Chapter

Exploring Loyalties







Members of the Royal 22e Régiment draining trenches during the First World War [photo on left] and getting ready to disembark in Villapiana, Italy during the Second World War [photo on right]. Nicknamed the "Van Doos" (a distortion of the French word vingt-deux), the regiment was one of the first French-Canadian regiments in Canada's military.

Although many Québécois feel a sense of Québec nationalism that includes a desire for sovereignty, Québécois regiments have been—and continue to be—an important component of the Canadian military. One example is the famous Van Doos (the Royal 22nd Regiment), a military unit created during the First World War.

What nationalist loyalties, or feelings of faithfulness and obligation to the nations to which they belong, might members of the Van Doos hold?



Figure 5-2



A parade is held in June 2007 in Québec City for the families and friends of members of the Force Interarmée Afghanistan who will be leaving for Afghanistan.

Reflect on situations in which Canadian soldiers might find themselves.

- How might their loyalties to different nations, groups, and ideas come into contention while the soldiers are carrying out their military duties?
- What can be done when your loyalties contend with each other?
- Does something have to be done?

Chapter Issue

To what extent do contending loyalties need to be reconciled?

An individual can identify with and be loyal to many different ideas, groups, and nations at the same time. In your own life, you may have felt challenged at one time or another by the different expectations of groups to which you have ties, such as your country, family, and friends. To what extent have you managed to maintain a balance between your different loyalties? Have you ever felt the need to choose one over another?

In this chapter you will explore the various loyalties that influence individuals. Some of these loyalties are related to the understandings of nationalism of various nations; others are related to non-nationalist values and beliefs. The following inquiry questions will be used to guide your exploration:

- What are contending loyalties?
- What challenges arise from having contending nationalist loyalties?
- What challenges arise from having contending non-nationalist loyalties?
- What challenges arise from having contending global loyalties?

This is the final chapter that investigates the Main Issue for Part 1 (chapters 1–5): *To what extent should nation be the foundation of identity?*

Contending Loyalties

Question for Inquiry

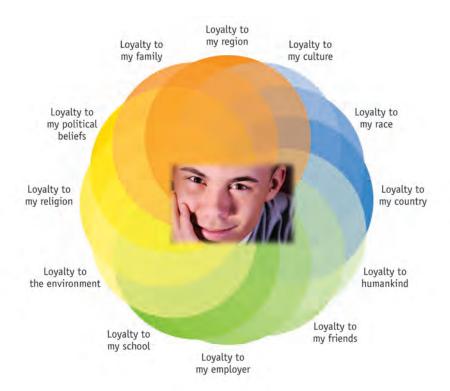
• What are contending loyalties?

When you join or identify with a group or organization, there are expectations placed on you as a member of the group. For example, as a member of a sports team you are expected to attend practices and games, be supportive of others on the team, and work collaboratively toward the team's success. These expectations require that you be willing to give something up. Your loyalty to the group has a cost; for example, the time it takes to participate in practices and games, fundraising, and so on. These expectations can influence your other loyalties; for example, the time you spend on school work, your ability to participate in community cultural events, and time spent with your family.

Figure 5-3

3

Can you think of other examples of loyalties? Which loyalties are most important to you? Can your feelings of loyalty change depending on the circumstances?



People have loyalties to their nations, as well as other loyalties, such as to their religion, region, culture, and race.

Situations may arise in which your loyalty to a particular group or organization contends with your other loyalties; for example, your best friend has invited you to a special event on game day and your mother has taken the day off work to attend the game. What loyalties are contending here? Will you have to reconcile your feelings of loyalty to these different commitments? How might you do that?

Nationalism and Loyalty

Nationalism requires that people feel a sense of loyalty to, commitment to, and identification with a particular nation. How deep does one's loyalty to a nation have to be? Does this depend on the nation? Does it depend on the circumstances? Are there times when your loyalty to a nation might be challenged?

In some cases, it might be important to reconcile contending feelings of loyalty with your sense of nationalism. For example, as a Canadian citizen you are expected to respect the rights and freedoms of others, yet perhaps some of the actions of others go against your religious beliefs. Do you decide to act on your loyalty to Canada or on your loyalty to your religion? Do you have to choose between the two or can you hold contending loyalties and continue to be loyal to both?

As you explore the examples of contending loyalties presented in this chapter, keep in mind the Chapter Issue: To what extent do contending loyalties need to be reconciled?



SP Identify, Analyze, and Evaluate Different Perspectives

What Is the Relationship between Nationalism and Loyalties?

As you build your understanding of the Chapter Issue you will encounter different perspectives. It is important to be able to identify, analyze, and evaluate these different perspectives. To draw an informed conclusion, it is important to evaluate diverse perspectives, particularly of differing understandings of identity and nation.

This chapter focuses on the perspectives of many Canadians who also identify with other nations (for example, Québécois, First Nations, Métis) and addresses reconciling contending loyalties. Multiculturalism in Canada has produced myriad identities for its citizens. Many identify themselves as Ukrainian-Canadian, Chinese-Canadian, Pakistani-Canadian, and so on. In this Skill Path, two perspectives on the "hyphenated identity" are presented. Once you have evaluated the two perspectives, develop a conclusion as to their reliability and validity.

Step

Research the Issue

1

Conduct research to find and identify different perspectives about the issue you are investigating (hyphenated identity). These perspectives may be found in a variety of valid sources, for example, the Internet, library, and interviews.

Step

Evaluate the Validity of the Perspective

When you are reading or listening to different perspectives, you need to analyze whether or not they are valid, unbiased, and can be supported by facts.

- Is the perspective is from a valid source?
- · Who is making the statement?
- Is it more of a reflection of an individual person's point of view or of a shared collective perspective?

Perspective #1

Be that as it may, most immigrants retain cultural and psychological ties to the nations they came from, leading to their being not just Canadians, but Chinese-Canadians, German-Canadians, and so on ... The hyphenated identity is, in fact, a strategic element encouraging the immigration volume needed by the country, since it has been found that the single most encouraging factor for prospective immigrants is the existence of a strong community from their country at their destination of choice in Canada, since the new arrivals immediately feel they're part of a community.¹

—Indian-Canadian journalist Ashoke Dasgupta, in the article "Hyphenated Identities."

Step

Evaluate the Language

Analyze the implied meaning in the language that the source uses to express a perspective, and how it reflects what the opinions are (for example, connotation or tone).

- Why might the author have chosen to use certain words and descriptions?
- How do these words reflect the perspective given?

