I couldn't wait to move here from Whistler. I love Whistler and I go back there almost every weekend to work but I love the city too. (Tape #13)

Though she didn't focus on a particular location, Lea revealed that urban centres are generally locations that represent Canada. For her, the perception of Canada as a northern nation endowed with “forests and stuff” had been superseded by cities like Vancouver, Toronto, or Montreal were “we live [and] meet all the people”. Lea shared Diana's perception that cities are “where the action is”, providing opportunities to “learn what we're about” as a nation.

In her explanation of Toronto as an image that comes to mind when she thinks of Canada, Tina expressed tension with the pervasiveness of the Canada's image as an “outdoor nation” (Appendix 4, Part D: Question #3). She said,

I've never even seen a moose or a polar bear. Not in the woods anyway. So for me it seems like so much media hype to say Canada is about the land. I think it's more about the places where we live, the cities like Toronto. That's what Canada is about now. We work and play and go to school here, we get married and die, divorced (laughing). This is Canada, right here, or in Winnipeg or Vancouver or Halifax. It's not somewhere out there in the woods, right? I know how incredibly (pauses) how incredibly important the land is to Canada, I really do, but it's not what we're about anymore. This is (sweeping her hand). (Tape #9)

The image of Canada being “about the land” misrepresented what she believed Canada was about “now”. Her life experience was in a large urban centre, where she and

most other Canadians live their lives. She offered Toronto as an image of Canada not because she believed it represented Canada but as an example of Canada's urbanization in the late 20th century.

To summarize, only Karen demonstrated what could be interpreted to be a sense of commitment to the land. Her aboriginal heritage imbued in her a belief in a symbiotic, soulful, relationship between person and land. She expressed tension with a society that does not share her sense of commitment, and instead treats the land as something to be dominated and exploited. Almost all students expressed perceptions that suggested a sense of commitment to territory with students identifying the names of geographical and political regions. The vast majority of these students viewed Canada positively but a couple of newly arrived immigrants expressed tension with Canada's overwhelming size and climate. As well, a few students expressed tension with the possibility that Canada's territorial boundaries, as well as other systems, could change if Quebec separated. These students perceived the desire of some people in Quebec to separate as "selfish" and motivated by "greed" and "power". Casting themselves in the role of helpless victim, they did not consider alternative perspectives.

Almost all students suggested a sense of commitment to landscape. Students effused about Canada's mountains, lakes, and oceans and expressed no tensions with this feature of their Canadian identity. Finally, a few students expressed perceptions that indicated a sense of commitment to location. Images of Banff, the parliament buildings, and urban centres in general were identified as having particular meaning or being representative of Canada in some way.

The SS-11 IRP reflects this feature of students' Canadian identity more through implication than explicit mandate. The following PLOs offer teachers the opportunity to design classes in which students can engage with their perceptions.

- Apply the follow themes of geography to relevant issues: location (a position on the earth's surface); place (the physical and human characteristics that make a location unique); movement (the varied patterns in the movement of life forms, ideas, and materials); regions (basic units of study that define an area with certain human and physical characteristics); human and physical interactions (the way

humans depend on, adapt to, and modify the environment)
(Environmental Issues: A-7)

- Identify the geographical forces shaping Canada's position among nations (Environmental Issues: A-7)
- Describe the role of Canada's First Nations peoples in shaping Canadian identity (Cultural Issues: A-5)
- Identify the contributions of the arts in reflecting and shaping Canadian identity (Cultural Issues: A-5)

In the case of the land, the first PLO mandates an examination of the human and physical interactions. Part of that examination could include the ways various groups of people and society in general understand the relationship between land and people, how people act on their beliefs about the land, and the impact of those actions on the land. Many aboriginal peoples have cultivated belief systems in which there is a strong sense of commitment to the land. This could be explored using the first PLO, as it relates to human and physical interactions, but could also be explored using the third and fourth PLOs. Though it is not explicitly mandated, students could examine the role the land plays in the belief systems and artwork of aboriginal peoples, how a sense of commitment to the land has evolved over time, the diversity of beliefs about the land within and between various aboriginal peoples, and the ways aboriginal or First Nations beliefs about the land have shaped and continue to shape Canadian identity.

As for territory, the first and second PLOs mandate an examination of issues related to Canada's territory and the geographical forces that shape its position vis-à-vis other nations. Students might consider how perception of Canadian boundaries and jurisdiction over the territory within those boundaries influences understanding of separatism in Quebec. As well, they might explore how understandings of territorial jurisdiction impact on issues related to right of access and use of natural resources in the oceans and the far north.

A study of the landscape is not explicitly mandated in any of the PLOs, however it is implied in the fourth PLO as the Canadian landscape has and continues to influence various art forms produced by Canadians. Authors and singers like Margaret Atwood and Gordon Lightfoot, along with media advertisers like Molson's Breweries have at one time or another used infused the Canadian landscape into their works and media

presentations. Indeed, the paintings and/or sculptures of the Group of Seven, Emily Carr, First Nations artists such as Bill Reid and Jessie Oonark, have all portrayed Canada's landscape, conveying the message that the landscape is a vital part of what it means to be Canadian.

In the case of location, the first PLO mandates an examination of locations on the earth's surface as well as the study of places and the human and physical characteristics that make them unique. Students might research the social, political, and regional implications of having the nation's capital located in the most populous province, the evolution of Niagara Falls or Banff as tourist destinations, or the ways certain locations are portrayed in literature. Though location is the only area of this feature of Canadian identity explicitly mentioned in the IRP, land, territory, and landscape are all implied in the aforementioned PLOs and it is very possible for teachers to design classes that reflect these parts of students' Canadian identity.

There are few SISs offered teachers that explicitly relate to land, territory, landscape, or location. One exception is the following:

- Identify on a map the location of several regional and local First Nations peoples. Form groups and have each group prepare a report on one of these nations, describing its first contact with Europeans and giving examples of its traditional and contemporary culture. As part of the activity, invite a member of a local First Nations band to talk to students about his or her nation, the changes that have taken place, and the challenges First Nations peoples face within the larger culture (Cultural Issues: 18)

Here, students use their mapping skills to identify locations and further explore the cultural aspects of regional and local First Nations or aboriginal peoples. It is possible that an examination of First Nations understandings of land, territory, landscape, and location could be a part of that exploration.

The social studies textbooks also reflect this feature of students' Canadian identity. The sense of commitment to land expressed by Karen is reflected in one textbook and implied in the other two. Textual passages, a logo, and a poem are used to convey to students the deep, spiritual connection with the land that marks the traditional beliefs of aboriginal peoples. In CT, chapter 16 states that Canada's First Nations have a

“relationship to the land” that is similar to that of “aboriginal peoples around the world” (452). It continues by saying that “world interest in indigenous peoples” has been connected to concerns about the environment, asking the question “how can we be concerned about renewing the land, water, and wildlife while at the same time ignoring the people who are closest to these sources of life?” (452-453). A more explicit indication of the sense of commitment to land shared by aboriginal or indigenous peoples around the world is evident in the reproduction of Amnesty International’s logo used in its 1993 campaign to raise awareness of the plights faced by these peoples (454). The text beside the logo states,

The design represents the tree of life, a central symbol in the Iroquois creation story. The tree conveys the equality of all creation—humans, animals, birds, and plants—and symbolizes the sacred relationship that human beings have with the natural world (454).

Though the references are brief and the relationship to the land is not defined or fully explored, this is the most explicit reflection of the sense of commitment to land that forms part of Karen’s aboriginal and Canadian identities.

CNU’s, chapter 20: Canada as a Multicultural Nation (394-417), implies a sense of commitment to land, but it, too, associates it with the beliefs of aboriginal peoples. In a poem entitled “I Grew Up” by Lenore Keeshig-Tobias, she recalls growing up on an Ojibway reserve and thinking it “the most beautiful place in the world”. References to the land are prominent throughout suggesting feelings of contentment, centredness, and spiritual connection to the land. Keeshig-Tobias writes of “watching the wind’s rhythms sway leafy boughs back and forth” and playing in the bush “where the rabbits, squirrels, foxes, deer, and bears lived” (409).

The message conveyed to students in all three textbooks is that the land is perceived as a source of meaning by Canada’s aboriginal peoples because of their cultural beliefs and historical relationship with the land prior to the arrival of Europeans. There is no suggestion that this connection or sense of commitment to the land is shared by non-aboriginal Canadians. Instead, the textbooks suggest that non-aboriginal Canadians take pride in the landscape, the bond between person and land being replaced by bonds between people and the nation.

A sense of commitment to territory is reflected in all three social studies textbooks but is most evident in CT. The inside front cover of this textbook offers students a political map of Canada that illustrates the ten provinces, two territories (Nunavut Territory was then a part of the Northwest Territories), capital cities and other urban centres, along with the names of oceans, bays, lakes, and straits. The inside back cover offers students a political map of the world with the boundaries and names of nations included. With these two maps students can see the territorial extent of the nation, political jurisdictions that are a part of it, as well as Canada's position on the Earth's surface relative to other nations. CT also includes a chapter devoted to Canada's geography. Chapter 5: A Diverse Land (118-152), states that "Canada is a vast country" that stretches "from sea to sea" (119). Canada's diversity, wealth and opportunity have evolved from the physical, climactic, and vegetation regions that are part of Canada (119-121). Pictures of Canada's territory are shown throughout the chapter including the Cod fisheries of the Atlantic coast (124), highlands of Cape Breton (125), lakes of northern Quebec (131), wheat fields of the prairies (133), and forests of British Columbia (137). The message to students is that "Canada's geography has played an important role in shaping our history and culture" and that studying its geography is a "key to unlocking a greater understanding of Canada as a nation" (118).

CNU provides much less information on Canada's territory than CT. It uses a series of maps in one section to convey to students the territorial expansion Canada has undergone. In chapter 4 students are introduced to maps of Canada's territorial extent in 1867 when Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and the southern parts of what is now understood to be Ontario and Quebec formed the Dominion of Canada (79), a map of Canada in 1873 following the joining of British Columbia, Prince Edward Island, Manitoba, which at that time was a small piece of territory along the American border, and the acquisition of the North West Territories (81), and a map of Canada in 1912 following the expansion of Manitoba, Ontario, and Quebec's borders to their current extent, and the formation of Saskatchewan, Alberta, and Yukon Territory from the lands of the Northwest Territories (83). There are no maps of Canada in the textbook to illustrate Canada extending its territory to include Newfoundland and Labrador, a former British colony that joined Confederation in 1949.

The message conveyed to students by the textbooks is that Canada's territory has slowly grown since Confederation and with each new addition of territory Canada has become the nation that it is today. The use of maps attempts to solidify a sense of commitment to the territory over which Canadians have jurisdiction. Students become accustomed to a Canada that extends from Atlantic to Pacific to the Arctic oceans, and save for Alaska, Greenland, and the French islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon includes all the territory north of the American border.

While CI reflects the sense of commitment to territory expressed by the migrant students through maps, it reflects students' sense of commitment to landscape far more. In an issue entitled "Geography and Identity" (222-223), CI states that "Canadians have always felt a connection between their geography and their identity as a nation" (222). This has been the result of living in a nation of "great size [with]...its northern climate and...vast wilderness areas all contribute to a sense of national distinctiveness" (223). It is suggested that "the Group of Seven conveyed this idea in their paintings [while] others have expressed it through words or music" (222). The landscape paintings of the Group of Seven and Emily Carr, a noted artist who was not a member of the group, are amply represented in CI. A. Y. Jackson's "Terre Sauvage" shows harsh, rocky landscape dotted with coniferous trees that is part of Quebec and other parts of Canada (89). Lismer's "A September Gale: Georgian Bay" depicts light reflecting off the water around the tree-lined islands that dot Ontario's Georgian Bay (90). Carr's "Forest Landscape II" portrays the height and colour of British Columbia's forests (91). The use of paintings inspires students to see the Canadian landscape as the artists who "believe[d] wholeheartedly in the land" did, that Canada's rugged beauty, soaring majesty, and infinite diversity poetically reflects who we are as a nation.

CNU also reflects students' sense of commitment to landscape through an exploration of art and literature. In chapter 4: A Nation Emerges (78-99), students are introduced to the works of Maurice Cullen and James Wilson Morrice, both of whom used French impressionist techniques in their paintings of the Canadian landscape (95), as well as poets Charles G. D. Roberts, Isabella Valancy Crawford, Pauline Johnson, and Duncan Campbell Scott (95). Cullen's painting of "Logging in Winter, Beaufré" depicts a logger in the distance struggling through the deep snow and trees of Quebec (95)

followed a portion of a poem by Archibald Lampman that captures the Canadian winter at sunset. He writes,

The rippled sheet of snow where the wind blew
Across the open fields for miles ahead;
The far-off city towered and roofed in blue
A tender line upon the western red;
...The crunching snowshoes and the stinging air,
And silence, frost and beauty, everywhere
(Lampman, cited in CNU, 96).

This poem is indicative of the art, literature, poetry, and photography used in CI and CNU to inspire a sense of commitment to the landscape in students. The image conveyed is of Canada as a nation of great expanse as well as geographic and climatic diversity. Size and diversity, along with pristine beauty, are seemingly meant to inspire awe and reverence.

There is little evidence of a sense of Canadian landscape in CT. There are occasional pictures of the landscape (8) and references to Canada's "frontier image" (16), but there is no explicit examination of the landscape having meaning to Canadians. The Group of Seven and other artists and authors noted for the landscape being a prominent part of their work are not mentioned. The focus in CT seems to be the human rather than physical landscape.

All three social studies textbooks reflect students' sense of commitment to location. Captions or textual identifiers are used to explain to students the significance of various cities. In CT's chapter 5, various locations are identified for their economic significance. A picture of Winnipeg is shown with a caption that calls it the "Gateway to the Prairies", indicative of it being the largest urban centre as one moves westward into one of Canada's major agricultural regions (144). Vancouver is cited as a western port with "access to Pacific Rim countries for trade" (144), while Montreal, Toronto, and other cities in southern Quebec and Ontario are significant for their "locations that given them access to [U.S.] markets" (144). Elsewhere in the textbook, Ottawa is identified as the seat of Canada's national government through the use of pictures including a one of "The House of Commons in Ottawa" that is part of a discussion on legislative power in Canada (256).

In CI, an issue entitled “Hamilton: Creating Economic Diversity” (278-279), this location is identified as significant for its industrial capacity as well as its decline with a shift in emphasis in Canada’s economy from manufacturing to services. A later issue in CI entitled “Vancouver: A Multilingual City” (352-353) identifies this location as an example of Canada’s changing demographics. Vancouver is a city that “grew enormously during the 1990s [with] much of its growth...the result of immigration” (353). The message conveyed to students in all the textbooks is that certain locations have significance because of historical, economic, political, and cultural forces, and these forces have and continue to change.

As for more specific locations or sites, the Parliament buildings in Ottawa are depicted in CNU and CT as silhouettes on diagrams used to explain the federal structure of Canadian government (CNU, 34; CT, 251 and 411) and in pictures as a backdrop to demonstrations for and against government policy (CNU, 48 and 322). It is not stated that the buildings have iconic meaning for Canadians, but they are used as the symbol of governmental power and representative of federal authority.

There is a dearth of other specific locations or sites in CNU and CT, but CI does include the site of Expo ’67 in Montreal as being culturally significant. In an issue entitled “Expo ’67: Canada’s Birthday Bash” (238-239), the La Ronde amusement park with its geodesic sphere and Habitat ’67, the futuristic housing complex designed by architect Moshe Safdie are pictorially and textually depicted as being culturally significant during Canada’s centennial celebrations because the interiors reflected Canadians pride in past accomplishments while the exteriors inspired a sense of hope, optimism, and possibility for the future.

All three textbooks convey a message to students that certain locations have meaning in Canada. Toronto is the financial heart, Montreal is a French cultural centre, Ottawa is the seat of the national government, Vancouver is the window on the Pacific, and Hamilton is emblematic of Canada’s industrial strength. Each city is so much more than these descriptors suggest yet they fill a role in the conveying the strength and diversity of the nation.

All three social studies textbooks, to varying degrees, expand students’ understanding of this feature of Canadian identity. Through various forms of text

including written passages, symbols, maps, pictures, paintings, poetry, logos, captions or textual identifiers, and profiles of cities, the textbooks introduce students to knowledge of and notions about land, territory, landscape, and location that expand beyond the somewhat rudimentary sentiments students expressed during interviews.

Karen was the only student who demonstrated a sense of commitment to the land so any evidence of this commitment in the textbooks would expand most students' understandings. Moreover, more explanation could increase students' understanding of Canada's aboriginal peoples but also offer a conception of the relationship between person and land students may not have considered. Students could be introduced to authors' works that delve into the soulful sense of connection and oneness some people have with the land. Krech (1999) examines First Nations or aboriginal beliefs about the land and introduces the notion of the "ecological Indian" as a model of and for living that is embraced and sometimes mythologized by many aboriginal and non-aboriginal peoples around the world. Belanger (2001) and Cummins (1999) examine the relationship between the land and the Saulteaux and Attawapiskat Cree respectively, demonstrating that First Nations' beliefs and practices share similarities but also many differences. Students might benefit from the inclusion of authors who investigate eastern philosophies such as Buddhism, as well as environmental theories such as the Gaia hypothesis. Robinson and Johnson (1997) offer a historic overview of the Buddhism that includes philosophic beliefs about the relationship between people and the land, while Watada (1996) includes this in an examination of Buddhism in Canada. Lovelock (1988) introduced the world to the Gaia hypothesis, suggesting that the Earth is a single, unified, living organism in which the health and well-being of one part is directly related to, influenced by, and impacts on the health and well-being of another. Though the works of these authors are not directly related to Canadian identity, they suggest possible ways humans can understand and interact with the land. This in turn can aid students developing a greater understanding and appreciation of people and cultures that share these beliefs and/or philosophies and possibly inspire a new or expanded sense of commitment to the land in their Canadian identity.

Students' sense of commitment to territory was much more defined than their sense of commitment to the land. Maps along with an examination of Canada's

geography expanded students' understandings beyond the listing of provinces, territories, and regions. Nevertheless, it could be expanded further with the inclusion of different conceptions of Canadians' understanding and relationship with the territory that comprises their nation.

Students' sense of commitment landscape was largely limited to exaltations of Canada's beauty. The textbooks expanded this sense through examinations of art, literature, and poetry as representations of that landscape. However, students' understandings could be expanded to include a deeper understanding of how landscapes are used iconographically as representations of nation and in the cultivation of national identity (Cosgrove and Daniels, 1988; Muir, 1999). More specifically, Simpson-Housley and Norcliffe (1998) explores landscape as portrayed in Canadian literature while Harcourt (2002) explores the ways landscapes are used in Canadian film to evoke a sense of place or feeling about Canada. Here, students learn that landscapes are used to not only represent what is but to portray an image of Canada.

Finally, students' sense of commitment to location is evident in the description of various cities and the economic roles they play in Canada's economy as well as the use of specific sites to as symbols of parliamentary power (Ottawa) and optimism for the future (Expo '67). However, rather than rudimentary descriptions and symbolisms students' understandings could be expanded to include an examination of why places, whether they are cities like Ottawa or more specific sites such as Parliament Hill, evoke emotion in people. Tuan (1977) suggests that people develop a sense of place that involves an interpretative perspective on place and an emotional reaction to place. Steele (1981) echoed this sentiment when he suggested that particular locations are given meaning based on subjective perceptions of and more or less conscious feelings about them. By exploring conceptions such as these, students gain insight into their perceptions and feelings about particular locations, and are better prepared to understand the ways in which a sense of place can and is evoked through mythology, design, and marketing.

A number of tensions were expressed by students that related to this feature of their Canadian identity but the textbooks offer only limited opportunities for students to enhance their abilities to confront them. Karen interpreted the behaviours of some people in Canada as a complete disregard for the land as the source of life and reflective of a

belief system that understands the land and its resources as something to be dominated.¹ This tension is not reflected in any of the textbooks thus there are no opportunities to enhance Karen's or other students' ability to confront this tension. As stated earlier, there are only a few places in the three social studies textbooks that reflect Karen's sense of commitment to the land. In the examples found, the sense of commitment is not defined or fully explored and as a consequence the textbook authors did not include related questions or activities.

Paul and Angie expressed tension with Canada's size and climate. The topic of climate is all but ignored in the three textbooks save for statements and pictures that reflect Canada as a "northern" nation. However, the challenges presented by Canada's vast land mass are explored in CI. An issue entitled "Geography and Identity: The Impact on Canada" (222-223) discusses the role of geography on the development of Canada. It states that "distance has always been a fact of life, and many projects undertaken by Canadians have been related to bridging the gaps between the different parts of the country" (222). These projects include the building of trans-continental railway, telecommunication networks, and national and print and electronic media corporations. Through these projects conceptions of distance are reduced and a national community is developed. The notion of the national community is countered by McLuhan's concept of the global village where "televised signals bounced around the world...draw everyone into the same community of images...Slowly, cultures...blend into one another, becoming more alike as they experience the same media and absorb the same information" (222-223). There are questions asked at the end of this issue but they focus on McLuhan's notion of the global village and the risk of cultural hegemony and are only marginally related to Canada's size and the challenge it presents to building a sense of national community. There is no text that reflects the tension expressed and thus there are no opportunities for students to enhance their ability to confront such a tension.

Several students expressed tension with the possibility that Quebec might separate from Canada. They suggested that such an event would contravene all their understandings of what Canada is and the territory it includes. The students expressed anger, frustration and a sense of disempowerment with separatists whom they perceive to be selfish and greedy. The issue of Quebec separatism is reflected in all three social

studies textbooks. An entire chapter is devoted to French-English relations in CT and CNU, and no less than ten issues in CI can be interpreted to relate to French-English relations in Canada. While all offer information, questions and activities about the separatist movement in Quebec, only CI offers competing perspectives on the relationship between French and English Canada and Quebec's place in Confederation. This offers the best opportunity for students to enhance their ability to confront their tensions. An issue entitled "National Unity: Seeking Constitutional Solutions" (354-355) includes a section titled "Three Visions of Canada" (355). The visions are excerpts from *Impossible Nation* (Conlogue, 1996), *Blood and Belonging* (Ignatieff, 1993), and *Letters to a Quebecois Friend* (Resnick and Latouche, 1990). Here, students are introduced to different perspectives on why some people in Quebec, particularly francophones, want to separate from Canada and, in the case of Conlogue's excerpt, why Quebec should separate. By introducing students to different visions of Canada, students' understanding of and appreciation for the complexity of French-English relations and the issue of Quebec separation is expanded.

The three critical questions that follow the excerpts or "visions of Canada" afford students the chance to use the background knowledge provided in a thinking process whereby they are expected to develop thoughtful responses. The first question is "Ray Conlogue suggests that people who do not speak the same language can never really know one another. Do you agree? Why or why not?" (355). The second question is, "What is the difference between the terms *nation* and *state* as Michael Ignatieff uses them? Is your Canada a nation, a state, or both?" (355). The third question is, "Many Quebecers believe that 'wanting to live in a French society,' as Daniel Latouche puts it, requires political independence. Do you agree? Explain your answer" (355). These questions have the potential to help focus students' their thoughts about Quebec separatism and work through their tensions. However, these questions are not supported with suggestions of what students might do in order to answer them well. Nor are there suggestions of format or criteria for what constitutes successful answers.

To summarize, the SS-11 IRP reflects this feature of students' Canadian identity through PLOs that teachers are mandated to address. PLOs that require students to examine various aspects of places, locations, and human and physical interactions, could

be interpreted to involve an exploration of students' understandings about commitment to land, territory, landscape, and location. Several SISs are also provided that can be interpreted and used in the same way.

Only one student expressed a sense of commitment to land. Karen believed there was a deep and spiritual connection between person and land and expressed tension with her belief that other Canadians do not understand this notion and use the land in exploitive ways, demonstrating their belief in dominance of the land rather than stewardship. The textbooks reflect Karen's sense of commitment to land but the message conveyed is that it is a belief or feeling associated with First Nations or aboriginal peoples and outside the mainstream belief system of non-aboriginal Canadians. These references are brief and can be considered an expansion of students' understandings as so few students offered evidence that a sense of commitment to land is part of their Canadian identity. There were no questions or activities provided in any of the textbooks that reflected Karen's tensions and thus no opportunities to enhance Karen's or any other student's ability to confront such tensions.

A sense of commitment to territory is reflected and expanded in all three social studies textbooks but is most evident in CT. Through maps, pictures, and in the case of CT, an entire chapter devoted to Canada's geography, students' understanding of where Canada is located on the earth surface, its territorial extent, its political jurisdictions, and various regions are reflected and solidified. Paul and Angie's tensions climate and size are reflected but questions or activities which would enhance their ability to confront such tensions are absent. Students' tension with the possibility of Quebec separating from Canada is reflected and an opportunity to confront it is provided however the questions asked are poorly supported.

A sense of commitment to landscape is reflected in all three social studies textbooks but is most pronounced in CI and CNU. Here, the image conveyed to students is of a vast and diverse land of pristine beauty that is awe inspiring. Students' similar perceptions of Canada's physical beauty and diversity are expanded through an introduction to the works of Canadian artists, authors, and poets who represent Canada's landscape in a number of different ways. By studying works such as these students' perceptions of landscape are expanded beyond exaltations of beauty to include the ways

landscape are used in conveying an image of the nation. Students communicated no tensions in their sense of commitment to the landscape.

Finally, all three social studies textbooks reflect students' sense of commitment to location. Cities such as Ottawa, Toronto, and Winnipeg are referenced frequently in CNU and CT as locations of political and economic significance, while CI devotes entire issue entries to Hamilton and Vancouver. While cities are prominently identified as significant locations in all three textbooks, references to more specific locations and sites are minimal. The parliament buildings are identified as being politically significant in all three textbooks, being referenced frequently in pictures and in silhouette on diagrams. The site of Expo '67 is identified in CI as being culturally significant as the place where Canadians converged for centennial celebrations to take pride in Canadian accomplishments while inspiring hope for the future. The textbooks do expand students' understanding of certain locations, particularly cities. Students did not communicate any tensions with their sense of location.

4. 2. Sense of Commitment to Distinctive Symbols

A sense of commitment to distinctive symbols is a feature of Canadian identity based on students' perceptions of symbols they identify with Canada and the feelings they engender. While symbols usually elicit positive feelings of national pride they can also evoke negative, mixed, and/or neutral feelings.

As a way of introducing the diverse landscape of students' perceptions let's begin with Lea, a white, 18 year old, born and raised in Whistler, B.C. She is the eldest of three children (a younger brother and sister), born to a father who owns and operates a logging company in Belize and a mother who is a registered nurse. Her parents divorced when Lea was ten years old and she and her siblings lived with their mother. The father moved to Belize permanently and Lea visited him there during school holidays. Lea and her siblings migrated to Vancouver eighteen months prior the initial interview for this project when her mother opened a home health care service.

Lea was a student taking advanced-classes and said she liked school mostly for the "chance to socialize with friends". She declared that she took her studies "seriously,

but not too seriously". Instead, she "lived" for the chance to get back to Whistler and ski and make "tons of money from all the tourists". Lea had been working in Whistler every weekend for the previous three years and this made it difficult to participate in extra-curricular activities at school. However, she had made some decisions about her educational future, deciding to go university to study political science at either Simon Fraser or the University of Northern British Columbia.

Lea considered herself a Canadian (Appendix 3B: Question #9) but noted that her father's side of the family came from South Africa though she did not see herself as particularly connected to that nation. Lea's heart was in Whistler, stating that the mountain village was "definitely" the place she considered home (Appendix 3B: Question #11). She said Whistler was "where I want to be all the time. That's what I know". She even suggested that she "might run for mayor there one day". This author's impression of Lea was one of a gregarious young woman. She had a fun-loving spirit and the desire to see the brighter side of life. She laughed frequently and spoke with great speed, stories rolling off her tongue. Lea worried that these traits caused many people to think she was a "ditz" but she said "I do alright thank you very much", followed by the declaration "I'm not brilliant or anything and I do get bored with things and have to move on to something else sometimes, but I'm not a ditz!".

All students offered symbols with which they identified with Canada and expressed a deep sense of commitment to them. The national flag with its maple leaf was referred to by the vast majority of the students involved in this project. None of the students expressed any tension as they spoke of the flag, revealing only pride, reverence, and a strong sense of commitment to this distinctive national symbol. Lea introduced the flag into her description of Canada (Appendix 4, Part D: Question #1). She said,

We have our own flag. It's beautiful, bright red with a maple leaf on it. Do you know what a maple leaf is? (smiles as she gets into the spirit of the scenario). The flag is everywhere, on important buildings, schools, government offices. It's the one thing you recognize wherever you are in Canada. (Tape #13)

Lea perceived the flag of Canada as a national symbol, positioned throughout the nation on "important buildings" as signal to everyone that "you are in Canada". Lea's droll effort to ensure that the stranger she was speaking to in the scenario understood

what a maple leaf is suggested that she perceived this feature of the flag to be distinctive and uniquely Canadian.

For the students who recently immigrated to Canada, the national flag was a particularly significant symbol. When asked what comes to mind when you think of Canada (Appendix 4, Part D: Question #2), Dorion, a recent immigrant from Jamaica, spoke of the Canadian flag and her memories of seeing it for the first time. She said,

There's the flag, that's Canadian, it's red and white, a red bar on each end, white in the middle with a big red maple leaf in the centre. People everywhere recognize it. It's very unique. Jamaica's flag has colours on it, that's it, but the maple leaf makes Canada's distinctive. [TODD: Do you think flags are important?] Important? Well, every country has one so I guess so. It's nice if you have a good one. People never forget it. I remember when I was coming to Canada for the first time and we arrived at the airport in Montreal there was a Canadian flag right near the customs place, not very big. I didn't even think about it but I remember (pauses as she remembers) yeah, I'm here. (Tape #5)

Dorion was a little girl when she came to Canada for the first time but the Canadian flag with its distinctive maple leaf indicated to her "I'm here". It would be several more years before Dorion would move to Canada permanently, yet the association of Canada with the flag remained part of her memories from that first trip to her mother's homeland.

Pavel, a recent immigrant from Russia, spoke matter-of-factly about the importance of symbols as a source of national pride. Responding to a question about things that Canadians can be proud of about their country (Appendix 4, Part D: Question #13) he said,

A flag is an important symbol for any country. It is a source of great pride for the people. I think Canada's flag is very nice, very identifiable and Canada should be very proud. [TODD: Are you proud of it?] Well, I didn't pick it but yes I think so. I'm still getting used to it being my flag too. But yes, I'm proud of it. When I see it on the news I think 'that's us'. (Tape #1)

Pavel's words demonstrated the ongoing development of his Canadian identity. At first he spoke of "Canada's flag...and Canada should be very proud", as if referring to a group of which he was not a part. But, by the end of the passage he revealed that he was

beginning to feel Canadian, perceiving the flag as “my flag too” and associating it with “us”.

The national flag was not only perceived to be a symbol that indicates you are in Canada and are a member of the Canadian nation, for some students it represented positive characteristics about the Canadian people. Karen, an aboriginal woman, answered a question about how she thinks people in other countries perceive Canadians (Appendix 4, Part D: Question #11) by stating,

I love the Canadian flag. It is so much cooler than the American one, not as [struggles for words] I don't know, maybe gaudy? It's very simple but strong. I love that. [TODD: Are Canadians strong?] Oh yeah, don't you think so? We're a strong people. Everyone who sees the flag thinks that's Canada! Strong and free. (Tape #2)

It was unclear how Karen understood the terms “strong and free”, but it was clear that she perceived them to be positive terms and that the flag's simplicity helped signal strength and freedom to both Canadians and others around the world.

Though the flag was the predominant symbol identified with Canada, a few students identified other symbols, including hockey, the national anthem and the monarchy. When asked what comes to mind when you think of Canada (Appendix 4, Part D: Question #2), both Tim and Michael said “hockey”. Michael illustrated their perspective when he said,

Hockey, I think of hockey (laughing because this is the third time in about five minutes that ‘hockey’ has found its way into the conversation). I can't help it. I love hockey. Of course my father does too. It's a part of us, it's what Canada's known for. I think people all over the country grew up watching hockey on Saturday night. You know, waiting for the playoffs. It IS a Canadian event! Always wondering will they (the team you support) make it. Playing in hockey pools, I know I did, I still do! Don't you think hockey is a big time Canadian thing? [TODD: I don't know, what do you think?] Well, I mean everyone gets excited when a Canadian team makes it to the Stanley cup finals even if they hate that team. It's Canada, we've made it! Look at the Canada-Russia series, you ask anyone and they remember Paul Henderson's goal in '72. My dad still talks about it sometimes. We beat the RUSSIANS. Come on, you have to admit that Canada is about hockey?!? At least a little bit. (Tape #8)

Michael's sense of commitment to hockey as a symbol of Canada came from his own love of the game and a father who played the game professionally. However, he also

had the perception that hockey fostered a sense of national community. When he referred to “people...watching hockey on Saturday night”, supporting Canadian teams in the playoffs, and participating in hockey pools, he was speaking of this sport as something that members of the community do together. In short, to be a member of the Canadian community was, in Michael’s mind, to identify and engage with the sport of hockey in some manner. Further, his exuberance at Canada’s victory over the Soviet Union in the first Canada Cup hockey series of 1972 indicated a perception that hockey was an arena in which Canadians could successfully compete with and occasionally defeat nations that are economically and militarily superior; symbolically suggesting that Canada has worth.

Brianne’s response to the same question asked of Tim and Michael (Appendix 4, Part D: Question #2) elicited the response “O Canada”. She explained,

Have you ever read the national anthem all the way through? Like it has a couple more verses than you usually hear at a hockey game or whatever. Maybe it’s three more verses, it is so beautiful! Like it talks about the fields of gold, all the pictures we have of Canada in our minds but it also says stuff about things we should know about in Canada. I think the national anthem should be sung all the way through and everyone should have to learn ALL of it (emphasis in her tone) not just the first part. We’d feel a lot more strongly about our nation I think. (Tape #10)

Brianne was obviously very interested in and proud of Canada’s national anthem having taken the time to read verses that are seldom performed in public. To her, these verses contained geographical and cultural references “we should know about in Canada”, indicating a belief that symbols such as the national anthem help us better understand who and what we are. Though Brianne didn’t articulate a tension per se, she had the perception that by not learning and performing “ALL” of the national anthem Canadians did not feel as “strongly” about their nation as she believed they ought to.

A more explicit source of tension emerged with the identification of the monarchy as a Canadian symbol. During a group interview, discussion of the monarchy emerged in reference to one of interview statements (Appendix 5: Statement #3). Jessica, a recent migrant from Whitehorse, was agreeing that one of the challenges that Canada faces was the perception that it is not an independent nation but a colony of the United States with deep historical ties to Great Britain and France. Interestingly, Jessica found this perceived state of affairs to be problematic yet ended up defending the monarchy as a harmless

symbol of Canada's past. Derek, a student recently arrived from Calgary, perceived the monarchy to be an obstacle to Canada's development as an independent nation and an affront to his personal sense of distinctiveness from Great Britain. Jessica began the exchange.

Canada has the Queen too, kind of as the head of it all. She's just a symbol now with no real power but I think she's cool. [DEREK: How can you say that? The whole monarchy thing is totally lame now. It's a colossal waste of money.] Not for us. We don't have to pay for the Queen in Canada, that's England's problem. [DEREK: But she's this big, dumpy old lady that keeps us tied to the hugely out of date colonial thing, like we're not big enough and strong enough to make it on our own. I don't understand why we have to have a British symbol in Canada. It's over, let it go.] It's like your parents. You don't have to kill them so you can feel like an adult. They're still part of your life even when you are on your own. That's how I think of it. It's a link to our past. [DEREK: But what about all the people who aren't British? Why do they have to look at some woman over in England on every coin they spend and lick her ass on every stamp they use? It's stupid!!] Okay, okay, so you don't like her. (laughing) I do. That's it. For me she's a cool part of Canada. At least we have a real queen and don't have to like make one up from some teeny bopper pop singer like the Americans do. (Tape #17)

Taking the pro-monarchist side, Jessica expressed tension with the arguments that the monarchy is expensive, irrelevant in contemporary politics and to Canadian society, and the possibility that continuing to officially sanction the British monarch as Canadian head of state privileges Canadians of British ethnicity while alienating Canadians of non-British ethnicity. Taking the anti-monarchist perspective, Derek questioned the need to retain symbolic ties with the past as a way of maintaining an understanding of the past from whence Canada emerged.

To summarize, for the majority of students who participated in this project, the distinctive symbol of choice was the national flag. They overwhelmingly demonstrated a strong sense of commitment to the national flag, expressing pride and satisfaction in its composition and positive meaning. A small number of students identified other distinctive symbols including hockey, the national anthem, and the monarchy. Hockey and the national anthem were perceived positively and without tension, though Brianne did feel that people need to learn the entire national anthem and that it should be performed in its entirety so that knowledge of and pride in Canada could be heightened.

The only tension that was evident involved differing perceptions of the monarchy as related to Canada.

The SS-11 IRP reflects this feature of students' Canadian identity through PLOs they are mandated to teach. Though distinctive symbols are not explicitly identified, PLOs can be interpreted to include teaching students about distinctive Canadian symbols.

- Identify the contributions of the arts in reflecting and shaping Canadian identity (Cultural Issues: A-5)
- Identify the structure and operation of Canada's federal, provincial, and municipal governments (Political Issues I: A-6)

The first PLO mandates that students identify the contributions of the arts in reflecting and shaping Canadian identity. While national flags, anthems, and sports are arguably not "art", symbolism, imagery, and representation are all concepts used in the study of art. By examining symbols students can explore why such "art" is commonly chosen to reflect the nation, critically analyze their meaning, and whether or not the Canadian flag, anthem, and sports such as hockey adequately represent the diversity of Canadian society.

The second PLO mandates that students identify the structure and operation of Canada's levels of government. Part of the governmental structure in Canada includes the monarchy. Queen Elizabeth II holds the title of Queen of Canada and is the Canadian head of state. While the PLO does not explicitly state that students must examine the symbolic nature of the monarchy in Canada, teachers might have students examine the role of the head of state in Canada's governmental structure over time, while critically analyzing whether or not it serves sufficient purpose today.

There are several SISs that can be interpreted to include an examination of distinctive symbols. They include:

- As a class, discuss the following questions: What unifies Canadians? How can we strengthen Canadian unity? (Social Issues II: 16)
- Invite students to complete the sentence "A Canadian is _____" and illustrate their ideas with collages. Have them work in groups to discuss their definitions and collages. Then post the collages around the classroom and ask the class to reach a consensus on

the most significant attributes of the Canadian identity (Social Issues II: 16)

- Engage students in a discussion of political events that shaped Canada as a nation (e.g., ...Canada's flag) (Political Issues I: 20)

Teachers who design classes using any of these SISs offer students the potential to engage with their perceptions of distinctive symbols. The third SIS in particular suggests an examination of the political events that surrounded the design and choosing of the Canadian flag. Students who learn about this period in 1964-65 will discover how contentious the debates were concerning the changing Canada's flag and what the design of new flag.

The three textbooks also reflect this feature of students' Canadian identity and include references to the Canadian flag, national anthem, hockey, and the monarchy. The descriptions, pictures, and drawings of these symbols, along with their positioning in units and chapters that use terms such as identity and citizenship in titles and sub-headings suggest that the authors' intent was not only to inform but to cultivate a sense of connection and commitment between symbols and student. In CI, an issue entitled "Geography and Identity: The Impact on Canada" (222-223) explores the design, debate, and choice of Canada's national flag in 1964-65. The discussion of the debate suggests to the student that many Canadians were attached to the Red Ensign, now Canada's former flag, and that it was difficult to design and choose a flag that would be satisfactory to all Canadians. Stating that "Canadians still found at least part of their identity in their geography", the maple leaf was chosen because "maple trees grow in every province and maple leaves have been used as emblems in different provincial coats of arms since 1868" (223). The message intended seems to be that though many people were committed to the "old" flag, a new sense of commitment was strived for and attained by adopting a "new" flag that drew on "...Canadians identification with the land as an important source of their unique identity" (223).

CNU and CT offer similar but briefer references to Canada's national flag as illustrated in CT's chapter 1. Here, the maple leaf and the beaver are described as "...symbols for Canada since the last century. By World War II, however, the maple leaf

was recognized as Canada's official symbol. In 1965, the maple leaf flag was adopted" (17).

Canada's national anthem, O Canada, is given cursory mention in CT and CNU as it relates to Canada's former national anthem, God Save the Queen. In CNU's chapter 1: How is Canada Governed? (10-29), it states that Queen's "...portrait still appears on Canadian stamps and money, but now Canadians sing 'O Canada' instead of 'God Save the Queen', and the Canadian maple leaf flag has replaced the British *Union Jack* [italics in text]" (14). The message being that by adopting a new national anthem (and flag) Canadians were demonstrating their sense of commitment to their own nation as well as their growing independence from Great Britain. The national anthem is not mentioned in CI.

Ice hockey is reflected in all three social studies textbooks, identified as the "favourite pastime of Canadians" (CNU, 304) and "our national sport" (CI, 202). In chapter 15 of CNU, a page of text entitled "The 1972 Summit Series: Cold War on Ice?" is inserted into the main textual flow of the chapter (304). Focusing on Canada's defeat of the Soviet Union's national hockey team during the cold war, the text states that many people "...reasoned that Canada's best hockey players were still superior to the Soviet players" and they "...came to see sports as an extension of the Cold War" (304). Combine this text with the picture of Paul Henderson celebrating after he scored "one of the most memorable goals in hockey history" (304) and the message conveyed appears to be that ice hockey is symbolic of Canadians and to play and win is to win for all Canadians. As well, Canada's defeat the Soviet Union is a symbolic defeat of communism at the hands of the democratic and capitalist west.

CT and CI also reflect ice hockey as a national symbol. In CI an issue entitled "Hockey Night in Canada: Contributing to Canadian Identity" (202-203) examines ice hockey in the context of Canada's expanding ability to broadcast games on television. However, it is the passages of commentator Bruce Kidd that exemplify how many Canadians feel about this sport. He wrote "Hockey captures the essence of the Canadian experience. In a land so inescapably and inhospitably cold, hockey is the dance of life, and an affirmation that despite the deathly chill of winter we are alive" (202-203). Here,

Kidd relates geography to sport trying to inspire a sense of commitment this symbol of Canadian identity.

The final symbol identified by some of students was the monarchy. This institution is reflected in all three textbooks however there is little effort to cultivate a sense of commitment in the monarchy. Indeed, it is described most often as a traditional but largely ceremonial component of Canada's governmental structure. In chapter 9 of CT, Canada is defined as a "constitutional monarchy" (244). Stating that the "...monarch (king or queen) [is] our head of state", the current monarch, Queen Elizabeth II, "symbolically" heads Canada, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, as well as sixteen other Commonwealth nations (244). The passage is descriptive and there seems to be little effort to encourage any sense of commitment. Rather, the emphasis is on the fact that the monarchy in Canada is a remnant of "British political traditions", that "she has little power" and that "the actual governing of our nation is done by the people we elect to represent us" (244-245).

Both CI and CNU refer to Canada being a constitutional monarchy and assume a tone similar to the one offered in CT. In CNU's chapter 1: How is Canada Governed? (10-29), it is stated that "Queen Elizabeth II still bears the title of Queen of Canada [but] over the years...the power and importance of the monarchy in Canada has faded, and today the queen's powers are mostly symbolic and ceremonial" (14). The point is further emphasized in subsequent pages where the evolution of the monarchy from the absolute to the constitutional variety is discussed in a page of text and drawing inserted into the main textual flow of the chapter. Entitled, "Canada's parliament and our British heritage", the current symbolic role of the monarch in Canada began when England's "angry nobles rose in rebellion" against King John, an absolute monarch, and he was "forced to listen to their demands and agreed to sign the Magna Carta" (16). This document began the evolution of England (later Great Britain) and Canada into constitutional monarchies. The message to the student seems to be that the monarchy is part of Canada's heritage and has evolved to meet changing conceptions of governing, but is symbolic in nature and one's sense of commitment to it depends on perceptions of Canada's colonial relationship with Great Britain.

In the same way that the three textbooks reflect this feature of students' Canadian identity, they also expand their understanding of distinctive symbols. Students are introduced to the historical debate concerning Canada's current national flag, the evolution of the national anthem from Britain's "God Save the Queen" to "O Canada", and the monarchy's head of state role in Canada's governmental structure. With respect to ice hockey, students are not only introduced to it sentiments about its place in the hearts of Canadians, as well as Canada's international achievements vis-à-vis the Soviet Union, but in two cases expands students' understanding of the role it plays in other identities. In CNU's chapter 16: French-English Relations (314-336), students are introduced to "Roch Carrier's *The Hockey Sweater*" [italics in text] (320-321). In this two page insert into the main textual flow of the chapter, Carrier relates the story of a young boy who orders a new Montreal Canadiens hockey sweater from Eaton's but accidentally receives a Toronto Maple Leafs sweater. His mother does not understand her son's refusal to wear the sweater even though it fits, failing to realize that it is not the size that counts but the meaning of the Montreal hockey team to a young French-Canadien, his friends, and his local hockey team. This story conveys ice hockey as part of Canadian identity, but also demonstrates its role in other important identities such as ethnic, national, regional, local, team, friend, and familial identities.

A section in CT's chapter 1 entitled "Hockey: Canada's National Sport" (19), expands students' knowledge of ice hockey history by including the evolution of women's participation in the game. Students are told that in 1892...the first women's game was played in Barrie, Ontario" but "the big explosion in women's hockey in Canada came in 1987 when the first Women's World Hockey Tournament was held" (19-20). According to the textbook, Canadian women won that and several world championships since then. Pictures of the Canadian women's championship team of 1994 and goalie Manon Rheume, the first woman to play in the National Hockey League are represented beside pictures of hockey player Wayne Gretzky and the legendary George Armstrong, a former captain of the Toronto Maple Leafs and a man of aboriginal heritage (20-21). By providing a history of women's participation in ice hockey and representing more recent achievements both textually and pictorially, students' understanding of ice

hockey as a distinctive symbol for all Canadians regardless of gender is expanded and perhaps challenged.

The students who participated in this study did not identify particular ceremonies as part of their Canadian identity but the three textbooks do expand students' understanding of the role of ceremonies as part of Canadians' identity generally. One example included is the ceremony conducted to confer official citizenship status on people who have applied to become Canadians. In CT's chapter 11: The Role of the Citizen in Canadian Democracy (300-327), students are introduced to a process called "naturalization" whereby "people born in foreign lands" who have met "certain requirements" as outlined in the Citizenship Act of 1977 are called to a citizenship ceremony to take the oath of citizenship (306-307). A picture of such a ceremony which includes the text of the oath of citizenship is also represented (308). The textbook positions this ceremony within a discussion of different conceptions of citizenship and suggests that the Citizenship Act of 1977 emphasizes equal rights that were later outlined in the Charter of Rights and Freedoms and improved on the previous act introduced in 1947 which discriminated against women and First Nations peoples. Other ceremonies are depicted either textually or pictorially including an "inspection of the guard" by the Queen's representative, the Governor-General (CNU, 37), the closing of an international summit between the Canadian prime minister and the President of the United States (CI, 320), the receiving of the Order of Canada (CI, 314), and the ceremonial sitting of a portrait by the founders of Confederation (CT, 331).

However, students might benefit from a broader discussion of symbols and ceremonies in the cultivation of Canadian identity. The students who participated in this study named a number of specific symbols with which they identified but offered only the simplest of descriptions and the most rudimentary of explanations as to why they felt about them as they did. They did not or could not position symbols and their sense of commitment to them within a broader understanding of Canadian identity. In order to expand this aspect of students' understanding, the three social studies textbooks could examine the notion of "banal nationalism" (Billig, 1995). Billig explains that "in...nations there is a continual 'flagging', or reminding, of nationhood" that occurs subtly in day-to-day political discourses, cultural products, and even the structuring of

newspapers. The flagging is so banal, so much a part of the background that it is almost unnoticed as we go about our daily lives. Yet, taken-for-grantedness and pervasiveness serve to constantly remind us of who we are. Symbols and ceremonies of even the simplest variety are cultural products that are used to remind us that we are members of the nation. In short, a person's national identity "is...found in the embodied habits of social life" (Billig, 1995:8). By examining this theory students' are better able to understand that national flags, anthems, sports, and the monarchy are not only symbols of Canada but are cultural products that are used to cultivate and consolidate national identity and a sense of commitment to the nation.

How do the social studies textbooks enhance students' ability to confront the tensions they experience? The only tension related to this feature of students' Canadian identity involved Derek's perception of the monarchy as an outdated remnant of Canada's colonial history and an affront to Canadians of non-British heritage. Though all three textbooks reflect the monarchy as part of Canada's governmental structure, only CNU provides an opportunity to explore the tension expressed by Derek. Using pictures, textual footers, and a task in which students organize arguments for and against Canada remaining a constitutional monarchy students like Derek have the opportunity to enhance their ability to confront their tensions. In CNU's chapter 1: How is Canada Governed? (10-29), there is a picture of Queen Elizabeth II with a textual footer that reads "Although her role is now primarily ceremonial, Queen Elizabeth II remains Canada's head of state. Prepare a list of arguments in favour of and opposed to Canada's remaining a constitutional monarchy" (14). Making lists of pro and con arguments is a worthwhile approach to making decision. It enhances students' ability to organize information and think about a question or issue. But the footer does not explain what students ought to do with the list of arguments once completed. Given that students are provided with background knowledge on Canada as a constitutional monarchy and its relationship to Great Britain, students could be asked to use their list of arguments to decide whether or not Canada should continue to be a constitutional monarchy with the Queen of Great Britain and Northern Ireland as head of state. The textbook could instruct students to complete a two page written essay in which the criteria for success includes a clear communication of the student's decision, arguments in support of their decision, reasons

why arguments for the opposite side were ultimately rejected, and a clear reiteration of the decision in the conclusion. While CNU provides Derek and students who share his tension with an opportunity to explore the issue, it does not offer enough direction and support to enhance their ability to confront their tensions.

To summarize, the SS-11 IRP reflects this feature students' Canadian identity through its PLOs and SISs. Though it is not explicitly mandated that students learn about Canada's distinctive symbols, teachers can interpret the PLOs in a way that permits the design of classes to explore students' sense of commitment to distinct symbols as well as broader concepts such as symbolism, imagery, and issues and events associated with Canadian symbols.