Practise It!

Apply these steps to the following two perspectives. Evaluate both sides. Write a critique of the differing perspectives. Draw a conclusion about the validity and reliability of the information. Justify your position.

Perspective #2

There is no room in this country for hyphenated Americanism. When I refer to hyphenated Americans, I do not refer to naturalized Americans. Some of the very best Americans I have ever known were naturalized Americans, Americans born abroad. But a hyphenated American is not an American at all ... The one absolutely certain way of bringing this nation to ruin, of preventing all possibility of its continuing to be a nation at all, would be to permit it to become a tangle of squabbling nationalities, an intricate knot of German-Americans, Irish-Americans, English-Americans, French-Americans, Scandinavian-Americans or Italian-Americans, each preserving its separate nationality, each at heart feeling more sympathy with Europeans of that nationality, than with the other citizens of the American Republic ... There is no such thing as a hyphenated American who is a good American. The only man who is a good American is the man who is an American and nothing else.²

> —Former US president Theodore Roosevelt, addressing the Knights of Columbus in New York City, 12 October 1915.

¹ Ashoke Dasgupta, "Hyphenated Identities," The Winnipeg Statesman, 20 July 2005. http://statewin.blogspot.com/2005/07/hyphenated-identities.html.

² From: http://www.theodore-roosevelt.com/trquotes.html.

Contending Nationalist Loyalties in Canada

Question for Inquiry

 What challenges arise from having contending nationalist loyalties?

Canada is a *nation of nations*. Some emphasize that Canada was founded on the basis of three distinct nations—First Nations, Anglophone, and Francophone. Many of those who make up Canada's population today are immigrants and descendants of immigrants from many nations throughout the world, from Asia to South America to Africa. Many Canadians identify with nations within Canada, as well as with Canada as a whole. A Métis, for example, might feel connected with Métis, First Nation, and Francophone communities, and still feel a patriotic sense of being a Canadian.

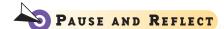
What challenges arise from these loyalties to different nations? Do Canadians have to choose between their national loyalties?

For people to feel loyal to Canada, they must find something in Canada for themselves. What might this be? What is expected of people who feel loyal to Canada? Do Canadians have to give up some of their loyalties to other nations?

One approach to the notion of multiple loyalties coexisting within a Canadian nation-state is that of former prime minister Pierre Trudeau. In a March 1981 speech, Trudeau explained the aims of creating a new Canadian—rather than British—Constitution with the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms:

In the sociological sense, [nation] means an ethnic group, a tribal group, a linguistic group, in the way we talk about the Huron nation or the French-Canadian nation. But, in the political sense, "nation" refers to a particular country or to all the people—whatever their language or ethnicity—who live within its boundaries ... I've always believed that a state was better if it included many ethnic groups and governed for them all, not as groups but as individuals. That was the basis for my belief in federalism and why the Charter of Rights insisted on the equality of individuals.

The purpose of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, which forms part of the Canadian Constitution, was to express the fundamental rights and freedoms valued by Canadians, including democratic guarantees, freedom of movement, legal equality, and language rights.



Some Canadians share a sense of belonging and connection with one another based on their understanding of what it means to be a Canadian. What loyalties are tied to the idea of being Canadian?



PAUSE AND REFLECT

What does this quotation reveal about Trudeau's views on reconciling Canadian loyalties with contending nationalist loyalties?



PAUSE AND REFLECT

What challenges to national loyalty could result from such a focus on "the equality of individuals"?

³ Pierre Trudeau, ed. Ron Graham, The Essential Trudeau (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1998), p. 94.

PAUSE AND REFLECT

What contending loyalties might be experienced by people living in Québec? By French Canadians in other provinces? By Métis? By Acadians?

PAUSE AND REFLECT

Is ensuring that there is a French-speaking society in Québec an act of loyalty? Do these types of policies result from tensions between French-Canadian and Canadian loyalties?

Contending Loyalties of French Canadians

French Canadians may feel a variety of loyalties: loyalty to other Francophones, loyalty to their province, and loyalty to their cultural or historical backgrounds. As you explore the examples of contending language loyalties and loyalty to Québec as a distinct nation, consider what loyalties are in contention and whether or not these contending loyalties need to be resolved.

Language Loyalties and Bill 101

In 1969, Québec passed Bill 63, guaranteeing Quebeckers the right to choose in what language their children would be educated. In 1974, Bill 22 went further, making French the official language of contracts in Québec, and forcing corporations there to have French names and advertise mainly in French. It also went beyond Bill 63 in restricting enrolment in English schools to those children who could demonstrate that they understood English.

Yet a significant problem remained. While it was the largest Francophone society in North America, Québec had the lowest birth rate in the country in the 1960s. At the same time, immigrants to Québec were choosing to place their children in English schools and universities, and to use English hospitals and social services. In 1977, in the first Parti Québécois government, Premier René Lévesque led efforts to gain sovereignty with the first referendum. He also established Bill 101, the Charter of the French Language, which stated that Québec

is resolved therefore to make of French the language of Government and the Law, as well as the normal and everyday language of work, instruction, communication, commerce and business.⁴

André Burelle, former constitutional adviser, explains the rationale for Bill 101 as follows:

What legalistic minds fail to understand is that language and culture are a social heritage that a person inherits from a living community. To guarantee individual language rights without guaranteeing appropriate powers to the community that transmits that heritage is an empty gesture. A living language needs a community that works, trades, communicates and creates daily in that language. For, should the community die, so, too, will individual rights, as the history of Francophones outside Québec so vividly demonstrates.⁵

^{4 &}quot;Charter of the French Language," on the Canadian Legal Information Institute website, http://www.canlii.org/gc/laws/sta/c-11/20070117/whole.html.

⁵ André Burelle, "Why We Need Bill 101," Montréal Gazette, 4 July 2000, p. 3.

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Québec Nationalism and Canadian Nationalism

Are French-Canadian feelings of nationalism within Québec compatible with federalism as it currently exists? Does Canadian federalism need to change to accommodate such feelings? What kind of support is there for the separation of Québec from Canada?

René Lévesque was the founder of the Parti Québécois political party and was the premier of Québec from 1976 to 1985. During his leadership, he attempted to negotiate political independence for Québec.