All three social studies textbooks reflect the distinctive symbols identified by students. They do so using pictures and text surrounding the national debate that occurred when the current flag was adopted. Ice hockey is reflected in text and pictures focusing on its place in the homes of every Canadian through the expansion of Canada's broadcast system in the 1950s. As well, the victory of Canada's national hockey team over the Soviet Union in 1972 is portrayed as symbolic of Canada's close association with the sport and the nation's ability to compete successfully against larger, more powerful nations. The textbooks convey a message that these symbols represent a nation that is special and worthy of commitment. The national anthem is only mentioned peripherally while the monarchy is reflected in text and diagram as part of Canada's historical connection to Great Britain and contemporary political structure. The sentiments conveyed here are largely neutral, inspiring little sense of commitment.

The textbooks expanded students' understanding of distinctive symbols by introducing students to the political debate concerning the national flag, a fictional story that suggests the significance of ice hockey teams to national as well as other identities, and text and pictures that examine the historical development of women's ice hockey. Students' understandings are also expanded with text, pictures, and oath related the ceremony conducted when immigrants receive their Canadian citizenship.

The textbooks offer limited opportunities for students to enhance their ability to confront tensions. Derek expressed tension with the continued role of the monarchy in Canada, suggesting that it no longer had relevance for an independent nation like Canada

and might be perceived as an affront to Canadians of non-British heritage. Only CNU provided an opportunity to explore this tension. Using a picture, textual footer, and a task, students are set up to make a decision about whether or not Canada should remain a constitutional monarchy. However, the opportunity is limited by a lack of suggestions as to what students should do with their ideas, format of presenting results, and criteria for what constitutes a successful decision.

4. 3. Sense of Historical Uniqueness

A sense of historical uniqueness is a feature of Canadian identity based on students' perceptions of people and events of the past and how they engender the feeling that the nation is unique, distinct from all others, and/or offer lessons on how to live and what to believe.

As a way of demonstrating how a sense of historical uniqueness works as a faint but perceptible aspect of students' Canadian identity, let's begin with Tina, a white 18 year old with a Scottish Presbyterian background. She was born and raised in Richmond Hill, a city north of Toronto, Ontario. Tina and her 15-year-old sister are the children of a father who works as lawyer/university instructor and a mother who is an itinerant special education teacher that helps children with literacy problems. The family migrated to Vancouver twenty-two months prior to our initial interview. Tina was in the advanced-classes program at Portage Secondary School, served as student council president, was involved in Highland dancing, and acted in theatre productions. She had traveled widely across North America and had been involved in summer mission projects to Quebec, Costa Rica, and Guatemala under the auspices of her church. Though Tina had not made any firm commitments to a particular university at the time of our meetings, she was considering McGill University where she hoped to attend medical school.

Tina considered herself Canadian (Appendix 3B: Question #9) and felt that her home was Toronto (Appendix 3B: Question #11). When asked about her response she said she missed Toronto, her friends "a lot", especially her best friend Alissa, and her grandparents. She said she had not yet "found her footing" in Vancouver and felt a little "out of step" despite her school and community involvement. My impression of Tina was

of a soft-spoken young woman who took her time to think before speaking. When she spoke the thoughts were coherent and succinct. She had strongly held views and shared them freely but also listened well and seemed to try to learn from what others had to say.

Overall, most students demonstrated some sense of historical uniqueness but it was faint and strained. During the individual interviews students were asked to identify three Canadians that they believe embody what it means to be Canadian (Appendix 4, Part D: Question #4). This was an effort to see if any people from the past figured prominently in their understanding of Canada and their Canadian identity. Many students struggled to identify someone and when they did had difficulty articulating why they believed their choices embodied what it means to be Canadian. An illustration of this is shown in the response of Paul. He said,

Mackenzie King! [TODD: Why does he embody what it means to be Canadian?] I don't know. We just learned about him this week in history class. He was the leader during the war, for a long time. People must think he is important. I do not know why. (Tape #3)

For Paul, Mackenzie King's name was known because of recent exposure in history class but he had no sense of why King might be considered significant. This may be an indication that he and others lacked knowledge of Canadians, past or present. It could also mean that students lack a strong sense of historical uniqueness, formulating their Canadian identity in other ways. Whatever the case, almost every student identified at least one person or group of people whom they believed embodied what it means to be Canadian. Most identified politicians or people who excelled in particular professions. The following are examples of students who could both identify people and explain their choices.

Tina and Diana both identified women from Canada's past. Tina said,

Have you ever heard of Jenny Trout? [TODD: Jenny Trout?] She was the first doctor in Canada, female doctor I mean. I remember learning about her from my cousin Jenny who did a project on her for school. It was amazing what she had to go through to succeed. [TODD: Why do you think she embodies what it means to be Canadian?] I'm not sure, just sticking to it, getting what you want when everything tells you you can't. I really started thinking about going to medical school then. I wasn't sure I was smart enough before. (Tape #9)

Jenny Kidd Trout was, in 1875, the first woman licensed to practice medicine in Canada. Along with Emily Stowe, a woman who practiced medicine before obtaining her license in 1880, Trout attended medical school in Toronto and endured harassment and ridicule from her male professors. Both women persevered and marked a milestone in the evolution of women's rights in Canada. Tina perceived this woman to be a role model because of her perseverance and trailblazing effort in pursuing a career in a male-dominated profession. She gave Canadian women of subsequent generations the belief that they too can succeed, while suggesting a "moral map" to all Canadians that Canadian society ought to be open and accepting of women as co-participants in every way.

Diana, a recent migrant to Vancouver from Ottawa, was more explicit in the reasons for her choice. She said,

There have been some incredible women who were really strong. Like the women who settled the west, lived on the farms. It was really hard work. There was Nellie McClung. She was one of the first women to make a difference. There were lots of them [TODD: What do you think these women represent?] They represent the struggle for women to be equal to men. They were strong and made a difference even when everybody thought they shouldn't. (Tape #12)

Though she did not dwell on Nellie McClung at great length, Diana saw her as an example of many women from Canada's past who endured physical hardship as well as social ostracization in the struggle for women to be considered equal to men. Though it was unclear how Diana understood the concept of equality, she perceived Nellie McClung and other "strong" women as embodying the Canadian characteristic of perseverance while modeling for their contemporaries and future generations the role women can and ought to have in Canadian society. Though Tina and Diana recognized that Jenny Trout, Nellie McClung, and the women who settled the west were part of the continuing struggle for gender equality in Canada, they expressed no tension in their choices choosing to focus on the inspiration they derived from them.

Pierre Elliott Trudeau was a person identified by several students. He was still living at the time of these interviews but was no longer actively involved in politics, yet he was part of students' sense of historical uniqueness. Derek said,

Everyone hated him in Alberta. But I liked him. [TODD: You're a little young to remember him though. How do you know about Trudeau?] I don't really, but he's just someone who kinda went his own way. He said what he thought and didn't care. I like that. I'm kind of like that. I don't care what people say about my hair. I like it. [TODD: Do you think Canadians are like Trudeau?] No, not really. But I think we wish we could be. We worry too much about what people think. He didn't and he did all right. (Tape #11)

For Derek, Trudeau was not significant for his political achievements but for the way he conducted himself in public. He perceived Trudeau to be a rebel like himself, never courting public favour but finding success nonetheless. Derek saw him as a role model that broke the traditional mould of Canadians worrying "too much about what people think" and suggested they could journey into the future with a bolder attitude.

Peter also identified Pierre Elliott Trudeau when asked to name someone who embodies what means to be Canadian (Appendix 4, Part D: Question #4). He stated,

Oh God, I don't know any people [pause] how about Pierre Trudeau? He was a great Prime Minister. He helped people in poor countries. My mom loves him. She heard about him over in Lebanon. Everybody loved him there. (Tape #6)

Peter, a recent immigrant from Greece, was influenced by his mother's perception of the former Prime Minister of Canada. Peter did not explain the circumstances of his mother's life in Lebanon or if she benefited from Trudeau's attention to the issues of "poor countries". However, she viewed Trudeau as compassionate and communicated her love and respect for him to her son. He now believed that to be Canadian is to be caring and compassionate.

Some students chose to identify groups of people rather than particular persons. Karen, an aboriginal migrant recently arrived from the United States, chose her own people. She said,

I guess (pause) my people. Despite all the problems, and there are a ton of problems, (laughing) they've survived. Like you look at the U.S. where I grew up, they did everything they could to kill us. In Canada the government tried to assimilate us and make us forget who we were. It didn't work. My grandmother has told me about the old women in her village who were beaten by the police and some of the men who were arrested and sent to these things in Alberta, I don't know what you call them. They're prisons or work camps. These are my heroes I guess because they refused to give up or be slaughtered or whatever. Now the fight is to be recognized as a real people, Canadian but not-Canadian. Does that make any sense? [TODD: Does it make sense to you?] Totally. (Tape# 2)

For Karen, a sense of historical uniqueness came from the struggle of her forebears to persevere despite Canadian and American efforts to assimilate or eliminate them. She drew inspiration from their hardships and sacrifices, and was continuing the "fight...to be recognized as a real people". This "fight" was a source of tension for Karen as she perceived a gap between the way her people were currently recognized and the way she believed they ought to be recognized, namely as "Canadian but not-Canadian".

Jessica identified a group of people who played a significant role in the history of the Yukon. In her response to the request to name people that you believe embody what it means to be Canadian (Appendix 4, Part D: Question #4) one of her responses included the following,

When I think of qualities that I admire about Canadians I think of the gold miners of the Klondike. I used to do some volunteer work at a prospector museum in Whitehorse and it was fascinating to learn about their lives, what they did, how they lived, you wouldn't believe it. I admire their daring and perseverance. They drank too much and many of them caused a lot of damage but they did it, they were involved. I want to be like that, not a gold miner (laughing) but I want to be in the middle of stuff, doing things. I want us as Canadians to be more adventurous [TODD: Do you not think Canadians are adventurous?] No, not really. We're pretty passive people generally, but here and there in our history there are examples of real, real dynamism. (Tape #14)

Volunteering at a museum in Whitehorse afforded her the opportunity to learn about the history of the Klondike, but her admiration of the gold miners stemmed not from any accomplishments, rather it was grounded in their approach to life. Echoing

sentiments expressed by Derek when discussing Pierre Elliott Trudeau, Jessica revealed a desire to be more daring, adventurous, and involved in her life. She did not believe Canadians shared these characteristics generally, but took inspiration from the “real dynamism” evident “here and there in our history”.

Perceptions of people and groups of people from Canada’s past were one way students’ offered evidence of a sense of historical uniqueness. Historical events also figured into this feature of their Canadian identity. Students were asked to name an event that they believed to be significant for Canada or Canadians (Appendix 4, Part D: Question #5). Very few students could name an event and fewer still could articulate why the event was significant. One student who expressed her thoughts well was Dorion. A recent immigrant from Jamaica, she said,

Like we’ve been studying the First World War in class. They haven’t really said all that much about Canada really, other than we worked with the British maybe. But I do remember that Canadians won some really important battles during the war. It was pretty heroic when you think about it. They fought in the trenches, got bitten by rats. Mr. X showed us these pictures of their feet, gross! It was awful. They had their feet rot from the water and mud and stuff. It was incredible that this little country won these great battles. Like I’m not Canadian yet but it makes you proud.
(Tape # 5)

For Dorion, learning about the important battles won by Canada made her feel “proud”. The fact that these battles were won despite being a “little country” and that soldiers persevered through the hardships of trench warfare including foot rot and rat infestation only seemed to add to the event’s significance. Canada’s victories taught Dorion that anyone, no matter how small, can succeed with perseverance and determination.

Pavel focused on another event in Canadian history, Confederation. He did not know much about it but offered an interesting perspective on why it was a focus of attention in school. He stated,

I don’t know much about Canadian history really....I remember that it was difficult to get Canada together. Many people did not want Canada to unite. That’s kind of ironic (chuckles). Confederation was a big deal last year. We spent a lot of time on that. Maybe they (teachers?) think if we

realize how hard it was to get Canada together that we'll try harder to keep it from falling apart? (Tape #1)

Though Pavel was uncertain why Confederation was a "big deal" in history class the previous year, he explained it as an effort to inspire contemporary Canadians to "try harder" to maintain Canadian unity. He found this ironic given that "many people did not want Canada to unite" in 1867. It is unknown whether Pavel was inspired by his explanation of Confederation as an event worthy of attention, but he believed there must be a reason and the maintenance or consolidation of unity seemed plausible to him.

Derek felt it important that everybody know that Canadians "aren't always nice". In response to the request to name an event that you think is significant for Canada and Canadians (Appendix 4, Part D: Question #5) He said,

I hope everyone isn't giving you the 'we're such a great country speech'. You don't want that do you? [TODD: I'm open to hearing all kinds of things. You go where you feel it necessary to go.] Canadians aren't always nice either. We've been pretty brutal [pause] the Japanese camps, that was cruel. The schools for the native people, Canada has screwed up a lot and that's important for people to know, right? (Tape #11)

Here, Derek asserted the importance of learning about events in which Canada "screwed up". For him, events such as the internment of the Japanese during the World War II and the forced assimilation of Canada's aboriginal peoples through the residential school system provided in his mind, a fuller, more balanced picture of who and what we are as Canadians while illustrating actions and attitudes to be avoided in the future.

While students struggled to name personalities and events from the past that engendered feelings of uniqueness or offered lessons on how to live and what to believe, they had little difficulty naming contemporary entertainers. Students felt pride in their accomplishments and perceived them to embody a "can do" attitude.

Pavel, an immigrant to Canada from Barnaul, Russia, said,

Maybe (pauses as he thinks), the Barenaked Ladies. [TODD: The Barenaked Ladies? I've heard of them] They're a fun band, great songs. I don't know, I can't think of anything else. [TODD: Why would you be proud of the Barenaked Ladies?] Because they're good and people get to see how great we can be. (Tape #1)

In Pavel's eyes, the "great songs" and sense of "fun" of this band made them a worthy ambassador of Canada to the world, demonstrating "how great we can be". This theme appeared in the comments of other students as well. Peter stated

Our singers (pauses) Like Bryan Adams [TODD: Why Bryan Adams? Why is he significant to Canada?] He's a huge star all over the world. He's big in Europe. People in Europe think of Canada as these nice people but with an edge. Bryan Adams' music is hard edged. [TODD: What does the 'edge' mean exactly?] I don't know, maybe that you shouldn't mess with us; we're tougher than we look. I think it's kind of like, it's kind of like we don't want everything all slicked up into boppy pop music too. Canada is into that as much as the Europeans are [TODD: What does pop music represent for Europeans do you think?] Oh they definitely want everyone to think they've got it all wrapped up, they're in control. We're not like that here, Greece too. I think that's part of the reason they're (Greeks) not in step. They just go their own way... Canada has excellent movies and television I think. Everybody says that TV is not that great in Canada but I think it's pretty good really, considering what we're up against. [TODD: Such as?] American money. (Tape #6)

Peter felt pride in the accomplishments of singers like Bryan Adams because they, in his mind, projected an image of Canada as being "hard edged" and "tougher than we look". This image was considered better and more accurate than the "nice" image most people in the world, particularly Europeans, have of Canada. However, images aside, Peter and Pavel's pride came from bands, singers, movies, and television being "huge...all over the world". They felt pride because entertainers and the Canadian entertainment industry had succeeded in the international marketplace based on quality and in spite of, in Peter's words, "American money". Similar to the sentiments Michael expressed when Canada beat the Soviets to win the Canada Cup in 1972², these students viewed the success of Canadian entertainers as an opportunity to revel in the notion that the underdog (a nation with a relatively small population such as Canada) could compete and win on the international stage with the favourite (nations with larger populations and more financial resources such as the United States).

Brianne, a recent migrant from Winnipeg, felt that one female singer stood out from the crowd because she went where no Canadian woman had gone before. She said,

² See section 4.2. Sense of Commitment to Distinctive Symbols in this chapter.

Anne Murray! [TODD: Anne Murray?] That's all I can think of. I DO NOT listen to her okay? (laughing) But she was like one of the biggest stars in the world. She became this big female name back when Canadians never became big stars. Her songs were everywhere. Somebody has to go first, everyone else follows. (Tape #10)

Brianne felt proud that Anne Murray was "this big female name" and had achieved international recognition, but she also felt that she embodied a trailblazing attitude, finding success at a time when Canadians, particularly Canadian women, "never became big stars". Though Brianne perceived Murray to be dated and therefore uncool by contemporary standards, she admired Murray for the inspiration her success provided subsequent generations of female singers and Canadians in general.

To summarize, many students struggled to identify people whom they believed embodied what it means to be Canadian, though almost every student offered at least one name, many could not offer reasons for their choice(s). This may indicate that students lack knowledge of people from Canada's past or that a sense of historical uniqueness is not a strong feature of their Canadian identity. However, of the students who did identify people or groups of people and could offer reasons for their choices, politicians and those who excelled in their chosen professions were cited. Names such as Jenny Trout, Nellie McClung, Pierre Elliott Trudeau, Klondike gold miners, and Canada's aboriginal peoples "told" students who and what Canadians are and/or ought to be and served as role models for what Canadians could be in the future. These people were perceived to embody perseverance, compassion, boldness, daring, and involvement, characteristics students admired, valued, and/or wished to emulate. Only Karen explicitly expressed tension as aboriginals continue to "fight" to be recognized as "Canadian but not Canadian" (Tape #2).

Students had more difficulty identifying events they deemed to be significant to Canada and Canadians and fewer still could articulate why they were significant. Of those students who could do both, the battles Canadians participated in during the First World War and Confederation were cited. These events were perceived to inspire Canadians to persevere and succeed against great odds. However, one student wanted to include events in which Canada did not act honourably, believing that this provided a broader picture of Canada and encouraged learning from the mistakes of the past.

While students had difficulty naming people and events of the past, contemporary entertainers were a source of pride. Students identified with Canadian rock bands and pop singers, along with the movie and television industry, suggesting that their success on the international stage and their rise to fame and fortune was an inspiration and helped them to believe that Canadians could compete successfully with nations such as the United States. One student identified with a female singer because she achieved success at a time when Canadians, and Canadian women in particular, were largely absent from the international stage, thus inspiring subsequent generations of Canadian entertainers as well as all Canadians.

The SS-11 IRP is entirely focused on helping students gain an understanding of Canada as a nation with unique geography, political structures, cultures, and histories. There are many PLOs in the SS-11 IRP that could be interpreted to reflect Canada's historical uniqueness. They include:

- Describe Canada's evolution as an independent nation (Political Issues I: A-6)
- Describe the history and contributions of Canada's French and English cultures in shaping Canadian identity (Cultural Issues: A-5)
- Describe the role of Canada's First Nations peoples in shaping Canadian identity (Cultural Issues: A-5)
- Demonstrate an awareness of the provisions of the *Indian Act* and its impact on the citizenship of Aboriginal Canadians (Legal Issues: A-6)
- Demonstrate understanding of the history and present status of Aboriginal land claims and self-government in Canada (Political Issues I: A-6)
- Describe Canada's role in international conflicts, including World War I and World War II, and assess the impact on Canada (Political Issues II: A-6)
- Compare and contrast forces that have united and divided Canadians during the 20th century, including Quebec separatism (Social Issues II: A-5)
- Describe economic cycles in Canada and the world, including the Great Depression (Economic Issues: A-7)

This is not an exhaustive list but these PLOs indicate the IRP's focus on three of the main cultural influences on Canada's evolution as an independent nation, namely First Nations or aboriginal peoples, the French and English. These influences along with relations between these cultural groups have shaped Canada's history up to and including the 20th century. The PLOs also mandate that teachers teach learn about the historical and present status of land claims and self-government in Canada, issues such as Quebec separatism, and events such World Wars I and II and the Great Depression. Embedded within these PLOs are the personalities and events that give Canada its historical uniqueness among nations.

There are many SISs that, if used, provide students with opportunities to learn more about people and events that have shaped Canada.

- As a class discuss the following questions: What unifies Canadians? (Include in the discussion individual Canadians in areas such as sports, the arts, or politics who have had a unifying influence on the country) (Social Issues II: 16)
- Ask each student to choose a Canadian from the 20th century and make a short presentation on how that person contributed to Canadian society (Social Issues II: 16)
- Have students construct Stairway to Independence diagrams or posters in which each step names an important event in Canada's movement toward independence (e.g., Confederation, development of the Commonwealth, the Statute of Westminster) (Political Issues I: 20)
- Ask each student to choose a Canadian from the 20th century and make a short presentation on how that person contributed to Canadian society (Social Issues II: 16)
- Ask students to research the lives five French-Canadian and five English-Canadian artists of international stature (e.g., singers, visual artists, writers, movie directors) and have them respond through essays or oral presentations to the question: How have French- and English-Canadian artists contributed to the shaping of modern Canadian culture? (Cultural Issues: 18).

One some level all social studies textbooks that include a history or the histories of a nation are an attempt to cultivate a sense of historical uniqueness. The histories of the nation that are related are unlike those of other nations, the personalities and events

are different or at least told from an alternative perspective, and this helps to convey the message to students that this nation is distinct from all others. All three textbooks reflect this feature of students' Canadian identity. Each is filled with personalities and events that give students a sense of what kind of nation Canada is, who Canadians are, what they value, and how they might go forward into the future. Indeed, Canada is portrayed as a nation with personalities that are courageous, creative, inventive, and compassionate. As well, the events included are portrayed as significant steps toward Canada's growth as an independent nation.

As illustration of this, the titles of units and chapters encapsulate Canada's historical lineage and the events that shaped the nation. This is particularly evident in CNU. Unit 2 is entitled "Laying the Foundations: From Confederation to 1911", suggesting a beginning, starting point, or footing for the nation's future development. Unit 3 is entitled, "The War to End All Wars: Canada and World War I". This title implies that World War I was not only significant it was the conclusion, finale, or closing act of war itself, and Canada was part of it. Unit 6 is entitled, "The Dawning of a New Era: The Cold War and Beyond", signifying rebirth and hope for the future. Each title is meant to inspire interest or curiosity in the unit's content while also conveying attitudes or beliefs about Canada's unique journey through time.

This point is further evidenced by the content of the textbooks. Entire chapters are devoted to what are believed to be Canada's important relationships. These include Canada's historical connections to Great Britain and France (CT, chapter 2: 31-59; CNU, chapter 5: 100-114), an exploration of the ways British and French roots impact on contemporary Canadian society (CNU, chapter 16: 314-336), and historical and contemporary relations with the United States (CNU, chapter 17: 337-361; CT, chapter 7: 180-207). Interestingly, First Nations peoples are not given an entire chapter but are allotted sections within chapters (CT, chapter 16: 452-458; CNU, chapter 18: 371-376; CNU, chapter 20: 407-413). In the issue based CI textbook these relationships are evident in titles such as "Colonial Ties: Canada and Britain" (18-19), "Canada-US Relations: The Postwar Era" (180-181), and "Aboriginal Affairs: New Directions" (274-275). The content of these chapters and issues communicate to students that these relationships are part of our history and the histories that make Canada unique among nations.

As for the specific personalities cited by the migrant students who participated in this study, two are reflected in the textbooks, two are present but are depicted in a way that differs from the portrayal suggested by students, and one is absent. Without question Pierre Elliott Trudeau is the personality most in evidence. He was Prime Minister of Canada for almost fifteen years, participating in some of the most significant changes in Canadian history. Trudeau is mentioned numerous times in all three textbooks beginning with his support of the Asbestos, Quebec strikers in 1949 (CNU, 316-317) and ending with the “uproar” caused by his appointment of a number of Liberals to the Senate just prior to leaving office in 1984 (CNU, 37). Much of the coverage of the former prime minister reflects the sentiments expressed by Derek. Trudeau is often described as “a different kind of politician” (CNU, 383), one who had “youthfulness, wit, and personal style (CNU, 379). During the 1968 federal election campaign the *Globe and Mail* explained Trudeau’s appeal by stating that “it may be that what Canadians see in Mr. Trudeau is this new side of themselves, a readiness to gamble on the unknown, to move into areas not explored before” (cited in CI, 245). Though Derek believed that Canadians are not as daring and adventurous as this portrayal of Pierre Trudeau, he believed that Canadians want to be more like that and the former prime minister demonstrated what was possible.

Trudeau is also reflected in the textbooks as the prime minister who recognized Canada’s cultural diversity and made multiculturalism official government policy in 1971 (CI, 270-271; CT, 46), changed Canada’s immigration policy in 1978 to “open Canada’s doors to a wider range of immigrants” (CT, 70), and increased Canada’s foreign aid to the “third world” (CNU, 308). Each of these actions could be perceived by Peter and Peter’s mother as acts of compassion and caring, especially toward people in “poor countries” (Tape #6).

Nellie McClung is reflected in all three textbooks for her efforts in helping women obtain the right to vote in Manitoba in 1914, by becoming “the only woman on the Dominion War Council” in 1918, and for her election to the Alberta legislature in 1921 (CT, 313; CNU, 93). She also was one of the petitioners to the British Privy Council in 1929 who ultimately determined that women were “persons” and therefore qualified to sit in the Senate of Canada (CI, 106-107). McClung endured ridicule from

Manitoba's premier, Rodmond Roblin when she formed the Political Equality League in 1912 but her perseverance and ultimate success in helping women obtain the right to vote in Manitoba elections led to her being described as a "liberator" and a promoter of "equality in society" (CT, 313). These descriptors reflect the sentiments expressed by Diana, sentiments that view McClung as a role model and predecessor in the ongoing struggle for gender equality in Canada.

The following groups of people were cited by students as people with whom they identify, possessing qualities that they admire and perceive as worthy of emulation. Karen cited her "people" as worthy of admiration and respect because they have survived against great adversity. What is unclear is whether she was referring to the Blood nation of southern Alberta of which she belongs or First Nations people generally. Many First Nations are identified by name in all three textbooks. The Nisga'a of northern British Columbia (CNU, 407; CI, 346), Cree and Inuit of northern Quebec (CNU, 410; CT, 58), and the Dene nation (CNU, 410-411) are all cited but there is no mention of the Blood of southern Alberta in any of the textbooks. As a combined group, First Nations people are reflected in all three textbooks as one of Canada's "three founding nations" to form Canada's "rich tapestry" (CNU, 2). Despite these sentiments, First Nations people have had to persevere against European settlement, disease, loss of land, and assimilation (CI, 16-17; CI, 76-77; CI, 274-275). Further, the struggle is not over as First Nations peoples continue to struggle for recognition of treaty rights and settlement of land claims (CI, 346-347; CNU, 406-413; CT, 454). These struggles and the perseverance to overcome and "survive" are the source of Karen's admiration and respect, suggesting to her that her "people" embody virtue and are worth emulating.

The miners of the Klondike are present in CNU only, but the portrayal offered does not reflect the sentiments expressed by Jessica. The admiration she felt for their adventurousness is noticeably absent and in its place is a description that is unflattering. CNU states "few of the miners who flooded into the Yukon showed any concern about Native rights. They openly shot dogs and horses, interfered with Native traplines, and exploited the fish and game resources" (87). It is unlikely that Jessica would find the callousness and lack of respect demonstrated in this portrayal admirable. Though she acknowledged that the Klondike gold miners "drank too much and many of them caused

a lot of damage” (Tape #14), perhaps Jessica was unaware of the extent of damage and suffering inflicted by the miners, was choosing to focus on qualities not included in the textbook, or the portrayal in the textbook is biased or erroneous. Whatever the case, the picture of the miners of the Klondike in CNU does not reflect the adventurousness Jessica admires.

There is no mention of Dr. Jenny Kidd Trout in any of the social studies textbooks. This does not appear to be an oversight or a bias in favour of male achievements, but a reflection of the fact that her success occurred during the late 19th century falling outside the 20th century foci of the textbooks.

Several events were also identified by students as significant. Dorion cited the battles fought by Canadians during World War I, Pavel referred to Confederation, while Derek offered the Japanese internment and the residential school system for aboriginal peoples. All three textbooks reflect the battles of World War I, highlighting the pride they inspired in Canadians, the bravery of the soldiers, and the war’s significance to Canada’s advancement toward full independence from Great Britain. In CT’s chapter 13: Canada and War (358-386) it states that “the struggle aroused pride in Canadians” (363) and that “Canada’s army soon gained a reputation for bravery and good organization”. While in CNU’s chapter 7: War on the Western Front (132-148) it says that “Canada entered the war as part of the British Empire. By 1918, it emerged as a nation in its own right” (133). Sentiments such as these reflect the pride expressed by Dorion, suggesting to her and others that Canadians can face unimaginable hardships, survive and ultimately thrive.

Confederation is cited in two of the three textbooks. Though it occurred in the 19th century and falls outside the 20th century foci of the textbooks, it was a seminal event in the development of Canada and had implications for many of the attitudes and decisions taken in subsequent decades. In CNU, chapter 4: A Nation Emerges (78-99), the details leading up to and including the proclamation of the Dominion of Canada on July 1, 1867 are outlined. As well, the expansion of Confederation to include new provinces and territories is included. Pavel’s explanation of the possible significance of Confederation to the current generation of Canadians was that it was difficult to achieve and that by learning about it Canadians would “try harder to keep it from falling apart” (Tape #1). Both CNU and CT reflect the difficulty in achieving unity among the British colonies

stating "New Brunswick and Nova Scotia...remained divided over the idea of Confederation" (CNU, 79-80), "some francophone leaders...opposed Confederation" (CT, 35), and "when British Columbia joined Confederation in 1871, it also did so with some reluctance" (CNU, 80). Although neither textbook explicitly states that there is a relationship between the difficulties of accomplishing unity in the 1860s and the ongoing challenge of maintaining Canadian unity today, Pavel's explanation for why it emphasized in schools has plausibility. Perhaps it is part of the authors' intent to inspire the current generation of Canadians to see themselves as guardians or stewards of the dream of a united Canada through the personalities and events of Confederation. Whether it is or not is unclear, but at least one student, a migrant student from Russia, made such a connection and that may inspire him to believe that it is worth "trying harder to keep [Canada] from falling apart" (Tape #1).

Derek's concern about Canada's involvement in events now perceived to have been unjust and had a detrimental effect on people is also reflected in the textbooks. Each includes an examination of the Canadians of Japanese ethnicity being interned in camps during World War II conveying the message that Canadians acted unjustly. CNU's chapter 13: War on the Homefront (246-264), states that the Canadian government took "harsh measures" against Japanese-Canadians now considered "shameful" (250). In CI, an issue entitled "Japanese Canadians: Wartime Persecution" (162-163) states the Canadian government acted on "public prejudice" but that Canadians now consider the event to be "one of the worst violations of human rights in the history of the country" (162). All three textbooks reflect Derek's perspective that Canadians learn from past mistakes. In 1988, the Canadian government apologized on behalf of the people of Canada and agreed to compensate every survivor for the injustice (CNU, 250; CI, 163; CT, 375).

The removal of aboriginal children from their homes and placement in residential schools is reflected in two of the three textbooks. Both reflect Derek's sentiments that this was an example of racism and cruelty. CT's chapter 4: Challenges and Opportunities, Our Evolving Identity (88-115), it states that the schools were an example of the government being "misled by ethnocentrism and racist assumptions...that European culture was superior" (110). In CI, an issue entitled "Cultural Assimilation: Residential

Schools (76-77), states that schools were “underfunded and poorly run” and that children often faced “abuse” which contributed to later problems of “substance abuse, suicide, and family problems” (77). Both textbooks also suggest that this event, which lasted for over 120 years, was wrong as indicated by apologies extended by some of the church organizations who administered the schools and the Canadian government (CI, 77). In 1998, the Canadian government further indicated its recognition of injustice and harm by offering financial compensation to the victims of the schools to be used for community projects (CI, 77). The message conveyed to students is that Canada has not always acted in ways that are just or humane but that it has learned from past mistakes and is using the knowledge gained to create a better, stronger, and more just society that respects cultural diversity.

Though the names differ from those identified by students, entertainers, along with inventors and people who work in public services are reflected in the textbooks. In CT, chapter 1: The Canadian Identity (2-30), students are provided with “A Gallery of Canadian Achievement” (12-14). The text states,

The accomplishments of many individuals—men and women of varying backgrounds—have helped to shape the identity of this nation. The Gallery of Achievement...is only a small sampling of people who have made contributions to our national culture, as well as to the world. Their goals, their accomplishments, and the freedom and equality needed to achieve both, stand as living symbols of what Canadians are as a people and what Canada is as a nation. (12)

The message conveyed to students is that Canadians of both genders and from many backgrounds have received national and international recognition for their work. As well, this type of success is a source of national pride, shaping Canadians’ conception of themselves, while also making a statement to the world about who Canadians are and what this nation is about. Students are provided with pictures and short biographies of an array of personalities including actors (Margot Kidder), authors (Lucy Maud Montgomery, William Reid, Margaret Laurence, Shizuye Takashima, and Gordon Korman), musicians (Oscar Peterson, k. d. lang), inventors (Charles Saunders, Joseph-Armand Bombardier), politicians (Charlotte Whitton, Lincoln Alexander, Jeanne Sauve), explorers (Vilhjalmur Stefansson), architects (Douglas Cardinal), athletes (Gordie Howe,

Joe Carter, Toronto Blue Jays), and people engaged in public service (Mary Owen Conquest, Rick Hansen) (CT, 13-14).

In CNU, chapter 17: Canadian-American Relations (337-359) students are introduced through photographs and textual footers to theatre-trained actors like Lorne Greene and William Shatner, both of whom “went on to become major Hollywood stars” (339). Bryan Adams, a rock singer, is pictured holding a Juno award and making an acceptance speech (340), while the rock band Barenaked Ladies are pictured as being international successes because they bring the world humour through their music (341). The message to students is we can take pride in the accomplishments of Canadian entertainers who work hard at their craft, become international stars and award winners while remaining distinctively Canadian.

How do the textbooks expand students’ understanding of historical uniqueness? They do so by telling the stories of Canada through the people and events that have shaped this nation. From Louis Riel (CNU, 81; CT, 37-39) to Emily Murphy (CI, 69; CNU, 220-221) to Lincoln Alexander (CT, 13), from the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway (CI, 14-15; CNU, 82-82) to Canada’s participation in the formation of the United Nations (CNU, 290-292; CI, 166-168; CT, 388-389), each textbook includes numerous personalities and events that suggest Canada’s unique history while offering suggestions as to how to live and what to believe about ourselves as Canadians.

The textbooks also expand students’ understanding by having students define Canadian identity for themselves. In CT, chapter 1: The Canadian Identity (2-30), students engage in an exercise that involves differentiating Canadian symbols, geography, historical and contemporary personalities from those associated with other nations. Students are asked to “look at the pictures [and] decide which symbols most represent Canada” (8). The pictures are of flags from the Netherlands and Canada, a Canadian “mountie” and a “bobbie” from Great Britain, horses grazing by a wooded area in the snow contrasted with a desert sand dune, photographs of Celine Dion and Madonna, and portraits of John A. Macdonald and George Washington. By engaging in this exercise students expand their knowledge of Canadian symbols and explain what makes them representative of Canada while simultaneously learning that Canada, its symbols, culture, geography, and history are distinct from those of other nations.

How do the social studies textbooks enhance students' ability to confront the tensions they experience? Karen was the only student who explicitly expressed tension with regard to this feature of Canadian identity. It concerned a perceived struggle for aboriginal peoples to be recognized as "Canadian but not Canadian" (Tape #2). All three social studies textbooks recognize that much of Canadian society is based on beliefs, values, and practices that originated in Europe and that Canada's aboriginal peoples did not freely choose to become part of Canada or adopt the predominant norms that comprise Canadian society (CI, 16-17; CT, 110-111). This has led to calls by aboriginal peoples for some form of autonomy from Canada. The question that remains unanswered today is what form of autonomy is acceptable to both aboriginal peoples and the rest of the Canadian population.

For some, the answer resides in the development of aboriginal self-government, a topic that is addressed in two of the three textbooks. However, they do not explore the type of tension expressed by Karen nor do they offer questions or activities that can be interpreted to enhance her ability to confront her tension.

To summarize, the SS-11 IRP reflect this feature of Canadian identity through PLOs that explicitly mandate learning about the influences of cultural groups like First Nations peoples, the French and English on Canada's evolution as a nation. Issues and events that have shaped Canada as a nation are also mandated. As well, SISs offer suggestions that could include people and events that have contributed to Canada's historical and contemporary development.

All three textbooks use unit, chapter, and issue titles to reflect a sense of historical uniqueness to students. Titles convey to students the important historical relationships that have influenced Canada's development as a nation. As well, the content of the textbooks reflect the personalities, events, and sentiments that form part of students' sense of historical uniqueness. The only exceptions are the absence of Dr. Jenny Trout and the negative portrayal of the Klondike gold miners.

Arguably, it can be said that everything included in the textbooks can be considered an expansion of students' understanding about Canada's historical uniqueness given the evidence suggesting students have a faint and strained sense of historical uniqueness. However, it can be asserted that by introducing numerous other people and

events to students the textbooks are communicating the personalities that possess characteristics deemed worthy of emulation and who can pass on suggestions of how to live and what to believe.

Finally, two of the three textbooks address the topic of aboriginal self-government but do not reflect the tensions expressed by Karen nor include questions or activities that would enhance her ability to confront her tension.

4. 4. Sense of National Sovereignty

This feature of Canadian identity is based on students' perceptions of Canadians' ability to engage in actions and make decisions that impact on aspects of life in Canada. National sovereignty is concerned with the extent to which people consider themselves to be masters in their own nation, having control over their investments, whether human, cultural, or financial.

As a way of introducing the tension-filled terrain around issues of national sovereignty let's begin with Michael, a white, 17 year old, born in Vancouver and raised in various cities around North America and Europe. Along with his 15-year-old sister, he is the child of an independently wealthy mother and a father who is a retired professional athlete. The parents divorced when Michael was 11 years old and he spent the next six years in Edmonton, Alberta living with his mother and sister. The family of three migrated to Vancouver twelve months prior to my first interview with Michael. Michael was a student in the regular school program and stated that school was "all right" but later admitted that he felt it "sucked" sometimes. Michael expressed his frustration with the school system, saying that some of the teachers were "incredibly boring" and that some of the courses emphasized the wrong things. He had recently failed a history test because, in his words, he did not "know the birthday of some Russian communist guy named Petrov" and declared that "knowing stuff like that is useless". To alleviate some of his angst from the classroom, Michael played hockey as an extra-curricular activity and hoped to get a hockey scholarship to college or university in the fall. Michael was not sure what his future ambitions were, stating "I don't know what I'll do, maybe hockey [pause] but that's a long shot".

Michael identified himself as Canadian on the questionnaire (Appendix 3B: Question #9) and responded that he considered both Vancouver and Vienna his home (Appendix 3B: Question #11). When asked about his response he said that "Vancouver is where I live now but I spent a lot of time in Vienna when my father played X in Austria. I still remember it there as being nice". I asked him why he did not feel that Edmonton was his home and following a pause he said that he lived in Edmonton after his parent's divorce and "it was a bad time". This author's impression of Michael was one of a serious, unhappy and somewhat lonely young man. The only time his demeanor brightened was when he spoke of playing hockey and the feeling of "being free" on the ice. He seemed to be an intelligent young man, though his lack of scholastic achievement led him to claim "I'm never gonna be the brightest one in the class but I get by alright."

Almost all of the students provided evidence that they had a sense of national sovereignty to the extent that they perceived Canada to be a nation distinct from all others, particularly the United States. However, these same students perceived that distinction to be under threat, expressing a great deal of tension with the erosion of Canada's national sovereignty and its succumbing to the American sphere of influence.

Michael responded to the request to tell me something that you believe could be improved about Canada (Appendix 4: Question #12) with "we could get rid of the Americans". He explained,

They have too much power. They control everything. It's really bad. We spend so much time thinking about the States and what they want.
[TODD: How would you improve on that?] I don't know. I don't think you can....I think you'll see Canada join the United States in fifty or sixty years. [TODD: Why do you say that?] We can't keep this up. We can't compete with them head on and over time they'll just wear us down and march in and take over. I don't want that to happen but I don't see anything to stop it either [TODD: What about you? Maybe new policies?] Yeah, maybe. I don't think so though. I don't want it to happen but I think it will. (Tape # 8)

Michael displayed his frustration with this perceived state of affairs by speaking in an angry tone, peppering his words with sounds of disgust, and fidgeting in his seat. He seemed to see Canada's declining national sovereignty as part of an ongoing that would lead to Canada joining the United States through by default rather than choice. The size, wealth, and dynamism with which the United States competed internationally

would, in his mind, ultimately “wear us down” and the Americans would “march in and take over”. Despite his tension with the power and influence of the United States Michael also suggested that part of the problem was self-inflicted. He apparently believed that Canadians are allowing this to happen by “spend(ing) so much time thinking about what the States and what they want”.

While Michael wanted to hope that such an event would not occur, at heart he believed it would. His statement “I don’t want that to happen but I don’t see anything to stop it either” followed by his dismissal of the idea that he might effect change suggested that he perceived Canada as a nation that had given up resisting absorption into the United States and as a result he had given up as well. Michael implicitly suggested an understanding that nations are not permanent entities of the global geopolitical system but are entities impacted by forces, internal and external, that stabilize and maintain them, or cause them to disappear through fragmentation or globalization.

Aspects of Michael’s perceptions were also evident in the statements of other students. In response to the same interview question Diana said she thought Canada could be improved by “not being so much like Americans”. She explained

The Americans think they can do anything, buy anything, own anything, and they can! They just go for it. Canada’s dollar is so cheap that they just buy it all up. I don’t think Canadians realize how much control the Americans have over our lives. We probably can’t do anything without checking with Clinton first. (Tape #12)

For Diana, tension was evident in her perception of the United States and its ability to “do anything”, a power that offers free reign to make decisions and act in ways that, in her mind, impact unfavourably on Canada. Like Michael, she suggested that part of the problem was self-inflicted, that Canadians are agents of their own demise. The statement “I don’t think Canadians realize how much control Americans have over our lives” indicated that Canadians are unconscious or blind to the ongoing erosion of their national sovereignty. Though she didn’t offer any specific ideas for how this perceived state of affairs could be improved, her initial suggestion Canada could be improved by “not being so much like Americans” could be considered a call for Canadians to affirm their belief in themselves as a separate nation with policies that are distinct from those of the United States.

Students went back and forth between anger and frustration at the United States and disappointment with how Canadians respond to the ongoing erosion of their national sovereignty. Peter, a recent immigrant from Greece, focused his comments on his perceptions of the United States. During the group interview Peter explained his choice of an interview statement with which he agreed (Appendix 5: Statement #14). Part of his explanation included the following,

They're ruining everything. The United States is this big, rich country with like ten times the people and money so it can buy up all the businesses in Canada and run them from New York. So people think they're the same place because the U.S. controls everything. It's all such a game. (Tape #18)

Peter was angry because he believed Canada was being adversely affected by the decisions and actions taken by the Americans. But his comments suggest an implied understanding that the United States "is what it is", a nation that can use the fundamental element of capitalism (competition) to its advantage because of the size of its population and its financial wealth. This understanding didn't detract from the tension he felt when he said "they're ruining everything", but there was the sense that the United States was acting and succeeding within the parameters of the capitalist system, a "game" he had fundamental problems with.

Jessica also had problems with the capitalist "game" being played and how it was adversely affecting Canada. For her, anger at the Americans was tempered with disappointment in Canadians and their willingness to play at all. In response to the request to tell me something you or other Canadians would be embarrassed to have everybody in the world know about Canada (Appendix 4, Part D: Question #10), she responded with "I'd be embarrassed for them to know what big wusses we are". She said,

It's disgusting how much of Canada the Americans own. We just let them have whatever we want. [TODD: Why do you think that is?] Because we're as addicted to the all mighty buck as they are. (Sarcastic tone) So what if we have to sell our soul to the Americans. We can buy cars, boats, houses, that's what it's all about, right? (Tape #17)

In Jessica's mind, Canadians were complicit in the erosion of their national sovereignty by assuming a perceived American value system based on capitalism and consumerism. This value system cultivated an "addiction to the almighty dollar" and the

desire to “buy cars, boats, (and) houses”. In short, Jessica viewed Canadians believing, whether consciously or unconsciously, that they benefit by becoming more like the United States. The problem for her and other students was that in so doing the distinction between Canada and the United States disappears.

Creating a distinction between Canadians and Americans may be of concern only to Canadians. Several of the students who recently immigrated to Canada claimed that until they came to Canada they didn’t know there was any difference. When asked how do you think people in other countries perceive Canada (Appendix 4, Part D: Question #11) they offered answers similar to Angie, a recent immigrant from Taiwan, who replied “they think Canadians are like Americans”. She explained further,

I did not know the difference. I thought Canadians were Americans until my father said you are going to Canada instead of the U.S (giggling). I feel this is wrong now but I did not know. (Tape #18)

Pavel, a recent immigrant from Russia, also offered this perception, saying

I think people around the world think of Canadians and Americans as the same because you both speak English and you’re rich so everybody dresses the same, does the same kinds of jobs, eats the same food. It’s not obvious to other people what the difference is. (Tape #20)

Though the immigrant students all claimed they no longer viewed this portrayal of Canadians as accurate, their former perceptions and those of others around the world may simply be indicators of the growing similarity between Canadians and Americans and the economic and cultural melding of Canada and the United States as nations. This point was illustrated by a comment made by David, a Korean born student who said during a group interview,

It’s hopeless. Canada is part of the United States. That’s the way it is. (Tape # 20)

Only one student offered any suggestion of how the perceived erosion of Canada’s national sovereignty and ultimate absorption into the United States might be altered. Part of Jessica’s explanation of how Canada might be improved (Appendix 4, Part D: Question #12) included the following,

I don’t want to sound cynical because I’m not. Okay, I am. But I think that a lot of Canadians believe in this country and are willing to do something about it. The X group (an environmental group that she volunteers with)

looks at policies, has discussion groups, and tries to come up with alternatives which will protect whatever. Like it may be the forests or whales, but part of it is also trying to help Canada develop policies which are right so that we can go to the Americans and say "see, this is what you could do so get on board with us". Sometimes we try to get the (Canadian or provincial) government to help, sometimes we connect up with organizations in the States who also believe what we do and try to influence the American government directly. (Tape # 17)

Unlike the majority of students who shared Michael and David's perceptions that the demise of Canada as a sovereign nation was inevitable, Jessica continued to believe that people can, in large and small ways, halt the erosion of Canada's national sovereignty. She suggested that Canadians can make a difference for the world as well as their nation by developing policy alternatives "which are right", convincing Americans of the wisdom of such policies, and influencing the American government directly by cultivating networks with like-minded Americans. Rather than feeling defeated by her "cynicism" she accessed a sense of agency. Whether her efforts are enough to resist the perceived forces at work is unknown, but Jessica's willingness to act on her beliefs is heartening.

To summarize, almost all of the students offered evidence that a sense of national sovereignty was part of their Canadian identity, but their perceptions were dominated by tensions vis-à-vis the United States. Students moved back and forth between anger and frustration at the United States because of their economic power and their ability to make decisions that impact on Canada and disappointment in Canadians for their blindness and complicity in allowing it to happen. Part of that complicity was based on the belief that Canadians were assuming American values and making themselves culturally and economically indistinguishable from Americans. Indeed, the widely held perception of immigrant students before their arrival in Canada was that Canadians and Americans were essentially the same people. Almost all of the students felt disempowered and a sense of helplessness against the forces that they believe are eroding Canada's national sovereignty, namely capitalism and America's advantaged position in the capitalist "game". Only one student suggested that Canadians could and should take action to reclaim their national sovereignty by developing policy alternatives that distinguish Canada from the United States.

Though the SS-11 IRP does not use the term national sovereignty anywhere in the document, it is an area of importance to the curriculum authors. In the introduction, it states an expectation that students “examine the nature of global interdependence and Canada’s roles and relationships in various international, economic, social and political spheres. They also explore Canada’s role as a member of the global community”(2-3). These statements imply a belief that students ought to learn about Canada as a nation that interacts with but is sovereign from other nations. There are no PLOs that explicitly address national sovereignty but one could interpret several to include it as one of many issues facing Canadians. Specifically,

- Identify and assess social issues facing Canadians (Social Issues II: A-5)
- Identify and assess cultural issues facing Canadians (Cultural Issues: A-5)
- Identify and assess political issues facing Canadians (Political Issues II: A-6)
- Identify and assess economic issues facing Canadians (Economic Issues: A-7)
- Identify and assess environmental issues facing Canadians (Environmental Issues: A-7)

While no nation is entirely free of the influence of other nations in the global community, national sovereignty suggests that a nation can freely make decisions that are deemed to be in the best interests of that nation. One of the key issues facing Canadians in all of the above areas involves Canada’s relationship with its nearest international neighbour, the United States and the influence it wields on Canadian decision-making. In order to fulfill the aforementioned PLOs, students might define for themselves what it means to be a “sovereign nation”, if Canada meets the definition, and if it is possible to be sovereign in our increasingly interdependent world. They could critically analyze whether current beliefs and attitudes in the United States about national security are impacting on Canada political decisions and if so, in what ways. As well, students could research and assess whether the North American Free Trade Agreement has enhanced or diminished Canada’s sovereign ability to make economic decisions in its own interest or

if Canadians' interests are better served with a continental or global perspective rather than national one.

There are a few SISs that can be interpreted to offer opportunities for an exploration of Canada's national sovereignty. One example is the following:

- Provide students with information about the political influence of a major contemporary power (e.g., the United States). Then have students research different spheres of influence in the 20th century (e.g., Britain, Soviet Union). Ask students to create a series of maps showing how the spheres of influence have changed over the course of the century (Political Issues II: 22)

Here, students could examine how the political influences of major powers have impacted on Canada's national sovereignty over the course of the 20th century. As well, they could assess whether those influences are increasing or decreasing, or whether they improved or worsened Canadian society.

All three textbooks reflect this feature of students' Canadian identity, suggesting to students that Canada is a sovereign nation. A definition of national sovereignty is offered in CT's chapter 14: Canada and Peace (387-415), in a section entitled "Sovereignty and Humane Intervention: The World Debates". Here, national sovereignty is defined as existing "when a state has sovereignty over territory or waters, it has supreme and unchallenged control in those areas. The laws of the state apply, the government has demonstrated control over the area and this is recognized by other states. Canada has sovereignty in Newfoundland, in Winnipeg, in Lethbridge, and in the Yukon. This is recognized and accepted" (410). The following page includes an outline map of Canada, the title "A Sovereign Nation" and the footer "a sovereign nation has supreme and independent political control over the land within its borders". On the map are six boxes that outline criteria for being considered sovereign. Some of the criteria include "borders are clear and respected...one government speaks on behalf of whole nation...controls own internal affairs...recognized by other countries...[and] makes treaties with other states (411). The message conveyed herein is that Canada meets the criteria to be considered a sovereign nation.