By now, there are some six million of them in Canada, not counting the progeny of the many thousands who were forced by poverty, especially around the turn of the century, to migrate to the United States, and now constitute substantial "Franco" communities in practically all the New England states. But Québec remains the homeland. All along the valley of the St. Lawrence, from the Ottawa River down to the Gaspé peninsula and the great Gulf, in the ancient settlements which grew into the big cities of Montréal and Québec, in hundreds of smaller towns and villages from the American border to the mining centres and power projects in the north, there are now some 4.8 million "Québécois" ... What does this French Québec want? Sometime during the next few years, the question may be answered. And there are growing possibilities that the answer could very well be—independence.

Former prime minister Pierre Trudeau, speaking of Québec, said:

A province is not a nation but a mixture of diverse people, differentiated by religion, culture, and mother tongue.

However, in 2006, Prime Minister Stephen Harper tabled a motion in Parliament to recognize the Québécois as a nation:

Our position is clear. Do the Québécois form a nation within Canada? The answer is yes. Do the Québécois form an independent nation? The answer is no and the answer will always be no.⁸

Jean Charest, the 29th premier of Québec and leader of the Québec Liberal Party, said of the recognition of Québec as a nation:

Rather than an occasion for divisions, the recognition of the Québec nation by the whole of Canadian society would constitute, in my view, a source for calming this debate and would undoubtedly contribute to making Canada a stronger and more united country.⁹

Fast Facts

The Constitution Act, 1982 was passed as a means of "patriating" the Constitution, or making it Canadian rather than British. The Act emphasizes equal opportunities for Canadian people of all provinces and territories through the economic support of the federal government. It also solidifies the rights of Aboriginals and Francophone Canadians. To this day, no government of Québec has endorsed the Constitution Act.

1 Compare and contrast the views on the contending loyalties between Québec nationalism and Canadian nationalism expressed by Lévesque, Trudeau, Harper, and Charest. What loyalties are involved? How were they contending with one another? Do these loyalties need to be reconciled?

⁶ René Lévesque, quoted in "For an Independent Québec," Foreign Affairs, July 1976. http://www.foreignaffairs.org/19760701faessay10196/rene-levesque/%20for-an-independent-Québec.html.

⁷ Pierre Trudeau, Memoirs (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1993), p. 73.

⁸ House of Commons, 22 November, 2006. http://www.pm.gc.ca/eng/media.asp?id=1415.

^{9 &}quot;In Their Own Words: Québécois the Nation." CBC Indepth, 28 November 2006. http://www.cbc.ca/news/background/parliament39/quebec-inownwords.html.



Figure 5-4



In July 1967, President Charles de Gaulle of France visited Canada, which was celebrating its centennial with a world's fair, Expo '67. On July 24, in a speech delivered from a balcony at Montréal's city hall to a large crowd, de Gaulle stirred emotions by exclaiming, "Vive le Québec!" ("Long live Québec!") and then, "Vive le Québec libre!" ("Long live free Québec!").

Bill 101 has been the subject of political and legal debates by retailers and non-Francophone parents. Burelle points out that, even with the law, integrating non-Francophone immigrants into Québec's French majority remains increasingly difficult, as globalization increases the presence of English-language and American culture.

The Rise of the ADQ

The 2007 Québec election result hinted at a new direction for Québec nationalism. The Liberal Party under Premier Charest won a small minority, the first in 130 years. One of the main issues in the election was the debate on separatism in Québec. While holding to a federalist (or strong central government) position, the Québec Liberals also acknowledged the need to improve Québec's relationship with the rest of Canada.

A new party, the *Action démocratique du Québec* (ADQ), won 31 per cent of the popular vote under Mario Dumont in the 2007 spring election. The party's platform called for Québec's autonomy within Canada and a new name for the province: "the Autonomist State of Québec." Its 2004 policy called for Québec to adopt its own constitution, create its own citizenship, and override those federal laws seen as contrary to provincial interest, including the Canada Health Act and environmental legislation. It stated:

Our first fidelity, our passion and our loyalty are toward Québec ... The development of Québec as a distinct nation flows naturally from an increase in our autonomy.¹⁰

The party's ideas on Québec nationalism are described on its website (www.adq.qc.ca):

- Our first allegiance, our passion and loyalty are towards Québec.
- All people living in Québec are Québecers, without exception.
- Québec's optimal development evolves with the strengthening of its autonomy.
- Canadians outside of Québec are our privileged partners; we have an extensive common history.
- The future and the well-being of forthcoming generations of Québecers is our priority.
- We intend to move Québec forward by generating consensus: to unite rather than divide.¹¹

To Graeme Hamilton, "Autonomy thrust into spotlight—'Sovereignty impossible': ADQ policy calls for Québec to adopt own constitution," National Post, 28 March 2007. http://www.canada.com/nationalpost/news/story.html?id=f5672daf-32d1-4773-bee8-f78002048d52&k=97257.

¹¹ ADQ website, http://www.adq.qc.ca/index.php?id=867&L=1

In 2007, ADQ leader Mario Dumont commented:

I'm also pleased to see the enthusiasm for the ADQ's vision of autonomy for Québecers, to affirm ourselves without separating, and to unite instead of dividing.¹²

What ideas about reconciling Québécois nationalist loyalties are proposed by the ADQ?

French Canadians Fighting for Canada

How might fighting in the Canadian military bring French Canadians' loyalties into contention with their loyalties to Canada? During the Conscription Crisis of 1917, French Canadians protested the conscription of all Canadians to fight for the British in the First World War. Why might such conscription pose a problem for French Canadians? Many French Canadians have fought for Canada in the past, and many fight for Canada today. Do French Canadian soldiers have to reconcile their loyalties, such as those to Québec nationalism, to the Francophonie, and to Canada?

In 1914, Canada entered the First World War in support of Great Britain. By 1917, events abroad led to a call for more troops, yet fewer were volunteering. Despite promising at the beginning of the war that he would not use conscription, Prime Minister Robert Borden introduced the Military Services Act, arguing in a speech to the House of Commons that

All citizens are liable to military service for the defence of their country, and I conceive that the battle for Canadian liberty and autonomy is being fought today on the plains of France and of Belgium.¹³

Initially, the opposition under former prime minister Sir Wilfrid Laurier fought against the Act. Feeling betrayed by Borden's reversal, Canadians across the nation protested, but nowhere more than in Québec, where riots followed, leaving many injured and a few dead. But as support for the Act in English Canada gathered momentum, so did the sentiment that those opposed to it were unpatriotic.