The prologue in CNU entitled "Twentieth-Century Canada" (1-7), goes further in its efforts to represent Canada as a sovereign nation by cultivating a sense of commitment

to that sovereignty. Here, Canada is depicted as having evolved from “a colony of the British Empire” at the turn of the century to “a fully independent nation [that] has distinguished itself on the battlefield, as a peacekeeper around the world, as a leader in science and technology, as a major supplier of food, and—perhaps most importantly—as one of the most livable countries in the world” (1). Later, Canada is described as “a distinct nation with a heritage of our own” (1-2). The intent of these passages seems to be to clearly establish Canadians as masters of their own domain and a nation distinct from all others.

Other examples of national sovereignty are illustrated when the Canadian government becomes involved in the economy. In CI, an issue entitled “Regulating the Economy: The Government’s Response” (126-127) examines how the government intervened to provide stimulus to the economy and ease the suffering of Canadians hurt by the ravages of the Great Depression. Though the question is raised as to whether or not the federal government should become involved in regulating the economy, the message conveyed to students is that the government can choose to do so. In CNU’s chapter 17, students are introduced to a section on the Foreign Investment Review Agency (FIRA). Here, a 1971 initiative by the Trudeau government gave FIRA jurisdiction to approve or reject applications by foreign governments and corporations to purchase Canadian companies (351). This section is quickly followed by another on Petro-Canada and the National Energy Program (NEP). The Trudeau government established Petro-Canada in 1975 as a government-owned petroleum company. This was followed by the NEP in 1980, a program designed to “ensure Canada’s future oil supply, control oil prices, and achieve a 50 percent Canadian ownership of the oil industry by 1990” (352). Like the stimulus package introduced by the government during the Great Depression, FIRA, Petro-Canada, and the NEP are portrayed as examples of the government controlling its internal affairs and acting on its sovereign right to make decisions deemed to be in the best interests of the nation.

Students focused most of their attention on Canada’s economic sovereignty but all three textbooks expand the understanding of national sovereignty to include the political and cultural realms as well. Canada’s evolving independence from Great Britain is explored in 1931’s Statute of Westminster which gave Canada control over its foreign

affairs (CNU, 186), establishment of the Supreme Court of Canada as the highest court of appeal in the country (CI, 176-177), and patriation of the British North America Act of 1867 to Canada in 1982 (CT, 335-336; CNU, 328-330; CI, 296-297). Students are also introduced to Canada asserting itself through the creation of agencies, boards, and corporations to administer, protect, and encourage Canada's cultural industries. Over the course of the 20th century the government established the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation or CBC (CI, 140-141; CNU, 338 and 396; CT, 24), National Film Board or NFB (CNU, 339), Canada Council which supports arts and cultural organizations (CNU, 339), and the Canadian Radio-Television Commission or CRTC which administers radio and television licenses (CNU, 340; CT, 25). In all of these examples, students learn that through their government Canadians have exercised authority over their internal affairs and tried to cultivate a sense of nation distinct from all other nations.

Though it is communicated to students that these actions are efforts to establish a Canada distinct from Great Britain and later the United States, it is not communicated that these actions are also guided by political and economic philosophies. Students' understandings of national sovereignty would be greatly expanded if they were introduced to political and economic philosophies that reside on the left-right spectrum. Canada has been greatly influenced by the same philosophies that characterize life in Great Britain and the United States, especially those that support capitalism, however because Canada evolved in the shadows of these former and current superpowers the Canadian government has been very activist in shaping the economy. Trudeau in particular developed Canada into a mixed economy, one that is based on the free-market or capitalism but includes significant government ownership, regulation, and participation. Gibbins and Youngman (1996) would categorize Canada's economy as reflective of a social democratic ideology whereby unfettered capitalism is "tamed" and "the market...is...regulated, controlled, and supplemented by public enterprise" (95). Social democrats construct such an economy because of their beliefs about the allocation of wealth, but in the case of a nation with as small a population as Canada it may have been the only way to attain a sense of national sovereignty relative to the United States and Great Britain.

Students' understanding of national sovereignty could be further expanded by introducing authors who suggest that the notion of national sovereignty is an anachronism. Ohmae (1995) believes that it is time for nations to be replaced by economic regions whereby like-minded peoples can cultivate economies without the hindrance of national boundaries. On the other hand, Klein (2000) believes national sovereignty is being undermined by the forces of globalization. In her mind, multi- and trans-national corporations like Exxon, IBM, and Nike, and multilateral trade agreements such as the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), and financial organizations such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) are undemocratic and usurping nations' sovereign ability to control their own affairs.

The textbooks offer limited opportunities to enhance students' ability to confront their tensions. It is in the realm of international relationships, particularly Canada's economic relationship with the United States, that most students expressed tension. Students felt anger and resentment toward the United States because of its increasing economic influence on Canada. While all three textbooks provide students with opportunities to explore this tension they are not well supported with suggestions.

For example, in CT, chapter 7: Challenges and Opportunities, the Continent (180-207), several questions are raised about Canadian-American trade relations. The chapter begins by placing Canada's relationship with the U.S. in a contemporary context. It states that "Canada trades with over 175 countries. But no trade is more valuable, more pervasive, and more influential than that with its southern neighbour, the United States" (182). The chapter continues with a history of Canadian-American trade relations and ends with a discussion of the Free Trade Agreement (FTA) of 1989 and the coming North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) of 1993 suggesting that these two agreements are the result of the forces of globalization.

Several questions and activities are included in the middle and at the end of the chapter. Question #19 exemplifies the types of questions and tasks asked of students (CT, 194). It reads "'We don't *hafta* have NAFTA.' This was a slogan of the Canadian Union of Public Employees, as reported in the *The Canadian Forum*, April 1993. List reasons why many Canadians opposed and still oppose the FTA and NAFTA. Indicate whether

you strongly agree or disagree with any of the reasons” (194). Here, students are provided with a statement in which they are asked agree or disagree. It is an opportunity to engage students in thinking critically about their tensions and potentially enhancing their ability to confront their tensions. But, students are not asked whether *they* agree or disagree with FTA and NAFTA nor are suggestions offered as to the format responses could take along with suggested criteria for what constitutes a successfully argued answer.

Though CNU also offers opportunities to explore issues related to Canada’s economic relationship with the United States, the text is biased in favour of free trade. In CNU’s chapter 17: Canadian-American Relations (337-359), students are introduced to the highlights of Canada’s economic relationship with the United States. Sections on the St. Lawrence Seaway (350), the Auto Pact (350), and American Investment in Canada (351), are followed by sections on Trudeau’s Third Option (354), Mulroney and the Free Trade Agreement (354), and the North American Free Trade Agreement (355). The essence of the chapter involves the benefits Canada receives from its economic relationship with the United States and the global trend toward the development of closer economic ties. Only a political cartoon suggesting the loss of Canadian jobs to the U.S. (355) and a photograph of then Prime Minister Brian Mulroney being confronted by a “hostile crowd protesting against the proposed Free Trade Agreement during the 1988 election campaign” (355) indicates perspectives that oppose free trade. Of the questions at the end of the chapter, only one gives students the opportunity to express opposition to free trade, the growing American influence in Canada’s economy, and a possible loss of national sovereignty as a result. Question #6 in the “Apply Your Knowledge” section asks “Has foreign investment been good or bad for Canada? (358). The textbook offers no suggestions to the student as to how s/he might approach answering this question nor are there any thinking strategies or criteria for success suggested.

In addition to tensions about Canada’s eroding national sovereignty due to the economic influence of the United States, students also expressed frustration at perceived complicity on the part of Canadians who accept and embrace greater economic ties with the Americans. As well, they expressed a strong sense of disempowerment to change or stop it. Explicit opportunities to explore these tensions are absent from all three social studies textbooks.

To summarize, the SS-11 IRP reflects this feature of students' Canadian identity through statements contained in the introduction that suggest curriculum authors view Canada as a nation that is sovereign in its decision-making ability and interactions with other nations. Further, the IRP contains PLOs and SISs than can be interpreted by teachers to include the exploration of issues related to national sovereignty.

The three textbooks reflect students' belief that Canada is a sovereign nation through proclamations in textbook introductions, inclusion of definitions and outline maps to define and clarify what national sovereignty means, and text passages that convey that the Canadian government can and occasionally does involve itself in the economic sphere to ensure that the interests of Canadians are protected and that Canada is maintained as an independent nation distinct from all others.

Students' understandings are expanded by introducing issues of national sovereignty as they relate to the realms of politics (i. e. the patriation of the Canadian constitution from Great Britain) and culture (e. g. establishment of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation).

The textbooks offer limited opportunities for students to enhance their ability to confront tensions. All three provide questions and tasks that reflect students' concerns about the perceived erosion of Canada's national sovereignty vis-à-vis the United States but they are not supported with suggestions of approach, format, and criteria for judging success. Finally, there is an absence of questions and tasks that reflect students' tension with Canadians perceived to be complicit in a trend toward greater integration with the United States. This means that there are no opportunities for students to enhance their ability to confront such a tension.

4. 5. Sense of Belonging

This feature of Canadian identity is based on students' feelings about one's membership in the Canadian group or community. These feelings include the connection one feels relative to others in Canada, whether one feels accepted/rejected. A sense of belonging can engender positive and contented feelings of being at "home", negative feelings of "homelessness", alienation, and being out of step, mixed feelings that change depending on time and circumstance, or feelings of ambivalence.

As a means of introducing the diverse feelings of belonging that characterize students' perceptions let's begin with Paul, an 18 year old born and raised in Shanghai, China who migrated to Hong Kong in 1990. Paul was the eldest of three children (a younger brother and sister) born to a Chinese father who worked as a banker and a housewife mother, also from China. Paul migrated to Canada with his family eleven months prior to the initial meeting for this project, though his father kept his primary residence in Hong Kong and commuted to Canada whenever possible. Paul was a student in the regular school program and enjoyed his studies but declared that his latest interest was hockey. He admitted that he sometimes neglected to complete his homework choosing to watch hockey on television instead. This passion for hockey was ignited after playing "a little" the previous winter. Paul also worked at improving his English language skills saying he had "learned a lot" since moving to Canada. He was unsure about life after graduation but he was considering studying engineering in Toronto or Hong Kong.

Paul identified himself as Chinese-Canadian on the questionnaire (Appendix 3B: Question #9) and felt that his home was Hong Kong (Appendix 3B: Question #11). When asked about his response he said "Hong Kong is my home... I still might go back to Hong Kong to study" but Paul quickly turned his attention to his feelings about Vancouver. He said, "I love it here too. It is so clean and you have so many opportunities to do whatever you want....I think I will always think of this as my home now". When I tried to redirect his focus back to Hong Kong and the answer he offered on the questionnaire, Paul said "I miss my father sometimes but I know that he wanted us to come here because it is safer. We don't know how China is going to treat Hong Kong. Home is where your family is [and] mine is here". Paul did not seem to be torn between Hong Kong and Vancouver. Indeed, both places meant a great deal to him but for very different reasons. My impression of Paul was one of a jokester, a person who liked to say one thing and then say "just kidding". He made jokes and laughed frequently throughout the interview process, fidgeting in his seat and displaying a great deal of unused energy. He found it hard to stay focused, preferring to talk about hockey whenever possible.

Most of the students who participated in this project offered evidence to suggest that they had a sense of belonging in Canada. This was most evident in students who were born and raised in Canada. They understood themselves to be Canadian, expressing

feeling of comfort, contentment, and pride at living in the nation of their birth. They did not question that they belonged in Canada and some found it strange to be asked about their feelings of belonging.

Some of the recent immigrants had also adjusted to life in Canada, feeling as if Canada was now their home and were looking forward to officially becoming Canadian citizens. However, three of the immigrant students and one of the students born in Canada but raised in the United States, felt a significant amount of unease. They loved Canada, were grateful to be living in Canada, and even expressed happiness about their lives, but these students also felt a deep sense of discomfort and feelings of being out of place.

That mixture of gratitude and discomfort, happiness and unease is exemplified by Paul. Paul only felt as if he was Canadian "sometimes". When asked why he replied that his limited ability to speak English made him feel as if he was "not really Canadian". The dialogue continued,

[TODD: Do you think once you learn English you will feel more Canadian?] I do not think so. I look Chinese. I look different from the other kids. I do not think I will be Canadian. That's okay (shrugs shoulders). (Tape #3)

Language limitations and made Paul feel like an outsider, but language was only one of his characteristics that differentiated him from most other Canadians. Paul believed that he would never be Canadian because he was Chinese and looked different from his idea of what Canadians look like. For Paul, a Canadian speaks English and has physical features that are not Asian. In his mind, everybody else was non-Canadian and thus did not belong. By limiting his definition of Canada, Paul had created an insurmountable obstacle to his ever seeing himself as Canadian and feeling as if he belonged in Canada. Interestingly, his criteria of what constitutes a Canadian and the fact that he could not fit the criteria had not altered his intention to officially become a Canadian citizen. For Paul, and David a recent immigrant from Korea who expressed similar sentiments, happiness and contentment could be found in the between-ness that results from having official Canadian citizenship status that will give him the legal right to live in Canada and call himself Canadian, and his limited language ability and Asian physical features.

While many people would have found Paul's conception of himself to be limited and alienating, it is understandable how Paul might feel as he does. He was a relatively recent immigrant to a nation that is vastly different from Hong Kong. He had had little time to acculturate himself to his new physical and cultural surroundings but had had enough time to realize he was part of a visible minority in Canada. However, being part of a visible minority was only part of the challenge for Paul. He was also making the transition to living as part a minority grouping after living his entire life as part of the majority. This heightens a sense of discomfort and unease while reducing feelings of belonging. Paul did not display any anger or frustration because his language ability and physical features were incongruent with his conception of a "real" Canadian. Indeed, the shrug of the shoulders was casual, indicating an almost blasé acceptance of his lot. Yet, there was an underlying tension in his voice. He seemed to know that he was assigning himself to a life caught between being Canadian and not being Canadian.

This is not to say that Paul (and David) will not change their views in the future. They may alter their understandings of what a Canadian is and develop a sense of belonging that mirrors the official documentation that will make them Canadian citizens. However, Paul and David's sentiments suggest one of the challenges that immigrants, especially immigrants who are visible minorities, face; they must face the challenge of how to understand themselves in their new nation.

Paul's perceptions were shared by other immigrant students. Angie, a recent immigrant from Taiwan, perceived herself to be Taiwanese but felt that both Tainan and Vancouver were her homes (Appendix 3B: Question #11). In explaining her response she explained,

I feel good in Vancouver. I like it and it is nice. I miss my father and my brother but I am...more free to by myself here...I like Canada a lot. I wish to stay here but this is not possible. [TODD: Why so?] My father, he wishes me to return to Taiwan when I finish my studies to work in his business. I want to stay because it is nice here [TODD: Do you feel at home here?] Yes, I think so, more and more. But I try not to feel this way too much because I know I must leave soon. [TODD: Is it possible your father might let you stay if you asked him?] I don't think so. In Taiwan you must do what is your father's wishes. I am Christian girl. This is what I must do. I like Canada but I don't belong here. I am Taiwanese. (Tape #7)

It was apparent Angie felt some sense of belonging in Canada but expressed tension because she felt as if she belonged elsewhere too. She illustrated that a person can physically leave one nation for another but that ties to the former nation remain, impeding the development of connections that lead to a deep sense of belonging. Angie wanted to remain in Canada and become a Canadian citizen but felt a sense of obligation to live up to cultural and familial expectations. As a way of resolving her internal conflict she positioned herself as someone who is Taiwanese and doesn't belong in Canada.

Still, while she tried to mentally prepare herself to return to Taiwan Angie was adapting to life in Canada as a visible minority. When verifying the biographical information from the questionnaire at the beginning of the individual interview (Appendix 4, Part A: Questions #1-15), Angie said,

My name is (X) but I ask people to call me Angie....I am Taiwanese with my family but I am Canadian with my friends and in school. I do not use my Taiwanese name. It is easier for them to use Angie (pause) and I do not feel so different (Tape #7)

Angie didn't have the same difficulties with her physical features as Paul or David, but displayed a similar sense of between-ness. She knew she was part of a visible minority group in Canada and felt "different" because of it. But, instead of marginalizing herself she tried to minimize the negative feelings evoked in her by assuming an English-sounding name. In this way, Angie respected her Taiwanese origins with her family while finding a way to feel as if she belonged in the larger Canadian society. Assuming an English-sounding name may also have been her way of creating connections with Canada while the maintaining sufficient distance should she break those ties and return to Taiwan.

Karen, a recent migrant from the United States, had a unique self-perception and expressed tension with anything that did not capture that uniqueness. In response to the question on the questionnaire about official citizenship status (Appendix #B: Question #9) she circled "not Canadian" despite being born in Canada and identifying her home as "either the Blood reserve in southern Alberta (her birthplace) or X, Montana (where she was raised). She explained the apparent incongruence during the individual interview,

You see I didn't know what to put on the questionnaire. Like about being Canadian or not Canadian. The question is written wrong. I kind of put my

heritage as not being related to being Canadian. I could've chosen the hyphen-Canadian but the hyphen kinda says to me you're an almost Canadian and that's not true for me either. I'm a Canadian AND (emphasis in tone of voice) a Blood squaw. X, Montana is my home too but just that place, not the U.S. I love Canada more so (pauses and smiles). Figure that out. (Tape #2)

For Karen, her aboriginal heritage was a central feature of her identity structure. Being the daughter of an aboriginal father from Alberta and a white, American-born mother, and having traveled back and forth between Alberta and Montana most of her life, the options of identifying herself as Canadian, not Canadian, or as a hyphenated Canadian were insufficient. She was "a Canadian AND a Blood squaw" who happened to have been raised in and felt an attachment to a small community in the American state of Montana. Conforming to designated categories was not an option for Karen because doing so would not convey who she perceived herself to be and would be disrespectful of parts of her identity that she valued highly.

Some of the immigrant students felt a deep sense of belonging and expressed no tensions. Dorion, a recent immigrant from Jamaica, knew that her racial heritage made her part of a minority in both Canada and Jamaica, but she felt more accepted in Canada and as a result felt a greater sense of belonging. In response to the question how do you see yourself regardless of official status (Appendix 4, Part C: Question #4), she explained,

I think I felt Canadian almost from the moment I arrived. I had been here before, to visit my grandparents, but when I came here to live I knew this was going to be my home. But I also know I'm not Canadian too, right, not really. I have to learn to become Canadian. Canada is definitely my home now. Like in Jamaica being mixed, you know, half-white and half-black. It was a real problem for some people. Even my family they never really accepted it. It was like my father had sold out or something. My mom's family never cared as much. They seemed to accept me okay, but not in Jamaica. So when I got to Canada nobody said anything about me. I wasn't a freak, you know? It was like, it's okay to be this way. [TODD: Was it your father or mother born in Canada?] My mother is Canadian. My father's Jamaican. I feel more accepted here I think. Jamaica is very racist. They don't know it because they don't see that many white people outside of the tourist areas but because I'm half white I wasn't accepted. My grandmother used to tell me I was too light. (Tape #5)

Despite having lived in a nation and with a family that had difficulty with her being “half-white, half-black”, Dorion seemed quite comfortable with her “mixed” racial heritage, speaking about it openly and freely. She had a strong sense of belonging in Canada because she perceived Canada to be a nation where “it’s okay to be this way”. She chose not to exclude herself nor did she feel she must exclude herself because of her visible minority status. Dorion believed that as a new immigrant she would have “to learn to be Canadian”, referring to the cultural norms and practices of Canada and the local area in which she lives, but viewed this as both expected and a reasonable expectation for an newcomer.

Russian-born Pavel also expressed no tensions with his growing sense of belonging. In explanation to his choice of “Vancouver” as his home (Appendix 4, Part C: Question #7) he said,

I think Canada is my home now. But that is very recent. It took me a long time before I felt comfortable here. I missed my family and friends so much at first. I still do. But now I feel that this was the right decision to come to Canada. [TODD: Why was it the right decision?] I don’t know. In Russia (pause) Russia has so many problems. My father and mother couldn’t keep steady work. The university would run out of money and have to lay them off. It was awful. Here, they can work again. Our life is so much better. People are very friendly. That took a while to get used to because in Russia people don’t (pause) they’re friendly but not like here. In Canada, people want you to feel good, like you belong and you can fit in. I didn’t think I could at first but now I do. (Tape #1)

Though Pavel missed his family in Russia he perceived it to be an unappealing place where his parents did not have steady work. Canada, on the other hand, offered the opportunity for his parents to work again. He perceived it as a friendly and welcoming nation, stating that the “people want you to feel good” and feel “like you belong and you can fit in”. As a white immigrant with proficiency in the English language, Pavel displayed none of the tension expressed by Paul or David. Likewise, he was not conflicted by the decision to leave his native land nor was he struggling with pressures to return, as was the case with Angie. For Pavel, Canada was his new home.

A strong sense of belonging was evident among all the migrant students who were born and raised in Canada, with little or no tension being expressed. Michael illustrated

the predominant perspective of the students from this group. I asked if he saw himself as Canadian (Appendix 4, Part C: Question #4). Michael said,

I'm Canadian and proud of it. Man, this is the greatest country in the world. My family has been in Canada for like, I don't know, years. I was born here. My sister was born in Austria but that's only 'cause of my father, right. She's Canadian too [TODD: So you don't have to be born here to feel like you belong?] No, she has no Austrian blood or anything. She just happened to be born in Austria because of my dad playing hockey there. [TODD: What does blood have to do with it?] Well, like you have generations of family born in the same place. Like with the same culture so you start to feel as if you're the same type of people. Oh God, that sounds bad, doesn't it? (laughing). [TODD: Sounds bad? Why would it sound bad?] It sounds like I'm a raving racist or something. I'm not! Anyone can be Canadian. You don't have to be born here. It's a feeling that comes from being comfortable with, comfortable with yourself and the rest of the world. I don't know quite how to say it. (laughing) I'm not racist! (Tape #10)

Michael's sense of belonging stemmed from his birth in Canada to a family that "has been in Canada for...years". For him, these were credentials that signaled to him and others that he was Canadian and had a right to feel as if he belonged. He expressed no tension with his sense of belonging and offered no evidence to suggest he understood that using place of birth and/or family lineage as reasons for his sense of belonging privileged those like himself and disadvantaged people who did not share his credentials (i.e. immigrants). Though he adamantly rejected the idea that a person needed to be born in Canada or have "generations of family born in the same place...with the same culture" in order to be considered Canadian, his perspective suggested that he lived in a world where was the case.

Brianne, a recent migrant to Vancouver from Winnipeg, shared Michael's perspective. After verifying official citizenship status (Appendix 4, Part C: Question #2), I asked her if she sees herself as Canadian (Appendix 4, Part C: Question #4). She said,

What do you mean? [TODD: Do you feel as if you belong in Canada?] Yeah, of course. Why wouldn't I? I was born in Winnipeg, I grew up there, my parents are from there, of course I belong here. I'm Canadian! [TODD: Do you have to be born here to feel as if you belong?] Mmm (pause) no, I don't think so, but it helps. I know lots of people who moved here from wherever and they belong too. We're all Canadian, right? I know that some immigrants don't always feel welcome

because of the way they're treated. People think they shouldn't be here because of the way they look....I don't know. I guess it's (pause) maybe it's not so much that I'm born here but (thinking) I, I just am so used to it and nobody ever questions it, ya know? I'm Canadian, I have a birth certificate. Nobody ever asks you about it. (Tape #10)

Brianne could not fathom why I would ask such a question. Like Michael, she took it for granted she belonged in Canada as a right due her because she was "born in Winnipeg...grew up there [and had] parents from there". She had credentials that signaled to her and others that she was Canadian and had a right to feel as if she belonged. However, Brianne seemed to recognize what Michael did not; that her perceived right was actually a privilege not always afforded immigrants to Canada who experience prejudice and discrimination based on the way they look and act.

To summarize, all of the students offered evidence that a sense of belonging was a feature of their Canadian identity. However, students who were visible minorities in Canada had the most difficulty, exhibiting tension with their self-perception, positioning themselves as Canadian but not-Canadian. They lived in a state of between-ness, loved Canada and wanted to become Canadian citizens but felt as if they were "not really Canadian" because of limited language ability, physical features that were Asian, foreign sounding names, and family obligations that were encouraging them to return to their homeland. One student, born in Canada but raised in the United States, perceived herself to be Canadian but not-Canadian because of her aboriginal heritage. She wanted to find a way to express her sense of belonging in Canada without disregarding and disrespecting an important part of her identity structure. She expressed tension in having to categorize herself in a way that did not capture this reality. The remaining immigrant students who participated in this study embraced living in Canada as a new experience, perceived themselves as full members of Canadian society, simply waiting to obtain their Canadian citizenship. These immigrant students expressed no tensions and felt a strong and growing sense of belonging.

Finally, the Canadian-born students who migrated from other parts of Canada felt a deep and unquestioned sense of belonging. For them, their sense of belonging was based knowledge of being born in Canada and to parents that were also born in Canada. Though it was claimed that a person did not have to be born in Canada to feel a sense of

belonging, some recognized it helped; these students recognized that they could take their sense of belonging for granted while immigrants to Canada, especially those that do not look and act “Canadian”, could not.

The SS-11 IRP tries to inspire a sense of belonging in students. In the introduction of the IRP it is stated that “through their participation in social studies, students are encouraged to understand and prepare to exercise their roles, rights, and responsibilities within the family, the community, Canada, and the world” (2). Such encouragement is usually reserved for members who belong to the community, whether it is a local, provincial, national, or global community. Presumably, the authors of the IRP view all students as belonging and want to encourage them to believe and act as if they do.

The PLOs also try to inspire a sense of belonging by mandating that teachers ensure students recognize that Canada is a nation comprised of many different groups of people and that they have all contributed to Canadian society. They include:

- Identify elements that contribute to the regional, cultural, and ethnic diversity of Canadian society (Social Issues I: A-5)
- Describe the role of cultural pluralism in shaping Canadian identity (Cultural Issues: A-5)

Here, the implication is that ethnic diversity and cultural pluralism are positive elements in Canadian society and have shaped Canadian identity for the better. Since all people and groups of people can be considered part of Canada’s ethnic diversity the suggestion is that they should feel as if they belong to and in the Canadian nation.

Another PLO asks students to engage in a task usually reserved for those people who are part of or belong to a nation.

- Devise and defend a personal definition of what it means to be Canadian (Social Issues II: A-5)

Arguably, anyone could be asked to devise and defend a definition of what it means to be Canadian, but the fact that this is being asked of students in a Canadian school suggests that it is activity to be undertaken by people who belong in a Canadian school, people who are part of the national community with the “right” to engage in self-definition.

This view is borne out in several SISs that encourage students to appreciate Canada's cultural pluralism, learn more about new immigrants to Canada, and engage in self-definition. These SISs include:

- Suggest that each student complete a report on the following question: As an individual how can you demonstrate an appreciation of different cultures and their contributions to Canadian society? (Cultural Issues: 18)
- Invite a new Canadian to discuss what Canada means to him or her. (Cultural Issues: 16)
- Invite students to complete the sentence "A Canadian is _____" and illustrate their ideas with collages (Social Issues II: 16)

Again, the implication is that all students in Canadian schools regardless of place of birth, ethnic heritage, or cultural practices ought to feel as if they belong in the school community as well as in the national community that is Canada.

The three textbooks all reflect this feature of students' Canadian identity. One of the ways CT reflects students' sense of belonging is by having them explore the meaning of Canadian identity for themselves. In CT, chapter 1: The Canadian Identity (2-30), students are asked to consider "what makes Canadians distinct from other peoples?" and "what makes our nation different from other nations of the world?" (2). To answer these questions, the textbook examines "What is a Canadian?" and suggests that a Canadian is a person with a Canadian identity but that defining such an identity is difficult because "Canada is the result of influences and contributions that include aboriginal peoples, British and French explorers and settlers, as well as subsequent settlers who have migrated to Canada from all over the world. Today, it is stated, Canada is a nation of "linguistic, regional, ethnic, and cultural diversity" (11).

CT tries to accommodate that diversity while trying to evoke a sense of belonging in all students living in Canada who are reading this textbook in a Canadian school. CNU and CI also reflect a desire to bring forth a sense of belonging in students but it is less explicit and embedded in the preamble to a particular issue or challenge Canadians have faced or continue to face. For example, CNU's prologue: Twentieth-Century Canada (1-6) asks students to consider "who are we?"(2), suggesting that Canadians are "a rich tapestry woven from strands of Native, French, and British cultures as well as the

numerous cultures that have become a part of the Canada's mosaic" (2). Here, CNU is attempting to acknowledge the influences and contributions from the past while recognizing that contemporary Canadian society is comprised of cultures originating from all over the world. Debatably, people who do not have Native, French, or British backgrounds might interpret being called "numerous others" (2) as an indication of their lesser status in comparison to Canadians of aboriginal, French, or British heritage. Indeed, this may be the interpretation of students like Paul, David, and to a lesser extent Angie, who have marginalized themselves because they do not meet their own criteria of what it means to be a Canadian. Still, the numerous references throughout the textbook to Canada being a "mosaic" (420) and a "multicultural nation" (394) suggest that the authors' intent is to inspire a sense of belonging in all students in Canada.

How do the social studies textbooks expand students' understanding of belonging? As illustrated earlier, Paul, David, and to a certain extent Angie, wanted to obtain their Canadian citizenship and officially belong, but still felt as if they did not belong. They had established a type of between-ness for themselves. In CT, chapter 11: The Role of the Citizen in Canadian Democracy (300-327) students are introduced to the way Canada determines "who should belong" (304). The textbook explores a number of views of what citizenship means and how different societies, including ancient Greece and Rome, Innu, Germany, Israel, and Canada, define citizenship (304-305). Canada determines citizenship based on *jus soli* or the "law of the soil" (304). Citizenship belongs to all born within the nation's territory or on the nation's soil regardless of gender, race, or ethnicity. People born in "foreign lands" can be granted Canadian citizenship through a process of "naturalization" (306). Once approved, naturalized Canadians are, at least officially, considered to be of equal status to native-born Canadians (306-308). By examining the philosophical roots of how official citizenship is determined students are conveyed the message that it is possible for anyone to become a Canadian citizen and, if they meet the criteria, belong and ought to feel as if they belong.

Students might expand their understanding of sense of belonging further by examining works by Heater (1999) who offers a more extensive explanation of "what is citizenship?" than offered in CT but uses a similar starting point for comparisons between nations. Turner (1993) and Kymlicka (1992) provide a compilation of recent works in the

area of citizenship, addressing many themes that are related to the development of a sense of belonging. These works, if introduced to students, could expand students' understanding of belonging beyond the between-ness felt by Paul, David, and to a lesser extent Angie, perhaps capture the multi-layered identity of Karen, and challenge the taken for granted-ness of students born in Canada like Michael and Brianne.

Students' understanding of belonging is also expanded with the inclusion of racism as a topic in all three textbooks. While none of the students who participated in this study indicated that they had been the victim of overt racism, this is an issue that not only causes conflict in Canadian society but impedes many people, particularly visible minorities, from feeling comfortable, contented, and at home in Canada. This issue is particularly prominent in CT. In CT's chapter 4, an entire section is devoted to the "challenge of racism" (105). Here, students are introduced to a definition of racism (105), its causes (106), a number of events in Canadian history that have been racially motivated or affected by beliefs about race (108-111), and steps taken in recent years to fight racism in Canada (112-113). This section of CT conveys to students that racism is wrong, illegal, and people who speak or act in ways that are racist ought to be sanctioned. This message does not, in and of itself, inspire a sense of belonging for students like Paul, David, Angie, or Karen, but it does suggest to students that despite the existence of people who may act in racist ways, a person's race, ethnicity, or national origin should not be considered a barrier to a person believing they are or can be Canadian and have every right to feel as if they belong in Canada.

How do the social studies textbooks enhance students' ability to confront the tensions they experience? Though the phrase sense of belonging is not used in any of the social studies textbooks and questions and tasks related to a sense of belonging are all but absent from CNU, there are a number of pieces of text in CT and CI that reflect the tensions of students like Paul, David, Angie, and Karen. The best example is found in CT's chapter 11 where students are asked to "interview a person who has become a Canadian by naturalization" and then answer "how are the views of this person similar to yours? How do his or her views differ?" followed by "why might views of citizenship vary according to the experiences of the individual?"(308). Questions such as these have the potential to help students explore their tensions while sensitizing other students in the

process. Here, students who are born outside of Canada and have migrated to Canada can discover how other immigrants felt when they arrived in Canada, considered becoming Canadian citizens, and if being a visible minority influences their sense of belonging. Immigrant students, particularly those that are visible minorities, might discover that others have felt the same way they do yet have learned to see themselves as Canadians and feel every right to participate in Canadian society as a member who belongs. Interviewing an immigrant to Canada would give students who are white, English-speaking, and born and raised in Canada, insight into the feelings of immigrants, perhaps sensitizing them to the difficulty, especially for visible minorities, of migrating to another nation and establishing a new life in which one can feel comfortable and a sense of belonging. The potential of these tasks is not supported with suggestions of what questions could be asked during an interview, the format the interview could take, and what might constitute a successful interview.

To summarize, the SS-11 IRP reflects this feature of students' Canadian identity through the introduction to the document, PLOs that mandate and SISs that suggest an exploration of Canada's ethnic diversity and the role cultural pluralism has played in shaping Canadian identity generally. The implication is that ethnic diversity and cultural pluralism are positive aspects of Canada and that all the people who comprise Canadian society ought to believe and act as if they belong.

All three textbooks reflect this feature of students' Canadian identity. Students are provided an opportunity to define Canadian identity for themselves in CT, while in CNU the introduction to the textbook conveys a conception of Canada that tries to acknowledge the cultures that have influenced the development of Canada (aboriginal, French, and British peoples) while recognizing that Canada is a culturally diverse nation today. The message conveyed to students is that Canadians come from all parts of the world, have many different cultural beliefs and practices, but belong to the same national community and ought to feel as if they belong.

Students' understanding of belonging is expanded by text in all three textbooks but CT devotes an entire section to the exploration of "who should belong" (304) and another section to racism, an issue that can impede the development of a sense of

belonging for visible minorities. The message communicated to students is that despite the significant challenge presented by racism Canada is a nation that is open to all people. In short, anyone can, if they qualify, become a Canadian citizen and belong to the nation.

Finally, though opportunities are all but absent in CNU, there are a number of places in CT and CI that reflect the tensions expressed by students and have the potential to enhance students' ability to confront their tensions, the task of interviewing an immigrant is not supported with suggestions of approach, format, or criteria of what constitutes a successful response.

4. 6. Conclusion

Students' Canadian identity with regard to sentiment was largely focused on affirming that Canada is a nation that is worthy of loyalty and commitment and that Canadians are group of people worth belonging to. The perceptions expressed by students were mostly positive with only a few tensions expressed.

Students exhibited a varied sense of sense of commitment to land, territory, landscape, and location. Only one student expressed commitment to land, stemming from beliefs that were part of her aboriginal heritage. This student expressed tension because she perceived a lack of commitment to the land in others. However, she and the other students shared positive and consistent conceptions of Canada's territory, landscape, and significant locations. Almost all students named political jurisdictions such as provinces and territories, physical features such as oceans, and describe regions of the nation such as the prairies or the far north. Students were consistent in the picture of Canada's territory spanning from Atlantic to Pacific always including Quebec. It would have been interesting to see if a Quebecois student who favoured separatism would have had a different sense of commitment to territory had they participated in the study. Students expressed a sense of commitment to landscape and location as well, reveling in Canada's natural beauty and discussing various cities in Canada such as Toronto and Vancouver, while also discussing specific sites such as the parliament buildings in Ottawa.

Distinct symbols were also a source of positive sentiment for students. The national flag in particular was a symbol that had a great deal of meaning as it represented Canada to both students and the rest of the world.

A feature that was faint and somewhat strained was students' sense of historical uniqueness. Students struggled to offer names of people whom they believed embodied what it means to be Canadian and events they considered to be significant to Canada, and many could not explain why they perceived them as they did. This lack of a sense of historical uniqueness may suggest that students do not know much about the past or may not obtain their inspiration or guidance from the past. Indeed, students had little difficulty naming contemporary entertainers, people who inspired pride in their accomplishments because their accomplishments were internationally recognized.

Students exhibited a strong sense of national sovereignty but their perceptions were laced with tensions. There was a widespread perception among students that Canada's economic and cultural sovereignty was eroding because of the wealth, competition, and influence of the United States. Students felt angry, frustrated, and largely helpless witnessing Canada becoming an appendage of the United States with declining ability to make independent decisions. Several students also expressed anger at Canadians for either being blind to this trend or complicit in it occurring because of perceived benefit. This tension was widespread and consistent among students perhaps indicating such perceptions among other Canadians.

Another source of tension for some students, specifically immigrant students who comprise a visible minority in Canada, involved their sense of belonging. While white (and in the case of Dorion half-white), English-speaking immigrants felt at home in Canada, adapting to ways of life in Canada, visible minority students who had more limited language ability felt less of a sense of belonging. For students who did not look or sound like the Canadian norm, they felt different and adapted in any way they could, including assuming English-sounding names. They fashioned a state of between-ness for themselves in which they expressed positive sentiments about Canada and intended to obtain Canadian citizenship when able to do so but were seemingly content to watch from the sidelines, never participating fully in Canadian society. One student, a young aboriginal woman, formed her own identity as a Canadian but non-Canadian, trying to acknowledge and honour her aboriginal heritage as part of but distinct from her Canadian identity. Her tension was not with defining herself relative to other Canadians, her

tension was with other Canadians who did not understand or accept aboriginal peoples' definition of themselves.

The tensions experienced by immigrant students (and in the case of Karen, a Canadian born aboriginal student) who comprise visible minorities in Canada were in marked contrast from the sense of belonging experienced by those who comprised the privileged Canadian norm. For the white, English-speaking migrant students who were born and raised in Canada questions of belonging were met with quizzical looks, their self-acceptance and feelings of acceptance by other Canadians taken for granted. This study did not include a non-white student born and raised in Canada. It would have further clarified how place of birth relates to physical and linguistic traits when forming a sense of belonging. At present, it appears that physical and linguistic characteristics are more significant in developing a strong sense of belonging, a point that is of concern for many who believe in and wish to continue Canada's development as a multicultural nation that is accepting of diversity.

The SS-11 IRP offers the potential for students to engage with their perceptions. This is evident in the PLOs that can be interpreted by teachers to include an exploration of personalities, events, topics, issues, and/or ideas related to the various features, and the SISs that can be used in support.

The textbooks offer the potential for students to engage with their perceptions on most counts. They reflect the features of students' Canadian identity by including almost all of the personalities, events, topics, issues, and ideas students expressed. Students are able to "see themselves" and recognize the textbooks' contents as "their" story. But the textbooks also expand students' understanding by introducing personalities, events, topics, issues, and ideas students did not mention or may not have encountered before. As well, they offer perspectives which challenge students' perceptions as in the unflattering portrait of the Klondike goldminers that ran counter to the positive one expressed by Jessica.

One of the ways that the textbooks offer only limited potential for students to engage with their perceptions is with regard to the inclusion of topics and issues that reflect students' tensions and questions, tasks and supporting suggestions that enhance students' ability to confront tensions. On a number of occasions no topics or issues could

be found that reflected students' tensions. This was the case with Karen's tension with her fellow Canadians not having a sense of commitment to the land. A sense of commitment to land was not featured prominently in any of the textbooks and when it was it was only briefly presented in relation to aboriginal peoples. No opportunities were provided Karen to explore such a tension further.

On many occasions topics and issues that reflected students' tensions were included. Questions and/or tasks were asked of students that expected a thoughtful decision be made but support in the form of suggested approaches to answering the question or responding to the task, formats for presentation, or criteria for success were not provided. This was the case with the students who expressed tension with Canada's eroding national sovereignty. They felt a sense of anger and frustration at the "capitalist game" that privileged a nation like United States because of its enormous human and financial resources, while being angry at Canadians for their complicity in permitting their nation's sovereignty to erode. Questions and/or tasks related to the Free Trade Agreement (FTA) offered students the potential to explore their tensions further, learn different perspectives, and make decisions as to why they felt as they did. However, the questions and tasks did not provide the support necessary to enhance students' ability to confront the tension and arrive at their own resolution.

Tensions are a vital and dynamic part of Canadian identity. If students are to "see themselves" in the social studies textbooks they use then their tensions with Canada, Canadians, and themselves as Canadians must be reflected as much as their other perceptions. As well, if it is believed that social studies is a place where tensions can be examined and that textbooks have a role in that process, then questions and tasks need to address the core issues of those tensions, expect thoughtful decisions to be made and offer suggestions that will enhance students' ability to confront. In this way, students are learning about a nation with which they can relate, one in which challenges are recognized and are open for debate, as well as refining their ability to meet those challenges in thoughtful and reasoned ways.

CHAPTER FIVE

Canadian Identity as Citizenship

The term “citizenship” has been historically been used in a number of different but related ways. It has been used to connote legal membership in a state, as a conception of how a “citizen” or member of the state ought to act, and as the primary purpose of schools and the school subject of social studies. This study focuses on students’ perceptions of what the relationship between citizen and state is and/or ought to be. Students’ perceptions and tensions with citizenship are organized into the following features: 1) civil rights and responsibilities, 2) political rights and responsibilities, 3) social rights and responsibilities, and 4) cultural rights and responsibilities. These citizenship rights and responsibilities are also evident in the IRP and social studies textbooks.

5. 1. Civil Rights and Responsibilities

This feature of Canadian identity is based on students’ perceptions of the rights conferred on a citizen that allow them to live their lives as freely, openly, and justly as possible. Civil responsibilities refer to the obligations that are assumed with the exercise of such rights.

As an introduction to the ways civil rights and responsibilities are understood in Canada, let’s begin with Angie, an 18 year old born and raised in Tainan, Taiwan. Angie identified herself as a Christian and the eldest of three children born to a father who owns an import/export business in Taiwan and a mother who is a housewife. She migrated to Canada alone twenty-two months before the initial interview for this research project to study English. Initially she lived in Victoria but eventually moved to Vancouver and was joined by her mother and one of her younger brothers. Her father and younger sister remained in Taiwan.

Angie enrolled in the regular school program at Portage Secondary School and enjoyed her studies thought she commented that “school is much easier here than in Taiwan. There is less pressure and less to memorize”. She did not participate in extra-

curricular activities at school preferring to concentrate on learning to read, write, and converse in English.

Learning to speak English well was of great importance to Angie as she perceived it imperative for future success. She was uncertain about her future aspirations as she was in a state of turmoil about returning to Taiwan. She had come to Canada to learn English and had promised her father she would return to Taiwan to work in his company. However, Angie liked Canada "very much" and wanted to stay and go to university, "perhaps to study medicine". Despite these dreams, she was somewhat resigned to returning to Taiwan as she felt she had to "obey" her father's wishes. Fulfillment of this obligation was based, in her words, on beliefs about how a "good Christian girl" ought to behave. The turmoil this young woman was feeling was further displayed on the questionnaire when she wrote that she wanted to obtain Canadian citizenship but was not sure she actually would. When asked to clarify during the individual interview she replied "I did not really know how to answer. Not yet."

Angie considered herself to be Taiwanese (Appendix 3B: Question #10) but identified both Tainan (a city in Taiwan) and Vancouver as home (Appendix 3B: Question #11). When asked about her response Angie replied, "Tainan is my home. That is my family's home, but I feel good in Vancouver. I like it and it is nice. I miss my father and my brother but I am more free to be myself here". Angie spoke of freedom and feeling free several times throughout the interview process. One of the ways a feeling of freedom manifested itself was in the development of a Canadian persona separate from her Taiwanese self. She said, "I am Taiwanese with my family but I am Canadian with my friends and in school. I do not use my Taiwanese name at school. My name is X but many people do not know this. I ask people to call me Angie. It is easier for them and I do not feel so different" (Tape #7).

This author's impression of Angie was one of a young woman experiencing a great deal of uncertainty and internal conflict. Her two senses of herself seemed to be causing tension and unhappiness, though she was a thoroughly enjoyable person to converse with, being friendly and forthcoming. Interestingly, on a couple of occasions Angie did not want to comment on certain topics related to Canada believing it would "not be right" or proper for her, a Taiwanese person, to offer an viewpoint, but at other

times and with other topics she offered in- depth perspectives. These decisions may be indicative of the cultural struggle she was experiencing internally or perhaps a mechanism used to deflect commenting on topics she knew or thought little about.

Two-thirds of the students offered perceptions on civil rights in Canada. These students focused exclusively on freedom of speech as a civil right perceiving the freedom to speak one's mind as a crucial element in their notion of "being free", and critical for the development of a vibrant, open society. Angie illustrated this point when asked to offer five words that came to mind when she thought of Canada. One of her responses was "freedom" (Appendix 4, Part D: Question #2). Angie said,

Canadians...talk more about things. They ask questions and try to find answers. Canadians more powerful than Taiwanese because we don't push in that way. I think Taiwanese people just work and forget [TODD: What do you mean by forget?] We do not worry about things. If we cannot speak Taiwanese people do not get angry, they have other things to do. They forget it. [TODD: When you say Taiwanese people cannot speak, what do you mean?] In Taiwan people do not like to speak out, they do not have free speech. It is not polite and sometimes you can get into trouble. [TODD: Is it different in Canada?] Yes. Canada is more free. People say things and it is okay. It is a more powerful place because of this. [TODD: In what way?] If more speaking then people are strong, they share ideas, trade more. (Tape #7)

Angie equated freedom with freedom of speech, suggesting that having this civil right made a nation strong and powerful. However, her positive perception of free speech in Canada may also stem from her own feelings of disempowerment vis-à-vis her father. Angie perceived that other Canadians spoke their mind while she, as a young Taiwanese woman, was reticent to do so. She did not feel free but longed to be so and her best hope was in Canada, a nation where freedom of speech was both a civil right and a greater part of life.

Like Angie, Pavel, a recent immigrant from Russia, compared his former homeland with Canada when explaining his thoughts on civil rights. One of the words that Pavel believed described Canadians (Appendix 4, Part D: Question #6) was "open". For him open meant openness and a form of honesty and forthrightness that comes from cultivating a nation based on a respect for freedom of speech. He suggested that it is more possible to ask questions and receive answers in Canada than in Russia. He stated,

I don't think you can compare the worlds between Russia and Canada without seeing that Canada is a far more open place. Canada is a stronger society. Here people have more right to ask questions and get answers. You can sue; you can set up an inquiry like the APEC conference.¹ That (the incidents at the APEC conference) would have just disappeared in Russia and never discussed again. Canadians will not leave it alone until they know how that went so wrong. People in Russia don't know how to ask questions to the police and government. I don't know if they (the police and government) know how to answer. They don't even think they should answer. Russia is in a difficult period because it has so much to learn. Canada has had years to learn to think this way. ...you have no idea how much better it is in Canada. (Tape # 1)

For Pavel, the right to freely ask questions of the police and government was important for keeping the state accountable for its actions. However, Pavel raised the point that people need to not only possess the civil right of free speech but know how to use it effectively and have it respected by those in authority. In Pavel's eyes, the Russian people had not yet learned how to exercise their freedom of speech effectively and police and government, perhaps still psychologically immersed in the closed Soviet culture of the past, had not yet learned to respect this civil right. He also suggested that learning how to exercise one's civil rights and cultivating a culture that respects civil rights is something that you "learn". While Pavel seemed quite content with the level of learning displayed by the people of Canada, his point raises questions about how people in Canada learn about freedom of speech, learn to use it effectively, and the role schools play (or can play) in this process.

Angie and Pavel are examples of students' perception that freedom of speech is a civil right essential for creating an open, vibrant, strong, and powerful society. They also exemplified the prevailing attitude that this civil right is used and respected in Canada, especially when compared to other nations in the world. None of these students expressed any tension with their perceptions of civil rights in Canada. This was not the case with all students. Jessica, a recent migrant from Whitehorse, expressed tension with the way freedom of speech is and has been abused. She suggested that this civil right is an illusion in Canada. She revealed her perspective during a group interview discussion that began

with a student disagreeing with one of the interview statements offered (Appendix 5: Statement #14). Jessica said,

We TOTALLY don't have freedom of speech in Canada. We are so gagged that we don't even know it anymore. The government wants us to think so (that Canadians do have freedom of speech) but it's crap. Look at what happened at the APEC thing. I have a friend who goes to UBC and went to the protest. I couldn't go or I would have been there. She was pepper-sprayed along with everyone else standing off to the side of a large group of people who were chanting against Suharto. She wasn't destroying anything or holding anything or threatening anyone but she got her whole face full of that stuff. The government wanted to send the message don't mess with us or we'll shut you up. Where's the freedom of speech?? Is the only way you can express your disapproval to walk up to the ballot box every four years and vote? That's pretty pathetic I think.
(Tape #17)

Jessica was making reference to the Asia-Pacific Economic Community (APEC) which held its annual conference in Vancouver, Canada in November, 1997. People indicated their opposition to the policies of several leaders attending the conference by demonstrating on or near the grounds where the conference was being held. A violent confrontation erupted between protesters and police-security forces resulting in a number of people being assaulted, detained, arrested, and charged. An independent inquiry into the incident was being held at the time of the interviews with students. Intense media coverage of the inquiry, helped make APEC a topic of discussion in several student interviews. Jessica believed that having the civil right of free speech implies that Canadians have a responsibility to exercise it. Echoing the sentiments expressed by Pavel, she believed that freedom of speech can and should be used to make the state accountable for its actions. She believed that expressing one's viewpoint through the ballot box "every four years" was insufficient. Voting, for Jessica, should be enhanced by physically protesting policies in prominent places, during prominent events, so that government leaders can sense the anger, disgust, and frustration of the citizenry. However, she also believed that when the state uses its right to exercise the legal use of violence to "shut you up" the civil right of free speech becomes a fiction.

Derek concurred with Jessica's assessment. He believed that this civil right is undermined in Canada by a state more interested in control than in allowing Canadians to express their views. During the same group interview he said,

Jessica's right, the government says we have free speech but it really doesn't want you to actually use it. Especially if you use it in ways they can't control. [TODD: I'm not sure I follow.] Well, it's alright to maybe write an editorial piece in the newspaper or put some guy on TV to talk about something where there is a record of what is said, you know so it can be used in court if you are sued for libel, but if it's a demonstration protesting a policy say, the government gets freaked out because it can't control it (Tape #17).

In an effort to further ascertain Derek and Jessica's perspective, I offered a counterpoint to their argument. I suggested,

This all sounds very conspiratorial on the government's part...could it not be that the government i.e. the police simply fear that people will get hurt and property will be destroyed and that if one thinks their freedom of speech has been violated they can seek redress through our system of justice? (Tape #17)

Jessica discounted this perspective by strongly stating,

Oh come on, we think we have this wonderfully great justice system that is impartial and objective and following some sort of higher calling or standard. They are so totally not (Tape # 17)

Derek jumped in again,

Not to mention that the money and time that has to be committed to getting the justice system to listen to the case. It is so enormous that people can't do it or they don't bother. I think Jessica's right, the APEC protests really showed Canadians that we really are like a lot of the dictatorships and stuff around the world. I mean, the police attacked Canadians in order to let some dictator not be offended by the sight of a bunch of signs. Isn't that sick?? (Tape #17)

The exchange among Jessica, Derek and I revealed a deep and growing tension that a few students had with the way freedom of speech, as a civil right, is understood and used by various arms of the Canadian state. These students perceived the police, government, and justice system to be structured to constrain and ultimately prevent freedom of speech and expression.