Henri Bourassa led French-Canadian opposition to the Act. Some of the reasons of those who opposed the Act were rooted in linguistic differences; French Canadian volunteers had been scattered throughout English-speaking units, causing much ill will. Some French Canadians also opposed the idea of fighting on behalf of the British. While Bourassa stated that his objection to the war was that it had to do with



Figure 5-5



Anti-conscription protesters gathered at Victoria Square, Montréal, Québec, on 24 May 1917.

¹² Paul Wells, Beniot Aubin, and Martin Patriquin, "The Quiet Revolution," *Maclean's*, 9 April 2007. http://www.macleans.ca/article.jsp?content=20070409 104123 104123&source=src.

¹³ Debates of the House of Commons of the Dominion of Canada, 12th Parliament, 7th Session. 18 January 1917: 20 September 1917. (Ottawa: J. de Labroquerie Taché, 1918), pp. 1523–1568.

PAUSE AND REFLECT

Some French Canadians volunteered to fight in the First World War. How might they have resolved their feelings of loyalty to their country and their feelings of Québec nationalism?

imperialism rather than with Canadian nationalism, he also linked the two by stating that

to speak of fighting for the preservation of French civilization in Europe while endeavouring to destroy it in America appears to us as an absurd piece of inconsistency.¹⁴

The Bill passed, with most Anglophone parliamentarians voting in favour of it and most French Canadian members voting against it. Conscription became law, and French Canadians were forced to join the armed forces.



The Van Doos

The famed French-Canadian 22nd Regiment is called the Van Doos, based on an English

pronunciation of the French word for "twenty-two" (vingt-deux). The following are quotations from several members of the Van Doos:¹⁵

They have a pride to serve Canada but they also have a pride in their unit. But they're serving first as Canadians.

Major Jocelyn Dodaro of Montréal,
 a doctor leading the Van Doos medical group.



Figure 5-6

Soldiers from the Valcartier, Québec-based Royal 22nd Regiment in Kabul, Afghanistan.

never been, if you go back through history, very supportive of missions like this.

—Captain Eric Chamberland, CFB Valcartier base spokesperson,
speaking about the Canadian mission in Afghanistan.

This is actually very different from what we're used to in Québec. Québec has

It took about two weeks to collect the money. I wanted to show that we're in the same Army, on the same team. The people back at the base supported me. They were very happy I did this.

—Corporal Blanchette of the Royal 22nd, on the donation of a wreath by the members of the Van Doos.

What nationalist loyalties might a member of the Van Doos hold? If you were a soldier in the Canadian military, which of your loyalties might come into contention?

¹⁴ Henri Bourassa, quoted in Mason Wade, *The French Canadians*, 1760–1945 (Toronto: MacMillan, 1968), p. 714.

¹⁵ Bruce Campion-Smith, "Now, It's the Van Doos' Turn to Carry the Load," *TheStar.com*, 12 May 2007. http://www.thestar.com/article/213071.

Contending Loyalties of Aboriginal Canadians

Although each community of Aboriginal people is unique, many share similar histories, experiences, languages, and cultures. Many Aboriginal people have feelings of loyalty to their band, First Nation community, and other Aboriginal people in Canada and the United States, as well as around the world.

Has Canada earned the loyalty of Aboriginal people? Do Aboriginal Canadians' feelings of loyalty to other Aboriginal people and to their Aboriginal nations contend with their feelings of loyalty to Canada? Can Aboriginal people feel a loyalty both to Canada and to their Aboriginal nations?

Ideas and Opinions



Strong First Nations mean a stronger Canada, and that's good for all of us.

—Assembly of First Nations National Chief Phil Fontaine's announcement of the 29 June 2007 National Day of Action in a speech at the Special Chiefs Assembly, 23 May 2007, Gatineau, Québec.

MY HEART IS A STONE. HEAVY WITH SADNESS FOR MY PEOPLE; cold with the knowledge that NO TREATY will keep the whites out of our land; hard with determination to resist as long as I live and breathe. Now we are weak and many of our people are afraid. But Hear Me: a single twig breaks, but the bundle of twigs is strong. Someday I will embrace our brother tribes and draw them into a bundle and together we will win our country back from the whites.¹⁶

—Tecumseh, Shawnee chief, circa 1795.

First Nations and the Meech Lake Accord

The Meech Lake Accord, a set of amendments to the Constitution of Canada designed to persuade Québec to endorse the Constitution Act, was derailed when Cree MLA Elijah Harper from Red Sucker Lake, Manitoba, raising an eagle feather in a symbolic gesture, voted against a motion to introduce the Accord for debate without the normal two days' notice. This motion required unanimous consent, so his vote meant that the Accord could not be voted on in the Manitoba Legislature in time to meet the deadline, and that the Accord would fail.

Elijah Harper and Phil Fontaine, former head of the Assembly of Manitoba Chiefs, devised their protest plan together. Fontaine later To see a video of Phil Fontaine commenting about the National Day of Action, follow the link on the Perspectives on Nationalism website.

Web Link



Figure 5-7



NDP MLA Elijah Harper sits in the Manitoba Legislature holding an eagle feather for spiritual strength as he continues to delay the debate on the Meech Lake Accord in Winnipeg, on 19 June 1990.

¹⁶ From: http://www.afn.ca/article.asp?id=58.

PAUSE AND REFLECT

How did their loyalties to the First Nations influence the actions of Elijah Harper and Phil Fontaine?

self-determination: a principle whereby a nation is free to decide its own political allegiance or form of government

explained to Maclean's that they didn't oppose special status for Québec but were instead angry that special status for the Natives was not recognized as well. "Our particular concern," Fontaine said, "was with the further imposition of the Big Lie that Canada was made up of two founding nations, two official languages."

17

-From "A Vote of Protest," CBC Archives.

Ideas and Opinions

The Dene, not necessarily by choice, are attempting to resolve their role in Canada through **self-determination**. *Self-determination* is a nation's right to freely determine its political status and pursue its economic, social, and cultural development.

The Dene find themselves as part of a country. That country is Canada. But the Government of Canada is not the Government of the Dene. The Government of the Northwest Territories is not the Government of the Dene. These governments were not the choice of the Dene, they were imposed upon the Dene. What we the Dene are struggling for is the recognition of the Dene nation by the governments and peoples of the world. And while there are realities we are forced to submit to, such as the existence of a country called Canada, we insist on the right to self-determination as a distinct people and the recognition of the Dene Nation ... What we seek then is independence and self-determination within the country of Canada. This is what we mean when we call for a just land settlement for the Dene nation.

—"1975 Dene Declaration," in Mel Watkins, ed., *Dene Nation: The Colony Within* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977).