Tim, a recent migrant from Prince George, was the only student who participated in this study who offered perceptions about civil rights having corresponding civil responsibilities. In an exchange with Brianne, Tim suggested that there have to be

constraints on freedom of speech and that people have a civil responsibility to exercise it [their right to free speech] judiciously and wisely. He also suggested that government constraints, no matter how draconian, can never take away a person's right to "choose" to speak freely if they want to. Brianne countered with perceptions that echoed the tensions of Jessica and Derek, suggesting that there is no "choice" if the sanctions or consequences of speaking are severe or life-threatening. The discussion began with Tim disagreeing with one of the interview statements used in group interviews (Appendix 5: Statement #7). He said,

Sure, Canada's got free speech. You can call anybody you want an asshole or whatever anytime you feel like. That doesn't mean you should. People have to be careful. If you aren't careful you can get into trouble. There's always consequences [TODD: Such as?] Well, you could lose your job or say if I did it here at school I could be expelled probably. They (the school authorities) could screw up my year [TODD: Do you think if enough sanctions or consequences are imposed that it pretty much nullifies your freedom to speak?] I'm not sure I understand "nullifies"? [TODD: Extremely harsh consequences that eliminate the freedom, like who would dare defy the "rules"] Oh, I see. Yeah, I guess that's true to a certain extent maybe, but you still hold the freedom. I mean just because I'm too much of a chickenshit or whatever to speak up doesn't mean I couldn't have. I mean, I don't think the consequences in Canada could ever be THAT bad. This isn't China or whatever. (Tape #19)

Brianne interjected,

But Tim, don't you think that we're all stifled in our right to speak openly these days? We're all so programmed to follow the rules and even when someone chooses to speak up and protest against something, most people look at you like you're a weirdo. (Tape #19)

Tim maintained his position saying,

Oh yeah, people think you're kind of weird, like why are you getting involved, but that doesn't mean you can't. All I'm saying is that Canadians can choose to speak up if they want to. If most people don't it's because they're scared or they're idiots. (Tape #19)

Not believing Tim understood her point, Brianne continued to press. She said,

I don't know. I think it's more complicated than that. Like you think about Nazi Germany and all the Germans who felt that what Hitler was doing was wrong but most of them didn't say anything or do anything because

they were afraid. I don't think that that's the same thing as having a "supposed" (quotations suggested by student's hand movements) right to speak and choosing not to. The choice to speak meant death for you and your family. That's not liberty. [TODD: I see your point, but Tim seems to be saying that despite that extreme case, Canada is not Nazi Germany] That's true, but we still have to be aware of all the little limitations that are growing on our free speech too. Like we can't talk about abortion in school because someone might become offended. We tried to ask a question in class last week and Mrs. X (teacher) almost fainted! The fear of losing her job or having parents down her neck shut her up. With those kind of restrictions free speech is gone! It hit the road and now we talk all around the subject or just ignore it! We're supposed to have free speech? Give me a break! (Tape #19)

Tim decided to give it one last try and convince Brianne that despite constraints on the civil right of freedom of speech opportunities for verbalizing one's point of view still exist, and in the case of discourse in school, have improved.

But it's getting better right? Isn't it? I mean we've always not talked about some things in school, but now we talk about more than ever before. Don't you think that in twenty years or whatever that abortion won't be such a big deal and we'll talk about that too? It takes time for people to accept that you know if a teacher says the "word" every girl in school won't rush out for a drive-thru abortion! (Entire group breaks up into gales of laughter). (Tape #19)

The exchange between Tim and Brianne revealed differing perspectives about restrictions on freedom of speech. Tim viewed restrictions as reasonable and inevitable given the different levels of power at work in social relations. He was largely unconcerned about restrictions limiting choice or range of discourse, believing that a person always retains the right to choose and that the range of discourse continues to widen as social and cultural norms change. Brianne did not explicitly discount that some restrictions are reasonable but expressed tension with restrictions that unduly limit a person's ability to choose to speak if they wish.

To summarize, about two-thirds of the migrant students who participated in this project offered perceptions indicating that freedom of speech is a part of their understanding of civil rights and of their Canadian identity. Students perceived this civil right to be important for the development of a strong, open, and vibrant society. Most students expressed no tension in their perceptions. This was particularly the case with

immigrant students who perceived the right to speak freely in Canada to be far superior to what was currently possible in their former homelands. However, three students expressed tension suggesting that Canada's governments (and schools) unjustly restricted freedom of speech in order to maintain control, especially when being exercised at a civil protest or demonstration. Only one student made explicit reference to civil responsibility. He believed that people have a civil responsibility to exercise their right to free speech judiciously and that restrictions on this right are reasonable and necessary for maintaining societal order. He had faith that restrictions to free speech in Canada do not and would not hinder the free expression of ideas, believing that restrictions exist within changing social and cultural norms of appropriateness. Finally, he believed that ultimately a person always retains the right to choose to speak, regardless of the restrictions and sanctions that can be imposed.

The SS-11 IRP mandates several PLOs that can be interpreted to include an exploration of freedom of speech in Canada. They include:

- Identify the major provisions of the Canadian Constitution, the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, and human rights legislation (Legal Issues: A-6)
- Identify and assess critical legal issues facing Canadians (Legal Issues: A-6)
- Identify and assess political issues facing Canadians (Political Issues II: A-6)
- Identify and assess social issues facing Canadians (Social Issues II: A-5)

The civil right of freedom of speech and any corresponding civil responsibilities are best reflected in the first PLO. Here, a teacher could have students explore the evolution of civil rights and responsibilities based on Canada's historical, political, and legal connections to Great Britain and France. Students could be introduced to the notion that freedom of speech has been recognized as a fundamental right in Canada by virtue of tradition, various court decisions, and enshrinement in the Bill of Rights of 1960 and in the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms in 1982. The subsequent PLOs identified are more general in nature, but still provide opportunity for teachers to design classes in

which students could critically examine legal, political, and social issues related to civil rights and responsibilities, particularly freedom of speech. For example, students could explore circumstances in which limiting freedom of speech might be appropriate or examine how Canada's federal political parties interpreted the impact of police actions at the APEC Conference in Vancouver on freedom of speech in Canada.

Several SISs can also be interpreted to reflect this feature of students' Canadian identity. They include:

- Introduce students to the Canadian Constitution, including the background to its patriation in 1981. Ask students to consider the effects on their lives of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms and other human rights legislation. In presentations, have students apply their conclusions to aspects of their lives at school (e.g., how they are treated by authority and they treat others) (Legal Issues: 24)
- Have students prepare presentations on critical legal issues in Canadian society (e.g., spousal abuse, drinking and driving, capital punishment, gun control) (Legal Issues: 24).
- Have each student choose a critical social, cultural, political, legal, economic, or environmental issue, research the topic, and give a short presentation on why this issue is important. (Skills and Processes I: 10).

These are but a few of the SISs that could be used by teachers to explore topics related to civil rights and responsibilities. For example, after introducing the background of the Canadian Constitution and the major provisions of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms (the first identified SIS), students might explore why the freedom to speak of or learn about certain topics is restricted in secondary school classrooms. Students could assess if the reasons are justified and consider how topics, if introduced into the classroom, might be addressed sensitively and critically.

The three social studies textbooks also reflect this feature of students' Canadian identity. All three textbooks identify freedom of speech as a civil right enjoyed by Canadians. It should be noted that not one of the textbooks uses the phrase "civil right", preferring the constitutionally enshrined expression "fundamental freedom". As well, the textbooks do not use the phrase "freedom of speech", employing "freedom of expression"

instead. Nevertheless, freedom of speech is a civil right included as part of Canada's Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

In CNU, an exploration of civil rights occurs in chapter 1: "How is Canada Governed?" (10-29). Specifically, Canada's civil rights are examined under the sub-heading "The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms" (20-21). Here, students are provided with a brief explanation of the charter as an entrenched part of the Canada Act, 1982 and its evolution from the Bill of Rights of 1960. The entire Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms is included on a background suggestive of a scroll, with freedom of expression included as part of sub-section A in Section 2 titled "Fundamental Freedoms" (21).

In CT, an exploration of civil rights is reflected in Chapter 10: Rights and Responsibilities, You and the Law (268-299). Here again, civil rights are explored under the sub-heading "The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms" (271) with a brief overview of the charter as an entrenched part of the Canadian constitution, superceding laws passed by parliament and something that can only be changed through an amendment to the constitution. This made the charter more powerful and secure than the Bill of Rights of 1960 which was a parliamentary statute that could be changed or withdrawn at any time by a government who could amass majority support to do so. Freedom of speech as an aspect of civil rights is reflected under "Fundamental Freedoms" in Section "Two" (no sub-section indicator offered). In this textbook, freedom of speech is phrased as the right to "express your opinions openly, without fear" and categorized under the heading of "What you can do" (CT, 272).

In fairly similar fashion, CI offers the issue entitled, "Rights and Freedoms: A Charter for Canadians" (300-301). Here, a small text insert or "case study" entitled "Excerpts from the Charter" (301) identifies expression as a "fundamental freedom" in the Section 2 of the charter. Again, there is a brief overview of the charter as an entrenched part of the Canadian constitution and its evolution from the Bill of Rights.

The message conveyed to students is that freedom of speech or expression is a right or fundamental freedom enjoyed by all members of the nation. Further, it is a right deemed important enough to enshrine in the constitution, protecting it from repeal and modification by the government without debate.

The three textbooks also expand students' perceptions of the civil right of free speech by introducing them to the various ways they can exercise their civil right of free speech. In CT's chapter 11: The Role of the Citizen in Canadian Democracy (300-327), students are introduced to involvement with pressure groups as a way to participate more actively in influencing government (314). In CNU's chapter 2: Canadian Government in Action (30-50), students are introduced to letters, telephone calls, and petitions to MPs and other government officials (48). Later in the same chapter, it is suggested that joining a political party, special interest group, or demonstrating are other ways of making views known to government officials (48). Indeed, the picture shown at the bottom of this page shows thousands of people demonstrating in front of the Parliament buildings in Ottawa. The explanation underneath says "Canadians do not have to wait until election time to make their concerns known to the government. Peaceful protests such as this march on Parliament Hill allow Canadian concerns to be heard by the government" (48).

However, students expressed a rather limited notion of civil rights with an exclusive focus on freedom of speech. The three textbooks offer the potential of expanding students' understandings by including the complete contents of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms (CI provided excerpts only) and exploring the civil rights they possess and can exercise as they participate in society. Section 2 of the charter states the "Everyone has the following freedoms: a) freedom of conscience and religion; b) freedom of thought, belief, opinion, and expression, including freedom of the press and other media of communication; c) freedom of peaceful assembly; and d) freedom of association (CNU, 21; CT, 272; CI, 301). As well, the Charter outlines the legal, equality, language, and educational rights (Sections 4 through 8 of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms) that Canadians possess. CNU provides a chapter on legal rights in Chapter 3: Canada's Judicial System (51-73); CT does the same in Chapter 10: Rights and Responsibilities, You and the Law (268-299) under the heading "Civil and Criminal Law" (278); while CI explores legal rights in an issue entitled "Canada's Legal System: Criminal and Civil Law" (302-303). Each of these selections outline to varying degrees of depth the evolution of legal rights in Canada and the structure of Canada's court system, while defining pertinent terms such as criminal law, civil law, plaintiff, and defendant. The message conveyed to students is that Canada is a nation based on a set of

laws and a legal system designed to interpret those laws. The courts interpret laws based on tradition and precedent while continuing to debate changes that will further protect and enhance citizens' civil rights without abrogating civil responsibility.

CT explores equality rights, devoting a section of Chapter 10 (276-277) to it. Here, students are told that the notion of equality rights evolved from a past where some people in Canada were discriminated against, based on their age, colour, family status, mental or physical ability, national or ethnic origin, religion, and sex. The message communicated to students is that Canada is a nation where in the past people were unfairly discriminated against but is now choosing to cultivate a society in which the diversity and equality of people is acknowledged, respected, and constitutionally guaranteed. According to CT, the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms guarantees people have "equality before the law, and equality under the law" (276).

Not all rights have been agreed on by Canadians however. In CT, students are asked "should sexual orientation or sexual preference be included under equality rights? (272). This question indicates the ongoing debate about equality rights in Canada and, at least in this textbook, students are invited to participate in the debate and are provided an opportunity to expand their perceptions.

CT is the only one of the three textbooks to explicitly introduce the notion of civil responsibilities. In chapter 10: Rights and Responsibilities, You and the Law (268-299) students are asked a series of questions at the beginning of the chapter. These questions are designed to help students understand that rules and laws create societal order, and each person has a responsibility to obey the law so everyone can exercise their rights freely. This point is pictorially represented in Figure 10-1. The footer underneath states, "Rights and responsibilities are mirror images of each other. To enjoy our freedom, we must control our actions by respecting the freedoms of others" (269). Further on in the chapter, freedom of speech is used to clarify the notion of responsibilities. It states,

Your **responsibilities** (bold in original) extend beyond legal obligations to include the type of behaviour that shows respect for the rights of others. Even though you are free to say what you please, your freedom of speech cannot be pursued to the point that it harms other people. For example, you cannot yell "Fire!" in a crowded theatre when there is no fire. To do so could cause a panic and a rush for the exits, thus placing other people in danger. (CT, 270)

This text reflects the perception expressed by Tim, the student who believed that people have a responsibility to be “careful” of what they say or suffer consequences (Tape #19). However, the emphasis on civil rights and the absence of civil responsibilities from CNU and CI is curious. Though this reflects the majority of students’ perceptions (most focused on the civil right of free speech), the full exercise of one’s rights hinge on people accepting the responsibility to exercise them judiciously and wisely, within the confines of the law, and so as not to infringe the rights of others.

In addition to CNU and CI not addressing the notion of civil responsibilities, students are deprived of anything beyond a cursory discussion of the evolution of civil rights and responsibilities in Canada. All three textbooks focus almost exclusively on the 20th century (save for historical references and an entire unit of CNU devoted to “Laying the Foundations: From Confederation to 1911”, 76-129) and thus fail to suggest to students that the civil rights enshrined in the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms are the result of incremental, sometimes torturous change that occurred over centuries. As a suggestion, students’ perceptions could be expanded through the inclusion of a time line indicating common law beliefs and practices, enactment of important laws that introduced and extended civil rights, and court decisions that relate to civil rights and responsibilities.

Do the textbooks enhance students’ ability to confront the tensions they experience? Three of the migrant students who participated in this study expressed tensions. Two of the students cited the actions of police during the 1997 APEC conference held in Vancouver. Jessica believed that the freedom of speech becomes a fiction when the state uses its legal right to exercise force to quell dissent. Derek expressed the belief that the government wants Canadians to believe they have freedom of speech but in actual fact does not want them to use it, preferring to control people’s behaviour and maintain societal order. The third student, Brianne, expressed tension with her peer’s belief that everyone has freedom of speech regardless of perceived restrictions, and people make a choice whether to exercise their civil right or not. She believed that the civil right of free speech only has meaning if a society is cultivated where people believe they can speak openly and without fear of reprisal.

The textbooks provide opportunities for students to confront their tensions through the use of events in which the civil right or fundamental freedom of free speech has come into conflict with society's and the government's desire to maintain order. All three of the textbooks were written prior to the 1997 APEC conference with one published and released just after the conference. This event could not be included but other demonstrations or protests that resulted in police action are evident. Two of the textbooks include text on the Winnipeg General Strike of 1919 in which demonstrations by labour unionists ended in the killing of one person and the injury of many others (CI, 74-75; CNU, 186-187), while two textbooks examine the Oka Crisis of 1990 (CNU, 412-413; CT, 312). However, the text that best reflects the tensions expressed by the three students is not an event but an issue oriented passage found in CNU's chapter 3: Canada's Judicial System (51-75). Here, in a one page passage entitled "Do Police Have Too Many or Too Few Powers?" students are provided with an overview of the growing concern by police officers that they are dangerously restricted by government in dealing with crime and need more powers in which to conduct their jobs, countered by concerned citizens who believe, and fear, that police officers might misuse those powers thereby infringing on or eradicating the civil rights of citizens (57). In an interesting contrast to the picture of ordinary people demonstrating on Parliament Hill (48), this passage includes a picture of "...6000 police officers and their supporters stag(ing) a protest march to show their support for increased police powers" (57). The passage asks students to "write short personal responses to each of the following questions: 1) How should society "police" the police?, 2) Do police officers "serve and protect" all Canadians?, 3) How much power do the police need to be able to do their jobs?, and 4) What can be done to ensure good relations between the police and the communities they serve?

The passage does not examine a specific protest, demonstration, or interaction between the police and citizenry, but is a potential opportunity for students to focus on the issues surrounding society's and government's desire to maintain order and protect property as related to the civil right of freedom of speech. As well, the passage includes points of view that differ from those expressed by Jessica, Derek, and Brianne. The questions, background knowledge, and suggestion of approach offer the potential for students to enhance their ability to confront their tensions but textbook does not provide

suggestions of format for presenting personal responses or criteria to use in judging acceptable responses to the questions.

To summarize, the SS-11 IRP reflects this feature of students' Canadian identity by mandating an examination of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. Other PLOs and SISs also offer the potential for students to engage with their perceptions of civil rights including freedom of speech as well as civil responsibilities. All three textbooks reflect this feature of students' Canadian identity by introducing freedom of speech as a civil right or fundamental freedom that is constitutionally enshrined in the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. Students are conveyed the message that this is a right enjoyed by all Canadians and those legally living in Canada, it is an important right for a free and open society, and is worthwhile protecting from repeal or modification without significant societal debate. CT is the only textbook to explicitly states that rights come with corresponding responsibilities to exercise them wisely, within the confines of the law, and in such a way that the rights of others are not infringed.

Textbooks expand this feature of students' Canadian identity by introducing the various means of exercising one's civil right of free speech including demonstrations and protests. Other civil rights are included in the Charter including freedoms of peaceful assembly, conscience and religion, and association. Other rights are also included in the textbooks. CT in particular explores legal and equality rights in depth. Civil responsibilities are expanded in CT through definitions and questions that encourage students to consider what constitutes a responsibility. Finally, several events that involved tensions similar to those expressed by students are cited, but the best example in which students could explore the perceived imbalance between the civil right of free speech and society's desire to maintain order and control involves an issue oriented passage that examines issues related to the powers that are or ought to be afforded the police. There is potential in the questions offered for consideration, background knowledge provided, and the suggested approach to take in responding to the questions, but the textbook does not offer suggestions of ways for students to present their responses or criteria for what constitutes acceptable responses.

5. 2. Political Rights and Responsibilities

This feature of Canadian identity is based on students' perceptions of those rights conferred on a citizen to allow them to live in a democracy and participate in the governance of their community, whether that community is defined as a school, town, city, province, or nation. Political responsibilities refer to the obligations of citizens to exercise their political rights.

As a prelude to analysis of the conflicted terrain that is part of this feature of Canadian identity, let's introduce Brianne, a 17 year old born in Chilliwack, B.C. who migrated with her family to Winnipeg when less than a year old. The eldest of two girls born to a father and mother who both work as federal civil servants, the family migrated to Vancouver twenty months prior to the initial interview for this project.

Brianne was a student in the advanced-classes program who liked her studies but couldn't wait for school "to be finished" so she could "get out there and experience life". She was not involved in extra-curricular activities at school, spending much of her spare time volunteering for an environmental group. Her close friends were fellow volunteers who shared her commitment to educate the public on various environmental issues. Despite scholastic achievement that included several awards from both her school in Winnipeg and Portage Secondary in Vancouver, Brianne was unsure about her future plans. She had applied to a local university and though she had not yet been accepted, felt confident she would be. Part of Brianne also wanted to "chuck it and just go travel" but she conceded she probably would not because her "parents would freak".

Brianne identified herself as Canadian (Appendix 3B: Question #9) and stated that she considered Winnipeg her home (Appendix 3B: Question #11) because that was "where her roots are". She felt she had not settled into life in Vancouver, stating "people are so phony here. They just don't get it". What they "don't get" was left unspoken but it became apparent during the interviews that Brianne was a feisty, no-nonsense young woman who did not like people she deemed to be engaging in life at a neutral or superficial level. She demonstrated fine debating skills as well as an ability to listen and respond to others, qualities that will undoubtedly serve her well in the future. However, I was left with the impression that Brianne's high level of self assurance masked a young woman searching for direction or an outlet for her untapped potential.

All students identified voting in elections as a political right in Canada but had mixed perceptions about its value and whether or not there was a corresponding political responsibility to vote when able to do so.

As a way of unearthing students' perceptions about Canada, Canadians, and themselves as Canadians, I asked students to imagine they were traveling on a train where we meet for the first time and I ask them to tell me about Canada and Canadians (Appendix 4, Part D: Question #1). Brianne offered a lengthy and detailed description of the nation and part of what she said included the following:

Canada is a democracy. We vote for our leaders. They're supposed to govern for us. I don't think we respect that enough. It's an important part of who we are. (Tape #10)

Brianne recognized voting for political representation as a political right and part of what makes Canada a democracy. As well, she believed that being a democracy and voting for leaders is "an important part of who we are". However, this perception did not translate into feelings of responsibility to act on that political right. Brianne demonstrated this aspect of students' views when she discussed her uncertainty about her future voting behaviour. Responding to the question as to whether she will vote the next time you are able (Appendix 4, Part D: Question #14) she said,

Will I vote? I don't know. I'm of two minds on that one. See, part of me thinks I should vote, have my say and all that. But another part of me thinks what's the difference? Politicians that we elect don't really change anything, at least in the ways I would want them changed. They listen to all the people with money, the polls, and they kind of sit around and think about how to protect their position. Mr. Y (teacher) calls it "rule for survival". Like you do all the things in the short term that you think people want in order to get re-elected. But most people haven't got a clue what they want, well I shouldn't say they don't know but they don't. Like they don't know what they want beyond what's good for themselves. Do you know what I mean? They don't think about the big picture. (Tape #10)

Her statement that we "don't respect" the political right to vote enough suggested that she wanted to believe in Canadian electoral politics and fulfill her voting responsibilities to the nation, but perceptions of politicians focused largely on re-election rather than leadership caused her to question whether it was worthwhile to do so. The slogan "rule for survival" offered by Brianne's history teacher captured her tension. For

her, politicians who govern only to protect their positions have undermined feelings of responsibility to vote. However, her tension with political rights and responsibilities run deeper than questions about voting. In Brianne's mind, voting means participation in formal political systems (i.e. federal, provincial, and municipal systems)—systems she perceived to be morally bankrupt and without vision. She felt alienated from formal political systems and disempowered in comparison to "people with money". Other students also shared these sentiments. Jessica responded to the question about whether she would vote in the future (Appendix 4, Part D: Question #14) by saying,

I don't know if I'll ever vote honestly. I'm so frustrated with the government. I know that it's an all right system but it's been so corrupted. People have forgotten what it means to lead anymore [TODD: How would you like to see things change?] I totally think that money should be taken out of the whole thing. No more of this lobby crap, all these huge donations. That's ruined the United States and it's happening here too. Leaders should try and rule for the people but no, if you're a big corporation you can buy your way into or out of anything now, pollute all you want, the law doesn't apply to you or we'll fine you some sick amount that's like a slap on the hand. Why should politicians care when they get huge support from these same people? It's sick. Can you tell I'm cynical (laughs). (Tape #14)

Jessica felt betrayed by political systems she perceived to be "corrupt" and like Brianne felt little responsibility to vote. Though she offered suggestions as to how political systems might be reformed to reduce the influence of corporate lobbyists, neither she nor Brianne indicated enough belief in formal political systems to begin bringing forth such changes themselves. This is not surprising given their age as well as their feelings of alienation and frustration

However, Brianne and Jessica did not let their youth, sense of alienation or feelings of disempowerment destroy their sense of agency. They, along with a third student, Derek, found a way to make a difference working outside formal political systems bringing about the types of change they believed in. Brianne, Jessica, and Derek volunteered their time to different environmental groups, wanting to inform the public about various environmental issues and effect change to government policies. To these students, engagement with these groups was a more practical, effective, and valid form of public engagement than voting and possibly changing the ways political systems

operate. During the group interviews Derek offered his perspective on government and how he positioned his volunteer work.

The government is corrupt, right? I think we all know that. But see I've gotten involved in an environmental group since our last interview. They raise awareness about genetically modified foods and stuff. It's called X and they lobby government to make better laws. It's great. I'd like to see it (genetically modified foods) banned. I get my family to buy organic food now. [TODD: But don't you still have to deal with the political system in order to effect the changes you want? A political system you think is corrupt?] That's true, but I don't let that bother me because I know my role is to do it this way. Maybe the politicians are corrupt. I think they are but they understand pressure too and I believe that we can influence them our way. I mean if they don't the whole planet will be destroyed, right? (Tape #17)

Derek, like Brianne and Jessica, used terms such as "lobby" "pressure" and "influence" to indicate what environmental groups do to bring forth political change, but these are also the same terms used to describe what "people with money" and "corporations" do. Indeed, each of these students spoke of corporate lobbying, pressure, and influence making politicians and the government in general "corrupt". Analysis of the sub-text reveals that these students do not have a tension with the lobbying and influencing of politicians per se, their tensions lay with politicians and governments perceived to favour corporate interests over other (environmental) interests because corporations provide tax dollars, jobs, and financial support to political parties. In short, their tension lay with perceptions of corporate lobbyists having a disproportionate amount of influence on politicians and government in comparison to less wealthy individuals. This led to a belief that having the political right to vote does not necessarily entail a responsibility to vote and that change can be made from outside formal political systems.

Other students also identified voting as a political right in Canada but embraced voting as a political responsibility without tension. However, the reasons for wanting to vote varied. Karen, an aboriginal migrant from the United States, perceived voting as a way of sanctioning a political platform that reflected her views on aboriginal issues. Responding to the question of whether she would vote the next time she was able (Appendix 4, Part D: Question #14) she said,

We're a democracy so, oh yeah, I wanna vote. I voted last fall I think. I'm a real political person because I always want to know how they (politicians) feel about aboriginal issues, what their feelings are on land claims, self-government, all that stuff. If I think they don't know what they're talking about or they don't really respect where I'm coming from then I don't vote for them. In the States politicians could care less about Indians. I know I've said that before. Hundreds of times probably but it's true. In Canada it's different. Politicians know that being respectful of aboriginal people is better for them, it's better politically [TODD: How so?] What do you mean? [TODD: Why is it better politically? Aboriginal people are not a large voting block in Canada?] No, they're not but Canadians feel (pause) I think they feel a sense of responsibility to treat them better [TODD: Why?] I think because they know they haven't in the past. (Tape #2)

For Karen, voting was not the fulfillment of a responsibility to Canada but was a reflection of her perceived responsibility to her people. The history of the ways aboriginal people were treated in Canada, along with her experiences of living as an aboriginal in the United States informed her sense of obligation to exercise her political right to vote.

Peter, a recent immigrant from Greece, viewed the act of voting as the fulfillment of a responsibility to make the nation better. For him, voting entailed an obligation to make an informed choice about the political representatives who will run the nation. He said,

Of course (I'll vote). I want to be involved in my country. If this is where I make my home then I have to work to make it better. [TODD: What does that work entail for you?] What do you mean? I think it means educating yourself to vote, know who the people are, what they believe so you can make a good choice. (Tape # 6)

Informing Peter's feelings was his position as a recent immigrant to Canada. He perceived voting as way of making Canada his "home", demonstrating that he was participating in making the nation "better", and worthy of being a Canadian citizen.

Demonstrating a worthiness to be in Canada was a sentiment that intermingled with gratitude for other students. David, Paul, and Dorion, recent immigrants from Korea, Hong Kong, and Jamaica respectively, felt a responsibility to vote because they wanted to show their gratitude to Canada. Dorion responded to the same question (Appendix 4, Part D: Question #14) by stating,

My mother says that once I turn eighteen I should vote. She thinks it's really important because Canada has let us come here so we should do the right thing. [TODD: What do you think?] I think she's right. It doesn't hurt to vote and maybe your guy will win! (Tape # 5)

Interestingly, it was Dorion's Montreal-born mother who instilled in her a sense of obligation to vote. The specific reasons for this attitude were unclear, but voting was clearly perceived to be the "right" way to demonstrate gratefulness at being allowed to emigrate from Jamaica to Canada. Paul felt a sense of responsibility to vote because it reflected Canadian-ness and something one does if they "care" about the nation. Paul said,

I think voting is important because it is what makes you Canadian [TODD: How so?] It is a right. It is a right you have as Canadian so you should vote. [TODD: But don't people in Hong Kong also have the right to vote? What makes voting 'Canadian'?] No, no, you do not understand. It is not different from Hong Kong but is something you do if you care for Canada. Canadian votes for best leaders of Canada. [TODD: Do you think you will vote when you turn eighteen?] Yes. I think so. When I am a citizen. I don't know much about politics, it's boring (pause) but I will vote. (Tape #3)

For Paul, to "care" about Canada involved choosing the best leaders possible. By contrast, not voting would be permitting the choice of poor leaders, thereby injuring Canada. What was unclear was if Paul would work past his perception of politics as boring to cast informed votes based on knowledge of how Canada's political systems work and the platforms political candidates represent.

The migrant students born in Canada offered different reasons for feeling a sense of responsibility to exercise the political right to vote. Diana, a recent migrant from Ottawa, believed that she should vote because it was a political right that for women was won after years of intense struggle. One of the five words she used to describe Canada was "democracy" (Appendix 4, Part D: Question #2). She explained,

Well, it's not a dictatorship. We can vote for our leaders. I'm looking forward to voting actually [TODD: Why?] I don't know. It'll be kind of cool because you feel like you are participating somehow. I don't know that it makes any difference, probably it doesn't but it's kind of like we fought so long to have the vote that I kind of feel like I should [TODD: fought?] Yeah. Last year we learned about the women who struggled to get the vote. Men didn't think they should have it because it would destroy

the family or something stupid like that. I couldn't believe it because it seems so like what are you thinking? Women were arrested and stuff so I figure I should probably vote when I can. (Tape #12)

Voting, for Diana, elicited positive feelings of participation and was perceived as the fulfillment of a responsibility to the women of Canada's suffrage movement, a topic discussed in social studies class. Though she understood that the right to vote in elections was a political right afforded citizens in a democracy, Diana never verbalized an understanding of how voting effects change. Indeed, she voiced some doubts about whether voting "makes any difference". It is uncertain if knowledge of the women's suffrage movement will sustain a sense of responsibility to vote in the future or if other reasons to vote will have to be found.

Michael's reason for voting differed greatly from Diana's. When asked if he would vote in future elections (Appendix 4, Part D: Question #14) he said,

Sure I'll vote. It's a democracy. It's my right when I turn eighteen. You can't bitch if you don't vote (laughing). My dad always says that. I hate hearing people complain about everything that's wrong with the country and they don't do anything to stop it, you know? (Tape #8)

Michael did not want to vote because he perceived an obligation to a particular group as was the case with Diana, instead, he saw voting as a form of public participation that permitted one to critique individual politicians, the government, and Canada's political systems in general. While Michael did not claim that voting was a political responsibility, it was in his and his father's eyes a contribution to the public discussion about the type of society Canadian's want to have.

While every student in the group understood political rights in terms of voting and most felt a sense of responsibility to vote in future elections, none suggested a similar responsibility to run for political office. Indeed, these students would have found it difficult to accept that running for political office could ever be considered a responsibility. For most students, voting for political representation was the extent of their responsibility to Canada's democracy. Any further political participation was a matter of personal choice. A couple of students did consider the possibility of running for political office in the future. In answering a question about whether he would ever

consider running (Appendix 4, Part D: Question #15), Peter illustrated their viewpoint when he said,

Yeah, I'd run. Why not? I probably could do as good a job as anybody, right? I know I'm too young now and maybe some people wouldn't take me seriously yet, but I could do it. Yeah, I think it would be cool to get elected for something. You gotta try, right? (Tape #6)

Peter suggested that running for political office was a choice, not a responsibility. He considered the possibility based on perceptions of his own capabilities, and the "cool" that comes from entering a competition and winning.

The remaining students involved in this project gave the idea of running for political office only fleeting consideration or rejected it out of hand. However, the reasons for not running varied. Tina represented the perspective of a number of students. When responding to her choice of statements during the group interviews (Appendix 5, Statement #7) she said,

Maybe, but I really want to go to medical school so I don't know. Maybe. (laughs) Probably not. [JESSICA: You'd be great!!] My involvement in student council has really perked my interest in politics this year. Before I didn't really think much about it because you only see what you can see but once I became involved in some of the talks about certain things I've come to realize that there is so much you need to be aware of in order to make a decision about things. I think sometimes that people who are upset about a certain decision the government makes don't always know or realize what's going on behind the scenes [JESSICA: But they don't tell us either] Well, okay that may be true some of the time but I don't think that you can explain all of the factors on every issue to the public, you have to go with what you know. (Tape #17)

Tina's political experience on student council heightened her awareness of the gap between insider and outsider information and how that gap leads to differing perceptions about political decisions that are made. An awareness of this made her more sensitive to the complexity of issues and the need to be well-informed when making and critiquing decisions. However, this did not translate into a firm desire to run for political office as she had competing ambition for herself. This group of students believed that no obligation existed to run for political office and that people have the right to design their own life path based on their own ambitions.

Michael represented a small group of students who rejected the idea of running for political office based on a poor perception of politicians and the influences to which he believed they succumb. When asked if he would ever consider running for political office (Appendix 4, Part D: Question #15) he said,

Uh-ah (negative). You have to be crooked to be a politician right? (laughs) [TODD: Do you think so?] Not really but it's hard to stay honest in politics I think. It's a tough game, you know? I don't think I could do it because I don't want to be like that [TODD: Have you thought that if more people like yourself became involved things could change for the better?] Yeah, my father says stuff like that, my uncle too, but it takes so much money, and what if you get there and find out that you can't change anything? Maybe you'll be in so far with loans and stuff that you can't get out and then you're stuck there forever. I don't think I want to do that. (Tape #8)

This group of students did not see running for political office as a worthwhile endeavor. Poor perceptions of politicians, cost, and a system that made people ineffectual, overshadowed claims made by people like Michael's father and uncle who believed that society could be changed for the better if more principled people entered the political arena.

By far the largest group of students rejected the idea of running for political office because they perceived themselves to lack the qualities necessary to get elected. When asked if she would ever consider running for political office (Appendix 4, Part D: Question #15), Lea said,

No, no, no, oh God, never. I wouldn't last in politics because I'd tell everybody off and they'd kick me out so fast. I'd be like you're an idiot, why would you want to do that? I find politics interesting sometimes, not always, sometimes it's a little boring but like, you have to really know how to like deal with all kinds of people. I'm not like that. I just say stuff. Ask anybody. (Tape #13)

Her self-perception was one of a person who spoke her mind without the tact, diplomacy, or finesse she believed politicians need. Though Lea did not articulate this, I had the sense that she wanted to be less forthright. Karen also felt she lacked the qualities she believed were necessary for political success while giving an impression that she considered these qualities undesirable. When asked if she would consider running for political office in Canada (Appendix 4, Part D: Question #15) she said,

MMmmm not really. I'd like to think I would. It's good to try and make a difference but, but it's not my thing. I don't get off on the speeches and the begging for money you have to do. No, I don't think I'll become a politician or anything like that but you never know (laughs). (Tape #2)

Though Karen conveyed a great deal of responsibility to thoughtfully exercise her right to vote by carefully considering candidates' policy positions on aboriginal issues, she spoke somewhat derisively of running for political office. For Karen, a person who gives a speech is someone who "gets off" on being the centre of attention, while fundraising is considered "begging".

David, a recent immigrant from Korea, had a different reason for rejecting the idea of running for political office. Like Lea and Karen, David believed he lacked certain characteristics necessary to become elected in Canada. In responding to the same question, he said,

If you live in Canada you should vote. This is important. [TODD: Do you think you might ever consider running as a candidate for political office?] Political office? [TODD: Yes, you know, put yourself up for election so people can go and vote for you to represent them.] I do not think so. [TODD: Any particular reason why you feel this way?] I do not think anyone would vote for me. I'm Korean. [TODD: Yes, but after you become a Canadian citizen.] But I'm still Korean. I look different. Do you think people would vote for me? [TODD: You think people would not vote for you because you're Korean? And you look different? (startled voice)] Yes. (Tape #4)

David's interpretation of Canada was that looking "different" from what he understood to be the average or typical Canadian was an electoral liability. Whether this message was explicitly conveyed to him by Koreans, non-Koreans, or by observing the lack of visible minorities in Canadian politics was unclear. What was clear was that David lacked a sense of belonging and had reconciled himself as an outsider with respect to this political right. He expressed no tension with his belief, seeming genuinely surprised at the suggestion that he might, as a Korean, get elected to political office in Canada. This self-perception, and by extension the perception that all visible minorities are not Canadians, unable to fully participate in Canadian society was and is disturbing. Though all people, regardless of ethnic or national origin, religion, sex, age, and physical ability are legally entitled as citizens to participate fully in society, David's perceptions

indicate how much work remains in conveying that message and changing beliefs and attitudes.

To summarize, all of the migrant students in this project demonstrated a belief that voting was a political right in Canada. Indeed, voting in elections was so much a part of their understanding of representative democracy, so entrenched as a right that students rarely used the term "right". All but three students believed they had a responsibility to vote once they become legally entitled to do so. The reasons for their sense of responsibility included a desire on the part of immigrant students to demonstrate their worthiness to be in Canada, gratitude for being permitted to come to Canada, and caring for the nation. For the other migrant students, the responsibility to vote was based on a desire to choose representatives concerned with aboriginal issues, out of respect for the women who struggled to obtain the vote, and in order to build an authoritative platform from which to critique politicians, government, and Canada's political systems.

Three students did not feel a sense of responsibility to exercise their right to vote and were uncertain if they would vote when legally entitled to do so. They articulated a tension between the responsibility to vote and their perception that voting was an ineffective way of bringing about change because Canada's political systems were skewed in favour of corporations who exercise undue influence on government policy. These students felt frustrated and betrayed by politicians, government, and political systems they perceived to be "corrupt". Rather than becoming apathetic, they found other avenues to effect change that were, in their minds, more effective, practical, and valid than either voting or changing political systems from within. These students chose to volunteer for various environmental groups, educating the public on environmental issues and hoping to influence government from outside Canada's formal political systems through lobbying.

Students understood running for political office to be a personal choice and not a political responsibility. No one expressed any tension with this perception as they assumed that every person had a right to design their own life path by engaging in pursuits that were freely chosen and personally satisfying. Two students suggested they would consider running for political office based on perceptions of their capabilities and the desire to win an electoral competition. However, most students only considered the

idea fleetingly or rejected it out of hand. Their reasons included competing ambitions, a poor perception of politicians and Canada's political systems, as well as the lack of personal qualities necessary to be successful in electoral politics. Of special interest was David, who without expressing any tension, believed that his looking "different" from what he perceived to be the average Canadian precluded his running for public office and being elected. He positioned himself and/or perceived himself to be positioned as an outsider who could not participate in Canada's formal political systems in this way. This suggests that he did not have a strong sense of belonging.

Students' perceptions of political rights and responsibilities, as a feature of their Canadian identity, are reflected in the SS-11 IRP. Several PLOs mandate that teachers introduce students to the political rights and responsibilities of Canadians. They include asking students to:

- Identify the major provisions of the Canadian Constitution, the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, and human rights legislation (Legal Issues: A-6)
- Explain Canada's political system and contrast it with other political systems (Political Issues I: A-6)
- Identify and assess political issues facing Canadians (Political Issues II: A-6)

Students' perceptions of the political right to vote, along with corresponding responsibilities, are best reflected in the first PLO. Teachers can design classes in which students learn about political rights by exploring Canada's historical connection to the evolution of Britain's political system. The right of citizens to vote for political representatives and run as candidates in elections can be traced back to the establishment of the British House of Commons in 1258. Initially, the franchise was limited to a small number of wealthy white males, but gradually was extended in Great Britain and ultimately Canada in the 19th and 20th centuries through various acts of parliament. In 1982, the right to vote and the right to run as a candidate in elections were enshrined in Section 2 of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. By virtue of the first identified PLO, teachers must have students examine the Charter and presumably the

right to vote and right to run as a candidate in elections will be identified as a constitutionally protected political rights enjoyed by Canadians.

The next PLO requires students to explain Canada's political system. The right to vote and the right to run in elections, along with the responsibility to exercise these rights, are key components of understanding Canada as a representative democracy. Finally, the last identified PLO requires students to identify and assess political issues facing Canadians. This PLO is more general in nature than the previous two, but depending on the political issues teachers choose to address the possibility exists for students to, for example, critically examine the implications of declining voter turnout in elections, the financial burden of running for political office as well as the declining interest of qualified people in running for political office.

Several SISs also reflect this feature of students' Canadian identity. They include:

- Invite elected members of the municipal, provincial, or federal government to talk to students about their roles in government and current issues they are facing. As students to prepare questions for their guest beforehand. After the visit, have students write up their questions, a summary of the answers they received, and their reflections on political life in Canada (Political Issues I: 20).
- Introduce students to the Canadian Constitution, including the background to its patriation in 1981. Ask students to consider the effects on their lives of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms and other human rights legislation. In presentations, have students apply their conclusions to aspects of their lives at school (e.g., how they are treated by authority and they treat others) (Legal Issues: 24).
- Have each student choose a political issue, research the topic, and give a short presentation on why this issue is important. (Skills and Processes I: 10).

These are but a few of the SISs that, in the proper context, could provide students with opportunities to explore this feature of their Canadian identity. For example, students could examine reasons why people choose or choose not to vote in elections (the third SIS) and the implications of enacting legislation requiring eligible voters to exercise their political right to vote as they do in Australia.

All three of the social studies textbooks reflect this feature of students' Canadian identity by introducing the political right to vote, run as a candidate in elections, and hold

electoral office through the presentation and examination of the Canadian constitution and the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. CNU's, chapter 1: How is Canada Governed? (10-29) includes a representation of the Charter. Section 3 of the Charter is titled "Democratic Rights" and states "Every citizen of Canada has the right to vote in an election of members of the House of Commons or of a legislative assembly and to be qualified for membership therein" (21).

These democratic rights are discussed at length in CNU and CT. In CT, chapter 11: The Role of the Citizen in Canadian Democracy (300-327) includes a section entitled "Influencing Government: Voting" (309). This section is positioned in a chapter that introduces different views of citizenship and citizenship participation in society. One of the ways of participating or influencing government is to exercise one's rights to vote and run as a candidate in elections. This section of the chapter states that "voting in elections and running for public office are two of the most important rights that Canadian citizens hold" (309) because "through free elections...our government remains democratic and reflects the ideas, views, and values of Canadians like you" (309). Indeed, both CNU and CT convey the message that a vibrant democratic society requires public participation through the exercise of political rights. In CNU, chapter 1: How is Canada Governed? (10-29), it states that "voting rights are necessary to ensure that everyone is represented by government" (13).

However, unlike civil rights where discussion of responsibilities was largely muted (save for a section in CT that presented the notion that rights and responsibilities are "mirror images of each other" (269)), CNU and CT strongly suggest that Canadian citizens have a responsibility to exercise their political rights. In CT, chapter 11: The Role of the Citizen in Canadian Democracy (300-327), the main body of text reads "influencing government by participating in the electoral process is part of the informal code of behaviour that is expected of Canadian citizens" (309). Though it is suggested that some people choose not vote as a form of protest or because they believe their vote is not influential, the notion of political responsibility is reiterated in a small side-bar to the main body of text. It states "it is important for all citizens to exert their influence on the government by expressing their views through voting. When any one person does not vote, the votes of those who do become more influential" (309).

Some of the migrant students expressed a sense of responsibility to vote because they felt a sense of gratitude for being able to come to Canada, or wanted to demonstrate respect for the struggles of persons past who widened the franchise. These beliefs are reflected in all three textbooks in positioning discussion of the right to vote against the background of its historical evolution. Students are introduced to timelines of the vote in Canada. In CNU, chapter 1: How is Canada Governed? (10-29), the timeline begins in 1874 with the introduction of the secret ballot and continues through to 1988 when people with mental disabilities were finally enfranchised (13). The implied message is that Canadians' right to vote has been a gradual, sometimes tortured movement toward greater inclusion and this ought to be respected by assuming the political responsibility to vote in elections. Though CI is muted on a discussion of the political rights and responsibilities generally, one of the issues included focuses on part of the history of the vote in Canada. The issue, entitled "The Suffrage Movement: Women Get the Vote" (68-69) explores the early challenges of women as they strived for equal citizenship status with men. Here, as in the explorations of the suffrage movement in CNU and CT, the implied message, especially to women, is that widening of the franchise or right to vote came after much struggle and you now have a political responsibility to exercise your hard won political rights.

All of the textbooks reflect students' perceptions that there is no political responsibility to run as a candidate in elections. Indeed, the closest any of the textbooks come to exploring citizens' political right to run for political office is in CT. Here, students are introduced to the idea of joining a political party. In a section of chapter 11 entitled "Influencing Government: Joining a Political Party", CT examines political party organizations, what they do, their role in influencing party platforms, costs, and restrictions on fundraising and use of funds (320-321). However, there is no suggestion that students, when legally able to do so, can move beyond party membership to running for political office. Indeed, one of the possible interpretations of a passage of text in CNU which explores the difference between direct democracy in Ancient Athens and Canadian conceptions of representative democracy (11) is that citizens largely do not become involved in politics directly but cast their votes for a representative who participates in the formal political system for them.

The textbooks also expand students' understanding of political rights and responsibilities. Students are introduced to the history of the vote in Canada (CT, 314-315, Timeline of the expansion of the franchise for women), to important persons in the evolution of the right to vote (CT, 313, Figure 11-14, Nellie McClung, suffragist and "liberator"), to voting for the first time (CT, 310, Case Study: Your First Election), and the relationship between voting for a political party and the political party system in parliament (CNU, 30-50, Chapter 2: Canadian Government In Action). However, students' understandings of political rights and responsibilities might be expanded further with a deeper, more thorough examination of the struggles faced by aboriginal peoples and other minorities to obtain the right to vote. Though the timelines provided indicate the years when Inuit and "native people" living on reserves obtained the right to vote (1950 and 1960 respectively as shown in CNU, 13), and the years when people of Asian descent obtained this right (1948 as shown in CT, 315), there is very little examination of the reason why it took so much longer for visible minorities to obtain the franchise than it did for white men and women—namely racism. Students are introduced to the role of racism in Canada's political development when they read of the poor treatment of Canada's aboriginal veterans after World War II (CI, Aboriginal Veterans: The Impact of the War, 178-179) and Canada's postwar immigration policy (CI, Fundamental Character: Postwar Immigration Policy, 170-171), but an explicit examination of racism in the limiting of political rights would potentially expand students' understanding. It might also provide an opportunity to address the perceptions of immigrant students like David who believe that people who "look different" do not run for political office and win elections.

Another suggestion to expand students' understandings is to have textbooks focus on the political responsibility to vote in elections *and* suggest to students that when qualified to do so they could run for political office. Textbooks could teach students what is required to run as an electoral candidate, listing or charting the requirements for municipal, provincial, or federal office, or perhaps provide case studies whereby elected politicians share their experiences. In this way, students learn that they can not only be voters, member of political parties, participants in a pressure group, and but also elected political representatives.

How do the social studies textbooks enhance students' ability to confront the tensions they experience? All three of the textbooks offer thoughtful questions and tasks in an effort to engage students in formulating judgments related to political rights and responsibilities in Canada. Brianne, Jessica, and Derek expressed tension based on their perception that democracy is undermined by the undue influence of wealthy corporations on government, leading to "corrupt" governments paying more attention to the interests of wealthy corporations than the wants and needs of voters or their own beliefs about what is best for the nation. These students questioned whether voting had meaning or impact any longer, preferring to influence government through volunteer work for various environmental groups. Text related to students' tensions is found in CT, chapter 11: The Role of the Citizen in Canadian Democracy (300-327). In a section entitled "Influencing Government: Pressure Groups and the Media" (314-319), students are provided with background knowledge on pressure groups including definitions of pressure group, lobbyist, and special interest group, as well as reasons pressure groups are formed and the ways they influence government. Though corporations are not identified as a pressure group or as lobbyists the notion of groups exercising influence is apparent and the background knowledge provided is useful in addressing the critical question "Have pressure groups had too much influence on Canadian politics?" (317). Unfortunately, CT uses this question not as a critical thinking opportunity but as a rhetorical sub-heading. Under this sub-heading students are told that "some critics have charged that pressure groups have in fact become too powerful and enjoy too much influence over government" (317), citing the influence of the Canadian Tobacco Manufacturers Council on the contents of Bill C-51, a bill to eliminate tobacco advertising in Canada. Though other questions and tasks related to pressure groups are offered in CT as well as the other textbooks, none have the potential of the sub-heading question to engage students' tensions. Students' ability to confront their tensions would have been enhanced had CT challenged students to use the background knowledge provided in the section to answer the sub-heading question, offered suggestions of how to approach answering the question, the format responses could take, and suggested criteria for what constitutes an acceptable response.

To summarize, the SS-11 IRP does reflect this feature of students' Canadian identity. There are PLOs that mandate the identification and examination of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms which includes the right to vote and the right to run as a candidate in elections. Other PLOs and SIS can be used to examine Canada's political system and the role voting and running for office plays in a representative democracy, as well as critically explore questions and issues related to these political rights and responsibilities in Canada.

All three social studies textbooks, but especially CNU and CT, reflect this feature of students' Canadian identity by presenting the political rights afforded Canadians as enshrined in the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. CT reflects students' belief that they have a political responsibility to vote when able to do so by suggesting that through voting a person is supporting the maintenance of democracy.

The textbooks expand this feature of students' Canadian identity through a presentation of the history of the vote in Canada, important persons in the evolution of the right to vote, voting for the first time and the relationship between voting for a political party and the political party system in parliament.

Finally, all three textbooks offer questions and tasks that offer the potential for students to enhance their ability to confront their tensions, however the textbooks do not capitalize on these opportunities. They do not explicitly challenge the students to answer the critical question provided nor do they offer the necessary support to ensure that students answer the question well.

5. 3. Social Rights and Responsibilities

Social rights are a feature of Canadian identity based on students' perceptions of those aspects of Canadian society that ensure life and promote livelihood and that students believe are or ought to be a social right due all members of the nation. Social responsibilities are perceived obligations to make such aspects available.

As a means of examining the terrain that is this feature of students' Canadian identity, let's begin with Jessica, a white 17 year old born and raised in Whitehorse, Yukon. She is the eldest of three children (brother and sister) born to a father who is a medical doctor and an educational consultant mother. The family of five migrated to their

current residence in Vancouver twenty-two months prior to the initial interview for this project. Jessica was a student in the advanced-classes program who enjoyed school but found it “incredibly frustrating because no one will think outside the box!” She was thankful for a couple of teachers who did think “outside the box” as they kept her interested and motivated. Jessica was not involved in any extra-curricular activities at school, choosing to spend her time working with two groups committed to public education on environmental issues and opposing corporate policies considered detrimental to the environment. University was part of her future plans but was unsure of what she would study. She said, “maybe I’ll go into general arts and take more academic courses like political science and sociology. I’ve also been thinking of a contemporary arts program too”. Ultimately she thought she might go into education but emphatically declared she wanted to be “a different kind of teacher but maybe not in the school system. I think there are other ways to teach”. For Jessica, being a different kind of teacher meant questioning norms and approaching social questions in unconventional ways.

Jessica identified herself as Canadian on the questionnaire (Appendix 3B: Question #9) and stated that her home was, “outdoors” (Appendix 3B: Question #11). “I’m an outdoors person. I love nature. That’s where I feel the most comfortable. It’s not a specific place. It can be anywhere and I’d be happy. That’s why we have to protect it”. This author’s impression of Jessica is of an extraverted young woman with a strong intellect and above average verbal skills. She presented her viewpoints clearly, openly, and vociferously despised what she perceived to be social or environmental injustice. A strong social conscience had, by her own admission, bred a touch of cynicism about “the system”, though it did not defeat her or reduce her to inaction. Rather, her cynicism seemed to energize her sense of agency to act.

Almost all of the students at Portage Secondary School offered evidence that social rights and responsibilities were a part of their Canadian identity. Students did not use the terms social rights or social responsibilities, employing “social services”, “social welfare system”, “safety net”, and “responsibilities” instead. However, the implied belief was always that the social welfare system is and ought to be a right enjoyed by every Canadian and that we have a moral responsibility to ensure all Canadians can access the

system when necessary. During the group interview Jessica participated in a discussion that began with a student disagreeing with the statement that claims there is health care for everybody (Appendix 5: Interview Statement #4). Jessica stated,

I have to say that it's the one thing that Canada has done that makes me feel proud is the development of social services. I could totally go on for days about all its problems, all the rules that keep some people from getting help, the people that are ignored like the homeless and children living in poverty, but Canada has at least tried to address some of the problems that the poor and the sick face. [TODD: How so?] My mother does some volunteer work down on East Hastings Street about twice a month. She says she can't do anymore than that because it's too hard but she does it and there is help for people who have drug addictions or just need a shower because they have nowhere to go. Many of the people have mental illnesses too. It makes it difficult, but the services are there. I guess the biggest problem I have is that funding for them is always at risk. The people with mental illnesses used to be in homes but they were closed down because of budget cuts so they're out on the streets now trying to survive. The street services are pretty inadequate and many of them are done on a volunteer basis like the one where my mother works. I think Canada needs to discover its compassion again. We've become so caught up in the almighty dollar that we've forgotten that money is only as good as the people it helps [DEREK: See, you're a socialist like me] Oh totally, but nobody cares anymore. We're all just going to hell (throws up her hands and laughs). (Tape #17)

Drawing on her mother as an example, Jessica verbalized a belief in social welfare as a social right. She also expressed tension that these social rights were being undermined by society's abrogation of social responsibility. Her plea that "Canada needs to discover its compassion again" was a call to halt the pursuit of "the almighty dollar" and re-recognize our social responsibility to care of one other through the provision of social welfare services. During the same interview, Derek also perceived the social welfare system to be a social right while advocating it as a social responsibility all Canadians share. Derek said,

When I think of Canada I think of the social safety net (laughing). Is that lame? What have other people said? [TODD: I'm interested in what you have to say right now, the social safety net?] Yeah, everyone is equal. Canada has health care for everyone; you can go to school, free public education, and unemployment insurance if you're out of work. Canada takes care of you so that you can live the best life possible. (Tape #17)

Derek used his belief that “everyone is equal” as justification for the social responsibility to provide universally accessible “social safety net”. Derek did not use the term “equal” to mean that everyone is the same or has identical talents, abilities, capacities, or even opportunities. Rather, he used the term “equal” to suggest that each person has value as a human being and that individual and social inequities need to be mitigated so everyone can “live the best life possible”. Later in the same group interview, Derek expressed the same tension as Jessica about the erosion of social rights in Canada. Focusing on university education, a primary concern for this group of students, Derek worried about his future and the future in general if tuition fees continued to rise. He said,

I am a little worried. I want to go to university next year. [TODD: Weren't you the one who wanted to chuck it all and go traveling next year?] Probably, I've thought about doing that too but I'm worried about being able to go to university. It costs so much now. [JESSICA: It's crazy] I'm not sure I can afford it [TODD: Are you saying you should be able to go to university whether you can pay or not?] Oh yeah. I think so. I mean I know we have loans and stuff but I think now university is important. Everyone should be able to go and not have it cost anything. [TODD: Some might say that of any students who could possibly afford to pay your own way, you might be the one's to do it] My mom could afford it for me but I don't want to ask her, and I shouldn't have to. We should just be able to go. (Tape #17)

Derek confirmed his belief in universally accessible social welfare as a social right when he acknowledged that his mother could “afford” to pay for his university tuition but that she should not “have to”. Implied in his statement is the belief that post-secondary education, like elementary and secondary education, is “now...important” and should be financed by society through taxation. During the same interview Jessica said,

Everyone thinks (pauses as she struggles for words); it makes me nuts when people know your dad is a doctor. They automatically think that you have money. Does anyone know what it costs to run a medical practice? And because my parents have money doesn't mean I have money. [DEREK: We should be able to go to university regardless. We have a right to be educated] The cost of not being educated is way higher! (Tape #17)

Here, Jessica supported Derek's belief that post-secondary education is vital for society and ought to be financed by society. This belief stems from the corresponding

rejection of a belief that families are automatically responsible for their children's education. Jessica suggested that because her father pursued a career that may have afforded him a degree of financial wealth, a claim she dismissed, did not mean that she had access to the financial resources required to pay university tuition. In short, a mother and father with a degree of financial wealth was an insufficient reason, in Jessica and Derek's eyes, to abrogate the social responsibility to provide universally accessible post-secondary education to everyone.

While some might disagree with the view that post-secondary education is so "important" that it has become a social right with a corresponding social responsibility, especially given the financial advantages offered these students as members of families with an above average socio-economic status, Jessica and Derek were consistent in their belief that all human beings have value and as such possess social rights regardless of their or their family's financial resources.

Health care was perceived by the vast majority of students to be a Canadian social right with a corresponding social responsibility. Michael, a recent migrant from Edmonton, offered "health care" as one the five words that came to mind when he thought of Canada (Appendix 4, Part D: Question #2). He said,

We have a health care system open to everyone. It's a little broken down right now with all the line-ups and stuff but people aren't dying. Probably half of them aren't even all that sick who sit in waiting rooms. I went to the hospital a couple of months ago because I got a cut on my face playing hockey and there were all these people just sitting around for hours. Nobody looked all that sick but they just sat there while here I am bleeding from the cheek. Sometimes, I think we've made everybody into these whiners who run to the doctor every time their stub their foot! [TODD: But you see the health care system as part of what makes Canada what it is?] Oh yeah. Canadians take care of each other. We pay taxes to make sure everybody can go the hospital if they need to. It's definitely not perfect but I wouldn't want it to be like the Americans. (Tape #16)

The idea that some people might abuse the health care system by going to the hospital when they "aren't even all that sick" was not a sufficient reason for Michael to dismiss the idea of health care as a Canadian social right nor abrogate the social responsibility to "pay taxes to make sure everybody can go to the hospital if they need to". In Michael's mind, a system that is "not perfect" is far preferable to an American

alternative. Indeed, a source of tension regarding the erosion of health care as a Canadian social right was, for several students, was the concern that skyrocketing medical costs might incite an abandonment of our social rights and responsibilities in favour of an American-style health care system. Diana illustrated this tension when she stated,

I agree with Michael that health care is one thing that sets us apart from the Americans but I'm not so sure that it's going to stay that way [TODD: What do you mean?] Well, the system seems to be getting worse and worse. Every night you hear on the television about the lack of money to do surgery or pay doctors and nurses or buy new equipment. I think the system is falling apart [MICHAEL: Oh yeah, it's got big problems but its way better than most places in the world right?] I don't know really. I don't know what other places in the world are doing. Okay, yes it's better than in Africa or some place like that, but I still think it's falling apart in Canada [TODD: Do you think its worth saving or do you have another idea how we might offer medical services] I really don't want to be like the Americans. The whole idea of asking for money when you're sick makes my stomach turn. It seems so inhuman to me [MICHAEL: (laughing) Americans are inhuman!] No, I don't mean that. Maybe we should just raise the taxes and put more money into health care because it's important for all of us. I know I want to be able to go the hospital when I need to. It's hard to know what to do. (Tape #16)

For Diana and several other students, the decline of the Canadian health care system was causing people to consider alternatives, including an American-style health care system. This system was widely perceived to be based on the notion that individuals receive treatment and care based on their ability to pay for services. All of the students who expressed this tension viewed this type of system negatively, using words like "inhumane" to describe their feelings. For these students, the American health care system was based on a notion of individualism to which they could not reconcile. It offended their fundamental belief that every person has inherent worth and as a society we have a social responsibility to treat and care for the sick regardless of their financial resources.

Though several students expressed tension about the erosion of the health care and concern about an American-style alternative, this tension was tempered by perceptions that the Canadian health care system was, comparatively speaking, excellent. Peter, a recent immigrant from Greece, said,

Canada has got to be one of the best countries in the world. I like that it takes care of its people. In Greece the family is still very important in helping to take care of the sick, the children and old people. I think Canada could be a little more like that [LEA: Do they have health care there too?] In Greece? Oh yeah, of course. But not like in Canada. I'm Greek, and you know I'm proud of Greece, but Canadians really work to make sure that everyone is taken care of. That's a good thing. In Greece they try and most of the time it's pretty good, but not always [LEA: We don't always get it right here either. Have you been to the hospital lately?] I know. Of course there are problems, there's always problems but in comparison I mean Canada seems to care a lot when they don't get it right like they should. In Greece I think people just sort of shrug (motions with his shoulders) and go whatever it's always been this way. (Tape #18)

Responding in the group interview to a fellow students' choice of a statement with which they agreed (Appendix 5: Statement #4), Peter perceived Canadians to feel a strong sense of social responsibility to "take care of the sick, the children, and old people". He compared Canada to Greece where he believed the quality of health care was poorer because it lacked a culture of societal responsibility and emphasized placed care provided by the family unit. He also suggested that Greeks are, if not unconcerned, are at least complacently accepting of the status quo as the way "it's always been". Peter was unwilling to criticize the erosion of the Canadian health care system too much, perhaps fearing he, as a new immigrant, might appear ungrateful.

Dorion, a recent immigrant from Jamaica, also illustrated a tempering of the tension she expressed. Responding to a fellow student during the group interview she said,

I know you think that Canada is falling apart, right? And maybe that's true, I don't know. But for me, it's not. In Jamaica nothing works the way it should. You have to bribe somebody for EVERYTHING. If you want to go to the hospital you have to pay the nurse to make sure that the doctor will see you. If you don't she'll lose your papers. [DEREK: You're kidding?!?] I'm totally serious. Canada works really well. You go to the hospital and people care for you. I feel uncomfortable when I hear this stuff. I mean I know it's true to a point, but for me it's hard to hear. (Tape #17)

Dorion had difficulty listening to others criticize the Canadian health care system and its erosion as a Canadian social right. Her reticence to listen to or offer criticism

reflects the profound impact her experiences in Jamaica have had on her attitudes, but it perhaps may also reflect a desire to be perceived as grateful rather than critical, hopeful rather than cynical about her new homeland.

A sense of gratitude and recognition that Canada, by comparison, had a well developed social welfare system did not prevent some students from proclaiming the need to embrace the social responsibility to protect social rights through vigilance against complacency and neglect. I asked Tina had been the most important decision she'd made since coming to Vancouver (Appendix 4, Part B: Question #13), she replied "to go really work to become a doctor". In the course of explaining further she recalled her volunteer experiences in Central America. She said,

I've been on a couple of trips to Central America. I went to Costa Rica in the summer before grade ten and to Guatemala the next summer. [TODD: Were these pleasure trips?] No, not really. They were through my church and we went down there to help in small villages to help them make a better life for themselves, I guess. I worked in an orphanage the first summer and in Guatemala we helped build this school. It was so amazing. The one thing I remember was the unbelievable poverty of these people. Their medical care was unbelievable. You can't imagine. We take it for granted here that we can go into the hospital and get the help we need. [TODD: Do you not think we should?] Yes, yes we should. Health care is one of the great things about Canada! But we haven't paid enough attention to the system in the last few years. We've let it deteriorate. You have to care for it or we could be just like Guatemala. Costa Rica wasn't as bad, I don't think. I think people in Ottawa have to realize that if you neglect the system people will die. (Tape #9)

Pavel, a recent immigrant from Russia, offered a poignant story that reflected the view that social rights carry with them the social responsibility to ensure they are funded and accessible, while being aware of how they can be subtly eroded away through neglect. Pavel said,

I think Canadians think very highly of their social services which I think is a good thing, but they take them for granted. [TODD: In what way?] Well, I think that because the services have been available for so long, people expect them to be there when they want them, but sometimes they forget that it takes continuous attention to keep them running. In Russia, we had all the same services such as schools, hospitals. We had daycare for kids. I don't think we had unemployment insurance because everyone had a job, I don't know about that exactly, but when the Soviet government collapsed people stopped paying attention to these services. Everyone thought that

business would save them but it didn't. Businesses came and went, and all the services stopped running [TODD: Can you remember an example of something you used to have that stopped working?] Mmm, well, my grandfather was to retire a few years ago and he applied for his pension. He had worked for I think forty years at this factory outside Barnaul but the government told him that the factory was being closed because it was out of date and no pensions were being offered to people who worked there. There was no money. My father was very upset and went to the pension offices in Novosibirsk, but there was nothing they could do. My father took care of my grandparents for the next couple of years. He still takes care of my grandmother, my grandfather died last year. Canada must be careful to take care of its services because they can disappear very quickly. (Tape #20)

For Tina and Pavel, Canada was perceived as very privileged to have a health care system that offered readily accessible medical services to those in need. However, both believed that those privileges can and in some cases are taken for granted leading to neglect and erosion.

To summarize, the vast majority of students perceived the Canadian social welfare system as a social right. Post-secondary education and particularly health care were the focus of students' attention. Students also believed that social rights come with the social responsibility to ensure that all people, regardless of financial resources, have access to the social services they require. Michael even suggested that this responsibility superceded frustrations with people who abuse the system by accessing it unnecessarily.

The students who discussed social rights and responsibilities all expressed tension with the perceived erosion of their social rights due to neglect whether it be in the form of declining funding or abrogation of social responsibility. In the case of health care, some students lamented a drift toward an American-style system where treatment and care are provided based on an individual's ability to pay. These students perceived such a system as "inhumane" and a fundamental breach of the belief that all people, regardless of financial resources, have inherent worth and should be medically treated when necessary.

A few of the immigrant students tempered their expressions of tension with positive comments about Canada's social services in comparison to those of other nations. This tempering was based on a deep sense of gratitude for the better standard of living afforded them in Canada and possibly a reticence to critique their new homeland.

Nevertheless, comparisons with other nations provided an opportunity to point out the need to protect social rights like universally accessible health care by remaining vigilant against complacency and neglect.

The SS-11 IRP reflects this feature of students' Canadian identity by offering PLOs that can be interpreted by teachers to address social rights and responsibilities.

They include:

- Identify major Canadian social policies and programs and their impact on Canadian society (Social Issues: A-5)
- Identify and assess social issues facing Canadians (Social Issues II: A-5)
- Identify and assess political issues facing Canadians (Political Issues II: A-6)

Students' perceptions of the social right to services, particularly health care, along with corresponding responsibility to provide them, are best reflected in the first PLO. Here, teachers could teach students what social policies and programs are available in Canada, whether they are social rights, explore how certain programs came to be part of the Canadian social welfare system, and what is required to maintain them. The next two identified PLOs are more general but depending on the social and political issues the teacher chooses, the possibility exists for students to critically examine the current social and political debate over the future of state funded social programs, including universally accessible health care.

SISs are also included which reflect this feature of students' Canadian identity.

The following is a SIS that supports the aforementioned PLOs.

- Provide students with information of Canada's major social programs. Suggest that they research the histories of different programs and prepare reports for the class that answer the following questions: Why does Canada have social policies and programs? How are they funded? Are social programs a good idea? What are some of the problems with social assistance programs? What are some solutions? (Social Issues I: 14)

This is but one of several SISs that, in the proper context, have the potential for students to engage their perceptions of social rights and responsibilities.

Aspects of society that students perceive to be related social rights and responsibilities are reflected in the textbooks with the exception of state funded post-secondary education. Indeed, textbooks are completely silent on the topic of post-secondary education. Health care on the other hand is a prominent topic throughout the three texts. However, Medicare or Canada's national medical care insurance program is not portrayed as a social right similar to freedom of speech or voting in elections. Freedom of speech and voting are civil and political rights enshrined in Canada's constitution. Medicare is portrayed as a social program initiated by acts of legislation that any elected government can repeal or modify as it deems necessary. In short, Canada's health care system may be perceived to be a social right by students but is, in fact, not.

Canada's health care system is the result of the Canada Medical Care Act of 1966 and the Canada Health Act of 1984. It is premised on the public assuming social responsibility for their and others health care through publicly funded insurance. It is in this context that CT's chapter 7: Challenges and Opportunities, the Continent (180-207), devotes an entire section to the escalating financial crisis in Canada's health care system. Entitled "Caring For Your Health: The Medicare Debate" (202), students are introduced to the issue of health care funding. Beginning with a historical overview of Medicare, students learn that the national medical care program was modeled after a similar system instituted in Saskatchewan by Premier Tommy Douglas in 1962. It was meant to protect Canadians from the financial burden of "high medical costs" and to make health care accessible for poorer Canadians. Administered and co-funded by provincial governments, Medicare is based on six principles including it being comprehensive (covers all basic physician services), universal (available to all residents of a province regardless of income), accessible (capable of being accessed or reached easily within the province), portable (provinces treat newcomers from another province without long residency requirements), non-profit, and publicly administered (202-203). But, recent years have witnessed the decline of the health care system because of the sky-rocketing cost of salaries for health care professionals, hospital maintenance, and new medical equipment. In order to save money, patients have had to shorten the length of hospital stays, beds and hospitals have been closed, and waiting lists for surgery have lengthened. There is no

discussion of health care being a social right, only the challenges that face this social program.

Health care is not called a social right in CNU or CI either. CNU's chapter 19: Canada from the 1960s to the 1980s (382-393), Medicare is called the "most important federal social program proposed by the Pearson government" (390). Students are provided a brief overview of the program with the message that Medicare "freed Canadians from the nightmare of huge and unexpected medical bills" (390). However, here, students are asked the question "are social programs the right of all Canadians?" suggesting that social programs such as Medicare may be considered a social right by some but not all people agree and the question is open for debate.

The textbooks also expand students' understanding of social rights and responsibilities in a number of ways. Students' perceptions were limited to health care and to a lesser extent post-secondary education. The textbooks introduce the reader to other programs that comprise Canada's social welfare system including the Canada Pension Plan (CI, 98-99; CT, 165), unemployment insurance (CT, 165; CNU, 256); and Family Allowance (CNU, 256; CI, 168-169). In the textbook entries, students are invited to explore the social, economic, and political contexts that existed at the time these social programs were instituted. However, like Medicare, these parts of Canada's social welfare system are not portrayed as social rights that are constitutionally protected but as programs enacted by legislation which can be repealed or modified by elected governments.

A way of expanding understanding of social rights could be to examine what constitutes a social right, how it differs from a social policy or program, and what is required for new or cherished programs to become enshrined as social rights. To assist in this, textbooks could introduce students to the works of Twine (1994) who considers social rights as a necessary part of a civilized and functioning society, Echenberg (1992) who considers the implications for the development of a social charter and the entrenchment of social rights in the Canadian constitution, and Daly (1999) who espouses the recognition of social rights in the constitution. A sense of social responsibility, while evident in the perceptions of students, was less prominent than concern about social rights. Students' understandings could be expanded if textbooks explored what, if any,

responsibilities Canadians have in ensuring that the programs they cherish become constitutionally protected social rights and are appropriately supported with both financial and human resources. Further, the textbooks could address Canadians' responsibility to participate in the ongoing debate about the future of social rights in Canada.

How do the social studies textbooks enhance students' ability to confront the tensions they experience? The tensions that Jessica and Derek expressed about the skyrocketing cost of tuition and their belief that post-secondary education ought to be recognized as a social right is not reflected in any of the three social studies textbooks thus their abilities are not enhanced, at least with regard to this topic area. However, their and others' tensions with the declining state of health care because of neglect, abrogation of social responsibility, and perceived moves toward American-style health care are not reflected in CT and but are in CNU. In CT, a section entitled "Caring For Your Health: The Medicare Debate" (202) in chapter 7 asks students to address a series of questions about Canadian health care (206). Included are opportunities for students to examine why "public health care is a challenge for...Canada" (CT, 206: Question #32), to apply the rules of the Canada Health Act using case scenarios (CT, 206: Question #34), and to engage in group discussions using provocative statements about Canada's health care system from magazines (CT, 206: Question #37). While these questions are valid and are reflective of the chapter's content, they do not directly address the issues at the core of students' tensions. Students are not asked to answer, comment on, or research systemic neglect, abrogation of social responsibility or whether or not it is wise to pursue a system of health care similar to that of the United States thus it cannot be said that students' ability to confront their tensions is enhanced.

CNU's chapter 19 includes a section entitled "Social Welfare Programs in the 1970s and 1980s" (390) where students are asked questions that directly relate to the tensions students expressed. However, the questions which include "are social programs the right of all Canadians?", "should some programs such as old-age pensions and family allowances, be available only to less well-to-do Canadians?", and "should unemployment insurance (UIC) benefits or Medicare benefits be changed?" (391), are not supported. Students are not asked to answer these questions as they are written in rhetorical fashion

and are left with the concluding statement “these and other social welfare questions await answers in the 1990s” (391). CNU does better in the “Apply Your Knowledge” section at the end of the chapter whereby students are asked “should Canada’s social programs be preserved and protected, or should they be reduced to save the government money” (CNU, 393: Question #4). This question provides an excellent opportunity for students to confront their tensions. However, the question and background knowledge that is available in the chapter is not supported with suggestions as to how students might approach answering the question, the format the response could take, or possible criteria to use in judging whether or not a response is successful.

To summarize, the SS-11 IRP reflects this feature of students’ Canadian identity by providing PLOs that address topics related to social rights and responsibilities including whether or not Canada’s health care system is a social right and what social responsibility exists to provide medical care to those who need it. Other PLOs and SISs offer the possibility to examine political and social issues related to social rights and responsibilities including the debate about the best way of providing medical care to Canadians.

The three social studies textbooks reflect health care as a topic but ignore issues related to post-secondary education. Canada’s national medical insurance program or Medicare is portrayed as a program initiated by government and not as a social right that is constitutionally enshrined in the same way as civil and political rights. In CT, students are introduced to issues related to health care funding including changes in services meant to ensure the financial viability of the medical insurance program but conflict with the six principles of the Canada Health Act of 1984. The message conveyed to students is that whether or not health care is considered a social right, financial and human resource issues are undermining Medicare and its future is open for debate.

The textbooks all expand students’ understanding of social rights and responsibilities by exploring Canada’s other social programs. Though they too are portrayed as programs and not social rights, students learn the social, economic, and political contexts that existed when the programs were instituted. Suggestions are offered to expand students’ understanding of what constitutes a social right, how this differs from a social program, and what is required to make a program a social right. As well,

suggestions for the inclusion of authors' works that explore social rights and the possibility of entrenching social programs as social rights are also offered.

Finally, the textbooks do not offer students opportunities to enhance their ability to confront tensions about post-secondary education. CT and CNU both ask questions of students to encourage thoughtful consideration of Canada's health care system but the questions in CT do not reflect the core issues evident in their tensions. This is not the case in CNU where the questions asked have great potential to help students work through their tensions but they are not supported with suggestions that would enhance students' ability to confront them.

5. 4. Cultural Rights and Responsibilities

This feature is based on students' perceptions of provisions or rights accorded to culturally identifiable groups, particularly minorities, which have historically been unvalued or undervalued in Canadian society. Cultural responsibilities refer to the notion of members of the nation having an obligation to ensure that cultural groups are recognized and valued for their distinct qualities, treated with dignity and respect, and allowed to participate as fully as possible in the life of the nation.

The examination of the contested perceptions students offer with regard to this feature of Canadian identity is introduced by Diana, a Jewish 17 year old born and raised in Ottawa, Ontario. The eldest of three children (two brothers) born to a theatre-actress mother and a father who owns an antique store, she migrated with her family to Vancouver twenty-four months prior to our first interview. Diana was a student in the advanced-classes program and enjoyed her studies, though she "thought it would be more challenging". She was a member of the student council and graduation committee, and had won several academic awards at her secondary school in Ottawa. She had ambitions to become either a journalist or writer but was struggling to decide between attending a university close to home, a decision that would be more "financially manageable" for her parents, or following her heart and attending a university in another part of Canada or the United States.

Diana identified herself as Canadian on the questionnaire (Appendix 3B: Question #9) and said that home was "anywhere my parents are" (Appendix 3B: Question #11).

Family was very important to Diana as references to her parents and siblings peppered our conversations. My impression of Diana was one of a serious-minded young woman. She smiled or laughed little during the interview process, remaining somewhat detached though I did not interpret this as discomfort or unfriendliness, but an indication of the seriousness Diana took her role in the study. She genuinely seemed to want to do the best she could, at one point stating that one of her best qualities was “incredible focus”, something that helped her excel at school.

Diana was one of five students who offered perceptions of Canada’s cultural groups that could be interpreted to relate to cultural rights and responsibilities. For four of these students, the notion of rights for cultural groups, particularly minorities, was rejected. Though they recognized that Canada contained cultural groups with distinct qualities, believed they ought to be treated with dignity and respect, and should participate as fully as possible in the life of the nation, they did not perceive a responsibility to ensure that through the introduction of cultural rights and expressed tension with such a notion.

Diana responded to the request to “tell me something you believe could be improved about Canada?” (Appendix 4, Part D: Question #12) with “we could get rid of the Quebec thing maybe” (Tape #12). She explained,

Quebec has really been a problem for us. Living in Ottawa I learned a lot about what they’re about...Most of them want to stay in Canada but they’re some who just want out no matter what. That’s the group that causes most of the trouble but I don’t think you can start treating Quebec differently from the other provinces either. It just feeds their ego. [TODD: What do you mean, ego?] Like their belief that they’re special. We all know they’re French and have different cultural ways but they’re still people like us and should be treated the same. (Tape #12)

For Diana, Quebec was a province populated largely by people of French heritage in a nation that is predominantly populated by people of non-French heritage. The idea of extending cultural rights to Quebec, even as an answer to calls for separation, was a source of tension. She believed that being a part of Canada was more important than being recognized as part of a cultural group of French heritage. Though she agreed that “we all know they’re French”, indicating a recognition of distinctiveness, to recognize cultural rights for their “different cultural ways” was, in Diana’s mind, an affront to her

notion of a Canada as a nation where people are "treated the same". I pressed her to consider that the pursuit of cultural rights, whether within Canadian confederation or outside, may not be an attempt to enhance "ego" or cause "trouble" but may be an effort to reformulate the way we live together and could alleviate feelings of disempowerment and marginalization often experienced by minority cultural groups. She retorted,

I'm sick of hearing about Quebec. That's all you ever heard in Ottawa, Quebec this, Quebec that. They need to stop whining. They have it pretty good in Canada. A lot better than if they left. (Tape #12)

Diana's tension with the concept of cultural rights was informed by her experiences living in Ottawa, a city whose history, political designation as capital of the nation, and geographical location in Ontario but on the border of Quebec, put it at the intersection of cultural debate vis-à-vis Quebec. In Diana's mind, Quebec had it "pretty good" and she felt no cultural responsibility to ensure that people of French heritage whether in or outside Quebec were afforded cultural rights.

Tim, a recent migrant from Prince George, B.C., had similar views and tensions with regard to Quebec in Canadian confederation. When asked what five words come to mind when he thinks of Canada (Appendix 4, Part D: Question #2) one of his responses was "turmoil". He explained,

You know, all the Quebec stuff and them wanting to separate. That is such a big part of what Canada is, keeping it together. We spend endless hours discussing it. You get sick of it. Canada needs all parts of the country. I think sometimes politicians just work to make us fight against other places in Canada. It would be awful if Quebec ever separated. We have to stop fighting over every little thing [TODD: How might we stop the fighting?] Grow up, get over it, we need each other. [TODD: But there may be legitimate reasons why Quebec wishes to separate] Don't they see? There needs to be more education. It's a great country. [TODD: Is it possible we could have an arrangement between Quebec and Canada?] Like what? A special agreement or something? No! I think either you're in or you're out. I want them in but we can't start treating them like they're special. Then P.E.I. would want it and Alberta and B.C. It would be crazy. [TODD: But people in P.E.I. don't seem to see themselves very differently from people in Ontario or Alberta. Some people in Quebec see themselves very differently. Do they not have the right to express that difference if they want to?] Sure. I mean they ARE different, everybody knows that but that doesn't mean we have to treat them different. Canadians are Canadians whether you're from P.E.I. or Quebec. It doesn't matter. (Tape #15)

For Tim, the constant discussion about Quebec separating from Canada was somewhat manufactured and a little tiring. He, like Diana, perceived being part of Canada as more important than being recognized as a member of a cultural group. Though Tim acknowledged that Quebec is culturally different from other parts of Canada, he believed that “to start treating them like they’re special”, perhaps a euphemism for the recognition and enshrinement of cultural rights, would open the door for other provinces to make similar requests. Tim had an implicit concern that cultural rights, if accorded, would undermine the cohesiveness of Canada.

Derek was also concerned about national cohesiveness but he focused on aboriginal peoples rather than people of French heritage. He responded to the request “tell me something you or other Canadians might be embarrassed to have everybody in the world know about Canada” (Appendix 4, Part D: Question #10) saying he would be embarrassed for everyone to know “how badly we’ve treated the Indians” (Tape #11). He stated,

We’ve been horrible to them. We stole their land, put them on reservations, and basically treated them like crap. I’d be embarrassed for anyone to know how bad it really is. [TODD: Any ideas how we might make this better or make some sort of recompense for this?] Say we’re sorry for starters. (Pauses) But I don’t know how far you can go with that. I mean can we really make it better? I don’t know if that’s possible. I don’t think we can give back all their land. Jeez downtown Vancouver is on land that is claimed by the Indians. How can we give that back? [TODD: What about other ways than giving land back?] You mean like letting them run their own stuff. Yeah...we do that already I think. But it’s tricky because then you get a whole bunch of different people having a say and its chaos. I don’t think you can do that either. Not really. I think it sucks but I think they’re stuck with it. We can’t go back. (Tape #11)

Derek recognized Canadian mistreatment of aboriginal peoples and demonstrated remorse on behalf of his nation, but his sense of cultural responsibility to offer recompense was tinged with uncertainty as to whether satisfactory compensation was possible. He acknowledged that self-government was practiced in Canada to a certain extent, but rejected this type of cultural right, perceiving it leading to “chaos”. Derek expressed tension with the status quo but seemed resigned to it as he believed it to be the only reasonable choice. For him, the idea that the dominant form of land ownership in

Canada could be altered to reflect the claims of aboriginal peoples was not plausible. Non-aboriginal peoples' dominance "sucks" but was, in his mind, unalterable.

Only one student indicated a perception that cultural groups, specifically her cultural group, ought to be recognized as distinct from other Canadians and that an alternative relationship could and ought to be developed between the Canadian government and her people. She believed that Canada had a cultural responsibility to do so because her people did not ask to become part of Canada but had it thrust on them. Further, the Canadian government as well as Canadians generally had, in this student's mind, mistreated her people and had a responsibility to recognize this and make recompense by developing an alternative relationship.

An exchange during a group interview illustrated Karen's belief that cultural groups have cultural rights and that Canadians have a responsibility to recognize them. Responding to one of the written statements made by another student (Appendix 5: Statement #15) she said,

I totally disagree with number 15. That's the kind of thing that makes me crazy. I know a lot of Indians are lazy but so are a lot of white people. But that doesn't mean that all of us want it easy! I work damn hard for my money. I'm working two jobs now. [TODD: I think this person was talking generally, referring to making up for the mistakes of the past.] Yeah, I know. He probably meant the whole land claim thing and the stuff about the residential schools. This person has got to understand that the Indians went through hell. Somebody has got to recognize that we didn't ask for that. I don't mean you can change the past, you can't. But you can change the future. [TODD: How could we change the future?] Well, by recognizing that we're not the same as white people. We don't live exactly the same way. [MICHAEL: But all white people don't either] I know, but when you're white you get to choose how you live, when you're an Indian you don't. You live on the reservation or off it but its all just a thing that white people made up. Do you see what I mean? [DIANA: I'm not sure] Okay, all through history (changes focus) you ever heard of Wounded Knee? [DIANA: No.] Okay, doesn't matter. All through history since North America was settled two hundred years ago we've been forced to live as the white people told us. We didn't want to but we weren't given a choice. [MICHAEL: That was wrong, but you can't change that (slightly exasperated)] No but we can change now. We don't have to live like the white people tell us. [DIANA: Do you mean not on reservations? You don't HAVE to live there do you?] No, no, I mean something totally different. We could live totally different than we do now. Maybe run

things for ourselves. The government won't let us, they should, but they won't! (Tape #16)

Karen expressed tension with the way she perceives the world and the way she thinks it ought to be. Citing historical injustices such as the imposition of a system of land ownership and residential schools, Karen made an impassioned plea for the consideration that aboriginal people have the cultural right to "live totally different than we do now" and "maybe run things for ourselves". Though she did not verbalize it explicitly, Karen seemed to be referring to aboriginals living on settled land claims in which they have self-government. Her claim that "the government won't let us" was her indictment of Canada shirking its responsibility to ensure that cultural groups were recognized and valued, as well as allowing them to participate in the life of the nation in their own way. Diana and Michael did not see the situation in the same way and remained unconvinced that Karen's idea had merit. This was an indication of a gap between the ways some minority groups believe Canada could be structured and the vision of the nation held by many Canadians who form the majority of Canada's population.

To summarize, only five students offered perceptions that suggested a concern for cultural rights and responsibilities. Four of these students focused on people of French heritage in Quebec and aboriginal peoples while rejecting cultural rights for cultural groups. Save for Derek, these students expressed little evidence they felt any cultural responsibility to consider the extension of cultural rights to cultural groups. For these students cultural rights inflated "ego", made groups believe they were "special", and opened the door to similar requests from other groups. At its base, these students perceived the recognition and possible enshrinement of cultural rights as competition for, what they believed to be, the most important group of all, Canada. In Derek's case, cultural rights for aboriginal peoples were not possible as they would lead to "chaos" and not really alter the dominant non-aboriginal culture already in place in Canadian society.

One student, Karen, suggested that groups have cultural rights and that society has a cultural responsibility to ensure these rights are available and protected. Focusing on aboriginal peoples, Karen expressed tension with the lack of cultural rights available to her people. She made a plea for Canadians to consider alternative perspectives, while offering an indictment of Canada for abrogating its cultural responsibilities.

The SS-11 IRP uses PLOs that can be interpreted by teachers to address topics related to cultural rights and responsibilities. As well, SISs are provided to teachers as options to use in the fulfillment of PLOs. The following are PLOs that could be interpreted to reflect this feature of students' Canadian identity.

- Identify and assess cultural issues facing Canadians (Cultural Issues: A-5)
- Identify and assess political issues facing Canadians (Political Issues II: A-6)

Here, the PLOs are general in nature, providing teachers with choice about what issues to introduce into the classroom. Teachers could have students explore cultural and political issues such as whether or not cultural groups should have constitutionally protected cultural rights or explore the implications of enshrining such rights. As well, students could examine whether there is any responsibility on the part of the majority to protect minority groups, particularly with regard to people of French heritage and aboriginal peoples. These questions could also be explored through other PLOs that acknowledge the forces of Quebec separatism (Social Issues II: A-5), the history and contribution of Canada's French culture in shaping Canadian identity (Cultural Issues: A-5), the role of Canada's First Nations people in shaping Canadian identity (Cultural Issues: A-5), and the need to be aware of the provisions of the Indian Act and its impact on the citizenship of Aboriginal Canadians (Legal Issues: A-6). While none of the PLOs cited mandate an examination of cultural rights and responsibilities, each can be interpreted by teachers to include these topics.

Only a few SISs reflect this feature of students' Canadian identity. They include:

- Invite First Nations representatives to talk to the class about land claims and self-government. Lead students in a discussion by asking related questions. (e.g., What is self-government? What are its pros and cons? What problems can self-government solve?) (Political Issues I: 20)
- Have students prepare presentations on critical legal issues in Canadian society (e.g., spousal abuse, drinking and driving, capital punishment, gun control) (Legal Issues: 24)

The first SIS offers the potential to explore the cultural rights and responsibilities to which Karen referred but others rejected. The second SIS offers the possibility, for example, of students exploring whether or not Canadians have a legal responsibility to ensure that all people, including cultural groups, are treated with dignity and respect, and allowed to participate as fully as possible in the life of the nation. As well, teachers could have students prepare presentations on Canadian and international precedents in the provision and protection of cultural rights for specific cultural groups.

All three textbooks portray Canada as a multicultural nation that recognizes the changing demographic nature of Canada's people. In CNU's chapter 20: Canada as a Multicultural Nation (394-417), students are introduced to the first tentative steps taken by Canadian government in 1967 to recognize that "Canada should be officially a nation of many cultures" meaning that "the heritage of all Canada's ethnic groups would be respected and valued" (395). These sentiments were translated in a series of acts of parliament such as the Multiculturalism Act of 1971, the Citizenship Act of 1977 that "did away with special treatment for British subjects seeking Canadian citizenship", and the Canadian Human Rights Act of 1977 that "outlawed discrimination against members of racial or ethnic groups" (395). However, as with social rights, these acts were initiated by parliament and are subject to repeal and modification as deemed necessary. None enshrine cultural rights in the Canadian constitution though there is some recognition of cultural responsibility to recognize Canada's cultural diversity, be open to immigration from all parts of the world, and reject racism.

In CT students are conveyed the same message with the added caveat that Canada's policy of multiculturalism has problems and is the source of intense debate. Chapter 3 begins with a recognition that "multiculturalism is an important component of the national identity" (60), followed by an overview complete with pie and table charts indicating the percentage and number of different cultural groups living in Canada, a brief history of Canada's development as a "culturally diverse nation" (64), Canada's immigration policy, and ending with a section entitled "Official Multiculturalism: Advantages and Challenges" (83). In this section of CT, the Multiculturalism Act of 1971 is outlined suggesting that the government's goals were to "help cultural groups preserve their cultures, help members of cultural groups overcome barriers preventing full

participation in Canadian society, promote cultural exchanges between groups to further national unity, [and] assist immigrants to acquire at least one of Canada's official languages" (83). The government developed various programs to implement these goals leading to cultural communities producing their own newspapers, histories of their contributions to the building of Canada, multicultural festivals, and projects to allow community members to address a wide array of problems and goals. However, the textbook also states that Canada's multiculturalism policy "was not fulfilling all its high hopes and promises [as] some communities pointed to their experiences of inequality, discrimination and systemic racism" (84). The textbook concludes the chapter by introducing students to those who have raised their voices in dissent against Canada's policy of multiculturalism. The message conveyed to students is that provisions and accommodations for cultural groups are not constitutionally guaranteed as cultural rights but are the result of a parliamentary act. This act suggests that there is a cultural responsibility to recognize and promote Canada's cultural diversity but that this notion is intensely debated both by members of cultural groups as well as others who believe that a policy of multiculturalism is making Canada into a nation that "will be torn apart by ethnic and racial antagonisms" (84).

The students in this study focused their attention on people of French heritage in Quebec and aboriginal peoples specifically. The three social studies textbooks examine these two cultural groups in depth. Though the term "cultural rights" is never used, Quebec's unique cultural status is a topic reflected in the outlining of proposed changes to Canada's constitution. All three textbooks examine the Meech Lake and Charlottetown Accords. In CI's issue entitled "Canada's Constitution: Patriation and Meech Lake" (296-297), the Meech Lake Accord is presented as an effort to "bring Quebec into the constitutional family" (297). Named after the place where Canada's provincial premiers met with Canadian prime minister to devise ways to address the absence of Quebec's signature from the repatriated Canadian constitution, the accord included five points: "a recognition of Quebec as a distinct society, a veto for Quebec over all constitutional amendments, greater power over immigration, the right to opt out of shared-cost programs with Ottawa without financial penalty, and the right for the provinces to nominate some Superior Court judges" (297). These provisions could be interpreted as

cultural rights which the Canadian government wanted enshrined in Canada's constitution. However, the Meech Lake Accord ultimately failed to be ratified by all parties, stymied largely by Elijah Harper, a Cree MLA from Manitoba who believed that the accord did not meet the needs of aboriginal peoples and refused to support it. Without passage of the accord in the Manitoba legislature the accord "died" (297).

In CT, chapter 12: Challenges and Opportunities, The Constitution (328-355), the Meech Lake Accord is positioned beside the Charlottetown Accord as a subsequent effort to officially bring Quebec into the Canadian constitution. Unlike the Meech Lake Accord which was developed by eleven men (the prime ministers and ten provincial premiers) to be enacted by legislatures, the Charlottetown Accord required ratification by the Canadian people through a national referendum. More points were included in the Charlottetown Accord including changes to the Canadian senate, a guaranteed apportionment of seats in the House of Commons and on the Supreme Court to Quebec, the introduction of aboriginal self-government and legal system for Canada's aboriginal peoples, and a commitment to address outstanding treaty rights with aboriginal peoples (343). This was an attempt by the Canadian government to among other things constitutionally enshrine cultural rights for Quebec and Canada's aboriginal peoples. The Charlottetown Accord failed to achieve a majority of support in a national referendum and it too "failed" (342). The social studies textbooks convey the message to students that cultural rights have been perceived to be important by the Canadian government, worthwhile pursuing because of a cultural responsibility to better reflect Canada's cultural diversity and the important place held by Quebec and aboriginal peoples in the nation but that enshrinement of cultural rights is not universally accepted and the source of intense debate.

The textbooks expand students' understanding of cultural rights and responsibilities by introducing them to the debates that continue to be a part of Canada's national fabric. Students obtain an expanded understanding of Canada's official policy of multiculturalism through the incorporation of diverse viewpoints. These viewpoints are a part of CT's chapter 3: Canada's Cultural Diversity (60-87) and include Robert Remnant, D. C. Thompson, and Myrna Kostash who believe official multiculturalism is a source of Canadian pride, has enriched the lives of all cultural groups especially minorities, and has

made Canada a stronger, more unified nation (85-86). Dissenting views are offered in the form of Rais Khan and Neil Bissoondath who believe official multiculturalism is a way of continuing the ghettoizing cultural minorities as "ethnics" who "sit on the sidelines" and never participate in the mainstream of Canadian society (85).

The inclusion of information about aboriginal peoples' belief that they have an "inherent right" to self-government (CT, 347; CI, 344-345) and the rise of nationalism in Quebec (CNU, 110 and 318-334) also serve to expand understandings. Here, students gain a greater perspective on why cultural groups, including minorities such as people of French heritage and aboriginal peoples, believe it is imperative for them to have their cultural rights constitutionally enshrined or recognized by acts of parliament. However, understandings could be further expanded with a closer examination of the terms "cultural rights" and "cultural responsibilities". What do these terms mean? How are they interpreted by authorities in the field? Some of the prominent authors who write in this area include Alan Cairns (2000) who suggests the notion of the "citizen plus" in relation to aboriginal peoples. He believes Canada's aboriginal peoples should be considered Canadian citizens with all the rights and privileges of other Canadians with a "plus" that recognizes their special status as Canada's First peoples through the enshrinement self-government and the guaranteed apportionment of seats in the Canadian parliament. Will Kymlicka (1995) develops the idea of "multicultural citizenship" whereby the profound advantages of national majorities are somewhat alleviated through steps that might include "polyethnic and representation rights to accommodate ethnic and other disadvantaged groups within each national group, and self-government rights to enable autonomy for national minorities alongside the majority nation" (194). Charles Taylor (1994) explores the desire for and challenges of a "politics of recognition" with a belief that the universal rights of individuals as equals should not automatically negate the recognition of cultural particularities. By introducing these works to students conceptions of cultural rights and responsibilities are potentially expanded, not only because they contain new ideas, but because the ideas challenge the dominant perceptions of students, perhaps helping them to consider cultural rights and responsibilities in different ways.

How do the social studies textbooks enhance students' ability to confront the tensions they experience? With regard to the tensions expressed by the four students who

rejected the notion of cultural rights for both people of French heritage and aboriginal peoples, all three social studies textbooks offer a number of questions that offer students an opportunity to explore their perceptions more fully as well as confront their tensions. In CNU's chapter 16, a question in the "Extend Your Knowledge" section asks students to "recreate the debate about the Charlottetown Accord by dividing the class in half: one side represents the 'Yes' forces, and the other side represents the 'No' forces" (CNU, 336: Question #3). Here, students can use the background knowledge they have acquired from the chapter to debate one of the major efforts to constitutionally enshrine cultural rights for both Quebec and aboriginal peoples. Students learn how to assume a position, regardless of their personal beliefs, and offer justifiable reasons for their position, an important ability to develop when confronting tensions. However, the suggestion of debate as an approach to exploring the issues is the extent of support offered students. There are no further suggestions as to the format of the debate or criteria of what would constitute a successfully argued position in the debate.

Chapter 12 in CT offers a number of questions and tasks that have the potential to enhance students' ability to confront their tensions. One question is in the "Using Your Knowledge" section at the end of the chapter (354). Here, students are asked "in what ways are traditional Aboriginal governments like municipal governments? What advantages can you see in the legal recognition of such governments for First Nations peoples? Can you think of any disadvantages?" (CT, 354: Question #39). Students who oppose cultural rights and feel no cultural responsibility to ensure that cultural groups have rights that are constitutionally protected must consider what advantages such a notion might have. Karen, the student who suggested that aboriginal peoples could "maybe run things for ourselves" must consider the disadvantages. The ability to consider opposing or different perspectives thoughtfully is an important one to develop, helping one confront the tensions they experience and arriving at decisions that are thoughtful and reasoned. Similar to the task in CNU, this social studies textbook does not provide any suggestions to students as to how they might approach answering these questions, the format responses might take, or criteria for what would constitute a successful response.

A task suggested in the "Thinking it Through" section of the same chapter in CT asks students to "summarize the challenges and opportunities you have read about in this

chapter using a retrieval chart. Include in your chart the following categories: Challenges, Proposed Solutions, Opportunities, Possible Problems, Other Important Ideas” (CT, 355: Question #43). Here, students can organize the background information acquired in the chapter concerning the evolution of Canada’s constitution in a chart. The ability to organize a variety of points in a coherent manner is an important ability to develop when preparing to confront tensions, however the suggestion of a retrieval chart is students would have been better served with a suggestion to review the definition of “organizer” offered in the skills dictionary at the front of the textbook (xv), and suggestions of criteria for what would constitute a successful chart.

To summarize, the SS-11 IRP reflects this feature of students’ Canadian identity through PLOs that can be interpreted to address topics related to cultural rights and responsibilities, including whether or not cultural groups should have cultural rights and whether Canadians have any responsibility to ensure that identifiable groups of people are recognized for their distinct qualities, are treated with dignity and respect and can participate as fully as possible in the life of the nation. As well, the PLOs are supported by SISs, options that, if used, could reflect the perceptions and tensions that form a part of their Canadian identity.

The three social studies textbooks reflect this feature of students’ Canadian identity by focusing on various acts of parliament, including the Multiculturalism Act of 1971, that recognize Canada being a culturally diverse nation. However, the official policy of multiculturalism is not the same as constitutionally enshrined cultural rights, and despite programs that have increased the visibility of cultural groups in Canada, its worth is intensely debated within the cultural groups it is meant to recognize and assist as well by other Canadians. The textbooks also reflect this feature of students’ Canadian identity by outlining efforts to include cultural rights for Quebec and later aboriginal peoples in the Canadian constitution. Neither the Meech Lake or Charlottetown Accords were constitutionally ratified but they did illustrate the desire of the Canadian government at the time to recognize the cultural rights of particular cultural groups and how this notion is contested by many Canadians.

The textbooks expand students’ understandings by introducing them to the ongoing debates related to cultural rights and responsibilities in Canada, authors who

support or oppose Canada's policy of multiculturalism, the aboriginal belief in an inherent right to self-government, and the rise of nationalism in Quebec. This information provides students with an expanded understanding of the views of Canadians and why people of French heritage in Quebec and aboriginal peoples believe that cultural rights ought to be constitutionally protected.

Finally, a number of questions and tasks are offered that have the potential to enhance students' ability to confront the tensions they experience. The questions and tasks are sometimes accompanied with suggestions of approach including debate or a retrieval chart. However this is the exception rather than the norm and questions and tasks lack suggestions as to format and criteria of what constitutes success.

5. 5. Conclusion

Students' Canadian identity as related to citizenship is for the most part rights-based and centred on civil, political, and social rights. Civil, political, and social responsibilities are evident but are less pronounced while cultural rights and responsibilities are largely rejected.

Almost all students offered perceptions that indicated civil rights formed part of their Canadian identity, particularly expressing a belief in freedom of speech. This is a rather limited notion of civil rights but does indicate what is of most concern to these young people. These students are trying to find their own voice, learning how to express themselves as openly and honestly as possible, especially given they have been communicated a message that freedom of speech is a right they indeed possess in Canada. However, speaking one's mind openly is often prevented or advised against and these students are trying to understand the line between the rights they possess and how they are lived. Indeed, some students expressed tension with regard to freedom of speech believing that it is not always embraced in Canada and cited examples of how it is restricted or denied by those in authority. This was a source of concern to some students as they perceived a gap between what is promised and what is permitted. Civil responsibilities were not as much of concern as only a few students expressed a sense of responsibility to exercise their civil rights in ways that did not infringe on the rights of others. Though this may be understood by students but not communicated, it may also

indicate the development of rights-based thinking whereby restrictions in the form of civil responsibilities are less respected and appreciated.