How might the loyalties of the Dene be conflicted in pursuing self-determination?

Inuit Perspectives

The Inuit have a powerful connection to the North that developed over thousands of years. From their environment, the Inuit developed a way of life to meet their needs. Recently, they have been faced with changes that have required them to adapt. Hunting is now more efficient, with technology such as snowmobiles and rifles. In the 1950s, Inuit began to move into permanent towns, which could better provide them with health care, education, and other services, but they kept their summer outcamps, which provide a link to tradition. Gradually, as services grew in the permanent settlements,

¹⁷ From "Did You Know?" in "A Vote of Protest," CBC Archives, broadcast 12 June 1990. http://archives.radio-canada.ca/IDC-1-73-1180-6496/politics economy/meech lake/clip8.

many Inuit became part of the money-based economy and changed their lifestyles.

The following CBC News article describes a situation in which Inuit loyalties to their land, culture, and way of life have come into contention with their loyalties to Canada.

Labrador Inuit delay vote on uranium mining

CBC News

Inuit politicians balked Thursday at passing legislation that would ban uranium mining for three years in Nunatsiavut, the land settlement area in northern Labrador. A bill calling for a three-year moratorium passed easily on first reading at a meeting Wednesday of the Nunatsiavut assembly in Hopedale.

The bill stalled, however, during second reading when some assembly members said they wanted to consult their constituents before a final vote.

"What remains to happen now is that the debate must still happen, and until the debate happens there is no decision," said Land and Resources Minister William Barbour.

A debate and vote is now on hold until April, which is causing consternation among the exploration companies that spent \$70 million in Labrador last year.

Gerry O'Connell, spokesman for the Newfoundland and Labrador Chamber of Mineral Resources, said his group hopes the Inuit will decide against a moratorium.

"I think it's very important that they consider it carefully and as quickly as possible, make their decision, and provide a green light for exploration," he said. "Otherwise, this will put a chill on the whole exploration scene in that part of Labrador."

Nunatsiavut President Tony Andersen said the environmental side won Wednesday's vote on the first reading.

"We want to be absolutely certain that if we allow uranium mining that the companies have to clearly show to us that it can be done in a safe way that will have minor impact on our land," he said.

The Nunatsiavut assembly will meet again in April for debate and a final vote on the legislation.¹⁸

The economic benefits of the mine must be weighed against the cost to the local environment and Inuit way of life. What loyalties are at play in this example? Must the Inuit of this community reconcile their loyalties?

^{18 &}quot;Labrador Inuit Delay Vote on Uranium Mining," CBC News, 7 March 2008. http://www.cbc.ca/canada/newfoundland-labrador/story/2008/03/07/nunatsiavut-uranium.html.



National Loyalty and Dual Citizenship

Something to Think About: Can dual or multiple citizenship foster contending loyalties?

A Former Liberal MP Speaks:

We need to be loyal to one country as far as your citizenship. Your heart can be where you were born, but I think the commitment to Canada has to be strong and I think dual citizenship weakens that.¹⁹

—Ontario Liberal MP Judy Sgro

Consular Services at the US Embassy in Canada:

The US Government acknowledges that dual nationality exists but does not encourage it as a matter of policy because of the problems it may cause. Claims of other countries on dual national US citizens may conflict with US law, and dual nationality may limit US Government efforts to assist citizens abroad. The country where a dual national is located generally has a stronger claim to that person's allegiance.²⁰

Dual Citizenship Controversy in Canada:

Dion among a dozen MPs with dual citizenships

At least 11 members of Parliament, other than Liberal Leader Stéphane Dion, hold dual citizenships, CBC.ca research has confirmed.

Dion was criticized this week because of his reluctance to give up his French citizenship. He was born in Canada but holds dual citizenship because his mother was born in France.

The Parliament of Canada website shows that 41 of the 308 MPs sitting in the House of Commons were born in 28 countries other than Canada, ranging from Uganda and Malta to China and the United Kingdom.

Many of these MPs qualify for dual citizenship. That puts them in the ranks of the 691 300 people living in Canada who hold dual citizenships, according to the 2001 census ...

Many of the MPs told CBC.ca that the world is becoming smaller, and that their birth in another country reflects the many nations that make up Canada.²¹

Judy Sgro, quoted in Allan Woods, "Dual Citizenship Faces Review: Evacuation from Lebanon Hastened Rethinking," CanWest News Service, 21 September 2006. http://www.nationalpost.com/news/story.html?id=fb2d75ab-8880-4945-8537-1508186a4964.

²⁰ American Consular Services, "Dual Citizenship," 2007. http://www.amcits.com/dual_citizenship.asp.

^{21 &}quot;Dion among a Dozen MPs with Dual Citizenships," CBC News, 8 December 2006. http://www.cbc.ca/canada/story/2006/12/08/mps-citizenship.html.

Stephane Dion says he'll keep dual citizenship

Liberal Leader Stephane Dion said his loyalty "is 100 per cent to Canada first," after critics said he should abandon his dual citizenship to France.

New Democratic MP Pat Martin told CTV News that Dion may encounter a lack of trust on some international issues.

"What if there is a trade dispute between France and Canada? Would he have to recuse himself?" Martin asked.

Dion told CTV's Mike Duffy Live that he felt his loyalty was not worth debating.

The same issue hounded Michaëlle Jean, who gave up her French citizenship before becoming governor-general ...

Ezra Levant, publisher of the Western Standard, criticized Dion's decision in a column for the Calgary Sun.

"When it comes to making decisions about the war on terror, and Canada's role in Afghanistan, will Dion be unduly influenced by France, a country that has taken up the role of lawyer and arms dealer for every terrorist state in the world, even defending Saddam Hussein until the eve of his overthrow?" he wrote.²²

- 1 Are there contending loyalties that need to be resolved when an individual holds multiple citizenships? Explain.
- 2 Do you think that political representatives should be allowed to have dual citizenship? Could there be a potential conflict of interest? Explain.

Fast Facts

In the 2006 Italian national elections, 11 Canadians ran for political office. They hoped to represent Italians living in North America in a part of the Italian government called the Chamber of Deputies. Toronto surgeon Gino Bucchino won the election. He assumed all the duties and responsibilities of politicians living in Italy, while remaining a citizen of Canada. Regarding this challenge to his loyalties, Bucchino said:

Even though I am Canadian, I'm not really Canadian.²³

Explore the Issues

1 What does it mean to be a "loyal Canadian"? In being a loyal Canadian, do you have to be

patriotic? Are there both positive and negative aspects to being a loyal Canadian?