Students also indicated that political rights, particularly the right to vote, were a part of their Canadian identity. Most students looked forward to voting when legally able to do so perceiving it their responsibility to support Canada's democratic system but others viewed voting as a sign of gratitude for being able to come to Canada, an indication of respect for the hard won right for women to vote, and as a means to critique the government and its policies. Whatever the reasons, the support for this political right was fairly widespread perhaps indicating its novelty as a right accorded adults or a desire on the part of students to participate in the decision-making process in Canadian society. Several students expressed tension with the right to vote suggesting that it was an ineffective means of bring forth change because of a political culture in Canada that is corrupt and skewed in favour of corporate interests. Though this tension was not widespread, and the students did not unequivocally reject the possibility that they would vote when able to do so in the future, it indicates a sense of disenchantment in young people toward the mainstream political system. Interestingly, the students who expressed such tensions found other avenues in which to effect change in areas that were of most interest to them. These students volunteered with environmental organizations whose purpose is to heighten public awareness about various environmental issues and to effect changes in public policy through lobbying. The fact that disenchantment with the mainstream political system did not erode their sense of agency is heartening and may be indicative of other young people willing to find alternative means in which to participate in public debate and decision making.

There was a widespread belief in social rights and responsibilities, especially as they relate to health care. Students expressed views that indicated a strong belief in the inherent worth of human beings, their right to obtain the health care and other needs they require, and the responsibility of society to provide it to them regardless of their ability to pay. This is not only an indication in students' rights based thinking but also of a deep seeded belief in the equality of all people and the responsibility to construct a society that is egalitarian with regard to the provision of basic needs. Canada's health care system, despite its challenges, was a source of pride for students especially immigrant students

who perceived it to be a superior system than the systems they had been exposed to in their former homelands. Some students expressed tension with social rights in Canada, perceiving the health care system deteriorating due to neglect. These students perceived an abrogation of social responsibility occurring by not ensuring that all people have access to medical treatment regardless of ability to pay. What is unclear is to what extent these students are willing to help finance the system to ensure its survival or change the system to make it more viable for all. This may be an indication that though students expect social rights and even are willing to accept social responsibility for their provision, they may not be clear as to how this is done and done in a way that balances economic costs with beliefs about the value of human beings.

Finally, one student offered evidence that cultural rights and responsibilities were part of her Canadian identity. She believed there were groups of people in Canada who have identities other than Canadian and that this should be acknowledged and respected by Canadians through provisions which permit them to cultivate a different way of life if they desire. Though she was not explicit in what that different way of life might be or how it might look, it was suggested that it might involve the settlement of land claims and the establishment of some form of self-government that is outside the main governing structures currently used in Canada. This may be indicative of others, specifically aboriginal peoples and people of French heritage, who desire recognition and enshrinement of their cultural rights in Canada's constitution and/or the development of alternative relationships between these groups and Canada. Most of the other students who participated in this project were silent on this issue but a few rejected the notion out of hand believing that other identities, while recognized and respected, should not compete in any way with Canada as a unified entity that maintains jurisdiction over all parts and all people living in Canada today. The perceptions of these students may be indicative of others who staunchly believe that recognition of distinctiveness is not an invitation to alter norms and that acceptance of difference has limits.

The SS-IRP offers the potential for students to engage with their perceptions. Though rights and responsibilities are not explicitly referred to, many PLOs can be interpreted to include these features of citizenship. This is particularly the case with civil and political rights as they are enshrined in the Canadian constitution through the Charter

of Rights and Freedoms, a topic that is mandated for examination. There are a number of PLOs that mandate an examination of social programs and social, political and cultural issues that could be interpreted to include questions related to civil and political responsibilities as well as social and cultural rights and responsibilities. As well, several SISs are provided that, if used, could provide students with creative opportunities to explore their perceptions and tensions with these features of their Canadian identity further.

While the forces of consolidation are evident in the presentation of Canada as a nation worthy of commitment and loyalty, the textbooks also offer the potential for students to engage with their perceptions. They reflect these features of students' Canadian identity by including reproductions or excerpts from the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms which references to the civil right or "fundamental freedom" of freedom of speech or expression, and the political right for citizens to vote and run as candidates in elections. Through text passages, timelines, and pictures students are communicated the message that Canada is a nation in which civil and political rights have evolved over time and are enjoyed as constitutional protected rights that all people legally living in Canada possess and enjoy. Only one textbook, CT, makes explicit reference to civil and political responsibilities perhaps indicating rights based thinking on the part of the authors of the other two textbooks.

Students' rather limited focus on freedom of speech and the right to vote as civil and political rights is expanded by learning of other rights enshrined in the Charter including among the fundamental freedom of religion and the right to run as a candidate in elections and hold public office. The message communicated to students is that Canadians enjoy a wide range of civil and political rights and that these are constitutionally guaranteed. CT expanded students' understandings further by introducing them to legal and equality rights suggesting that through that all people, regardless of their different characteristics, are equal before the law and can live their lives and participate in Canadian society free from discrimination.

Students' perceptions of social rights are reflected in each of the textbooks to the extent that they cover the topic of health care in Canada. However, health care is not presented as a social right but as a program of the federal government enacted by

legislation. Students perceived health care as a right similar to their civil and political rights and believed that it should be so. The textbooks reveals otherwise indicating a gap between what many students believe and understand what the case is currently. As well, students' belief in a social responsibility to provide for people's basic needs and to ensure they have the means to live their lives well is presented in the textbooks as a current source of debate in Canada. Students expressed tension with many of the issues in this debate believing that the nation should provide publicly funded, universally accessible health care (and presumably other services as well) because all people have inherent worth regardless of ability to pay. Again, this indicates disjuncture between the beliefs of most students and the issues in the debate about the provision of social welfare services, most of which focus on the financial burden and the desire of some to develop alternative and more cost effective methods of making those services available including private hospitals, clinics, and health insurance.

Students' understanding of social rights are expanded by the three textbooks to the extent that they are introduced to other social programs they did not mention including unemployment insurance, pension plans, and the baby bonus. Textbooks explore the history of these programs revealing the contexts in which they were initially introduced but, like Medicare, these programs are not presented as social rights.

Finally, the textbooks reflect and expand students' perceptions of and tensions with cultural rights and responsibilities. Topics include the examination of aboriginal self-government, efforts to settle aboriginal land claims, and constitutional attempts to recognize the cultural distinctiveness of Canadians of French and aboriginal heritage through the Meech Lake and Charlottetown Accords. The message conveyed to students is that Canada is a nation trying to reconcile the interests of different cultural groups, recognizing that it feels a sense of responsibility to do so in a multicultural society that is accepting of diversity, but that it is a source of great debate in the larger Canadian population. While a student such as Karen who suggested a belief in cultural rights and responsibilities would in all likelihood welcomes this debate, the message challenges the beliefs of other students who reject the notion of cultural rights and responsibilities altogether and expressed little evidence that it was a debate in which they wished to engage.

One of the ways that textbooks offer limited potential for students to engage with their perceptions is in the absence of topics and issues that reflect students' tensions and questions and activities that are largely unsupported and thus do not enhance students' ability to confront their tensions. This was the case with students who expressed tension with the fact that post-secondary education is not considered a social right deserving of public funding in the same way health care is currently funded. No reference to post-secondary could be found in any of the textbooks.

Most often, topics and issues that reflected students' tensions and associated questions and/or tasks were present in the textbooks. However, support in the form of suggested approaches to answering the question or responding to the task, formats for presentation, or criteria for success were only partially provided or not provided at all. This was the case with tensions concerning the erosion of social programs such as Medicare. A question was offered that asked students to engage in the debate about whether or not Canada's social program should be preserved and protected. This is a question in which the information provided to students could be used to arrive at an answer. However, no suggestions of approach to the question, suggestions of what students could do with their answers, format for presentation, or suggestions of what constitutes a successful response are offered. The absence of such support undermines the potential to enhance students' ability to confront their tensions. If textbooks are going to take seriously students' tensions and encourage them to participate in the debate about what it means to be Canadian then more research must be conducted on what issues are of most concern to students, these or similar topics and issues should be included in the textbooks accompanied by questions and tasks that require decisions be made or resolutions arrived at and assistance in the form of suggestions.

CHAPTER SIX

Canadian Identity as Values

Values are culturally and contextually bound beliefs about what is considered normative, preferred or obligatory by an individual, and are usually deeply held and taken for granted. The values in which students' offered their perceptions include: 1) acceptance of diversity, 2) non-violence in interactions with others, and 3) care for the natural environment. These values are also evident in the IRP and social studies textbooks.

6. 1. Acceptance of Diversity

This feature of Canadian identity is based on students' perceptions of Canada as a nation that values and is accepting of difference in society, specifically people who look and act differently from the societal norm. This value is based on a belief that human beings have inherent worth and that building a society that is harmonious and just depends on acceptance of differences among individuals and groups.

What are the perceptions and tensions that form part of students' Canadian identity? It should be noted that all of the data on Canadian values were gathered using a questionnaire and expanded on during the individual and group interviews. The questionnaire (Appendix 3B: Question #12) asked students to 'name three values that you think most Canadians believe in.' This question offered the best possibility of obtaining Canadian values rather than personal values that had little relationship to Canada. During the individual and group interviews students co-mingled their perceptions of Canadians' values with their own, moving back and forth between the two. Students rarely made any distinctions, seeing their own values as synonymous with Canadian values.

As a way of throwing into relief some of the ways acceptance of diversity works as an ambivalent value in Canada, let's begin with Dorion, a 17 year old who described herself as a "mix of black and white", with an ethnicity that is "Jamaican, English and Scottish." Born in Kingston, Jamaica, she is the eldest of three children (two brothers) born to a mother from Montreal, Quebec who works as a marketing professor, and a Jamaican born father who works as a director of human resources for a large Canadian

retailer. Dorion and her parents immigrated to Canada twenty-one months prior to her initial interview for this research project. However, this was not her first trip to Canada; she had visited her maternal grandparents in Montreal on several occasions.

Dorion was a student in the program and enjoyed her classes, though she did say that she was “not as good a student as she’d like to be.” She was involved in drama both in and out of school and also enjoyed traveling whenever possible. Her most recent trip had been to visit friends in the Turks and Caicos Islands during the March break. She had plans to attend a nearby university in the fall, hoping to take courses in English and drama.

Dorion identified herself as “Jamaican-Canadian” on the questionnaire (Appendix 3B: Question #9) and her home as “Vancouver” (Appendix 3B: Question #11). When asked about her response during the individual interview she replied, “I feel like this is home now. Maybe it’s because my parents are here. I have friends, you know [pause] maybe that’s it.” When asked of her feelings about her native Jamaica, she said, “Yeah, that’s home too [pause] but in a different way. I’ll always love it there. My father’s family is still there. But I also wanted to leave. I knew there was nothing for me. I wouldn’t be able to become anything. It’s very difficult there because the economic situation is so bad.” Dorion left me with the impression of a fun-loving, free-spirited young woman. She did not speak as much as some of the other participants in the study, especially during the group interview, but when she did it was with humour and wit.

Like all of the migrant students who offered evidence that acceptance of diversity was a Canadian value that they supported, Dorion responded to the questionnaire (Appendix 3B: Question #12) with “Canadians accepts others” [sic]. The individual interview clarified that accepting others means recognizing that, while people have differences, all people are of equal worth and entitled to equivalent rights, privileges and responsibilities. Ellsworth (1997) suggests that the forms of difference include gender, language, ability, sexuality, socio-economic class, size, and age, as well as differences in behaviour, opinion, and faith. Every student in this study made some reference on the questionnaire to Canadians sharing a belief in acceptance of diversity as a value. However, subsequent interviews suggested that students’ understanding of this value was

not as encompassing as the conception proposed by Ellsworth (1997). Instead, they framed the value almost exclusively in terms of race¹, ethnicity², and language ability.

Race played a particularly interesting role in Dorion's perceptions. She explained whom the others were that Canadians "accept":

Other races, mixed [people] like me. I was sooo sure that it was going to be a problem in Canada too. Like in Jamaica being mixed, you know, half-white and half-black was a real problem for some people. Even my family they never really accepted it. It was like my father had sold out or something. My mom's family never cared as much. They seemed to accept me okay. But not in Jamaica. ... When I got to Canada nobody said anything about me. Maybe some of them didn't even know that I was like mixed or whatever. In Canada there are so many different kinds of people. I wasn't a freak, you know? It was like [pause] it's okay to be this way.
(Tape #5)

Dorion clearly is talking about her perception of Canadians in this case, but embedded within the discussion is her agreement with the value. For this student, living in a nation that values acceptance of diversity offers her freedom from the discrimination she experienced in Jamaica and within her own family. Jamaican society, according to Dorion, did not accept persons of mixed racial background resulting in her feeling alienated in her homeland, feelings that were compounded by her father's family's non-acceptance. Her Jamaican experience stands in contrast to the acceptance she felt by Canadians and by her mother's family. As a person of mixed race, Dorion implies gratefulness at the lack of discrimination in Canada, benefiting psychologically and emotionally from not being viewed as a "freak."

However, Dorion's expression of Canadians' acceptance of racial diversity conceals a subtext. Dorion seems to assume that because she was "accepted", Canadians

¹ The words race, raced, and racial are highly contested terms. For the purposes of brevity these terms should be inferred to mean "a group of people who share biological features that come to signify group membership and the social meaning such membership has in the society at large. Race becomes the basis for expectation regarding social roles, performance levels, values, norms and morals of the group and non-group members" (Jones, 1991: 9)

² The terms ethnic and ethnicity are also highly contested terms. These terms should be inferred to mean "a group of people who tend to share a common ancestry and history, who may or may not have identifiable physical or cultural characteristics and who, through the process of interacting with each other and establishing boundaries with each other, may identify themselves as being members of that group. Ethnic group members often, but not always, speak a common language. They tend to be identified as a distinct group based on a common set of values, symbols, and histories" (Smith, 1991: 181-82).

believe in acceptance of racial diversity. Yet, to be in need of acceptance you have to be perceived or perceive yourself as different from the norm. This chapter suggests that in Canada there is one race that is the norm by which racial diversity is understood. To be white is to be colour-less and thus invisible. By contrast, non-whites have colour and are visible in their difference. The invisible white majority in Canada is the racial group that assumes the privilege of accepting (or rejecting) diversity while non-whites assume the position of being accepted (or rejected).

As a person who described herself as “half-black, half-white”, Dorion cannot be categorized in binary white/non-white terms. Her skin pigmentation is light enough for her to be perceived as white. Therefore, the fact “nobody said anything” about her race when she immigrated to Canada may or may not indicate a level of acceptance or even tolerance of racial diversity by Canadians. Rather it could mean that nobody perceived anything about Dorion warranting mention. In short, Canadians may have perceived her to be white and cast her as being part of the invisible privileged racial group that accepts (or rejects) others. Dorion herself suggests this: “maybe some of them didn’t even know that I was like mixed or whatever” (Tape #5). This point appears to be unrecognized by this student. Instead, she lives a conflict-free life, perceiving Canadians to be accepting of diversity, sharing that value, while benefiting from the prevailing social construct. Indeed, being perceived as a member of the invisible white majority has significant benefits for Dorion. She continued,

...now I don’t even bother telling people. It’s not like I’m embarrassed or anything but who cares? Right? (pause) If anyone ever wonders what I am I tell them. ...but I’ve had people tell me that I look like some beautiful model from the Cook Islands or some place exotic in the South Pacific, you know, ‘cause I’m light brownish-like. I don’t tell them I’m not (smiles). (Tape # 5)

Interestingly, while she claimed not to be embarrassed about her mixed racial background, her silence perpetuates misconceptions that allow her to avoid experiencing the alienation she felt as a visible minority living in Jamaica. Dorion asks herself “who cares?”, but it is evident that she cares because on a certain level she recognizes that perhaps the invisible white majority cares. However, Dorion does not appear to mind being visible when she is cast in the role of model. In a media culture, whose

representations of women provide added value to beauty that is deemed distinctive, Dorion possessed the social and cultural capital needed to stand out. Her light brownish skin pigmentation added an element of the “exotic” to her already model-like appearance, allowing her to be visible within accepted culturally constructed parameters.

Dorion, like the other students in this study, was developing her Canadian identity grounded in her personal circumstances and perspective. For her, Canada was flexible and offered many opportunities, especially when compared to her native Jamaica. She was living a conflict-free life with extensive privileges. As a young woman born into a family with above average socio-economic status she had opportunities to travel and attend a relatively exclusive educational setting. Dorion experienced no tension with regard to acceptance of diversity as a value, moving fluidly from visibility to invisibility, in order to navigate the daily currents of life. She stated,

I think Canadians accept all kinds of people. I know I try to be accepting of others when I can. (Tape #5)

Here, Dorion was conveying not only her perception of Canadians being accepting of diversity but also her own contentment in her position as a person who is part of the privileged group who can accept (or reject) others “when [she] can.”

If Dorion experienced little tension with regard to acceptance of diversity, Pavel experienced even less. He also began the interview by sharing his perceptions of Canadian values (Appendix 4, Part D: Question #7), but revealed his agreement with those values. Pavel felt that Canadians believed in acceptance of diversity, benefited from it, and adopted it as a value he believed in personally. He said,

I think Canadians are very accepting people. I did not have too much trouble when I arrived here. [TODD: What was it like for you?] I had learned English in Russia but it still took about six months to learn to speak it like you do here. Some of the kids were interested in where I was from at first but then they forgot about it. After awhile I became just like everybody else. I think people here know I'm Russian [pause] well, my friends do, but nobody makes a big deal about it. I think it's because they allow thousands of people from all over the world to immigrate here every year. It is not always easy... but people know that they will be accepted once they get here. I think that Canada has always had many people coming here. Since the explorers, from Europe...many kinds of people settled here and I think that you got used to it. (Tape #1)

Pavel emigrated from a nation that is different from Canada but “did not have too much trouble” fitting in. In fact, he quickly became “just like everybody else.” What this student does not recognize are the characteristics he possessed that permitted him to be accepted so quickly. Pavel had the benefit of being white and immigrating to a predominantly white nation. Further, he possessed the ability to speak English on arrival. His physical traits and language ability combined to permit easy integration into the invisible racial majority, reducing and eventually erasing the fact that, as a Russian, he is an ethnic minority. Pavel lives a privileged existence but seems unaware of the social construct that permits it. Thus, he experienced no tension with regard to this value.

In contrast to Dorion and Pavel, Peter experienced significant tension around the acceptance of diversity. In fact, Peter recognized that there is a white racial norm in Canada and that diversity is understood relative to this norm. He began his explanation of the values he included on the questionnaire (Appendix 4, Part D: Question #7) by stating that Canadians share a belief in “[treating] everyone the same no matter who they are”, a value that Peter also espoused. He said,

You have no idea. In Greece everyone is Greek. Maybe there's a few people who are something else, Cypriot, Macedonian or whatever, but basically everybody is Greek. They've never had to deal with all these cultures so they don't really know how to. Like they would be very nice to you and everything if you went there. Greece gets a lot of tourists, but you can't go and live there and try and live [the same way you do in your home country]. Like if I was really an American [pause] man that would cause lots of problems. It's different here. Canada's like this big jumble with everybody in it. You have your Greek community, your Chinese community, your East Indian community and everyone mostly gets along. That could never happen in Greece. (Tape # 6)

Peter is talking about Canadians' values. He views the multiplicity of ethnic communities in Canada positively: acceptance of heterogeneity allows “everyone...[to] get along.” This is in contrast to his perception of ethnically homogenous Greece. There, it would be a “problem” to maintain attitudes and behaviours that are not identifiable with Greek culture. Yet, Peter's acceptance of diversity comes with expressions of tension. He continued,

You know, sometimes I really wish I were like the Chinese kids. I don't mean I want to be Chinese but I wish people could see who I am, like

where I come from. Everybody knows where the Chinese kids are from. You just look at them and you know. Me? Because I have white skin, everybody assumes I'm Anglo, that I'm Canadian, which I'm not! I like it in Canada. I really like it here, but I'm not Anglo! I'm Greek! [laughing but displaying a strong sense of frustration too] Like sometimes I wish I could wear a big 'G' on my forehead that say's 'Hey I'm GREEK!' My Greek friends know [that I'm Greek] but here at school nobody knows. Nobody really cares I guess. (Tape # 16)

For Peter, acceptance of diversity means recognizing and accepting aspects of a person that may not readily be identifiable through observation of physical attributes, but are part of who that person is. Peter seems to believe that Canadians focus on physical attributes. Once he is perceived as white, he is categorized as "Anglo", which also means "Canadian", and they ignore his Greek ethnicity. Indeed, Peter feels that his Greek ethnicity has been effectively erased. Though Peter does not state it explicitly, he is not perceived to be in need of acceptance. Peter is not perceived to exemplify diversity but rather the colour-less, culture-less, invisible white majority of Canadians.

The tension that Peter expressed does not undermine his acceptance of diversity, but he would prefer Canadians to have a broader conception of diversity, one that acknowledges his Greek background.

The invisibility that Pavel and Peter possessed because of their whiteness, and Dorion could adopt because of her light skin pigmentation, was not possible for some students. Three immigrant students, based on their physical attributes alone, would be classified as visible minorities in Canada. Though they also perceived Canadians as accepting diversity, and supported this value themselves, they expressed a number of tensions. David wrote on the questionnaire (Appendix 3B: Question #12) that Canadians "give people a chance." In the interview (Appendix 4, Part D: Question #7) he said that Canadians did not accept him in the way he thought they should. David said,

Sometimes I wish I wasn't Korean. [TODD: Why so?] It is difficult to be Korean in Canada. I am different. I look different from the other kids. Everyone knows I am not Canadian and they treat you different. [TODD: In what ways?] I don't know. They [pause] you feel like you don't belong. It is difficult to explain. [TODD: Do you feel like you belong in Canada?] Yes, sometimes, but not always. Sometimes I think I am too Korean but maybe [pause] maybe I need more time here. (Tape #4)

David is very aware that he “look[s] different from the other kids” and believes that he is made to feel as if he does not belong. As a person who is a visible minority and thus perceived as non-Canadian, David’s sense of belonging is at risk. He feels alienated and is manifesting a subtle but potentially detrimental form of self-hatred when he states “I am too Korean.” David may want to afford his Korean ethnicity the same amount of respect as Peter does his Greek ethnicity, but he is very sensitive to the culturally and socially conveyed messages that tell him he is different and thus an outsider. He harbours a desire to assimilate into the invisible white majority, but is doomed to failure. The only thing that could change is his and others’ conception of the white racial norm.

When asked how the other kids treat him differently David had difficulty articulating his thoughts, but Angie had no such difficulty. A recent immigrant from Taiwan, she articulated that it was her accent and more limited language ability that caused tension. She stated,

It is good in Canada. People are friendly and they are nice because you are from other places. They are interested in hearing about you. They do not hate you because you are different. But it is difficult. People can get angry if you if you do not speak English very well. People think you should speak English and if you do not they can treat you bad. I have worked very hard to learn English but there are many things to know. If you do not speak English you do not make friends and then you are always alone. ...the teacher does not ask you questions and you [pause] I think you feel like it is not proper to ask questions or have them [teachers] explain what its mean when they say something you are not sure. (Tape #7)

Angie perceived Canadians to accept diversity and also believed in this value herself. However, Angie expressed a tension between her interpretation of the value and how she perceived others interpreting it. For her, it means accepting that some people do not speak English very well or at all. It means people have to be patient when communicating with someone who is speaking in a second language. It also means that teachers have to be sensitive to students operating in a second language. They should cultivate an atmosphere where this is acceptable. Angie does not think that English-speaking Canadians do this. She feels that acceptance of language diversity is conditional on it not impeding the flow of classroom activity.

Paul, a young man who immigrated to Canada from China via Hong Kong, concurred with Angie’s perceptions. Though he thought Canadians share a belief in

“allowing in different cultures” (Appendix 3B: Question # 12), a value that he supported because “they let my family into Canada” (Appendix 4, Part D: Question #7), Paul expressed tension between how he interpreted this value and how he perceived other Canadians interpreting it. He said,

Canadians want you to be Canadian. [TODD: what do you mean ?] They want you to be act Canadian. You have to dress like them and speak very good English or you are not part of the group. This is why all the Chinese students eat together, because it is easier. There is no language problem so you can relax maybe. All day you are thinking in English [but] with your friends you do not have to. Canadian kids do not like that. They think you are rude [and] that we should be with them maybe. But when we don’t speak good English they get upset. So we make Chinese friends. It is not good maybe because you need to speak English to learn but [pause] they don’t like you until you can. It is hard. Canada is English and you are not Canadian when you can’t speak the language. (Tape #3)

Like Angie, Paul felt that acceptance of diversity was conditional on the ability to speak English and speak it well. Day to day interactions in the cafeteria and in the classroom transmit the message that to be accepted you must conform to the English language standard of the majority. This is not unexpected given the many obstacles faced when trying to communicate through a language barrier. However, a lack of sensitivity to the challenges faced by those learning a new language alienates people, causing them to retreat into linguistic and cultural enclaves. Still, learning to speak the language of the majority does not embody acceptance of diversity. Rather it embodies conformity and assimilation. Interestingly, this is something that David, Angie, and Paul have done to varying degrees. All three students remarked at how hard they have worked to learn the English language. However, I asked Paul if he would feel more Canadian once he learned to speak English better. He replied,

I do not think so. I look Chinese. I look different from the other kids [pause] I do not think I will be Canadian [shrugs shoulders]. (Tape #3)

Regardless of the tensions expressed about acceptance of language diversity, the physical attributes of race remain the primary determinant, at least for Paul, of whether one can be considered Canadian. I suspect David and Angie shared similar feelings. For these three students, their Canadian identity has limits. Though they may be bright, able-

bodied, ambitious young men and women with the advantages of above average socio-economic status, being non-white and, to a lesser extent, having limited English language abilities, creates obstacles to feelings of acceptance and belonging in Canada.

The complexity of tensions related to acceptance of diversity was made apparent by Karen. She stated on the questionnaire that "they [Canadians] believe they should work on getting rid of prejudice" [sic] (Appendix 3B: Question #12). She began clarifying her response (Appendix 4, Part D: Question #7) by comparing Canadians to Americans but in due course revealed her own support for this value:

People are generally pretty good in Canada. I haven't encountered a lot of racism here really. People are tolerant mostly. Oh sure, the stereotypes of us Indians all being drunks and on welfare and stuff are out there but nobody has treated me in particular very bad here. It's way better than in the States. It was brutal [there]. Day after day the kids verbally attacked me, sometimes they even physically went after me. Thank God I'm a big person or they might have killed me. They'd say 'why do you wear your hair in braids, are you an INDIAN?' I means it's a braid for God's sake! ...I remember once some kids tried to beat me up and 'scalp' me like my people apparently did to theirs or something. It was weird. You see, when you're Indian in the United States they think you're the enemy [and] they hate you. I don't know why but you are. I didn't have one friend in school until I started going to the high school in the next town. it was bigger so it was easier to hide. In Canada you don't have that problem, at least not to the same extent. (Tape #2).

In comparison to the harassment she experienced in the United States, Canada is portrayed almost as an oasis of racial tolerance. She acknowledged that societal racism exists in Canada but chose to focus on the benefits afforded her. Karen was aware that she does not exemplify the white norm, and that she is not endowed with the privilege of accepting (or rejecting) diversity. Indeed, she represents the diversity that is accepted (or rejected), but has found a semblance of peace within that social construct.

Though Karen stated on the questionnaire that eliminating prejudice is an ongoing effort (Appendix 3B: Question #12), there is one place where she perceived prejudice and racism being systemically entrenched. She continued,

There are lots of problems here [in Canada] too though. All the land claims stuff still has to be resolved and it has taken like years! You can't tell me that there isn't some racism at work there. Canadians can't tolerate the idea that something unjust was done and that it has to be fixed [TODD:

why do you think Canadians can't tolerate it?] [pause] Because it'll be like admitting you were wrong, and it's going to be expensive and nobody likes to pay, you know? (Tape # 2).

For Karen, the perceived length of time it takes to resolve land claims issues has racist overtones. Though she never articulated the ways she perceives this to be racist, it may be that because of the privileged status that whites have in Canadian society, they can procrastinate in their admission of mistakes and rectification of injustices. Undoubtedly, Karen believes that acceptance of diversity means that the confiscation of aboriginal lands by whites should be acknowledged and reversed. She feels tension between her interpretation of the value and her perception of how the value is interpreted by other Canadians. The power of privilege, in Karen's eyes, remains firmly entrenched.

Though there was a great similarity of sentiments expressed by students who indicated acceptance of diversity as a value as part of Canadian identity, there was a distinct difference in the types of tensions experienced between the students who had migrated from outside of Canada and those who had migrated to Vancouver from within Canada. Indeed, all of the students who migrated from within Canada were born in Canada, were white, and had English as their first language. This fact shaped their perceptions and tensions.

Derek believed that Canadians shared the value of "multiculturalism" (Appendix 3B: Question #12) to which he also subscribed though his support was filled with tension (Appendix 4, Part D: Question #7).

Canada's a multicultural country, what's to say. It's a reality, right? People are here from everywhere so we must believe that it's a good thing if we keep letting people in. [TODD: Do you believe in multiculturalism?] Yeah, sure, why not? Who am I to say it's wrong. But it's not easy. Sometimes (pause) sometimes you get so many people from so many different places that you can't figure out who you are anymore. [TODD: What do you mean?] Well, for instance the (pause) the fact that all the signs in Richmond are Chinese. That's fine for them. They need to be able to read and all that, but it doesn't feel right when you go there. It's like I'm not a part of them and they're not a part of me, you know? [TODD: Do the signs bother you?] No...maybe a little [TODD: What do you think would make you feel like you were part of the same thing?] I don't know. I'm supposed to say we're part of the same country and we can all be whatever we are, right? But it still feels funny. (Tape #11)

Derek was clearly struggling with his belief in “multiculturalism”, and the practical forms it assumed in Canadian society. Amid assertions that he had no legal or moral authority to contradict what was “reality”, Derek felt tension with difference. Specifically, the signs written in Chinese were, in Derek’s mind, evidence of difference from the English language norm of Canadian society, and it was a difference that annoyed him. He believed this type of deviation from the norm inhibited the development of feelings of connectedness. The sub-text suggests that the tension was not related to issues of connectedness, but to a fear that the English language norm was being undermined. Derek struggled with his words during this part of the interview, hesitating before speaking, concerned that he said what he thought he ought to say: “I’m supposed to say we’re part of the same country and we can all be whatever we are.” Though he never explicitly expressed a desire for the signs to be removed and replaced with English language signs, he gave the distinct impression that he would prefer that the signs be changed.

In Derek’s world, there seems to be criteria that distinguish what is and is not Canadian. Though he claims that he has no right to say something is “wrong”, Derek’s position of privilege as a white, English speaking, native born Canadian, of above average socio-economic status tells him otherwise. Whether he recognizes or acknowledges it or not, he embodies the characteristics that entitle him to accept (or reject) diversity in Canada.

Michael’s Canadian identity shares many of the same tensions as Derek’s, and for the same reasons. He expressed support for acceptance of diversity but tension quickly emerged between the way he interpreted the value and the way he perceived it to be enacted in practical terms. He responded to the question (Appendix 3B: Question #12) with “treating each other right” and “being helpful.” Michael began,

Canadians are very open people. We help everyone out and let them come to Canada and make a new life. I think that’s good, but sometimes I think we are like too open. I’m not a racist or anything but so many people come here and take jobs and stuff from Canadians. Some people come here secretly and then want to be refugees and be supported by the government. I think we should send some of them back. We can’t take everybody. What will they all do? There’s not enough jobs so people will have to support them. Do you know what I mean? (Tape # 8)

Here, Michael sees “them” who “come to Canada” exemplifying the diversity to be accepted. He has cast himself as a Canadian, an insider member of the white, English speaking, invisible majority, and guardian of the status quo. He and people like him, “[let] them come to Canada” thereby demonstrating acceptance. But it is unquestioned as to who is entitled to establish the criteria for acceptance. For Michael, acceptance of diversity is conditional on these being adhered to. The standards in this case are full employment opportunities for Canadians first. When it is perceived that the standards are being breached or eroded due to a lack of jobs for Canadians, queue jumping in the immigration process, and government monies being used to support refugees, then “we should send some of them back.” Like Derek, Michael’s interpretation of acceptance of diversity includes limits which privilege himself.

While Tina also speaks from a privileged position, she displayed a quality of openness not evident with Derek or Michael. She responded to the question (Appendix 3B: Question #12) with “diversity”, stating that it was a value she shared with her fellow Canadians.

The whole notion of tolerance for diversity fascinates me because on the one hand it seems so obvious. We all have to get along and every one has the right to make their own way the best way they can. Canada really represents that for me. We’ve developed a country that encourages that and that’s a good thing. People can come from all over the world and live here relatively well, but in another way it is so difficult to do in reality.
(Tape # 9)

The pride that Tina felt in her country coexisted with recognition of tension between the value as aspired to and the value as lived. Tina was struggling with a personal issue at the time of the interview, an issue that was causing her to re-examine what acceptance of diversity means. The residence owned by Tina’s grandparents had been built on land leased from an aboriginal reserve. The lease on the land was about to expire and the rate proposed for a renewed lease was quadruple the amount her grandparents had been paying. The aboriginal band justified the increased rate as being comparable to rates charged on the highly valued land surrounding the reserve.³ People like Tina’s grandparents, who owned their houses but not the land, felt trapped because

³ The aboriginal reserve in question is within the limits of the Greater Vancouver area.

selling their homes was not an option since their housing values plummeted when news of the lease rates became public. Tina continued,

I'm having a really hard time with this. I don't even know if I should talk about it. I guess it's okay. It's life, right? Like I understand that these people had a hard time over the centuries. White people have not been very kind to the First Nations people. Even the leasing of the land at such low prices seems a bit unfair when I think about it, but now our home is at risk and we'll have to move. My grandparents can't sell the house and get their money out of it because no one will buy it now. It makes me so mad sometimes. I feel kind of embarrassed by it all but none of their people are being affected by these high taxes. It seems like they want to make money off of us, play by market rules but not be affected by it themselves. You can't have it both ways. Is that what multiculturalism or diversity or whatever 'means'? I don't know. (pause) It's all so frustrating. (Tape # 9)

It is clear that Tina's concern about her family home was causing her to question what she understands "multiculturalism" or "diversity" to mean. At the moment, Tina was angry and frustrated, perceiving "their people" adversely affecting her family with their decisions. She viewed this situation as an unfair turnabout in positions of power, putting her family in the position that most aboriginal people have held for decades. Tina acknowledged past injustices and expressed a sense of embarrassment at the low price on the previous lease agreement, demonstrating an effort to understand the perspective of the aboriginal band. However, the immediacy of the consequences was causing her to feel frustrated rather than ironic. Tina's story illustrates the challenges faced when values like acceptance of diversity are lived within socially constructed norms and power relations.

At the time of the interview, Tina's belief in acceptance of diversity was in tension with her privileged position as a white, English speaking, Canadian-born daughter of a lawyer/university instructor and special education teacher. Though Tina displays more compassion and understanding than either Derek or Michael, she too interprets acceptance of diversity as conditional on the maintenance of status quo power relationships. Tina's openness to the perspective of the aboriginal band may provide the flexibility to adapt to difficult change.

Unlike the previous three students, Lea and Tim experienced no tension with regard to acceptance of diversity. Both subscribed to this value, perceiving it as something positive for Canadians. However, both students revealed that they are really

only concerned about Canadians like themselves. Lea, an effervescent young woman from Whistler, B. C., explained:

Everyone is welcome in Canada. I love that there are so many different kinds of people. It makes things more interesting. You can go see the festival that celebrates Chinese New Year or go to the Italian community centre for different events. It's amazing! ...Even in Quebec there is so much French history to see in the streets and monuments and stuff. ...These different cultures make Canada an incredible place to be. (Tape # 13)

Lea felt that acceptance of diversity not only makes Canada an interesting nation, it also makes Vancouver a great place to live. She continued,

I couldn't wait to move here from Whistler. Vancouver is sort of what Canada's all about. You can get Chinese, Japanese food, East Indian food, any time you want. Here you can do all these amazing things. Eat at foreign restaurants, buy stuff at shops in little ethnic communities. You know what I mean? ...Like in Whistler, everything was geared to the hill [Whistler Mountain] you know, for the tourists but everybody who lives there is the same. They are so white! (Tape # 13)

This student focuses on the perceived benefits diversity but only discusses how diversity benefits people like herself. The same point was evident in Tim's passage. He said,

My mom was born in Vancouver, ya know. She lived over on X street most of her life. She says that when she was growing up it was a really white area. Everybody's family came from England or Scotland years ago. I think there might have been one Italian family or something [pause] I can't remember. My mom says everybody knew everybody else, they all went to the same churches, shopped at the same stores. Now its changed so much. Now we have people from everywhere living in [X section of Vancouver]. The whole immigration thing since the Second World War is right here, Chinese, Indonesian, everybody lives here. We accept everyone. It's great. I love it. It makes it seem like we're in the centre of it all, ya know? Like we're where everybody comes to find the action. I have lots of friends who aren't white, they come from all over. It's not like that in Prince George but in Vancouver you can't help but meet people from everywhere. I think it would be boring if it were still like my mother's time. It was kinda boring in Prince George, I know that. (Tape #15)

Acceptance of diversity, according to Lea and Tim, provides them with a wider array of interesting and exciting choices of activities, the avoidance of boredom due to

uniformity, and the avoidance of war. Despite the optimism and pleasantries, there is little indication that either student interprets the value from the perspective of those who are not part of the privileged Canadian norm. Indeed, neither student conveyed a sense that the value might be worthwhile because it encourages a sense of belonging in newcomers to Canada.

Diana provides a final example of the perceptions expressed by students who migrated from within Canada. She responded to the questionnaire (Appendix 3B: Question #12) with "tolerance", a value that has historical significance for her. Diana said,

I think Canada is an incredibly tolerant place. People are not usually harassed because of their colour or whatever. Canadians don't like that I don't think. It goes against everything that this country is about.. I know there is racism. My family is Jewish and my father told me what it was like during the war. He said that kids used to throw stones at him and my uncle and call them names. This [was] while we were like fighting the Germans because of what they were doing. It's bizarre. Sometimes I think it's hard to believe that that ever happened in Canada. It's not like that now though. I haven't experienced anything like that. Probably most people don't even know I'm Jewish. My friends do and they don't care.
(Tape # 12)

What is interesting about Diana's comments is not her perception that acts of harassment against people of difference have declined, or the story about her father and her uncle, but that she equates her personal lack of experience with harassment to greater acceptance of diversity. She does not express an awareness that her lack of experience with harassment may be because "most people don't even know [she's] Jewish." Like Dorion, the student from Jamaica, Diana has developed a Canadian identity that is without tension. It is flexible enough to move fluidly from the invisibility permitted a privileged, white, English-speaking person that form the Canadian majority, to being Jewish, an element of difference. However, fluidity is only possible because Jewish-ness is invisible unless verbally communicated or demonstrated in some fashion. Diana can choose to share or not share her Jewish heritage, thereby reducing exposure to situations where harassment might occur. This is not to suggest that Diana's lack of tension is misguided, rather that her perception of Canadians' acceptance of diversity might prove false if she presented her Jewish-ness openly.

To summarize, acceptance of diversity is uniformly perceived to be a value that Canadians share, and is a value that all of the students support. However, some students expressed tensions with this value. All of the tensions related to race, and to a lesser extent ethnicity and language ability. The perception of a Canada having a white, English speaking norm for understanding diversity was pervasive. In response some students eagerly adapted (Dorion and Pavel), but others expressed dissatisfaction. Peter, because of his whiteness, was unwillingly absorbed into the invisible majority and had his ethnicity erased. David, Angie, and Paul, because they were perceived to be non-white and had varying levels of English language ability, felt alienated. Karen, because many aboriginal land claims remain outstanding, perceived systemic racism tacitly supported by the white majority. These students are evolving Canadian identities that value acceptance of diversity, framed by an implicit understanding that acceptance (or rejection) stems from a white, English speaking norm. This norm characterizes their own sense of belonging and acceptance (or rejection) of others.

Students who migrated from within Canada and were born in Canada (and were white, and spoke English as a first language) understood diversity to include who differed from the white, English-speaking norm. They also perceived themselves to embody the norm, and thus entitled to express views on the forms of diversity worthy of acceptance. It is from this perspective that several students perceived disjuncture between their interpretation of this value and interpretations of their fellow Canadians. These students perceived a world where signs were written in Chinese rather than English, jobs went to immigrants rather than Canadian-born workers, and aboriginal councils rather than the Canadian government decided lease rates. This change in the status quo caused varying degrees of anger, fear, and frustration.

^cThe curriculum includes mandated PLOs that reflect the diversity of Canadian identity. They include,

- Identify elements that contribute to the...cultural, and ethnic diversity of Canada (Social Issues I: A-5)
- Describe the role of cultural pluralism in shaping Canadian identity (Cultural Issues: A-5)

These goals indicate recognition of Canada's diverse population, and provide the possibility for students to explore values related to diversity, including acceptance. The supportive SISs also have the potential to clarify diversity. One example of an SIS suggests that teachers,

- Invite a new Canadian to discuss what Canada means to him or her (18).

The belief behind this suggestion is that direct contact with diverse Canadians will broaden students' perspectives on what constitutes a Canadian and inspire acceptance of such diversity.

How do the social studies textbooks portray Canadian identity? Acceptance of diversity is evident in a number of selections in the three textbooks. I am going to examine two examples in closer detail. In CNU, chapter 20: Canada as a Multicultural Nation (394-415), students are introduced to the concept of multiculturalism. The term is defined as the respecting and valuing of "the heritage of all Canada's ethnic groups" and the "accepting of all the goodness and all the values people have brought here" (395). The message is that Canada is a multicultural nation and it is based on the value of accepting and respecting differences.

The chapter continues by looking at the historical evolution of official multiculturalism and the laws that were gradually proclaimed beginning with the Multicultural Act of 1971 and ending with the Constitution Act of 1982 (395). These policies are interpreted as efforts "to enhance 'the multicultural heritage of Canadians'" (395) and attempts to reflect changing attitudes about, and the economic need for, immigration (397). The message that Canada's official policy of multiculturalism is a worthwhile one is affirmed by a photograph (395) of six children of various races holding a stylized Canadian flag. The parts of the flag that are usually red are filled with the national flags of other nations around the world. The title over the photograph says "All Canadian" and the caption reads "These children, from a variety of ethnic backgrounds, are holding a Canadian flag made of numerous flags from other countries. How does this photograph capture the essence of Canada?" (CNU, 395). The implied response is that Canada is a nation built on the acceptance of and respect for people from all parts of the world.

CT's chapter 3: Canada's Cultural Diversity (60-87) declares that "when we examine what makes Canada distinct from other nations, we soon discover that multiculturalism is an important component of the national identity" (60). It continues by claiming that the area that is present-day Canada always has been multicultural, with First Nations people, Europeans, and others pre-dating Confederation. This is an interesting distinction from CNU, which presented multiculturalism as a recent phenomenon. However, CT also focuses on government policies such as the Multicultural Act of 1971 as evidence that Canada (i.e., the government) wants to reflect this reality with an official commitment recognizing and accepting cultural diversity. The message conveyed to students is that Canada has been and continues to be multicultural and accepting of diverse peoples from all over the world, and the government officially recognizes and sanctions this reality. The point is affirmed in the following pages of CT's chapter 3 through an overview of government and non-profit programs designed to help new immigrants integrate into the mainstream of Canadian society (72-73), as well as a picture gallery and testimonials of immigrants who become successful in Canada: violinist Ofra Harnoy from Israel, author and filmmaker Michael Ondaatje from Sri Lanka, and sprinter Angella Taylor from Jamaica (75-77).

All three textbooks convey the message that acceptance of diversity is an aspect of Canadian identity. But, it should also be noted that textbooks reflect students' Canadian identity in another way as well. Diversity, especially in CNU, is understood to mean differences in ethnicity and race. Pictures and textual passages portray a Canada where the norm is Canadian-born, white, of British or French heritage, and to a lesser extent male. Though the message conveyed is that diversity ought to be accepted as part of the mainstream social and cultural fabric of Canada, it is implied that those who comprise the norm that decide to accept (or reject) diversity what form acceptance assumes. CT and CI do include photographs of people who are white and female such as classical guitarist Liona Boyd who migrated to Canada from England (CT, 76), as well as photographs of people who are of non-British or French heritage such as dancer Ludmilla Chiriaeff who migrated to Canada from Latvia, but these texts are overshadowed by photographs and references to immigrants who are non-white, male, and of heritages other than British or French forming the multicultural diversity of Canada.

How do the social studies textbooks expand students' Canadian identity? CT offers a basis for multiculturalism and the acceptance of diversity by examining the concept of culture

"...the way a group of people organize their lives. It includes everything that makes one group of people distinct from another" (62). Chapter 3: Canada's Cultural Diversity (60-87) outlines the various cultural origins of Canada's population (62) through an overview of different periods of immigration that brought aboriginal peoples⁴, the French, Loyalists, and others to Canada. Included are entries on the Great Migration (1815-1850), Post-Confederation Migration (1867-1914), Post-War and Mid-Twentieth Century Migration (1991-1969), and Recent Immigration (1970-Present) (64-70). The history is presented as an explanation of Canada's ethnic and racial diversity and why it is important to be accepting of groups of people who differ from the norm.

Students' Canadian identity is also expanded by introducing them to perspectives on multiculturalism that suggest the construction of a multicultural nation is challenging. One of those challenges is ethnocentrism and the rejection of diversity through racism. All three textbooks broach the topic of racism and though any person, regardless of place of birth, race, ethnicity, or gender can act in racist ways, the message conveyed to students is that racism is a problem that predominantly involves white, Canadian born people of British or French heritage discriminating against non-white, non-Canadian born people of heritages other than British or French. One example of the textbooks conveying the message that racism is wrong and counter to the Canadian value of acceptance of diversity is found in CNU, chapter 20: Canada as a Multicultural Nation (394-417). Here students are shown a drawing or poster of a white-skinned hand shaking a black-skinned hand through a window. In the background is a drawing of the Earth. The title reads "Fight Racism" and the caption says "Don't be a wall...be a window" (398).

Diversity also includes gender. Though both genders are part of the mainstream of Canadian society, males are presented as historically having more decision-making power in the public sphere and that females have had to struggle to participate as citizens with equal opportunities. As well, the textbooks suggest that Canadians have come to

⁴ The chapter does acknowledge that there are various theories explaining the origins of aboriginal peoples, with migration from Asia on a land bridge or by boat being one possibility.

value gender diversity in all aspects of Canadian life. CI includes several entries on the struggle for women's rights in Canada; for example, in an issue entitled "Gender Equity: Towards a Fairer World" (CI, 364-365), readers are provided with an overview of recent developments related to gender equity, feminist activism in the 1990s, and where Canada stands relative to other nations. Of particular note is the endorsement by 189 nations of the *Platform of Action* put forth at the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, China, in 1995. This platform endorses the promotion of "...the status of women to the benefit of society as a whole. It established priorities globally, regionally, and locally in several key areas, including poverty, health, education, human rights, violence against women, the media, and the environment" (364-365). Also mentioned was the demand that value be placed on "...women's unpaid work, such as childcare and homemaking" (365). Though the textbook states that there is much work that still needs to be done, Canada is at the forefront in the movement for gender equity and the acceptance of gender diversity in all aspects of society.

Textbooks could provide a broader notion about what constitutes diversity to counter students' relatively limited notions. The textbooks focus exclusively on race, ethnicity, and to a lesser extent gender, but neglect socio-economic class, religion, sexual orientation, ability, size, and age.

Textbooks might also show how diversity creates multi-layered identities. For example, Strong-Boag (1997) notes that race/gender, gender/socio-economic class, race/gender/socio-economic class, etc. create intersections that create further diversities in identity. Students could be exposed to the notion that simply because two people are white or female may not provide extensive common ground; wealthy black women may perceive themselves to have far more in common with wealthy white men than with poor black women.

Textbooks could challenge identity by examining the white, English-speaking norm for being Canadian. Examples of authors that could be introduced include Rosenberg (1997) who critiques whiteness as the "empty cultural space" (80), where to be white is to be "without culture" and "colourless." Dreidger (1989) claimed that as the dominant social group, whites ignore their own colour because it is the norm against which non-whites are defined. With exposure to these ideas, students might become more

aware of their racialized selves and the ways they perceive and portray themselves and others.

None of the migrant students expressed an understanding of positionality: that they spoke from positions of racial and linguistic privilege. Positionality could be introduced through examinations of power relations whereby racial and gender privilege are systemically normalized (Roman, 1993; Weis and Fine, 1996; et al.) and people who are marginalized are made to feel as if they must forsake cultural attributes such as language to attain status in the society (Agocs, 1987). Students could examine Ellsworth's (1997) "five faces of oppression", exploring how the privileged norm of being male, white, rich, heterosexual, and sheltered positions females, non-whites, poor, homosexual, and the homeless on the margins.

How do the textbooks enhance students' ability to confront the tensions they experience? The migrant students expressed a number of tensions. Peter believed that his Greek ethnicity had been erased when he was unwillingly absorbed into perceptions that all white people are "Anglo" or "Canadian." The textbooks did not reflect this type of tension and thus no opportunities were provided to confront such a tension.

David, Angie and Paul's tensions were based on feelings of alienation from mainstream society because they constituted a racial and linguistic minority. Indeed, Paul claimed that even if he learned to speak English well he probably would never consider himself to be Canadian because he "looked different." The best opportunity for these students to confront their tensions is found in CT, chapter 1: The Canadian Identity (1-30). Here students are provided with a two page insert into the flow of text entitled "A Discussion About Canadian Identity" (6-7). Readers are introduced to the perspectives of a number of students about what is the "true Canadian identity" (6). This is followed by another text insert entitled "A View of Canada" (9) by then U.S. President Bill Clinton on what Canada is and what it means to be Canadian. Finally, in the "Organizing Better" section of questions students are asked in question #3 to "Make a chart to compare the key characteristics of Canadian identity described by President Clinton with those raised in 'A Discussion About Canadian Identity.' On what characteristics do President Clinton and the students agree? In what ways do the assessments differ? How do you account for the differences in assessment?" (9). This exercise has merit because it offers a number of

perspectives on what it means to be Canadian, including some that reflect the perceptions and tensions of David, Angie, and Paul; students are asked to acknowledge some of the tensions and include them on the comparison chart. But perhaps most important is the opportunity this exercise provides readers to see that Canadians comprise many races, ethnicities, and nations of origin, and have different concepts of what Canadian identity is; lack of consensus is not presented as a problem, as each person engages in constructing their own identity. It should be noted that despite the suggestion to make a comparison chart there are no suggestions of what to do with the chart once it is completed, or criteria for what constitutes a successful chart.