²² CTV.ca New Staff, "Stephane Dion Says He'll Keep Dual Citizenship," CTV.ca, 6 December 2006. http://www.ctv.ca/servlet/ArticleNews/story/CTVNews/20061205/dion_dual_061205/20061205?hub= TopStories&s name=

²³ Quoted in Andrew Cohen, The Unfinished Canadian (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 2007), p. 154.

Non-Nationalist Loyalties

Question for Inquiry

 What challenges arise from having contending nonnationalist loyalties?

Many people feel loyalties toward such things as religion, region, culture, and race that are not necessarily part of their sense of nationalism toward a nation. Sometimes, these feelings of loyalty can contend with each other or with feelings of loyalty toward a nation. For example, you can support both the Italian and the Canadian national soccer teams during the World Cup, but what happens when they play each other? This contention can lead people to feel a need to reconcile their loyalties—to find a balance or sense of resolution.

Religious Loyalties and Civic Loyalties

Canada is a country of diverse religious beliefs. Occasionally, these beliefs contend with civic laws, and people feel a need to reconcile their religious loyalties with their civic loyalties. According to the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, all Canadians have the right to freedom of religion. This freedom allows Canadians to challenge laws and regulations if they feel their religious freedom is at risk.

Hutterites exempt from driver's licence photos: Appeal Court

CBC News

Alberta has lost an appeal of a court ruling that exempts Hutterites from having photographs on their driver's licences.

The province argued that having all drivers photographed helps prevent fraud, identity theft and terrorism.

But in a ruling released Thursday, the Alberta Court of Appeal concluded that the government failed to justify the infringement on the Hutterites' religious objections to being photographed.

Members of the Wilson Colony, near Coaldale, 12 kilometres east of Lethbridge, took the province to court after the government introduced a new licence in 2003 that requires a driver's photo.

The following spring, Sam Wurz of the Wilson Springs Colony in southern Alberta was pulled over as he was driving to Lethbridge. His licence didn't have a picture and he was fined \$230 for driving without a valid licence.

That started the legal struggle that ended late Wednesday with the release of the Appeal Court decision.

The colony had argued that the government's rule violated its charter right to freedom of religion. Members believe the second commandment in the Bible ("Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image") prohibits them from willingly having their picture taken.

The colony was also worried about what might have happened to its large-scale farming operation if no one was allowed to drive.

Service Alberta spokesman Eoin Kenny said the government has already issued about 80 interim licences without photographs. He said the provision is now available to anyone with a religious objection to being photographed.²⁴



How does this example demonstrate a reconciliation of contending loyalties? Can you think of other examples in which religious beliefs contend with civic laws or social conventions?

Conscientious Objection in Canada

To populate the Prairies between the middle of the 19th century and 1919, the government provided special privileges for certain religious groups—including Hutterites from Germany, and Dutch Mennonites and Doukhobors from Russia—all of whom were pacifist and all of whom faced persecution in their home countries. These people were encouraged to emigrate to Canada, and to settle and farm in underdeveloped areas. In exchange, they were promised religious freedom, including exemption from military duty.

Although they do not believe in bearing arms, many Mennonites and Doukhobors did contribute money to help victims of war. Yet despite their agreement with the government, when they refused to fight during the First and Second World Wars, they faced problems with some fellow Canadians who questioned their loyalty to Canada.

^{24 &}quot;Hutterites Exempt from Driver's License Photos: Appeal Court," CBC News, 17 May 2007. http://www.cbc.ca/canada/edmonton/story/2007/05/17/appeal-lost.html.



Conscientious Objection to Military Taxes

The following excerpt is from the Mennonite Church of Canada website (www.mennonitechurch.ca):

For the past 40 years there has been a growing concern among Mennonites about the use of our federal income taxes for military purposes.

We have long objected on grounds of conscience to participation in military service. This concern has been recognized and accommodated by Canadian governments since 1793. Because the nature of war and its financing have changed, we now need a "technological update" on the provisions for conscientious objection. Therefore we are working as the Mennonite Church Canada, and in coalition with others, to find a way to ensure that the income taxes of conscientious objectors are not used for military purposes.²⁵

1 Research and summarize ways in which Mennonite people propose to reconcile their contending loyalties.

Regional Loyalties in Canada

There are many regions in Canada to which individuals and groups feel strong ties, such as the North, Eastern Canada, Central Canada, Western Canada, the Maritimes, the Prairies, Atlantic Canada, the West Coast, and so on.

More than 225 000 people moved to Alberta from other parts of Canada between 2001 and 2006, many from Atlantic Canada. Unofficial estimates say that as many as 10 000 Newfoundlanders are making the 6000-kilometre commute back and forth from Newfoundland to Fort McMurray.²⁶

There's a very strong Atlantic Canadian community in Fort McMurray. And so when we find ourselves going to communities like Stephenville, Nfld. or Port Hawkesbury in Cape Breton a lot of people we're talking to already know somebody here. That helps bridge the big leap when they come out West.²⁷

 —Alain Moore, public affairs adviser for Syncrude, an oil company developing the oil sands in northern Alberta.

²⁵ Mennonite Church Canada, "Conscientious Objection to Military Taxes," 23 May 2007. http://www.mennonitechurch.ca/programs/peace/peacetax/index.htm.

^{26, 27 &}quot;Oilsands Boomtown Pays High Price for Success," Canadian Press, 7 January 2008. http://dcnonl.com/article/id25929.

Many migrants to Alberta retain strong loyalties to the regions from which they have come. How do you think these feelings of loyalty affect these people?

After four more years of struggling to make ends meet, my husband and I decided to move west to Fort McMurray and try to build a future. I will never forget the last morning I woke up in my house. You see, I had this ritual where I would get up in the morning, look at the kids and make my way to the living room to open the blinds. Every day, through my window, I paused to look across the bay at the beautiful mountains that stood tall and majestic just over there. On a calm morning, the water was like a mirror and the reflection of the pinnacles can only be described as breathtaking. Sometimes in the summer, the reflection would be disturbed by a humpback whale feeding on some capelin or squid or Uncle Somebody's boat breaking the water to head out the bay and try for cod. It seemed no matter how many hundreds of mornings I did this, I knew this would be the thing I missed the most ...