Karen, an aboriginal student, expressed tension concerning her belief that systemic racism was at work in the long and laborious land claims negotiations between the Canadian government and her people. Tina felt a significant amount of tension concerning her grandparents' land lease problems. She recognized the injustice that had been part of the previous leasing agreement but felt frustrated and angry at the proposed change that was decided by the aboriginal band that held claim on her grandparents' property. CI offers the best opportunity for students to confront these tensions. In an issue entitled "Claiming the Land: Treaty Making in British Columbia" (346-347), students learn about the treaty making process, its background, and how it has proceeded since 1992. A map of the location of British Columbia's aboriginal peoples is also provided. The task suggested in the "Making Connections" section is for students to assume different perspectives: "from the point of view of an Aboriginal person, write a paragraph explaining why the treaty-making process is important for your people. Then respond with another paragraph in a non-Aboriginal voice expressing your opinion about the treaties" (347). Here students have the chance to consider alternative perspectives, examine the treaty process in their home province more closely, and offer thoughtful responses. Unfortunately, there are no suggestions about how to develop thoughts from a different point of view, criteria for judging a successful position, or what students are to do with their responses once completed.

Another example, with more suggestions can be found in CT, chapter 12: Challenges and Opportunities, the Constitution (328-355). Question #37 in the "Inquiring Citizen" section states,

as a class, investigate the two communities that have been granted self-governing powers. One half of the class can examine the story of the Cree Naskapi of Quebec; the other half the Sechelt of British Columbia. Each group should locate and report information on the type of government established (its structure and organizations); the powers of the government; the challenges facing the government; the steps taken toward becoming independent; and the special qualities and characteristics of the communities involved. Compare the findings and draw conclusions about the process of establishing a First Nations' government (CT, 353).

It is stated that "included in the idea of native self-government is the just settlement of outstanding claims to traditional lands" (353), so here is an opportunity for students to systematically examine two examples of self-government and thoughtfully consider the challenges involved. Karen could examine if and why she believes there is or isn't systemic racism involved while Tina can explore if and why it is or is not appropriate for lease changes to be made when land falls under aboriginal jurisdiction. This exercise offers more guidance to students that is usual, suggesting topics for investigation and instructions to compare findings and draw conclusions. These ideas may enhance students' ability to confront tensions.

Derek conveyed his annoyance and dislike for Chinese street signs in Richmond, B. C., believing they detracted from people developing feelings of connectedness. While CI offers an issue on changing linguistic demographics entitled "Vancouver: A Multilingual City" (352-353), the questions provided focus on bias in the presentation of information and not on feelings about change.

Finally, Michael expressed tension with regard to immigrants who took jobs away from "Canadians", used government resources, and jumped to the head of the immigrant-line by claiming refugee status. The best opportunity to confront this tension is found in CT, chapter 3: Canada's Cultural Diversity (60-87) in a section entitled "A Discussion About Immigration Levels" (80-82). It outlines the perspectives of ten people, each with slightly different points of view on immigration. This is followed by a series of questions that become progressively more complex, moving from comprehension to analysis. In the "Organizing Better" section, question #33 asks students to do the following:

Take a page in your notebook and divide it down the centre. Across the top of the page write the question "Should Canada have high levels of immigration?" Label the left column "Pro" (reasons in favour) and the right column "Con" (reasons

against). Read through the debate again. Based on it and any other relevant information you have, list as many reasons as possible in both columns (83).

This is followed by question #34, which asks students to continue with the following:

After you have completed your Pro and Con chart, decide which side of the issue you support. Be prepared to defend your point of view in a debate with the rest of the class (83).

This is a superior exercise, offering many perspectives, the need to consider perspectives that differ from one's own, a suggested approach to organizing information, and a suggestion for what students are to do with the information once gathered, preparing students like Michael to confront their tensions.

To summarize, the SS-11 IRP reflects students' Canadian identity through PLOs that mandate students explore the elements that have contributed to Canada's ethnic and cultural diversity. As well, the role that cultural pluralism has played in shaping Canadian society. Though there are challenges associated with living in a culturally diverse society and teachers may address those, the implication in the PLOs is that cultural diversity and pluralism are positive aspects of Canada and students ought to accept it as part of their value system. This view is supported by the SIS that suggests that teachers invite a new Canadian to the class to learn what Canada means to him or her. This is a strategy that can be interpreted as an effort to communicate to students that Canada is a nation accepting of people from many different places with different physical characteristics and this diversity contributes to differing ideas about what Canada means.

The three textbooks convey the message that Canada is a multicultural nation comprised of peoples from all over the world and that this is the mainstream of Canadian society. This message is communicated through text passages on government policies, as well as photographs of successful immigrants who are non-white, of non-British or non-French, thereby suggesting to students that those who are white, with British or French heritage, are the privileged population with the luxury to accept or reject diversity. Those who are non-white, of non-British or non-French heritage, are the outsiders to be accepted by the majority.

Students' Canadian identity is expanded with a historical outline of the waves of migration that have contributed to the racial and ethnic diversity that is contemporary Canada. As well, students are introduced to one of the challenges of constructing a multicultural nation, the rejection of diversity through racism. The textbooks also suggest to students that diversity is not limited to race and ethnicity but also includes gender; neglected are identities related to religion, socio-economic status, and sexual orientation. Authors' works are suggested for inclusion into textbooks that expand students' understandings of identity, race, and ethnicity. Finally, the textbooks include topics that reflect students' tensions and have accompanying questions and tasks that offer students excellent opportunities to bring their tensions into the classroom.

6. 2. Non-Violence in Interactions with Others

This value was somewhat less prevalent than acceptance of diversity, as twelve of fifteen students made reference to it on the questionnaire (Appendix 3B: Question #12). However, in the interviews they were uniformly opposed to the use of violence in interactions with others and expressed tension with how this value was enacted by the Canadian government. At the time of the interviews, hostilities had broken out in the Balkans, and member states of NATO had mounted an air-bombing campaign that lasted from March 24-June 10, 1999. Canada, as a member of NATO, participated in its first military engagement with another state since the end of its participation in the Korean War in 1953. The NATO bombing was premised on the need to defend Kosovar Albanians in the southern part of Yugoslavia from reported atrocities at the hands of the Serbian army.

Peter is a white, 17 year old, Greek Orthodox student of Greek-Cypriot-Lebanese ethnicity. He was born in Memphis, Tennessee, and raised in Salonika, Greece from the age of eight months. Peter is the youngest of two children (older brother) born to a Greek-Cypriot father who works as a diplomatic consultant and a Lebanese born mother who works as director of nutritional services at a nearby hospital. Peter and his parents migrated to Canada eighteen months prior to his initial interview for this research project. His brother had already migrated to the United States to attend university. Peter was a student in the regular school program and disliked school, finding it "stupid" and

“uninteresting.” Peter played floor hockey at the nearby Hellenic community centre with his “Greek friends” and spent the rest of his time “going out with girls.” As for future plans, Peter was undecided. He thought he’d probably go to the local university in the fall but had not yet applied and was not sure what he would study, saying “I have to do something with my life, right?”

Peter identified himself as being Greek-Canadian on the questionnaire (Appendix 3B: Question #9) and responded to the question “If you were asked where your home is, where would you say that was?” with “Greece and Canada” (Appendix 3B: Question #11). When asked about his response during the individual interview Peter said, “I love my Greek heritage. It’s always going to be a part of me. I’m also Canadian. This is my country now. I’ll always go home to Greece to visit but I live here. This is where I want to be, you know?” This author’s impression of Peter was one of a polite but insecure young man who presents a façade of cool bravado. Despite his large frame and fit physique, on several occasions he questioned whether he would be understood on the recording given that he had a lisp. He also expressed concern that he might be ridiculed in the written text because of his “condition.” His feelings stem from various forms of teasing over the years, but his lisp was almost imperceptible until Peter mentioned it. After he was assured that he would not be ridiculed, he spoke clearly, demonstrating a remarkable command of the English language and presented his views passionately and with forthrightness.

A supporter of non-violence in interaction with others, he responded on the questionnaire that Canadians share a belief in “not fighting with everybody” (Appendix 3B: Question #12). However, in the individual interview he expressed great agitation with the decision of the Canadian government to participate in the NATO air bombings. He said,

Unbelievable. I can’t believe that we’re doing this. We think of ourselves as peaceful people, we don’t hurt other people, but then we go and bomb Yugoslavia and kill everybody. I don’t know what to believe anymore. I used to think Canada was a noble country but I’m not so sure. [TODD: Why do you think Canada is participating in this war?] I think Canada is being deluded. We’ve bought into the CNN crap about the Serbs killing all the Kosovars. It’s bullshit. The Serbs are Orthodox Christians like the Greeks. We’re like family. They wouldn’t do what they’re saying [TODD:

How do you know?] I just know. The Americans hate Serbia and now we're involved too. It's just wrong! (Tape #6)

Peter could not fathom why the Canadian government would actively engage in what he perceived to be the unjustified use of state-on-state violence against Yugoslavia. Peter's values were in tension with what he perceived to be those of the Canadian government. He believed it was wrong for Canada to engage in this type of violence when it was aimed at a nation to which he shared a deep sense of loyalty. Further, he wanted decisions to be based on evidence. As a "peaceful people" Canada should be working to broker a peace agreement that would see the cessation of hostilities rather than partaking in bombing missions.

His anger was also based on unwavering loyalty to fellow Orthodox Christians. As "family", Peter could not conceive that Serbians would do "what they're saying." Instead, he accused the American media for deluding Canada and the world. Peter seemed aware of the media being a powerful conduit for sharing information about events around the world and intuitively understood that the information presented is a constructed picture partial in perspective. Yet, he seems unaware of the partial perspective he is accessing when assessing Canada's decision to bomb Yugoslavia. Indeed, when asked how he knows that Serbian army is not engaging in atrocities against the Kosovar Albanians his reply is "I just know."

Brianne, Jessica, and Derek all vigorously supported non-violence as a value and perceived other Canadians sharing this value. However, Canada's participation in the NATO bombing of Yugoslavia elicited tensions for them as well. This became apparent during a group interview where the three students discussed their perceptions of recent events. They had each chosen the same statement with which they agreed (Appendix 5: Statement #11). Brianne explained,

The war is a big blow to Canada's image (as a non-violent peacemaker). Everybody who ever trusted Canada now looks at us as some kind of pawn of the United States. Whenever they whistle we're right there. So much for our own values. Now we bomb civilians in Belgrade rather than find other ways of dealing with the Yugoslavian government. (Tape # 19)

Brianne believed that Canada turned its back on a cherished value and its traditional role as peacemaker, damaging its international image as a nation that can be trusted. Further, she blamed the influence of the United States in somehow leading Canada astray as a “pawn” in some sort of game.

Jessica concurred with this view:

It's totally sickening. We're bombing (struggles to maintain control of her anger) we're killing people. Why?!? You tell me how it makes sense to bomb people because they (the Yugoslav government?) are killing other people? I mean if we could kill the President of Yugoslavia, maybe, but that's not who's dying. It's the, the, the regular people. Canada never does stuff like this. This is so against everything we believe in. I think the Americans have pressured us to join in so they don't look like the warmongers and we just went along with it [TODD: How does that make you feel about Canada?] Terrible! My country isn't standing up for itself!! (Tape # 17)

Jessica clearly supported the value of non-violence and perceived that Canadians have contravened it. She also made a point that Brianne touched on briefly, saying that by engaging in state-on-state violence many “regular people” were dying. Presumably, the “regular people” of Yugoslavia were innocent while the Yugoslav leadership were guilty, and that Canada's actions were punishing to the appropriate parties.

Derek became invigorated by Jessica's passion. He chimed in,

But it's always been that way. [JESSICA: No it hasn't! Canada has had its principles before]. I think we have to blame the media too though. The media is totally biased in favour of this war. It is trying to justify why the Americans and the Canadians are involved. Kinda like we didn't want to bomb you but you're such a pig that we have to! The bombing is so un-Canadian. (Tape #17)

Canada's involvement in the NATO bombing of Yugoslavia challenged students' perceptions of their nation and not the value they hold. Derek supported Brianne and Jessica's points but introduced the media as a possible culprit to explain Canadian actions. Like blaming the Americans, the students needed to ascribe blame in order to reconcile tensions with the actions of their nation's leaders. Without this, the bombings fostered anger and disillusionment. The passion with which they conveyed their perspectives was consistent with the passion they brought to their environmental activism and beliefs about caring the natural environment.

Pavel also supported non-violence in interaction with others but acknowledged that sometimes people have to use violence, though he expected that its use be justified. During the group interview, he offered qualified agreement with one of the statements provided (Appendix 5: Statement #11):

My father says that Canada shouldn't be bombing Serbia. He says that it's American propaganda that is keeping the war going. I don't know, but I do think that the Canadian government thinks it is right to be involved. They want to protect all the refugees in the camps and make sure that nothing's happening to them. I don't think it's that Canada is not peaceful anymore. I think that we just felt we had to do something (Tape #20).

Although influenced by the beliefs of his father, he supports the value of non-violence in interactions with others, but feels there may be times when a nation has "to do something based on adequate criteria and evidence. He is open to the possibility the Canadian government had criteria for making its decision, had evidence to support its decision, and so is justified in its actions.

State-on-person violence was also a concern. Tina, a recent migrant from Richmond Hill, Ontario, drew on an international example to make her point. In her explanation for writing "treating people with respect" on the questionnaire (Appendix 3B: Question #12) she said,

I think that Canadians believe it is right to respect human rights. That it is wrong to torture people and abuse them. Our police forces don't do that [pause] generally. There's always exceptions I guess. Canada has kind of developed like a disgust for people who hurt their citizens. Like China. Remember when they killed all those people in the square [TODD: Tiananmen Square?] Yes. Canada condemned China for that. Canadians saw the massacre on TV and were appalled by a government who did that to its own people. How can you have a country when you kill your own people just because you don't like what they're saying? (Tape #9)

In Tina's mind, the use violence by the state against its own people is unacceptable, and believed that Canadians, including representatives of the Canadian government such as "police forces", interpret the value as she does.

If Tina can be described as tension-free then Jessica must be considered tension-filled. Jessica mirrors Tina's perspective on the unacceptability of violence, particularly state-on-person violence, but was angry and disillusioned with the police and the

Canadian government. A personal friend of Jessica's had been a protestor at the Association for Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) conference in Vancouver in November, 1997, and was attacked by the police.

Look at what happened at the APEC thing. I have a friend who goes to UBC and went to the protest. I couldn't go or I would have been there. She was pepper-sprayed along with everyone else standing off to the side of a large group of people who were chanting against Suharto. She wasn't destroying anything or holding anything or threatening anyone but she got her whole face full of that stuff. The government wanted to send the message 'don't mess with us or we'll shut you up'. Where's the freedom of speech? (Tape #17)

Jessica questions the actions of the police as contradicting her understanding of non-violence in interactions with others, and questions whether the government is also committed to this value. This issue was not resolved for Jessica during the time I interviewed her, but based on the anger she displayed it is reasonable to assume that she will work to ensure that the actions of the both police and government reflect her interpretation of non-violence in the future. Indeed, her Canadian identity has little or no place for the violation of values that she perceived occurring at APEC.

Other students focused on person-on-person violence. Karen, a recent migrant from the United States, stated on the questionnaire that "Canadians are nice" (Appendix 3B: Question #12). When asked to clarify her statement she began by talking about Canadians but also revealed that non-violence is a value she also believes in. She said,

You have to treat people right. Canadians believe that. You can't go around hitting people over the head to get what you want. That's not the Canadian way, Americans yes, but Canadians aren't like that. Maybe it's the whole politeness thing. You know, like we don't like to offend people so we don't get into those types of situations. [TODD: What kind of situations?]. You know, the kind of situations where people get out of hand and start bashing each other's face in. I know people think Indians are like that. I don't think so, but I don't think Canadians are either. We get along with everyone. (Tape #2)

It is obvious that Karen perceives the benefits of supporting non-violence in interactions with others, particularly with regard to person-on-person violence. Drawing on stereotypes of Americans, she conveys a moral sense that it is wrong to "go around hitting people over the head to get what you want" and that it is better to avoid situations

“where people...start bashing each other’s face in.” Perhaps as recognition that “Indians” are often stereotyped as aggressive and as using person-on-person violence, Karen adamantly supports this value. She expresses no tensions, unequivocally aligning herself with Canadians, who, in her perception, “get along with everyone.”

Dorion also perceived Canadians as believing in non-violence, writing “peace” on her questionnaire (Appendix 3B: Question #12). During the course of her explanation (Appendix 4, Part D: Question #7) she demonstrated her support of this value:

Canadians just don’t believe in confrontation. When I was growing up in Jamaica there were guns everywhere. It was very violent there. Most of my friends had been involved in a gun shooting. I wasn’t. I wanted to stay away from that, but it was normal. It’s different here. People don’t have guns. There’s no need to have one. It’s safer and I’m so glad I don’t have to deal with that kind of violence everyday. (Tape #5)

Dorion felt alienated from the gun culture that made person-on-person violence “normal” in Jamaica. Dorion clearly prefers the lack of gun violence in Canada, something that makes her feel “safer.” Like Karen, Dorion expressed no tension with this value.

Michael, a recent migrant from Edmonton, chose to discuss person-on-person violence also. He began by sharing his perception that Canadians did not support this type of behaviour and demonstrated his own belief that this is unacceptable. Michael wrote “peace and harmony” as a value he believed most Canadians believe in (Appendix 3B: Question #12). He explained in the I interview,

Yeah, I think Canadians value peace and harmony. We don’t like it when things are in chaos. [TODD: What do you mean by chaos?] When people are running around shooting each other. Everything gets out of hand. It gets crazy, so we don’t let it [TODD: Are you saying that Canadians don’t get out of hand or we make it so they can’t get out of hand?] Mmmm (pause) well I suppose we could [get out of hand] but we just don’t. Most Canadians wouldn’t want to. Maybe it’s too messy or we just, I don’t know, maybe we just don’t have the stomach for it. Thank God. (Tape #8)

For Michael, violence is perceived as evidence of disorder and instability. He preferred that interactions between people not “get out of hand” and believed that Canadians have a culture that does not consider the use of violence as a viable option.

Michael discussed the shootings that occurred at Columbine High School in Littleton, Colorado on April 20, 1999, with Karen during the group interview.

It's insane. I think Karen's right. Americans are insane. Whenever they're upset they just pull out a gun and blow someone's head off. What is that about? Canadians must get just as mad sometimes but we don't do that. There's something different [about Canadians] [KAREN: It's the guns I'm telling you]. Maybe. But my grandfather is a hunter and he's not like that. [KAREN: But he's Canadian. You grow up here learning that violence is wrong, guns are wrong, don't kill people, it doesn't solve anything.] True. (Tape #16)

Here Michael suggested that Americans had a culture that was disorderly, violent, and "insane." He and Karen saw Canada as being different and the difference was positive. Though Karen vehemently asserted that the difference lay in Canadian gun control laws, Michael was less sure. Regardless, Michael perceived that Canadians were interpreting the value non-violence in interactions with others similar to the way he interpreted it.

If Michael expressed little tension, Lea from Whistler, B.C. expressed a significant amount of tension. She also drew on the recent shootings at Columbine High School and the shooting eight days later at a secondary school in Taber, Alberta, to make the point that everyone else in Canada may not share her belief in non-violence. Though she does not suggest that Canadians have rejected non-violence in interactions with others, Lea does suggest that the use of violence, particularly gun violence, is increasing. She said,

Peace and harmony are Canadian values. I believe that. Don't you? Canadians are the peacemakers right? We're the one's who go off to Africa and try and keep the peace, but I think that we, I think we kid ourselves in Canada. I was thinking last night as I was watching the news about this whole Taber thing in Alberta. It's the same thing as Columbine. I was laughing because the news guy was saying how Columbine had thirteen or fourteen people killed and only one was killed in Alberta. Like somehow we were better [and] less violent here. But I don't think that's true 'cause if you compare the population of America with Canada about the same proportion of kids were shot, and that one guy who was killed in Taber is no less significant a story than all those people in the States. I think we have a gun problem here too and violence is on the increase. (Tape #13)

Though she believed that Canadians value “peace and harmony”, Lea believed that a segment of the Canadian population was increasingly choosing violence as an option when interacting with others. Despite statistics on violent crimes that refute this claim, the perception of a change in Canadian society’s way of dealing with conflict challenged her perception of Canada as a nation of “peace and harmony”, causing tension.

To summarize, all but three migrant students supported a value of non-violence in interactions with others. They also believed that they shared this value with other Canadians who treat others, whether they are nations or individuals, with respect and dignity. As reasons for their perceptions students stated that Canada tries to minimize state-on-state violence through peacekeeping missions, condemns state-on-person violence as witnessed at Tiananmen Square, China, and controls person-on-person gun violence. However, there were tensions expressed with the state-on-state violence engaged by the Canadian government against Yugoslavia. One student expressed tension with state-on-person violence by police forces at the APEC conference in Vancouver in 1997. Another student expressed tension with perceived increases in person-on-person violence following recent school shootings in Colorado and Alberta.

How does the curriculum reflect students’ values? The curriculum does not explicitly deal with non-violence, but it is a value that teachers can introduce into the classroom as they address two of the mandated PLOs.

- Describe Canada’s role in international conflicts, including World War I and World War II, and assess the impact on Canada (Political Issues II: A-6).
- Identify and assess social issues facing Canadians (Social Issues II: A-5).

Here is the possibility for teachers to have students explore values related to conflict. Students could examine the policy options available for Canada during World War I and II and how each relates to students’ values, and to Canadian values now and at the time of the conflicts. Using the second PLO, students could examine forms of violence (e.g., state-on-state violence such as the bombing campaign in Yugoslavia, or person-on-person violence such as the shooting of female students in Montreal) and how they impact on Canadians perceptions of themselves and others, and of others on Canada.

Students could also assess efforts to minimize violence in Canadian society (e.g., anti-bullying campaigns in schools) and devise new efforts to further cultivate a nation that values non-violence in interactions with others.

How do the social studies textbooks reflect students' Canadian identity? All of the social studies textbooks address the value of non-violence. With regard to international conflicts Canada is portrayed as a peacekeeper, the nation that assists other nations to resolve conflicts in a non-violent manner. Canada found its post-World War II role as an international arbiter of disputes through the United Nations (UN). Canada participated in the formation of the United Nations (CNU, 290-291; CT, 388-409; CI, 166-167) because the world needed "an organization that would ensure that such global conflict would never happen again" (CI, 166) affirming the value of non-violence in interactions with others. Through UN "peacemaking and peacekeeping" (CT, 395) missions, Canada developed an international reputation of being trustworthy, fair, and balanced in approach. CT, chapter 14: Canada and Peace (387-415), expounds Canada's efforts in the Suez in 1956 for which Prime Minister Lester Pearson devised the idea of peacekeeping, sending UN forces to the Suez Canal zone to settle a dispute between Israel and Egypt, winning the 1957 Nobel Peace Prize in the process (402). CNU calls this period Canada's "golden age" of foreign policy (292) when it used the United Nations to become a "middle power" (292) that helped broker peace all over the world. Also provided in CT is a case study titled "Peacekeepers are like a family friend" (403) whereby Canada's involvement in 38 UN peacekeeping missions is outlined. Students are conveyed the message that, in the words of Canadian peacekeeper General Lewis Mackenzie, "Canada is so effective at peacekeeping because it is perhaps the only country in the world that is universally accepted in that role; because we are the only country that has never imposed its aggressive military will on another country." Canada is a nation that values non-violence as the best way of interacting with others (405).

The textbooks also reflect students' Canadian identity with respect to non-violence in interaction with others through an examination of Canada's criminal justice system (CNU, 51-71; CI, 302-305; CT, 278-299). Using text passages, pictures, and case studies, students learn that acts of violence are usually immoral, illegal, and are not sanctioned by Canadian society. Indeed, the sections on the Juvenile Delinquents Act and

the Young Offenders Act in CT, chapter 10: Rights and Responsibilities, You and the Law (268-299) use an article reproduced from March 1, 1995 edition of the *Globe and Mail* that contains the headline “Young killers to get longer sentences as MPs amend the law” (295). The article is meant to teach students not only about changes to Canada’s criminal justice system, but that Canadians do not condone violent acts and those who engage in them will be punished.

How do the social studies textbooks expand students’ Canadian identity? The students rejected the examples of violence they perceived occurring or to have recently occurred in the world (i.e., the NATO bombing campaign, and the quelling of dissent at Tiananmen Square and Vancouver). All three textbooks suggest that there are times that nations believe it necessary to engage in the use of violence. Significant portions of the textbooks are devoted to the most violent events in twentieth century history, World Wars I and II. This is especially the case with CNU. In CNU’s chapters 7-9 and 12-14, it is suggested that Canada believed it necessary to confront enemy forces in Europe and the Pacific. The text narrative suggests that Canada preferred not to engage in the use of state-on-state violence, but when it did it did so for honourable reasons. A number of passages in CNU characterize both wars as an undesirable last resort, justified only as a means of restoring peace and economic stability (243). However, the textbook conveys the message that once war was declared Canada involved itself completely (243). Soldiers in the army, navy, air force, and merchant marine are portrayed as serving with courage and valor in an effort to restore peace. Included are detailed descriptions of the battles of Ypres (143), Somme (145), Vimy Ridge (169), Passchendaele (170), Hong Kong (269), Dieppe (271), Sicily (272), Ortona (272), and Normandy (273), highlighting the courage of Canadian soldiers. Indeed, reverence is also paid to Canadians on the homefront who reconfigured factories, cut salaries, endured rationing, and contributed money and goods to “the war effort” (246-264). In short, they suggest that Canadians acted with righteousness, stamina and courage under duress.

The textbooks offer a rather limited expansion of students’ Canadian identity with regard to this value. Students’ Canadian identity might be further expanded by the textbooks examining the concept of violence more closely, making distinction between different types of violence. Students moved between different types of violence in the

interviews, failing to distinguish between a fight between two individuals and two states. Their conception of this value would be enriched if textbooks differentiated between person-on-person, state-on-state, state-on-person, and person-on state violence, and explored how violence is understood in our society, who engages in it, and when if ever it is justifiable as a way of interacting with others.

Students would benefit from being introduced to theories that ground the dominant message in the textbooks. This might include the “peaceable kingdom” thesis (Torrance, 1986) which purports that Canadians live in a largely non-violent society and readily defer to authority. It suggests that because British loyalists assumed a dominant role in Canada’s development, Canadians never developed an inclination toward revolution, preferring slow, evolutionary changes in their society. This is often cited as a reason that Canadians accept more restriction of their personal freedoms than do Americans, including stricter gun controls. Students could also be introduced to perspectives that question the peaceable kingdom thesis. While gun-related homicides may be lower in Canada than in the United States, other forms of person-on-person violence are comparable including male on female abuse (DeKeseredy and Ellis, 1995) and child abuse (Cabrera, 1995). The inclusion of theories and studies, especially those that make distinctions between types of violence would expand students’ Canadian identity.

How do the textbooks enhance students’ ability to confront the tensions they experience? Several of the events with which students expressed tension (i.e., the NATO bombing campaign of Yugoslavia, the quelling of protests at the APEC conference, or the school shootings in Colorado and Alberta) were too recent to be included in textbooks. Nevertheless, similar events are included. The best opportunity for students like Peter and others to explore their tensions with state-on-state violence is reflected in CT’s chapter 14: Canada and Peace (387-415), Canada’s participation in the United Nations action against Iraq in 1991; question #13 in the “Thinking It Through” section includes the following scenario,

Some Canadians opposed participation in the Gulf War. They argued that any war was wrong; that the UN had not allowed enough time for economic sanctions to work; and that the war was purely an American action for a selfish reason—to protect its oil supplies. Supporters defended Canadian participation by saying that

Canada must support the goals of the UN and our traditional allies. What do you think? Why? (401).

This question provides students with an opportunity to think whether it is ever justifiable to use violence, and whether or not this example meets the criteria. To answer the question successfully, students require background knowledge. The chapter provides a brief overview in a section of the chapter entitled "Peacemaking: Kuwait" along with a timeline from August 1990-April 1991 (398-399). However, CT does not offer any suggestions of how to approach answering the question, what constitutes a successful response, and what, if anything, students are to do with the responses once completed.

The best example of an opportunity to explore tensions related to state-on-person violence of the variety Jessica expressed relative to the APEC conference is found in CI. An issue entitled "Labour Unrest: The Winnipeg General Strike" (74-75) examines "the most infamous labour conflict in Canadian history" (74) in which one demonstrator was killed, many others were injured, and several strike leaders were arrested and charged. While the event has similarities with APEC, including the use of violence by the state, neither of the two questions address the tensions expressed by Jessica. The question of whether or not the Canadian government acted appropriately in its use of state-on-person violence is not evident.

Finally, the best example of an opportunity to explore tensions related to person-on-person violence of the variety expressed by Lea relative to the school shootings in Colorado and Alberta is found in CI. An issue entitled "Violence Against Women: The Montreal Massacre" (316-317) examines one of the most tragic events in Canadian history. On December 6, 1989, a man entered Ecole Polytechnique, the University of Montreal's engineering school, shot and killed 6 female students and wounded several others. Lea perceived an increase in the use of gun violence. CI addresses this in "Statistics on Violence Against Women" (317). Citing the Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, the case study states that "in 1991, one half of all murdered women were shot to death. Every six days in Canada, a woman is shot to death by a man with a handgun, rifle, or shotgun. Seventy-two percent of these guns were legally owned and 50 percent of victims were killed in the home" (317). This passage does not suggest that such crimes are on the rise, but it does suggest that gun violence against women is a problem.

Questions in the “Making Connections” box do not reflect the tension that Lea expressed. The questions are concerned with the potential impact of violent imagery on people (317).

To summarize, the curriculum reflects students’ belief in non-violence in interactions through PLOs that mandate that students examine social issues facing Canadians and Canada’s role in international conflicts. By examining the violence that occurs in Canada and the rest of the world, teachers can elicit students’ perspectives about violence, its causes, if and when violence is ever necessary, and explore non-violent approaches to solving disputes that arise in interactions with others.

All three textbooks reflect this feature of students’ Canadian identity by presenting Canada as a peacekeeping nation. Using text passages, case studies, and quotes from prominent Canadians such as General Lewis Mackenzie, textbooks convey the message that Canada is and is perceived to be a nation that values peace and stability. This message is further affirmed through an examination of the criminal justice system.

The textbooks expand students’ understandings by suggesting that when Canada does engage in the use of violence, it is for just reasons such as defense against aggression and the re-establishment of peace, order, and stability. As well, when called to do so, Canadian soldiers or peacekeepers demonstrate honour, courage, and stamina.

6. 3. Care for the Natural Environment

The basis of this feature of Canadian identity is students’ perceptions of and attitudes about the natural environment. Stated another way, it involves respect, maintenance, and improvement of Canada’s natural world.

Derek, an 18 year old, born in Coquitlam, B.C., demonstrated the attitudes of several students who ascribed to this value. White, of Anglo-German ethnicity, Derek and his family migrated to Calgary, Alberta when he was three years old. He is the only child of a marine biologist father and a mother who is a prominent psychologist, author, and producer of documentaries. Derek’s parents divorced when he was eight years old and both have since remarried. He has a nine year old half-brother and 16 year old stepbrother through his father’s second wife. Derek lived predominantly with his mother and stepfather, but kept a living space at his father’s house since migrating to Vancouver

eighteen months prior to the initial interview for this project. Derek was a student in the advanced-classes program, liked school and thought that most of his teachers are “pretty cool.” He did not participate in extra-curricular activities as his interests were pursued outside of school with his “environmentalist” friends. Indeed, Derek decided to join with a local environmental organization while the interview process for this study was underway. According to him, the organization “opposes genetically modified foods” and “works to raise awareness about the benefits of organic foods.”

Derek identified himself as German-Canadian (Appendix 3B: Question #9) and stated that he considered both Germany and Canada home (Appendix 3B: Question #11). When asked to explain his response, he responded that after several visits he felt a “strong connection to Germany” because of their “way of life” and the “advanced thinking they have about protecting the environment.” He also included Canada because “this is my home and I love it.” Derek planned to attend a local university and study environmental science and biology in the fall, hoping that someday he might “make a difference in this country.” My impression of Derek was of an energetic, intelligent, committed young man. He was part passionate nationalist and part political cynic. He believed that grass roots work was the way to have people “get off their ass and get involved!” Derek spoke quickly and with a nervous energy, his thoughts often tumbling one into the other as he struggled to communicate everything he wished to say. One of his most interesting qualities was a penchant to change his hair colour. In the three meetings for this project (questionnaire, and two interviews) Derek’s hair colour changed from blue to green to bright orange. He laughingly told me that, “everyone has to work to get noticed.”

Derek was one of seven students who provided responses indicating care for the natural environment as both a Canadian value and a value they supported. These students felt passionate about having such a value, believing it important for Canada, and for the Earth itself. However, tensions quickly surfaced with how they understood the value and how they perceived others understood and acted on it. Derek responded on the questionnaire (Appendix 3B: Question #12) with “taking care of nature.” He explained,

I put that down because, I put it down because I think that it’s an ideal we should have [but] I don’t think we do though [TODD: So you don’t think Canadians believe in taking care of the environment?] Not really. We

should but we don't. I remember being in Germany and seeing the, you know the Black Forest part of Germany? [TODD: Yeah, I've been there. It's right near Heidelberg.] Yeah, yeah, so you saw how parts of it are destroyed. They've finally started to work on it and have saved most of it but a lot of it is still really bad. I think Canada's going to do the same thing. ...Canada has a lot of environmental problems. We have cities that are getting more and more polluted, we're cutting down too many trees. There is so much that needs to be taken care of but the government is not doing enough. (Tape #11)

When asked what he thought the government ought to be doing, Derek responded,

They ought to stop depending on huge companies for money. Stop listening to corporate lobbyists and really try to do what's right. I think the reason that the government doesn't do more is that they're corrupt. I do! [TODD: What could you do to take more care of the environment or inspire others to do what you think is right here?] I try and educate people. I talk about it in class a lot. I know Jessica, she's one of the girls you picked to be in this thing, she's involved with an environmental group. I've thought about doing that maybe. (pause) But you're right I have to do more. (Tape #11)

Derek's tension stemmed from his perception that Canadians offer lip-service to caring for the natural environment, saying it is an important value they hold, but that they do not act on it. Whether he perceived Canadians to be hypocritical or simply apathetic is unclear, but Derek clearly perceived the "government" as negligent in its responsibilities. Problems such as deforestation and urban pollution were, in Derek's eyes, evidence of a "corrupt government" that sacrifices the natural environment to corporate interests. His perspective did not indicate a sense of hopelessness as he noted a number of ways that a difference might be made including, environmental recovery programs such as those used in Germany and making environmental concerns an issue in class. He also realized he could take an activist role in bringing about changes that better reflect his interpretation of the value. To that end, Derek joined an environmental group before the group interview eleven days later. During that interview he enthusiastically exclaimed that people have to "get off their ass and get involved!" and that "working with the grass roots is a way to make real change" (Tape #17).

Jessica, a student from Whitehorse, shared Derek's tension and his involvement in environmental activism. On the questionnaire (Appendix 3B: Question #12), Jessica

wrote, "Canadians believe they have the most beautiful country." A perception more than a value, further questioning (Appendix 4, Part D: Question #7) revealed that she meant care for the natural environment. She said,

Canadians feel that way, and they should. It is a beautiful place. But we're destroying it every day. [TODD: You think we're destroying the environment?] It makes me crazy. You're going to get me started aren't you? (smiling). The environment is my life. I work at it every day. I belong to this environmental activist group. I learned about it through my friend's sister. Anyway, I've been working with them for about a year now. Totally amazing group of people, really committed to improving the environment. I think that Canadians believe that we should care for the environment and I bet (pause) no I would bet my life that most of them think we're doing it too. But we are so not. Big corporations are cutting down old growth forest in B. C. all the time. They devastate the environment in an area that has taken like hundreds of years to grow. It is really mind-boggling that we let this happen. (Tape #14)

Like Derek, Jessica perceived disjuncture between what Canadians say they believe and how they act. She also suggested that Canadians convince themselves that as a nation they care for the environment but proclaimed this to be a fallacy. She perceived the natural environment being routinely sacrificed to the desires of "big corporations." Jessica's Canadian identity demands that the natural environment be cared for in a way that she understands care and has no room for those whose actions differ from that understanding. She spoke of "big corporations" with suspicion and derision. To her they were examples of institutions and people with misguided priorities.

For both Derek and Jessica, Canadians valued caring for the natural environment but were apathetic, hypocritical, or pawns of "corrupt governments" and "big corporations" with misguided priorities and positioned themselves on morally superior ground by trying to effect change through environmental activism.

Like Jessica, Brianne had become involved in environmental activism the year before this project began. Activism, for her, was a way of demonstrating her belief that the natural environment must be cared for. Still, she expressed tension with her fellow Canadians. She did not blame governments or corporations but a misguided and reckless culture that viewed the natural environment as something to be dominated and used to satisfy wants and desires. She cast herself as an advocate for the natural environment

against those engaging in environmental destruction but felt an equal amount of frustration with people whom she believes share her value but do not attempt to make change. Brianne explained,

Every time I see an animal killed on the road or something I could (pauses) I was gonna say cry but that's not it. I get so mad. We think we own the entire planet and can do anything we want with it. We can't! It's not ours to take! [TODD: So Canadians don't believe in caring for the environment?] Oh yeah, we care all right. As long as someone else is doing all the protesting. My cousin Gerald⁵ lives in Port Alberni and he's always been bugging me about being this big, crazy, tree-hugger, right? My aunt told my mom that he actually thinks that what I do is really good. That made me even crazier because here I am trying to like make people see and he's, all he cares about is the logging industry. That's where he works, and I'm doing all this stuff. Gerald never helps me but oh, by the way he thinks what I do is good. Why doesn't he get off his ass and help me sometimes then!? [TODD: You think he benefits from your work with X (name of environmental group)?] Well it lets him ease his conscience or something. See people want people like me to do this type of work, so they don't have to. [TODD: Do you suppose some of them don't believe in your position at all?] Oh yeah, I know some of them don't. But a lot of them do. You know the ones who watch all the environmental destruction on television and, and sit there and go tsk, tsk, tsk, isn't that terrible, pass me the remote! (Tape #10)

In Brianne's mind, Canadians, exemplified by her cousin, are passive, inactive, and hypocritical. She perceived them simultaneously wanting to care for the environment, while behaving in ways that destroy the environment. As well, people mock the work of activists while silently cheering them on because they provide a small but necessary counter-balance to the insatiable consumption Brianne perceived to be prevalent in Canadian society. She was frustrated and angry with her perception of the status quo and wanted to institute change. As Brianne said, "I know we do some good."

Karen exemplified some of the tension that Derek, Jessica, and Brianne exhibited, but was as activist. She wrote, "we should take care of the environment" on her questionnaire (Appendix 3B: Question #12). However, Karen expressed tension between her interpretation of this value and how she perceived the value being acted on by other Canadians. In the interview she said,

⁵ Pseudonym.

The environment IS important. It is what gives us life. But I think that people take it for granted. They just assume that it will always be [pause] incredible and rich and beautiful. [TODD: Who are they?] Canadians. I'm talking generally here, not all Canadians, not me, but many Canadians just see the environment as something to be used. You know, something that has tons of oil and lots of trees to be torn down. They forget that it is the home of the animals and the place [pause] oh God, you're gonna think I'm so corny [TODD: Go ahead, be corny if you want] They forget that nature is the place where you go and renew yourself. When I lived in Montana that's what I used to do. I'd go into the woods, up on the mountain behind our house and I'd just sit and look at the, like the little village below. It was so peaceful. I think people forget that. [TODD: So are you saying that Canadians generally don't think the environment is important?] No, no, we do. But Canadians are selfish too. We want it but we don't want to work at taking care of it. (Tape #2)

Care for the natural environment is an important value for Karen, forming part of her Canadian identity. She treasured Canada's beauty, and much like her sense of commitment to the land, found strength and spiritual renewal being outside, communing with nature. Karen believed that care for the natural environment entailed "work." However, Karen expressed tension with the "many Canadians" who philosophically view the natural environment as a source of raw materials, riches to be exploited for their benefit. Karen is influenced by her experience living in Montana but also by her aboriginal heritage and the beliefs of her parents. She perceived Canadians to be "selfish" because in her mind they can't reconcile their belief in caring for the natural environment with their more immediate desire to dominate and use it.

Lea reflected the sentiments of the remaining students who supported care for the natural environment. On the questionnaire (Appendix 3B: Question #12) she claimed that Canadians believe in "being outdoors." She explained,

Canadians are totally into the environment. Up at the hill (Whistler Mountain) everybody knows that we have the most awesome outdoors, nature. I mean when you're up at the top it is so incredible. The snow sometimes looks like glass [TODD: And you believe Canadians care for the environment?] Yeah! How can you keep the country as beautiful as it is if people don't take care of it? It has to be almost like a way of life. I know there is way more we could be doing, way, way more, right? But I think we truly do most of the time. [TODD: So you support taking care of the environment yourself?] Who doesn't? Of course I do. I try to do what I

can (laughing) mostly by telling everyone else to clean up their stuff!
(Tape #13)

Influenced by her experiences at and her love for Whistler, B. C., Lea espoused caring for the natural environment as a means of maintaining the pristine qualities of the outdoors. Caring for the natural environment is, for her, a “way of life” though her efforts do not extend beyond reminders to others to “clean up their stuff.” She revealed no tensions, only pride in the natural environment and optimism at what is being accomplished. Lea believed that she and her fellow Canadians are “totally into the environment”, though she did concede that more could be done.

To summarize, seven students offered evidence that they support care for the natural environment. Several students expressed tension with their fellow Canadians however, suggesting that they were hypocritical and/or apathetic to the environmental destruction that is permitted by “corrupt governments” and corporations that are misguided. As well, there tension was expressed with a cultural mindset where domination and use of the natural environment to satisfy wants and desires was more important than caring for the natural environment because it has inherent worth. Three of the students tried to confront their tensions by actively engaging in environmental activism that they hope will effect change.

How does the curriculum reflect this value? The SS-11 IRP accords an entire section to environmental issues suggesting a belief in the importance of learning about the environment and issues related to it. The IRP includes a number of PLOs in which examination of care for the natural environment is possible. The PLOs mandate that students will be able to,

- Explain the environmental impact of economic activity, population growth, urbanization and standard of living (Environmental Issues: A-7).
- Identify and assess environmental issues facing Canadians (Environmental Issues: A-7).

Here students could examine different conceptions of care including preservation of the natural environment in pristine condition, conservation from human destruction

and natural deterioration, and ways of using the natural environment in a manner that permits long term sustainability. This is supported by one SIS suggesting,

- that students debate, formally or informally, possible solutions to critical environmental issues (e.g. clear-cut logging,...acid rain,...global warming) (Environmental Issues: 28).

This SIS, if used, offers the possibility of students acting on conceptions of care to solve environmental problems.

The textbooks reflect this value but do not use the term “care” nor do they consider interacting with the natural environment in a way that suggests it has inherent worth. Instead, the textbooks communicate a message of caring for the natural environment to the extent that economies can be maintained and future economic growth is possible. The sub-text is that the natural environment is to be dominated and used as a source of resources to satisfy human desires but caring for it is advisable if current lifestyles are to be maintained.

In CNU, the natural environment is part of the backdrop or scenery behind all of the events that comprise Canada’s nation-building process that is the focus of almost the entire textbook. The land, as part of the natural environment, is presented as something to be conquered and dominated. Issues around the establishment of British sovereignty and the evolution toward a Canadian confederation or “union of all British North American colonies from sea to sea” (79) predominate. The Canadian government asserted its control through immigration policies that populated the west with white Europeans farmers and miners, the construction of a trans-continental railway, and policies that assigned particular land areas to aboriginal peoples (81-91). Care for the natural environment is accorded only a small section (386-388) in chapter 19: Canada from the 1960s to the 1980s (382-393). The section begins by briefly outlining the ways forests, farmland, water, and air are being destroyed (386) and the increasing awareness of Canadians to the ways their lifestyle is exacerbating the problems (387-388). The section continues by stating the different ways private citizens have attempted to redress environmental destruction, including recycling programs and establishing environmental organizations such as Greenpeace, and Pollution Probe. Governments became involved when concern arose about the “greenhouse effect” and introduced emission standards

(387). Despite this, a text and pictorial inset suggest that the general public is largely unwilling to make radical changes to their lifestyles, begging the question "...how committed are we?" to caring for the natural environment (388). The message communicated to students before chapter 19 is that the natural environment is something to be dominated but this has caused problems with which Canadians have only begun to recognize and address but may not be fully committed to because changes could potentially alter the lifestyles they have come to enjoy. The textbook does not endorse environmental advocacy or offer critique of consumptive lifestyles, suggesting that ways have to be found to protect the environment while continuing to use it.

CI focuses largely on specific issues concerned with the natural environment. Here, too, the message conveyed to students is that the natural environment is to be dominated and any care is to ensure that economies are maintained and can grow in the future. This is evident in issues such as "King Coal: Mining on Vancouver Island" (36-37) in which the natural environment is presented as source of wealth, funding Canada's progress in the industrial age, while the devastation of a land that is depleted is shown in "The Dust Bowl: Economics and Climate Join Forces" (128-129), showing the poverty and economic depression of poor climate conditions during the 1930s. Toward the end of the textbook a number of entries appear to suggest concern over the destruction of the natural environment and how this can have an economic impact. Issues such as "The Global Environment" (374-377), "Air Resources" (378-379), "Land Resources" (380-381), and "Water Resources" (382-383) examines the challenges faced and questions how to best protect and preserve the planet while maintaining economic systems based on growth through consumption. The concept of "sustainable development" is introduced as a possible way of obtaining this balance (374), and is premised on the belief that changes in individual, corporate and governmental behaviours can reduce the deterioration of the natural environment and limit any adverse economic or health impact on Canadian society.

The same message predominates in CT, chapter 15: Canada and the Global Community (416-443) but there is more of an effort to examine the reasons why care for the natural environment is considered important. A section entitled "Economic Success and Its Cost" (420) and an accompanying timeline illustrate how environmental problems

have increased significantly during the last 30 years of the 20th century. The reason offered for increasing environmental problems is the growth in the manufacture of natural resources into goods, a process that causes vast amounts of pollution (420-421). However, it is not suggested that the consumptive lifestyles be altered and that the natural environment be cared for because it has inherent worth, rather CT introduces “sustainable development” (425) as a possible solution where lifestyles (and economies) are retained but more of an effort is afforded maintaining the natural environment to ensure long term growth.

This is a limited notion of care and it conveys an anthropocentric message to students. At no point do the textbooks take into consideration the well-being of others who share the natural environment, including plants, animals, fish, and fowl. As well, human societies less concerned with capitalist measures of economic growth and who have cultivated a different relationship with the natural environment are only peripherally mentioned.

How do the textbooks expand students’ understanding of this value? The textbooks include information on the impact of human activity on the natural environment. CT’s chapter 15: Canada and the World Community (416-443) includes a section entitled “The World Challenged: An Investigation” (418) whereby a list of statistics are offered students that demonstrate increasing environmental degradation and suggesting a sense of urgency in finding ways to limit it. However, the textbooks could expand students’ understandings further by exploring a number of philosophies of related to the natural environment. Gibbins and Youngman (1996) suggest there are two philosophies of environmentalism, “reform environmentalism” and “ecologism” (143). Reform environmentalism, also referred to as “light green” environmentalism offers “a managerial strategy for dealing with environmental problems, maintaining that these can be resolved without fundamental changes to our current political or economic systems, or to the values that undergird these systems” (Dobson, 1990: 13). The notion of sustainable development would fall within the parameters of this philosophy. Reform environmentalism also houses sub-concepts like “personal environmentalism” whereby people individually choose to recycle, compost, buy organic foods, and advocate green consumerism. A second sub-concept includes the “environmental movement” which

includes politicized action to link personal environmentalism with the public policy process. This notion suggests that individuals can form groups to educate and advocate for reform at governmental and corporate levels of society. Greenpeace and the Sierra Club would be examples of this form of reform environmentalism and reflects the actions of Jessica, Brianne, and Derek.

Ecologism, or “dark green” environmentalism, is less well known (Gibbins and Youngman, 1996: 144). It is a branch of environmentalism that insists that environmental problems can only be abated through “...fundamental and radical changes to our existing relationship with nature, and consequently, to the social, political and economic institutions which are founded upon this relationship” (Dobson, 1990:13). This philosophy suggests that the current human-centred or anthropocentric model of man’s relationship with the nature is the primary cause of environmental degradation. Only through the development of an ecocentric mindset, and corresponding modes of relationship, can the planet survive. As Eckersley (1992) points out, this premise suggests that humans “...should exercise caution and humility in their ‘interventions’ with the non-human world” (28). A sub-concept of ecologism is “bioregionalism” which is founded on the Gaea principle that we are all part of the whole. Here, the natural environment should inspire awe and veneration. People learn to be “dwellers on the land...to come to know the earth fully and honestly” (Sale, 1991: 42). This notion also has many connections to aboriginal beliefs about the relationship between humans and nature. Through these perspectives students would have a broader array of possibilities to help in understanding and positioning their values, challenging them to embrace deeper notions of environmentalism or suggesting that capitalism does not preclude caring for inherent worth of the natural environment.

How do the textbooks enhance students’ ability to confront the tensions they experience? Karen, Jessica, Brianne and Derek perceived a disjuncture between their philosophy of care and the philosophy of their fellow Canadians. CT offers the best example of an opportunity to explore such a tension. In chapter 15: Canada and the Global Community (416-443), Figure 15-7 is a text insert by Catherine Farley of Southam Syndicate entitled “A Green Economy” (cited in CT, 427). It states that environmental economists believe that Gross Domestic Product (GDP), commonly used

to assess a nation's wealth, is a poor measure because it does not include the cost of environmental depletion. The suggestion offered is a revised measure whereby penalties would be included for consuming non-renewable resources and for creating environmental disasters while rewards would be offered for starting conservation programs.

The accompanying questions ask "should a country's development be measured just in terms of industry and money?" and "What do you think would happen to Canada's GDP if they system of penalties and rewards outlined here was followed?" These questions offer the possibility of students discussing the merits of such a system, its economic impact, as well as the impact on marketing, consumer choices, and lifestyles. Karen believed that Canadians care about the natural environment but are largely unwilling to make the necessary lifestyle changes to make it meaningful, preferring to continue using the natural environment as a resource to satisfy wants and desires. These questions might elicit the extent to which she and other students are willing to make changes that better reflect their conception of care for the natural environment. The questions are not accompanied by suggestions of approach to answering or presentation of responses, or criteria for what constitutes a successful answer.