We live in hopes of being able to go back home someday, but for now it has to be a memory ... The ocean is in our bones; I don't think that will ever change. True happiness will come when we look at it through the window again. This will never be home to me.²⁸

—Catherine, a displaced Newfoundlander



PAUSE AND REFLECT

According to this quotation, has this "displaced Newfoundlander" reconciled her regional loyalties? Do you think it's necessary to reconcile your regional loyalties? How do you think migrants can reconcile their loyalty to the region they have left?

Explore the Issues

- Think about your ties to a region. What would you identify as your region, and how strongly are you and the people around you attached to it? Do your regional loyalties contend with any other loyalties you have? Explain.
- What accommodations are made in Canada when loyalties (for example, to religion, culture, or language) are in contention? Choose a recent example from the news and analyze both sides of the story. Answer the following question: Did
- the accommodations that were made reconcile the contending loyalties?
- Interview members of your community and ask them about their non-nationalist loyalties; for example, religious, regional, cultural, racial, and others. Ask them if and how these loyalties have ever contended with their feelings of nationalism. Combine and examine your results as a class.

²⁸ Kay Burns, "Far from Home: Newfoundlanders Find Work and Heartache in Fort McMurray," Albertaviews, March/April 2003: 50–51. http://www.albertaviews.ab.ca/issues/2003/marapr03/marapr03newfoundland.pdf.

PAUSE AND REFLECT

Can a person believe in internationalism and still have strong feelings of loyalty toward his or her nation(s)?



To visit the websites of the organizations listed here, follow the links on the Perspectives on Nationalism website.

PAUSE AND REFLECT

Do prosperous nations have a responsibility to use their wealth to support poorer nations? Can one be a citizen of a nation and a citizen of the world? Should one be? Why or why not?



Do these organizations require their supporters to put aside their nationalist loyalties?

Global Loyalties

Question for Inquiry

 What challenges arise from having contending global loyalties?

Many people feel loyalties that extend beyond the nations to which they belong. For example, *internationalism* is the belief in co-operation among nations for the benefit and well-being of humankind. Despite the differences between nations, all nations are considered equal. Thus, many people feel loyalty to a global community.

The benefit and well-being of the global community is the focus of many international organizations. For example:

Oxfam International: Oxfam International works in over 100 countries to find lasting solutions to poverty and injustice. The organization strives to promote the awareness and motivation that comes with global citizenship while seeking to shift public opinion to making equality a world priority.

Médecins Sans Frontières (Doctors Without Borders): Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF) was established in 1971, and today is the world's leading independent international medical relief organization. Healthcare workers provide medical help to people around the world during many kinds of catastrophes, including armed conflicts, natural disasters such as floods and earthquakes, epidemics of disease, and famines.

Some organizations go beyond focusing on the "human element" and focus on the well-being of the planet and its living organisms as a whole. For example:

Greenpeace: Greenpeace is a global campaigning organization that "acts to change attitudes and behaviour, to protect and conserve the environment and to promote peace" by such means as promoting a reduction in greenhouse gases, protecting oceans and forests, promoting disarmament and peace, and promoting sustainable agriculture.

World Wildlife Fund: The World Wildlife Fund is a conservation organization that, through a global network, promotes and works toward stopping the "degradation of the planet's natural

environment" and building "a future in which humans live in harmony with nature, by conserving the world's biological diversity, ensuring that the use of renewable natural resources is sustainable, and promoting the reduction of pollution and wasteful consumption."

Environmentalism and Contending Loyalties

Environmentalism is a philosophy and social movement based on the conservation and rehabilitation of the natural environment following the damage caused by human consumption and development. Environmentalism focuses on the needs of the environment, which are often in contention with those of humankind. When environmental issues arise, people may feel torn between various loyalties. For example, if a business wanted to expand to sensitive wetlands, one's loyalties could be conflicted:



Read the following article on an environmental issue that has developed in Indonesia. As you read, consider what different stakeholders are involved and what loyalties they might have.

Forest Loss in Sumatra Becomes a Global Issue

By Peter Gelling, *NY Times* KUALA CENAKU, Indonesia, Dec. 1—Here on the island of Sumatra, about 1 200 miles from the global climate talks under way on Bali, are some of the world's fastest-disappearing forests.

A look at this vast wasteland of charred stumps and dried-out peat makes the fight to save Indonesia's forests seem nearly impossible.

"What can we possibly do to stop this?" said Pak Helman, 28, a villager here in Riau Province, surveying the scene from his leaking wooden longboat. "I feel lost. I feel abandoned."

In recent years, dozens of pulp and paper companies have descended on Riau, which is roughly the size of Switzerland, snatching up generous government concessions to log and establish palm oil plantations. The results have caused villagers to feel panic.

Only five years ago, Mr. Helman said, he earned nearly \$100 a week catching shrimp. Now, he said, logging has poisoned the rivers snaking through the heart of Riau, and he is lucky to find enough shrimp to earn \$5 a month.

Responding to global demand for palm oil, which is used in cooking and cosmetics and, lately, in an increasingly popular biodiesel, companies have been claiming any land they can.

Fortunately, from Mr. Helman's point of view, the issue of Riau's disappearing forests has become a global one. He is now a volunteer for Greenpeace, which has established a camp in his village to monitor what it calls an impending Indonesian "carbon bomb."

Deforestation, during which carbon stored in trees is released into the atmosphere, now accounts for 20 percent of the world's greenhouse gas emissions, according to scientists. And Indonesia releases more carbon dioxide through deforestation than any other country.

Within Indonesia, the situation is most critical in Riau. In the past 10 years, nearly 60 per cent of the province's forests have been logged, burned and pulped, according to Jikalahari, a local environmental group.

"This is very serious—the world needs to act now," said Susanto Kurniawan, a coordinator for Jikalahari who regularly makes the arduous trip into the forest from the nearby city of Pekanbaru, passing long lines of trucks carting palm oil and wood. "In a few years it will be too late."

The rate of this deforestation is rising as oil prices reach new highs, leading more industries to turn to biodiesel made from palm oil, which, in theory, is earth-friendly. But its use is causing more harm than good, environmental groups say, because companies slash and burn huge swaths of trees to make way for palm oil plantations.

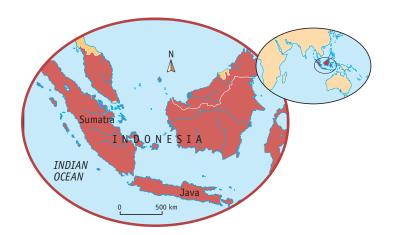
Even more significant, the burning and drying of Riau's carbon-rich peatlands, also to make way for palm oil plantations, releases about 1.8 billion tons of greenhouse gases a year, according to Greenpeace officials.