Jessica, Brianne and Derek felt that "corrupt governments" and "big corporations", as purveyors of the capitalist ethic, exploited the natural environment to maintain consumer society. None of the social studies textbooks provided learning opportunities that would prepare students to better confront these tensions. Corporations are all but absent from the textbooks and governments, when mentioned, are presented as being involved in solving environmental problems through the United Nations (CT, 430), attendance at the Earth Summit (CT, 430), or instituting policies that protect the environment such as the Canadian Environmental Protection Act (CEPA) of 1988 (CI, 377) and the Forest Practices Code of 1994 (CI, 381). However, CNU includes a number of questions that probe student ideas about government and corporations' role in caring for the natural environment. In Chapter 19: Canada from the 1960s to the 1980s (382-393), a question at the end of the chapter asks students to "make a list of the environmental problems that Canadians became aware of in the 1960s. What actions have since been taken to deal with these problems? What further actions should be taken by: a)

individuals; b) corporations; c) governments?" (CNU, 393: Question #3). The chapter includes a section entitled "A New Environmental Awareness" (386) that provides some background knowledge to answer the first part of the question, but students have no information in which to answer the other parts of the question. They can offer personal perspectives but this will be based on little information. As well, there are no suggestions of how students can approach answering this question, format for presentation, or criteria for what constitutes a successful response.

CI includes thoughtful questions for students to consider. For example, an issue entitled "Land Resources: Temperate Rainforest Deforestation" (380-381) presents Clayoquot Sound as a case study with differing views on the issue of clear-cut logging on the British Columbia coast. Question #2 asks students to "...divide into two groups representing both interest groups. Research the issues and arguments for your group, then role-play a lively discussion between the two sides" (381). This is related to the tensions students expressed (i.e., corporate interests/logging vs. care for the environment/preservation of a forest). As well, it provides students with a creative medium in which to present their responses (role-play). But the activity does not build on the background knowledge provided. There are no suggestions on how to approach "research" or what criteria could be used to judge successful arguments in the role play.

To summarize, the SS-11 IRP reflects the value of care for the natural environment in the number of PLOs devoted to environmental issues. Indeed, an entire section of the IRP is devoted to environmental issues. These PLOs can be interpreted by teachers in a number of ways including the examination of differing perspectives on care and how to best care for the natural environment. As well, there are optional SISs provided that, if used, offer students the opportunity to explore some of the pressing environmental issues of the day and how they might enact a conception of care to address these problems.

All three textbooks reflect this value but rather than suggesting that care for the natural environment because it has inherent worth, the message conveyed is that it is economically prudent to care for the natural environment in order to maintain current lifestyles, levels of economic activity, and to ensure that economies can grow in the future.

Finally, the best opportunities to confront tensions expressed by students are found in CT and CNU. The questions and tasks asked have potential to help students consider their tensions but save for the suggestion of a role-play concerning the issue of logging in Clayoquot Sound, the questions and tasks are not supported by suggestions of approach, format, or criteria for judging success.

6. 4. Conclusion

The migrant students expressed a deep commitment to values they perceived to Canadian, especially acceptance of diversity and non-violence in interactions with others, and to a lesser extent, care for the natural environment. Not surprisingly, students expressed more tension with values than with any other dimension of their Canadian identity; they perceived disjuncture between what they believed and what they perceived others believing, saying, and doing.

Students believed in acceptance of diversity but were challenged by how to live with the value. Students who comprise a visible minority in Canada expressed tension at being marginalized by the invisible majority while simultaneously marginalizing themselves. Several of the students who could be classified as the invisible majority recognized challenges to their privileged position in society but implicitly maintained their own positions as diversity's gatekeepers. They perceived themselves to be the group that is permitted to accept or reject newcomers to Canada or those who are making society more diverse. The comments expressed by both groups of students indicate the continuing challenge of cultivating a multicultural society that is accepting of difference. Long established norms and attitudes that support those norms are still in evidence. Indeed, race and to a lesser extent ethnicity are still aspects of identity that inform students' tensions in the classroom, cafeteria, on the streets, at home, and in the larger society. This is of interest because Canada is increasingly becoming racially and ethnically diverse and if norms and attitudes are not identified and examined, students as well as the larger society may become divided into racial and ethnic enclaves whereby feelings of mistrust, anger, frustration, and hatred lead to further victimization and marginalization on all fronts. In short, unaddressed challenges to attitudes and actions

that undermine the value of acceptance of diversity increase the possibility tensions will become explosive.

This is not meant to sound apocalyptic. Indeed, it is encouraging that despite a number of tensions acceptance of diversity is widely perceived to be a Canadian value and a value that students support. At least to some degree, students are recognizing that difference is not a bad thing and that living in a society that approaches diversity with an attitude of acceptance has cultural, social, economic, political, and moral benefits. However, the comments expressed by students do indicate that further efforts should to be devoted to examining norms and attitudes about racial and ethnic difference and how living in a diverse society presents challenges. Schools, and by extension the official curriculum and textbooks, have a role to play in engaging in this area further, uncovering privileged norms and identifying attitudes that marginalize and victimize oneself and/or others. As well, they have a role to play in enhancing students' ability to confront their tensions in a thoughtful and reasoned way, demonstrating that though we may not always like how differences affect Canadian society or our own lives we continue to embrace acceptance of diversity as a worthwhile value and reach resolutions that embody a sense of social justice.

Most students who identified non-violence also indicated that violence is if not present in their everyday life is a part of the world around them and they have perspective on the use of violence. Students expressed tension with Canada's involvement in state-on-state violence (NATO bombings of Yugoslavia), state-on-person violence (APEC riots), and were concerned about person-on-person violence (Columbine and Taber shootings). Students drew on their ethnic connections, how violence is portrayed in the media, the experiences of friends, and their own perceptions to convey their feelings. Students revealed that they were unwilling to accept the status quo with regard to the violence they perceived around them and were willing to challenge government decisions and actions as well as media reports that they deemed inappropriate or wrong. While students' comments were based as much on emotion as in thoughtful analysis of the information they had, their willingness to challenge is a heartening, suggesting a role for official curricula and textbooks in helping students refine their ability to analyze

information, construct well crafted arguments for and against positions, and design models of behaviour that encourage non-violence in interactions with others.

A few students expressed a belief in care for the natural environment and largely perceived this as a Canadian value as well. For these students, the natural environment should be cared for because it has inherent worth. Their perceptions were based on a belief that it is morally right and in the long run better for humanity to live with and through the natural environment than to dominate it solely to meet people's wants. Some of the students expressed tension with the lack of care exhibited by others in Canada believing that individuals, governments, and corporations were sacrificing the natural environment because apathy, corruption, and a desire for profit. The students' who indicated that care for the natural environment was part of Canada's and their value system, suggested an unselfishness in their attitudes and a willingness to challenge what they perceived to be the dominant patterns of behaviour with regard to the natural environment. Though it is not known to what extent students were willing to challenge their own or society's patterns of behaviour, the fact that questions were being asked of how society relates to the natural environment is encouraging. Three students chose to act on their beliefs and volunteer at environmental organizations committed to educating the public about environmental issues and effecting change to governmental policies. This is inspiring to the extent that it indicates a willingness on the part of students to stand up for what they believe and act on those beliefs to bring about change. Indeed, these students found a way to participate in society and displayed a sense of agency that bodes well for the vibrancy of Canada as a democratic nation and for the future of the natural environment. However, students' poor perception of government and corporations may indicate widespread alienation from two of the key actors in mainstream Canadian society and could be a potential source of cynicism that undermines these youths' future participation in Canada's political and economic systems.

The curriculum does offer the potential for students to engage with these values, particularly with regard to acceptance of diversity and care for the natural environment. A number of PLOs provide an opportunity to examine Canada's cultural and ethnic diversity, the role cultural pluralism has played in shaping Canadian identity, and assess environmental issues facing Canadians. It requires the examination of state-on-state

violence with regard to Canada's growth as an independent nation and role in international conflicts. Nevertheless, the PLOs and SISs allow for teachers' interpretation to address the interests and needs of students.

The textbooks also offer the potential for students to engage with the Canadian values they expressed as their own. Canada is a nation where acceptance of diversity, non-violence in interaction with others, and care for the natural environment are valued. Acceptance of diversity is especially prominent through textbook introductions, pictures, identity statements, examinations of government policies and programs, and profiles of successful immigrants; the message conveyed is that students live in a culturally diverse nation enriched by diversity. As well, the textbooks' conceptions of diversity go beyond race and ethnicity to include gender but not religion, sexual orientation, socio-economic status, and age. Although issues of racism are explored, more attention needs to be given to the taken-for-granted norm of the white, Canadian-born, person of British or French heritage who has the privilege to accept or reject the diversity introduced by others.

The textbooks reflect and expand the value of non-violence, portraying Canada as a peaceful nation that assists other nations in achieving and maintaining peace through the United Nations and peace-keeping missions. Students learn that only engages in state-on-state violence when it is believed to be absolutely necessary to re-establish peace and order. As well, Canada is portrayed as a nation of laws whereby people who break those laws through acts of violence are penalized by the judicial system. Other types of violence, particularly state-on person and person-on-person violence are represented but to a much lesser extent.

Care for the natural environment is also reflected and expanded. However, unlike the students who believed that the environment should be cared for because it has inherent worth, the textbooks presented a portrait of Canada seeking sustainable development whereby the natural environment can continue to be used to maintain current lifestyles and ensure continued economic growth in the future.

The textbooks offer less potential for students to engage with these values when it comes to providing topics that reflect students' tensions and in the use of topics that do to enhance students' ability to confront their tensions. For example, textbooks suggest that ethnic groups can maintain their distinctiveness and do so by following customs in the

home, joining cultural community centres, and participating in cultural festivals. However, opportunities to examine the ways race is used to privilege, marginalize, and erase ethnic identities are not provided.

While topics such as the Winnipeg General Strike are generative, the questions did not capture students' concerns about state suppression of freedom of speech. Other questions capture students' tensions; an example was the question that asked students to consider what actions should be taken by individuals, governments, and corporations in response to growing environmental problems, which allowed students to confront their tensions with "corrupt governments" and "big corporations."

If textbooks are to take seriously helping students think through the tensions they experience with regard to their Canadian identity, then more work is required to ascertain what are the areas of tension students' are experiencing, incorporating relevant topics, developing questions that require thoughtful decision making, and supporting the thinking process with suggestions. Only then will students' ability to confront their tensions successfully be enhanced.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Conclusion

In this chapter, I reiterate the purpose of the study and how it was conducted, as well as summarize the results. This is followed by a discussion of Canadian identity and what this study contributes to theory-building. Also, I consider questions that remain outstanding which could be used to guide future research. Finally, I discuss improving the potential of social studies curriculum documents and textbooks, and what this study offers such efforts.

The purpose of this study was to explore the Canadian identities of a selected group of migrant students in order to gain insights that could contribute to ongoing theory-building about Canadian identity. I did this using the perceptions of Canada, Canadians, and themselves as Canadians offered by the students. A second purpose was to evaluate social studies curriculum documents and textbooks in order to gain insights that could contribute to ongoing efforts to improve them. This was accomplished using students' Canadian identity as an entry point into analysis of a selected social studies curriculum document and textbooks.

The specific thesis questions to be answered were: 1) what are students' perceptions of Canada, Canadians, and themselves as Canadians? and 2) do the social studies curriculum document and textbooks offer the potential for students to engage their perceptions? As suggested in chapter one, perceptions were assumed to be a window revealing the meaning students ascribe to the national community of which they are a part and therefore evidence of their Canadian identity.

I selected 15 migrant students to participate in this study because it has been theorized that changes in location/cultural milieu bring forth heightened sensitivity to perceptions of one's surroundings and perspectives on the nation. Students who had migrated within the previous 24 months were likely to offer richly layered perceptions about Canada, Canadians, and themselves as Canadians as they acclimatize to life in their new environment. Eight of the students had migrated from within Canada while seven had recently immigrated to Canada. All the students attended Portage Secondary School in a diverse upper-middle class neighbourhood in Vancouver, B.C.

I gathered data on students' perceptions in April-May, 1999 using three data gathering methods: questionnaire, individual interview, and group interview. I used a framework of Canadian identity developed by Hughes (1997) to assist in categorizing the data and adapted it as suggested by the data. The data were categorized into three dimensions of Canadian identity: sentiment, citizenship, and values, for analysis. I further sub-divided each dimension into a number of features. The results are as follows.

With regard to sentiment, students' perceptions were largely positive and focused on affirming that Canada is a nation worthy of loyalty and commitment and that Canadians are group of people worth belonging to. Only a few tensions were expressed. A majority of students exhibited a strong sense of commitment to territory, landscape, and location, but only one student, an aboriginal woman, expressed any sense of commitment to land. She felt tension because she perceived a lack of commitment to the land in others.

Students almost uniformly expressed a strong and positive sense of commitment to distinct symbols with the Canadian flag being the symbol of choice. Other symbols included the national anthem, hockey, and the monarchy. One student expressed tension with the monarchy as a Canadian symbol finding it archaic, colonialist, and demeaning to Canada's non-British peoples.

While students offered the names of people that they believed embodied what it meant to be Canadian and events that they perceived to be significant to Canada and Canadians, in the main students did not exhibit a strong sense of historical uniqueness. They struggled to make connections with people and events of the past. This may be indicative of a lack of knowledge or that students find meaning in their nation in ways that don't include looking to the past for guidance or reasons to believe Canada is distinct from other nations. One indication of where students find meaning may be in contemporary entertainers. Students named rock bands and pop singers with ease, expressing pride in their achievement of fame and fortune on the international stage.

Students exhibit a strong sense of national sovereignty, believing that Canada is an independent nation that should be making decisions in the interests of its people. However, there was a widely expressed tension based on fear of and frustration with perceived erosion of Canada's national sovereignty vis-à-vis the United States,

particularly in regards to the economy. Students blamed both the economic might of the United States which undermines Canada's ability to act independently and complicity or blindness on the part of Canadians who are allowing it to happen.

Finally, all students offered some sense of belonging even if it was simply the desire to obtain Canadian citizenship. However, students' sense of belonging broke down along racial lines. White Canadian-born students assumed a taken for granted attitude that they "belonged" in Canada based on their place of birth (in Canada) and parental lineage (also born in Canada). White immigrant students felt a sense of belonging as well because they spoke English and blended into the racial mainstream of Canadian society. Students born in Asian nations, because of their perceived limited language abilities and physical characteristics, lived in a state of between-ness. They lived in Canada, wanted to assume Canadian citizenship, but felt marginalized and/or marginalized themselves. The lone aboriginal student also lived in a state of between-ness but for different reasons. She felt herself to be "Canada but not Canadian", a state that permitted her Canadian and aboriginal identities to co-exist.

With respect to citizenship, students' perceptions revealed a largely rights-based notion of citizenship centred on civil, political, and social rights. Civil, political, and social responsibilities were present but much less prominent. Cultural rights and responsibilities were, save for the aboriginal student, rejected.

Students offered evidence of a strong belief in freedom of speech or expression as a civil right. However, several students expressed tension with perceived repression of free speech by government and others in authority. Students understood political rights to mean the right to vote. Though some students felt a responsibility to vote when able to do so, others felt no such responsibility, believing that voting is ineffectual because the formal political system is skewed in favour of corporate interests. Rather than participate within the formal political system, a number of students opted to engage in volunteer work with environmental groups as a way of bringing about change. A few students understood political rights to include the right to hold electoral office but none felt any responsibility to do so. Of interest was the perception of a student born in Korea who believed he would never get elected if he did run for office because he looked "different", indicating once again the tenuous sense of belonging felt by non-white students.

Perceptions of social rights focused mainly on the provision of social services, particularly health care. Many students believed that an accessible health care system was an important part of being Canadian, but expressed worry and anger about its perceived erosion with moves toward American-style health care and neglect.

As stated earlier, cultural rights and responsibilities as defined were embraced by one student. She believed that certain groups, specifically aboriginals, have cultural rights and that Canadians have a responsibility to acknowledge that. Others either did not suggest this feature as part of their Canadian identity or expressed tension with the notion of certain groups having cultural rights. For these students, cultural rights undermined the unity of Canada.

With respect to Canadian identity as values students expressed belief in and support for certain values they believed to be Canadian yet offered more tensions here than with any other dimension. Students identified acceptance of diversity as a Canadian value, believed in it themselves yet offered ambivalent feelings about how it was lived day by day. Students, particularly white students, sometimes perceived acceptance of diversity to be a challenge as it threatened the privileges they had amassed in Canadian society. Non-violence in interactions with others was also identified as a Canadian value and though students supported it many believed that state-on-state, state-on-person, and person-on-person violence was very much a growing part of Canadian society.

A smaller group of students identified care for the natural environment as a Canadian value which they believed in. However, they also expressed tension with the lack of care exhibited by most Canadians, the Canadian government, and corporations. Some suggested that Canadians are having difficulty reconciling care for the natural environment with a mindset of domination, ownership, and/or immediacy in fulfilling one's desires.

In order to answer the second thesis question, I used students' perceptions as an entry point into analysis of a curriculum document and textbooks. I selected the social studies curriculum document for grade eleven in British Columbia (SS-11 IRP) for analysis, along with *Canadian Issues* (CI), *Canada: A Nation Unfolding* (CNU), and *Canada Today* (CT), three textbooks suggested as recommended resources for use in British Columbia's grade eleven social studies classrooms. Using text analysis charts, I

categorized the prescribed learning outcomes (PLOs) and suggested instructional strategies (SISs) of the SS-IRP according to the dimensions and features of students' Canadian identity they most related. I did the same process with each section of the textbooks. I then selected the PLOs, SISs, and portions of the textbook that offered the potential for students to engage with their perceptions.

As stated in chapter one, one of the ways I evaluated the curriculum document and textbooks was to evaluate whether they *reflected* the various dimensions and features of students' Canadian identity. This alone is insufficient however and I further evaluated the textbooks as to whether they *expanded* students' understandings of the dimensions and features and whether they *enhanced* students' ability to confront the tensions they experience. The results are as follows.

The SS-11 IRP for British Columbia offered the potential for students to engage their perceptions. Indeed, students' perceptions of Canada, Canadians, and themselves as Canadians were reflected in this curriculum document. The rationale statement encouraged the use of PLOs and SISs to make connections between students and the world. The PLOs were composed in a fashion that offered focus yet could be interpreted in a number of ways by teachers to help students "see themselves" in the social studies classroom, while the SISs, if used, offered supportive possibilities.

The three textbooks sanctioned for use in British Columbia's SS-11 classrooms also offered the potential for students to engage their perceptions in a number of ways. First, they reflected the perceptions that comprised students' Canadian identity. Using a variety of techniques, including text passages, pictures, charts, maps, biographies, document reproductions, paintings, poems, book excerpts, and timelines, the textbooks presented a nation that students would largely recognize. Though the personalities, events, topics, and issues differed on occasion from those identified by students, and the message conveyed also occasionally differed, students could "see themselves" broadly represented within.

The textbooks also offered potential in that there were opportunities for students to expand their perceptions through the inclusion of richer and deeper information related to each dimension and feature of their Canadian identity. This is especially true with regard to the introduction of new personalities, events, topics, issues, and ideas that

students did not communicate as part of their Canadian identity or may not have previously encountered. The textbooks also offered potential by expanding students' Canadian identity through exposure to perspectives that challenged their perceptions. However, I would add that more could be done in this area as students' perceptions were usually "in line" with the singular perspective presented. Also, the textbooks could offer further potential by including theories that relate to various topics and issues. I offered suggestions throughout which could be used.

Tensions are the one area in which the textbooks offered only limited potential for students to engage their perceptions. The tensions that students experienced were occasionally not reflected in the textbooks at all. This may be an indication that the tensions expressed by students were unique and not widely shared or possibly that some tensions were sacrificed in order to focus on other topics. When text that reflected students' tensions was present, the questions and tasks asked of students frequently did not capture the essence of those tensions. This may be an indication of a focus on other issues or skill development, poor questioning, a belief that students could not handle an examination of the issues at the core of their tension, or unwillingness on the part of the authors to do have students engage with certain issues.

However, sometimes text could be found that included questions and tasks which focused on the issue(s) at the core of students' tensions, and included an expectation of students to make thoughtful and reasonable decisions about those issues. These examples offered the potential for students to enhance their ability to confront their tensions. However, these examples rarely if ever offered all the supports suggested as necessary. Students were usually not provided with suggested approaches to answering questions or completing tasks, formats for presentation of results, and/or criteria to help students gauge success. This was unfortunate because a number of the support tools were available. Each of the textbooks included sections that examined different strategies for approaching questions or tasks and formats for presenting results. These included, among others, "effective problem solving" (CNU, 416-417), "problem solving model" (CT, xvii), "investigating model" (CT, xviii), and "making oral presentations" (CI, 30). However, these sections were positioned apart from the main body of the textbooks and students were never referred to them in order to answer questions or fulfill tasks.

What does this study indicate about Canadian identity and contribute to theory building in this area? First, this study contributes a framework of Canadian identity that is able to capture the broad range of perceptions offered by students. It builds on the frameworks of previous researchers particularly that of Glynn Hughes (1997), while offering future theorists a starting point from which to analyze the many aspects of Canadian identity.

Second, this study suggests that while school plays a large role in students' lives, it does not influence their perceptions of Canada, Canadians, and themselves as Canadians as overtly as other influences. Students offered many indicators of how their perceptions were formed or from whence their perceptions emerged. It was apparent that personal experiences (such as growing up in Russia or trips to Belize or Guatemala), family, friends, and the media, have far more influence than school. Indeed, there were only a few occasions in which school was mentioned at all. Undoubtedly, school has more of an influence than this may suggest at first glance, but its near-absence begs the question: to what extent do and/or can schools play a role in the cultivation of Canadian identity.

Third, while the sample size of this study is not sufficient in which to make generalizations, the cases offer indications of patterns that could inform a theory of Canadian identity and may be cause for future research. One such pattern is that despite differences of detail, example, or illustration there is a fair amount of consistency between people in their perceptions of Canada and Canadians. This suggests that while the forces of globalization and fragmentation may be present, a significant amount of commonality and cohesion exists even within a group that includes migrants from within Canada and immigrants to Canada. This indicates that the forces of consolidation have had and probably continue to have a profound effect on people living in Canada.

Another pattern is that Canadian identity is heavily influenced by perceptions of the United States. Whether it is the development of a rights-based notion of citizenship, often associated with American culture, or frustration with the U. S.'s role in the perceived erosion of Canada's national sovereignty, Canadians often seem to define themselves vis-à-vis the United States. This is not unexpected given the proximity, population, and political and economic power of Canada's southern neighbour. Indeed,

Canada has historically had to find its place in the world, especially in the last half of the 20th century, in the long shadow cast by the United States. However, it is somewhat surprising the extent to which students looked on the United States and its influence unfavourably. Others such as Hiller (1996) and Hughes (1997) have noted this in the past and this study suggests that this may be a significant feature of Canadians' identity and something future researchers developing theories about Canadian identity may wish to take into account.

This study also indicates a deeply held belief in the equality of people. Whether it is frustration with corporate privilege, free speech for all, the provision of health care regardless of one's ability to pay, or the rejection of cultural rights and responsibilities because they confer non-equal status on particular groups, Canadians struggle with notions of equality, what it means and how it should be manifested in the ways we live. This has historically been the case as Canada has developed a society that is more egalitarian than either Great Britain or the United States, two of our biggest influences (Beiner, 1995; Brodie, 1999). The fact that this theme continues to be so apparent in the perceptions of students suggests that any theory of Canadian identity must contend with conceptions and perceptions of equality.

This study also suggests that Canadians live differentiated lives based on race. Despite policies of multiculturalism, incremental changes which have made racial discrimination illegal and racial prejudice culturally frowned on, Canada remains a racialized nation. Whites not only form the mainstream in society but continue to be privileged vis-à-vis other races. This state of affairs may be so entrenched that it is largely taken for granted by whites and non-whites alike. This perception has been noted by others in the past (James, 1999; Friesen, 1985) and is apparent enough here to suggest that theorists exploring Canadian identity should consider race and how it informs Canada and Canadians.

A final point with regard to Canadian identity involves the ambivalent feelings expressed by students concerning the "government". While some students were anxious to vote and have their say in governance, a significant number, including some of the same students who were anxious to vote, expressed negative attitudes about politicians, and the formal political system generally. What can be ascertained from the cases

examined herein are feelings of alienation from and cynicism towards government. This point has been noted previously by Bibby (2001) and Taras, Rasporich, and Mandel (1993) among others, as fairly widespread among Canadians. But it is cause for concern. Though it was heartening to note the sense of agency apparent in the environmental activism exhibited by a number of students, a democracy depends on its citizenry believing in the formal political system, the integrity of elected representatives, and the nobility of public service, as well. Researchers in the area of Canadian identity might well consider the relationship between citizen and government as they examine the reasons for the perceptions suggested here.

What does this study offer efforts to improve social studies curriculum documents and textbooks? Canada is contested, an ongoing debate about what the nation is and/or ought to be and what it means to be Canadian. Participating in the debate is something that every citizen in Canada should do. It makes them feel like they are part of the national community, open to different interpretations yet defining it for themselves. In order for social studies to grow as a vital subject area of interest and relevance to students, efforts must be taken to improve the curriculum resources used. One of the ways to do this is to make curriculum resources more meaningful for the students who are exposed to them. I contributed one possibility in this study by suggesting that curriculum documents and textbooks should reflect students' Canadian identity. But what do we know about our students? Finding out about them, their perceptions, tensions, and beliefs is the first step. Bibby (1993, 1995, 2001) and Bibby and Posterski (2000) have gathered a significant amount of data about teens in Canada. Information such as this reveals much about what is relevant and interesting to today's students and could inform the construction of curricula and textbooks.

But relevance is not enough. I also suggested that improving curriculum resources involves creating rich contexts where it is possible for students to meaningfully participate in the debate about what Canada is and/or ought to be and what it means to be Canadian. By introducing students to notions of multiple interpretations, differing but valid perspectives, layered meanings, critique, thoughtful questioning and the development of reasoned responses they will be better prepared to participate in the debate. A number of theorists have developed concepts and approaches that would be

helpful to students in engaging with textbooks. Clark (1999) suggests that teachers can learn (and perhaps teach students?) how to use textbooks sensitively and critically. She approaches textbooks with a critical eye to the depiction of gender, race and ethnicity, the elderly and the disabled. Werner (2000) introduces the notion of engaging students in more “thoughtful readings” of textbooks. He suggests eight overlapping concepts—representation, the gaze, voice, absence, intertextuality, authority, mediation, and reflexivity as viable constructs. Wright and Case (1997) offer a model of critical thinking which can be used to solve problems to which there is no pre-ordained or “right” answer. Though not designed for use with textbooks it is possible to use them in concert with textbooks. They suggest creating a “community of critical thinkers”, developing and using “critical challenges”, and teaching students the “intellectual tools” necessary for addressing problems (Case and Wright, 1999). These are laudable efforts to teach teachers and/or students how to use textbooks that may or may not offer a rich set of possibilities.

But is it not possible to improve curriculum resources, particularly textbooks themselves? Cannot some of the concepts and approaches suggested here be brought directly into the textbooks? Without question the three textbooks analyzed in this study offer the potential for students to engage with their perceptions. Even where it is suggested that the potential is somewhat limited these textbooks are far superior to the ones I used when I attended school. The depictions of Canadians are more diverse, there are a multiplicity of perspectives included, and more opportunities to answer open-ended questions. Yet more can be done. I have great hope for the future as I entreat social studies researchers to continue to study curricula and textbooks and theorize about ways to improve the curriculum resources we use.

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APPENDIX #2: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

The following are the dates and times of individual and group interviews. Each interview has been assigned a tape number. This number is used to identify the source of transcribed quotes in the data analysis chapters.

Student Name / Migrated from	Date of Interview	Time of Interview	Tape #
Pavel / Russia	Mon. April 26, 1999	9:03-10:09	1
Karen / United States	Mon. April 26, 1999	11:27-12:46	2
Paul / Hong Kong	Tues. April 27, 1999	9:00-9:58	3
David / Korea	Tues. April 27, 1999	10:30-11:34	4
Dorian / Jamaica	Wed. April 28, 1999	9:12-10:14	5
Peter / Greece	Mon. May 3, 1999	11:19-12:22	6
Angie / Taiwan	Mon. May 3, 1999	1:10-2:08	7
Michael / Edmonton	Tues. April 20, 1999	12:58-2:03	8
Tina / Richmond Hill	Tues. April 20, 1999	2:06-3:15	9
Brianne / Winnipeg	Mon. April 26, 1999	11:10-12:13	10
Derek / Calgary	Mon. April 26, 1999	1:15-2:24	11
Diana / Ottawa	Tues. April 27, 1999	1:00-2:05	12

Lea / Whistler	Thurs. April 29, 1999	10:17-11:30	13
Jessica / Whitehorse	Thurs. April 29, 1999	2:04-3:23	14
Tim / Prince George	Mon. May 3, 1999	9:08-10:12	15
GROUP #1 Karen - Diana - Michael	Wed. May 5, 1999	10:22-11:34	16
GROUP #2 Dorian - Tina - Derek - Jessica	Thurs. May 6, 1999	9:11-10:32	17
GROUP #3 Angie - Peter - Lea	Thurs. May 6, 1999	2:07-3:15	18
GROUP #4 Paul - Tim - Brianne	Wed. May 12, 1999	10:16-11:35	19
GROUP #5 Pavel - David	Thurs. May 13, 1999	1:07-2:10	20

APPENDIX #3A: QUESTIONNAIRE

QUESTIONNAIRE

(this questionnaire is entirely voluntary and you may withdraw from participation at any time)

LAST NAME: _____ FIRST NAME: _____

AGE: _____ SEX: (circle one only) Male Female

COUNTRY OF BIRTH: _____ CITY/TOWN OF BIRTH: _____

HOW LONG HAVE YOU LIVED IN CANADA? _____

HOW LONG HAVE YOU LIVED IN THE VANCOUVER AREA? _____

ARE YOU OFFICIALLY A CANADIAN CITIZEN? (check one) YES _____ NO _____

IF NO, IN WHAT COUNTRY DO YOU HOLD CITIZENSHIP? _____

IF YOU DO NOT CURRENTLY HOLD CANADIAN CITIZENSHIP DO YOU INTEND TO OBTAIN IT?

(circle one only) YES NO NOT SURE

REGARDLESS OF OFFICIAL STATUS, I SEE MYSELF AS BEING: (circle or fill in blanks as appropriate)

CANADIAN NOT CANADIAN _____-CANADIAN

IF YOU CHOSE "NOT CANADIAN", WITH WHAT COUNTRY DO YOU IDENTIFY YOURSELF?

IF YOU WERE ASKED WHERE YOUR *HOME* IS, WHERE WOULD YOU SAY THAT WAS?

NAME THREE VALUES THAT YOU THINK MOST CANADIANS BELIEVE IN:

WHAT THREE IMAGES COME TO YOUR MIND WHEN YOU THINK OF CANADA?

I AM / AM NOT (circle one) INTERESTED IN PARTICIPATING IN THIS STUDY.

I THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIME AND ASSISTANCE. IF YOU ARE SELECTED AS A CANDIDATE TO PARTICIPATE FURTHER IN THIS RESEARCH YOU WILL BE CONTACTED.

APPENDIX #3B: QUESTIONNAIRE WITH NUMBERS

1. LAST NAME: _____ FIRST NAME: _____
2. AGE: _____ SEX (circle one only) Male Female
3. COUNTRY OF BIRTH: _____ CITY / TOWN OF BIRTH: _____
4. HOW LONG HAVE YOU LIVED IN CANADA? _____
5. HOW LONG HAVE YOU LIVED IN THE VANCOUVER AREA? _____
6. ARE YOU OFFICIALLY A CANADIAN CITIZEN? (check one) YES _____ NO _____
7. IF NO, IN WHAT COUNTRY DO YOU HOLD CITIZENSHIP? _____
8. IF YOU DO NOT CURRENTLY HOLD CANADIAN CITIZENSHIP DO YOU INTEND TO OBTAIN IT?
(check one) YES _____ NO _____ NOT SURE _____
9. REGARDLESS OF OFFICIAL STATUS, I SEE MYSELF AS BEING: (circle or fill in blanks as appropriate)
CANADIAN NOT CANADIAN _____-CANADIAN
10. IF YOU CHOSE "NOT CANADIAN", WITH WHAT COUNTRY DO YOU IDENTIFY YOURSELF? _____
11. IF YOU WERE ASKED WHERE YOUR *HOME* IS, WHERE WOULD YOU SAY THAT WAS?

12. NAME THREE VALUES THAT YOU THINK MOST CANADIANS BELIEVE IN:

13. WHAT THREE IMAGES COME TO YOUR MIND WHEN YOU THINK OF CANADA?

I AM / AM NOT (circle one) INTERESTED IN PARTICIPATING IN THIS STUDY.

I THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIME AND ASSISTANCE. IF YOU ARE SELECTED AS A CANDIDATE TO PARTICPATE FURTHER IN THIS RESEARCH YOU WILL BE CONTACTED.

APPENDIX #3C: EXPLANATION OF QUESTIONNAIRE CONTENTS

Questions #1-2 of the questionnaire ask students to provide pertinent biographical information about name, age and sex. This information was used to find students selected to participate, schedule interviews, and strive to find a balance between the sexes if at all possible. Of the 15 students who ultimately participated in the study, 8 were female and 7 were male. All aged 17-19 years.

Question #3 asks students to provide the country (common synonym used for nation) and the city / town of birth. This information is useful in classifying whether a student is a potential migrant. It also provides me, the researcher, with information to use in the individual and/or group interview if necessary.

Questions #4-5 ask students to disclose how long they have lived in Canada and in Vancouver. This information is used to classify students as meeting the criteria of having migrated to the Vancouver area within the previous 24 months.

Questions #6-7 inquire about students' official citizenship status (synonym for citizenship conferred by government). This information is suggestive of students' Canadian identity. If a student has official citizenship status, whether by birth or naturalization, it enhances the claim that they have, to a great or lesser extent, a national identity that is affiliated with Canada.

Question #8 asks students who do not possess official Canadian citizenship status if they intend to obtain it when qualify to do so. Given that this study includes cases of student who migrated to Vancouver within the previous 24 months, many if not all do not qualify for Canadian citizenship. However, an intention to obtain Canadian citizenship suggests they have begun to form bonds with and establish a life in Canada, further indicating the development of Canadian identity.

Questions #9-10 of the questionnaire ask students to communicate how they perceive themselves regardless of official citizenship status. This information provides information as to their self-perception as Canadians or not-Canadians. As well, students have the option to self-identify as a hyphenated Canadian, respecting the fact that students may have multi-national or multi-ethnic aspects to their Canadian identity.

Question #11 inquires into a deeper sense of connection by asking where students see their home as being. Home has been described as "felt place" (Tuan, 1977: 11) or the place where one is "in place" (Eyles, 1985: 2), meaning emotionally and spiritually connected and contented. This provides further information that assists in interpreting students' perceptions of and tensions with Canada, Canadians, and themselves as Canadian.

Question #12 asks students to identify three values they think most Canadians believe in. This question is an effort to have students focus on national values rather than personal values. By asking about students' perceptions of the values of fellow Canadians, they are

better prepared to respond to a subsequent question about whether or not they, personally, believe in these national values. The follow-up question is included in the individual interview process.

Question# 13 asks students to identify three images that come to mind when they think of Canada. This question is another approach to having students convey their perceptions of and tensions with Canada and Canadians, providing further insight into their Canadian identity.

The questionnaire concludes by asking to indicate by circling whether or not they are interested in participating in this study, and offers thanks for their time and assistance.

APPENDIX #4: INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Part A: Biographical Information

1. Verify name, age, and sex from questionnaire.
2. Where do you live in Vancouver?
3. What are your feelings about the area?
4. What type of dwelling do you live in? (house, condo, apartment, etc.)
5. How many people live in your household with you?
6. What is their relation to you?
7. What do your parent(s) do? (Word as appropriate based on previous response).
8. Did you and your family travel? Where did you go?
9. What do you and your friends like to do for fun?
10. What kinds of hobbies do you pursue? What sports clubs, social clubs, community service are you involved in?
11. What are your feelings about Portage Secondary School?
12. Are happy/unhappy at Portage Secondary School?
13. What classes do you like/dislike?
14. What are your plans after you graduate from grade twelve?
15. What have been the major turning points in your life?

Part B: Migration

1. Verify country and city/town of birth.
2. Did you grow up in _____? If not, where did you grow up?
3. How long did you live in _____?
4. When did you move from _____ to Vancouver, Canada?
5. Who made the decision to move to Vancouver, Canada?
6. Why did you decide to move to Vancouver, Canada?
7. Did you have any input into the decision to move to Vancouver, Canada?
8. How did moving make you feel at the time?
9. What did you know about Vancouver, Canada before you moved here?
10. Did you move to where you are living now or somewhere else?
11. In what ways has your life changed/not changed since coming to Vancouver, Canada?
12. Are you happy/unhappy living in Vancouver, Canada?
13. What has been the most important decision you've made since coming to Vancouver, Canada?
14. If you had a choice would you continue to live in Vancouver, Canada or return to _____?
15. If you had the chance to live anywhere in the world where would you choose? Why?

Part C: Official Citizenship, Self-Perception, Home

1. Verify official Canadian citizenship status from questionnaire.
2. If not Canadian, verify country of current citizenship status from questionnaire.
3. Verify whether or not student intends to obtain official Canadian citizenship status from questionnaire. Why?
4. Verify how student sees themselves, regardless of official citizenship status from questionnaire. Why?

5. If student chose 'not Canadian', verify the country or countries with which they identify from the questionnaire. Why?
6. If student chose 'not Canadian', do you feel yourself to be Canadian in any way? If so, in what ways? If not, do you believe that you may feel more Canadian in the future?
7. Verify where student believes their home to be from questionnaire. Why?

Part D: Perceptions of Canada and Canadians

1. Imagine for a moment that you and I are travelling on a train in some other land and we have met for the first time. I tell you that I have never heard of Canada or met a Canadian before. Tell me about Canada and Canadians.
2. What five words come to mind when you think of Canada? Follow up on each word and have student explain why they chose these words.
3. Verify the three images of Canada from the questionnaire. Follow up on each image and have student explain why they chose these images. Have them name two others. Follow up on each of these as well.
4. Name three people that you believe embody what it means to be Canadian. Follow up on each name and have student explain why they chose these people.
5. Name an event that you think was significant for Canada or Canadians. Follow up and have student explain why they chose this event.
6. What five words best describe Canadians? Follow up on each word and have student explain why they chose these words.
7. Verify the three values the student thought most Canadians believe in from the questionnaire. Follow up on each value, have the student clarify meaning and explain student explain why they chose these values.
8. Can you think of an incident or time when this value was made very clear to you? Tell me about it.
9. Tell me something that you think everybody in the world should know but probably doesn't know about Canada?
10. Tell me something that you or other Canadians might be embarrassed to have everybody in the world know about Canada?
11. How do you think people in other countries perceive Canadians? Do you believe that is an accurate portrayal?
12. Tell me something you believe could be improved about Canada?
13. Tell me something that Canadians can be proud of about their country? Do you share that pride?
14. Will you vote the next time you are able?
15. Would you ever consider running for a political office in Canada? Why or why not?
16. Would you work for the betterment of Canada in any other way? If so, in what way? If not, why not?
17. Do you believe anyone can be a Canadian? If so, why? If not, why not?

APPENDIX #5A: GROUP INTERVIEW STATEMENTS

1. Canada is very boring. It is the sort of place you would retire too.
2. There is so much less violence here than in the U.S. We don't have all the guns...Being a safe place to live is the best thing about Canada.
3. We learn so much about Canada being part of Britain and France a little bit, and then we have all these things that connect us to the Americans. It's almost like we're not a real place sometimes.
4. We have health care for everybody. Nobody gets turned away from the hospital. Everybody goes to school, people don't starve and stuff. There's a safety net to protect people here, that's important.
5. Canada has a lot of environmental problems. We have cities that are getting more and more polluted, we're cutting down too many trees. There is so much that needs to be taken care of. The government just isn't doing enough.
6. You can make it here [Canada]. Everybody has opportunities to succeed, be what you want. Sure there are problems and some people might not like you very much but generally you can be whoever you want to be.
7. I'm not sure that I would ever vote or run for political office. What's the point? You don't really have any say anyway.
8. Canadians are open. They're friendly. People from all over the world come here to have a better life. All the groups live together in one big area and mostly everyone gets along.
9. Canadians think of themselves as being tolerant but it is still very segregated. One group in one area another group in another area of the city. Even here in school the Asians eat in the cafeteria and the white kids don't. I don't think they hate each other but I don't think they like each other either.
10. Canada is an incredibly diverse country. It has so many different minerals, trees, rivers, bays, anything you could want. Most countries don't have what Canada does. Sometimes you take it for granted because you don't think about it much.
11. We think of ourselves as peaceful people. We don't hurt other people but then we go and bomb Yugoslavia and kill everybody. I don't know what to believe anymore.
12. Canada needs all parts of the country. I think sometimes politicians just work to make us fight against other places in Canada. I think it would be awful if Quebec ever

separated. I love this country the way it is and we have to stop fighting over every little thing

13. Canadians put on a face. They don't really say what they feel. They project an image of being nice and polite but sometimes it comes across as false 'cause to themselves or their friends they sometimes say stuff that isn't so nice and polite. Kinda racist.
14. Everybody loves Canadians. We're the country people can trust. We don't get into other people's business unless they want us to, you know, like the Americans who have to be into everything so they can have their way. We're not like that. We're more like 'what do you want'?
15. I think natives want it easy because of what was done to them in the past. But the past is past, history is history. We can be expected to fix something we didn't ruin in the first place.

APPENDIX #5B: EXPLANATION OF GROUP INTERVIEWS STATEMENTS

Statement #1 is a broad generalization of feeling about Canada. It is negative in tone and characterized a great deal of what this student was feeling.

Statement #2 is a comparison between Canada and United States with regard to violence. Comparisons with other nations were commonplace when trying to articulate how students understood Canada. In this case, the comparison is a favourable one that captured how this student perceived Canada with reference to the value of cherishing human life through non-violence.

Statement #3 is a positioning of Canada in relation to other nations with whom Canada has historical connection. This student felt very strongly that there was an over-emphasis in school on these connections, leading to the negative perception that Canada is lacking a definable identity.

Statement #4 is a broad generalization about services available to Canadians and the value placed on people who have needs. This student's perception is favourable, indicating they value the provision of services for those in need.

Statement #5 is a broad generalization about the state of the environment and the belief that the natural environment ought to be cherished and protected. This student's perception was that Canadians, through their representatives in government, were not living up to that value.

Statement #6 is a broad positive generalization about the potential opportunities to succeed in living an authentic life in Canada; authentic in the sense that one can design one's life and construct an identity based on personal aspirations and understandings. This student felt very passionate about this, characterizing much of his/her individual interview.

Statement #7 is a personal reflection on future possibilities. This student felt unsure whether they would act on their political rights because of a negative perception of the way these rights are operationalized in political settings.

Statement #8 is a broad positive generalization of the value of human beings, the opportunities available to them in Canada and the practice of respecting human beings by learning to co-exist together. This student perceived Canada as a wonderful example of a nation that had overcome many of the racist tensions that characterize other nations around the world.

Statement #9 is a perception that explores values perceived to be held behind a façade. The suggestion being that despite outward appearances of tolerance, practices suggest that it is just that—tolerance.

Statement #10 is a positive broad generalization about Canada's physical geography, its beauty, diversity, and bounty. A perception that this student felt was warranted but under-appreciated by Canadians.

Statement #11 is a perception of Canada that is under challenge. The student felt that they were being inculcated with one perspective but living in ways that do not support that perspective.

Statement #12 is a perception of Canada as a whole unit, a unit that this being threatened by political forces. This student felt very strongly that regionalism, based on national aspirations was something hoisted on the general population by people who had personal agendas. This s/he did not want Canadians to fall into the trap and fight "over every little thing".

Statement #13 is a second reference to facades. Whereas statement #9 made subtle reference to racism, this statement is quite blunt. A second inclusion of this type of perception is an indication of how prevalent the perception was.

Statement #14 is a positive reference to Canada as a stalwart citizen of the world order, not interfering in affairs of other nations and assisting only when asked. This perception is based on comparisons with the United States who were perceived to meddle in other's affairs in order to achieve their own purposes.

Statement #15 is a perception of a particular cultural group in Canada with regard to their relations with other Canadians generally. This student perceived the relationship negatively, believing that it was based on finding compensation for past treatment. Compensation this student felt could not and should not be paid.

APPENDIX #6: SAMPLE TEXT ANALYSIS CHART

<p>TEXT: Canada Today Section Heading: A Canadian Identity Statement Pages: 10-12</p>			
Text Message	Pictures	Other Text (s)	Related to What Feature(s)
<p>Broad gap—Canadians and government</p> <p>Bridge-Citizen's Forum/Keith Spicer</p> <p>Concise Identity Statement—articulates identity, Cdn. Indigenous Values that set us apart esp. U.S.</p> <p>Gov. attempt to "listen to people", "define ourselves", "accommodate diversity"</p>	None	<p>"An Identity Statement" (1 page)</p> <p>1. Belief in equality / fairness in democratic society 2. Bel. consultation / dialogue 3. Bel. importance of accommodation / tolerance 4. Support of diversity 5. Compassion / generosity 6. Attachment to Canada's natural beauty 7. World image: Commitment to freedom, peace / non-violent change</p> <p>Q#12 Recall Q#13 Why diversity? Q#14 Opportunity to comment / explore Q#15 Is it idealistic? Q#16 aboriginal issue Q#17 What's most important Q#18 Create product; poster, newspaper, CD cover, share in class</p>	<p>S: Landscape Belonging Nat. Sov. (?)</p> <p>C: Pol. Rights (?) Cul. Rights</p> <p>V: Acc. Diversity Non-violence Care Nat. Env. (?)</p> <p>Tensions to address: Diversity issues</p> <p>Non-violence</p> <p>Cultural Rights</p>

APPENDIX #7: OTHER STUDENT PROFILES

This section is devoted to those students whose profiles do not appear as part of the thesis narrative. They are provided to give the reader greater perspective on students' perceptions.

David: David is a 17 year-old Korean, born in Pusan, Korea and raised in Taigu, Korea. He is the youngest of two children (older sister) born to a mother who is a teacher in a private school and a father who is an administrator of a language school. David came to Canada nine months prior to the initial interview for this research project as an international student. He "homestay" with a Canadian family. His parents arrived at Christmas, four months prior to our initial meeting, while David's sister remained in Korea. David was registered in the regular school program and liked that school was not as "difficult" as in Korea but also found it very "boring" and "slow" as he felt that not much gets done each day. He did not participate in any extra-curricular activities at the school but did play basketball at a nearby Korean community centre and liked to play computer games, go to the movies and sing karaoke with his friends. David was struggling with English at the time of the interviews and communicating in depth was difficult, however he did think that he would learn the language and be able to go to university in the fall. He had not made any decisions about which university he might attend, but he thought that he would study some aspect of computers.

David identified himself as Korean on the questionnaire (Appendix 3B: Question #9) and stated that his home was in "Taigu, Korea" (Appendix 3B: Question #11). When asked about his response in the individual interview David replied "Taigu is home...my family and friends are there. I live in Taigu all my life...I miss it". My impression of David was of a quiet, shy young man, characteristics that were accentuated by his difficulties with English. David remarked that he was happy that there were "other Koreans" in the school to talk to, something that helped alleviate the isolation he felt. As well, David also presented an image of a person who felt most comfortable in high-energy, busy, and intense surroundings. This impression stems from several references to rhythm of life in Korea as compared to Canada.

Pavel: Pavel is 17 years old, white, Jewish-Russian Orthodox, born in Novosibirsk, Russia and raised in Barnaul, Russia, though for half of his life these places were part of the former Soviet Union. The only child of a university researcher mother and an economic consultant father, Pavel and his parents migrated to Canada twenty months prior to his initial meeting for this research project. He was a student in the advanced-classes program and enjoyed his studies enormously, especially history and law. He played basketball, chess, and occasionally hockey with his friends, and was also a member of the math club at his school. Pavel was certain he was going to a local university to study history and political science in the fall with future ambitions to study law.

Pavel identified himself as being Russian-Canadian on the questionnaire (Appendix 3B: Question #9) and stated that he considered Vancouver his home (Appendix 3B: Question #11). When asked about his response during the individual interview Pavel said, "I think this is my home now...this is where I've developed into a thinking person...started to become an adult. I was just a kid when I left Russia. I think also...Russia is not a happy place. It is...not dying but is in trouble...I have to make my life here". That being said, Pavel had fond memories of his life in Russia particularly in reference to his grandparents whom he missed very much. My impression of Pavel was one of a serious-minded young man who thought about his answers carefully before answering. He spoke in precise English and wanted to be understood, often going to elaborate lengths to clarify his points in the hopes he would not be misunderstood. Pavel described himself as "stiff" and very much in need of "loosening up" and was very thankful for his friends who never let him take himself or life too seriously.

Tim: Tim is 18 years old, white, of English ethnicity, and born and raised in Prince George, British Columbia. He migrated when a child and migrated with his family to Vancouver twenty months prior to our first meeting. He is the second of five children (one older sister living in India, and two younger sisters and a brother) born to an environmental consultant father and a mother who is a teacher. Tim was a student in the

advanced-classes program and liked his studies, finding the extra flexibility “liberating”. He also stated that it was “do or die time” as far as schooling was concerned because he really wanted to get into the best university possible. By the time of the initial interview Tim had decided he wanted to attend the University of Waterloo to study biochemistry as he wanted to go into paediatric medicine like George Clooney on the hit television series “E.R.”

Tim identified himself as Canadian on the questionnaire (Appendix 3B: Question #9) and said that he believed Vancouver was now his home (Appendix 3B: Question #11). When asked about his response during the individual interview he stated, “I guess Vancouver is home now...that’s where my family is...though I do have family in Prince George. But I love it here”. Though Vancouver might be his home, his feelings for Canada were very great, stemming from comparisons he’d made with other parts of the world. Tim had travelled a number of times with his father to parts of south-east Asia, Europe and the United States. These journeys had, in his words, “made me see Canada for what it is...an incredible country”. My impression of Tim was of a highly intelligent young man despite the slow somewhat laconic manner in which he spoke. His ready smile and easygoing manner projected an image of being stress-free and outside the fray. As Tim said, “I want people to think I’m laid-back...it helps them relax and then I can relax”.