But it is also in Riau that a new global strategy for conserving forests in developing countries might begin. A small area of Riau's remaining forest will become a test case if an international carbon-trading plan called REDD is adopted.

REDD, or Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation, is to be one of the central topics of discussion at the Bali conference. Essentially, it would involve payments by wealthy countries to developing countries for every hectare of forest they do not cut down.

Indonesia, caught between its own financial interest in the palm oil industry and the growing international demands for conservation, has been promoting the carbon-trading plan for months.²⁹

²⁹ Peter Gelling, "Forest Loss in Sumatra Becomes a Global Issue," The New York Times, 6 December 2007. http://www.nytimes.com/2007/12/06/world/asia/06indo.html.



The island of Sumatra, in Indonesia

Figure 5-9

Based on the information in this article, what loyalties might be in contention for Pak Helman? What loyalties might be in contention for the Indonesian government? Do you think that programs like the REDD program can "buy" loyalty?

Humanitarianism and Contending Loyalties

Humanitarianism consists in never sacrificing a human being to a purpose.

—Albert Schweitzer, French philosopher and physician (1875–1965)

Humanitarianism is a philosophy based on the belief that all human beings deserve to be treated with respect and dignity. Loyalty to humanitarianism drives people to save lives and alleviate suffering. People may feel torn between their loyalty to humanitarian beliefs and other loyalties. For example, if their country is involved in a military conflict, they may feel loyalty to and support for their country, but they may also have loyalty to their belief that human suffering and death should not be supported for any purpose.

Read the following article on an ongoing humanitarian issue in Haiti. As you read, consider what different stakeholders are involved and what loyalties they might have.

Quick glimpse of misery in Haiti

by Carol Goar, The Toronto Star

The emergency team at Jude Anne Hospital, which provides childbirth care to Haiti's poorest women, no longer has to perform triage in the parking lot. Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF), which opened the hospital a year ago, has now added a second building.

That is how progress is measured in Port-au-Prince, Haiti's wretchedly poor capital, said Paul McPhun grimly. He is operations manager for the aid agency's Canadian section, which is responsible for the obstetric hospital.

McPhun and his colleagues were pleased that Prime Minister Stephen Harper visited Port-au-Prince two weeks ago on his tour of Latin America. They would have liked it better if he'd come to their hospital.

"We have an obligation to show politicians the realities of life in Haiti," he said. "We want people to see the humanitarian crisis, not just the recent security gains."

It is true, McPhun admits, that the scale of violence in crime-ridden Port-au-Prince has abated in the last year or so. But basic health services remain out of reach for most Haitians. The country has the highest maternal mortality rate in the Western Hemisphere.

Women simply can't afford hospital care. It costs \$13 to deliver a baby in a state hospital, assuming no complications. That is six times the average daily wage of a Haitian who is lucky enough to have a job (60 per cent don't). A caesarean section costs \$55, not counting drugs and post-surgical care.

Jude Anne Hospital charges nothing. It is one of five free hospitals run by Médecins Sans Frontières in the Haitian capital ...

It is not surprising that Harper didn't visit the facility. It does not receive—or want—funding from the Canadian government. For Médecins Sans Frontières, neutrality is essential.

"We are one of the few aid organizations that can go into the slums," McPhun explained. "That's because the people with the guns know we are not affiliated with the police or the security forces, who receive support from Canada and the United States."

Nor would the Prime Minister and his entourage have found photogenic children or grateful aid recipients at Jude Anne Hospital. A mother who gives birth there has little to look forward to. She has a 35 per cent probability of dying before her 40th birthday. Her child has a 12 per cent chance of dying before the age of 5 ...

Harper got a glimpse of this misery as his motorcade, guarded by armed United Nations soldiers, made its way through Cité Soleil, one of the poorest neighbourhoods in Port-au-Prince. He visited a hospital—Sainte-Catherine-de-Labouré—that receives funding from the Canadian government. He delivered a blood analysis machine to speed up its HIV/AIDS testing. He seemed genuinely moved by the hardship around him.

"I think all of us, as fellow human beings, as people who have our own families, can only begin to understand the true difficulties and challenges that so many people in this country face on a day-to-day basis," he said.

Harper stayed in Haiti for only six hours. His primary focus was improving public security. He made no change in Canada's aid commitment of \$100 million a year ...³⁰

Should the Canadian government respond to the plight of people in other nations? How should we choose which nations to support?

³⁰ Carol Goar, "Quick Glimpse of Misery in Haiti," The Toronto Star, 3 August 2007. http://www.msf.ca/en/news/inthenews/2007/080307 quickglimpse.html.

Explore the Issues

- 1 How have globalization and the "shrinking" of the world contributed to promoting the view of humankind as one group rather than many different nations? How could this global view affect loyalties to different nations?
- To what extent might nationalism and feelings of loyalty to different nations interfere with the
- promotion of peace, human rights, and equality on a global scale? Do they interfere with the preservation of the environment?
- In responding to global issues, should the Canadian government consider first the needs of its citizens or the responsibility we have to all people?



Reflect and Analyze

Who are you? What loyalties define you? How have your family, region, ethnicity, language, ancestral homeland, and religion affected how you see the world? In what ways are your perspectives a function of your contending loyalties, both national and non-national? This chapter has touched on the interplay among these loyalties, and the challenge of finding a balance. It has raised the question of how important it is for people to share the same loyalties, and whether it is necessary to reconcile contending loyalties.

Respond to Ideas

1 Working individually, develop a list of your loyalties. Then, share your loyalties with a small group of classmates. Try to determine which of your loyalties might contend with others. Discuss whether it is necessary—or the extent to which it is necessary—to reconcile these contending loyalties.

Create a visual representation that illustrates your contending loyalties and the effect of reconciling them versus the consequences of not recognizing the potential challenges of contending loyalties.

Respond to Issues

In a small group, brainstorm examples of conflicts that may arise as a result of not reconciling loyalties. Use these examples to develop a presentation. Based on the examples in the chapter, suggest ways in which contending loyalties might be reconciled.

Recognize Relationships between Concepts, Issues, and Citizenship

Two neighbouring European countries, the Netherlands and Belgium, are currently confronting contending loyalties. In Belgium, there is tension between two ethnic groups, the Flemish and Walloons. In the Netherlands, higher levels of immigration in recent years have resulted in contending loyalties. Conduct research to develop a preliminary understanding of the issues facing each country and propose the extent to which each nation should reconcile these contending loyalties.