

Nationalism and Collective Consciousness

Chapter

4

When Canadians see footage of Canadian troops in a battle zone, read letters from troops, or mourn for those killed, do we share similar feelings? Many Canadians share a sense of loss when a Canadian soldier dies while serving his or her country. This shared feeling can create a connection between Canadians. Do these types of experiences unite us as a nation?

- Brainstorm other experiences that develop connections between people. Examine the results of your brainstorming.

Chapter Issue

To what extent do people’s experiences with nationalism vary?

In chapters 1 and 2, you examined *nationalism* as the collective, shared sense of belonging of people who identify themselves as a nation, and you examined *expressions of nationalism* as communications of this sense of belonging. Our feelings of nationalism influence how we see ourselves, while our expressions of nationalism influence how others see us.

In this chapter, you will explore people’s diverse experiences with nationalism as an identity, an internalized feeling, and a collective consciousness, by looking at the nationalism of Canadians, Québécois, First Nations, Métis, Inuit, and Americans. The following inquiry questions will be used to guide your exploration:

- Is there a collective consciousness in a Canadian context?
- Is there a range of collective consciousness among people in Canada?
- Do Americans share a collective consciousness?

In this chapter you will also be asked to consider the Main Issue for Part 1 (chapters 1–5): ***To what extent should nation be the foundation of identity?***



Figure 4-1 ▲

On 26 August 2007, mourners, including firefighters and members of the Grafton 580 Legion, pay their respects to the hearses carrying the bodies of Master Warrant Officer Mario Mercier and Master Corporal Christian Duchesne, soldiers killed while serving in Afghanistan. The soldiers’ bodies were taken along a stretch of Highway 401 from Toronto to Trenton, which has been renamed “Highway of Heroes” in honour of fallen soldiers.

Exploring Canadian Identity

Question for Inquiry

- Is there a collective consciousness in a Canadian context?

In this section you will explore whether or not Canadians share a **collective consciousness** and to what extent understandings of being Canadian are shared among Canadians. First consider these questions: What is Canada, and what is a Canadian? What sense of nationalism is tied to these ideas?

A Canadian is someone who keeps asking the question, "What is a Canadian?"

—Irving Layton, Canadian poet

Canada is a country built against any common, geographic, historic or cultural sense.

—Pierre Elliott Trudeau, former Prime Minister of Canada

Canada is the greatest nation in this country.

—Allan Lamport, former Toronto mayor

What understandings of Canada and being Canadian are presented in these quotations? How would you define Canada?



Figure 4-2 ▲

(1) *The London Conference December 1866–March 1867*, by John David Kelly. This lithograph depicts the conference at the Westminster Palace Hotel where delegates from four provinces drafted the British North America Act, and thus formed the Dominion of Canada. Was *this* when Canada became a nation? (2) The first Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) train to travel from Canada's east to west coasts in June 1886. The CPR completed Canada's first cross-country railway in 1885, opening the west to settlement and fulfilling one of British Columbia's conditions to accepting Confederation. Would you say that *this* was when Canada became a nation?

PAUSE AND REFLECT

How do understandings of your nation(s) shape who you are?

collective consciousness: a group or nation may share a collective consciousness when its members collectively share similar values, beliefs, and internalized feelings based on their shared experiences. A collective consciousness can develop when the people of a nation focus on their identity as a group rather than on their identities as individuals.

PAUSE AND REFLECT

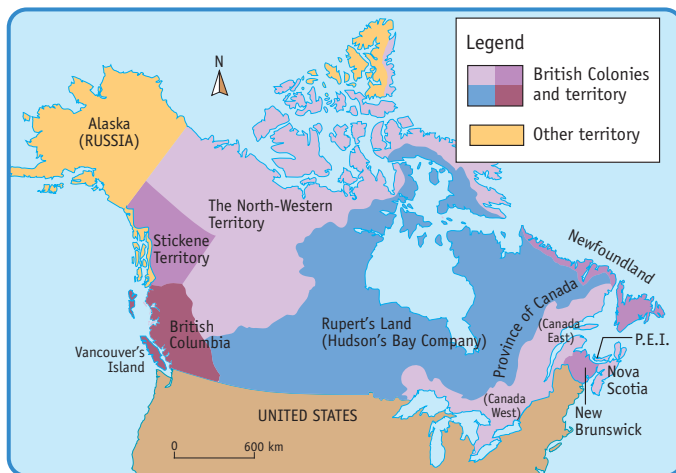
Canadians may have diverse answers to the question: “What is Canada and what is a Canadian?” depending on their understandings of nation. What do you think Canada is as a nation?

Fast Facts

Brigadier General Ross was there when Canadian troops went to battle in the First World War. Of that event, he said: “It was Canada from the Atlantic to the Pacific on parade. I thought then, and I think today, that in those few minutes I witnessed the birth of a nation.”¹

Figure 4-3

Canada’s First Colonists: 1600s and 1700s
Most of the early French colonists of North America lived in a territory called New France, which spanned from as far north as present-day Labrador down to the southern tip of Louisiana. In Canada, the majority of these colonists lived in the St. Lawrence Valley, where Québec City was founded in 1608.



Did Canada become a nation

- after the American Revolution, when tens of thousands of Loyalists moved north from America to the British colonies?
- on 1 July 1867, when New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Ontario, and Québec signed the British North America Act to join together as the Dominion of Canada?
- when the trans-Canada railway was completed, in 1885, uniting people from coast to coast?
- when Manitoba joined the Dominion in 1870, British Columbia in 1871, or Alberta and Saskatchewan in 1905?
- during the First World War, when Canadian troops were allowed to fight together—instead of with the British or the French—for the first time?
- when the Canadian Citizenship Act came into effect in 1947?
- when Newfoundland joined the country in 1948?
- with the Constitution Act of 1982?
- when the first Aboriginal peoples lived on its lands, long before Europeans arrived?

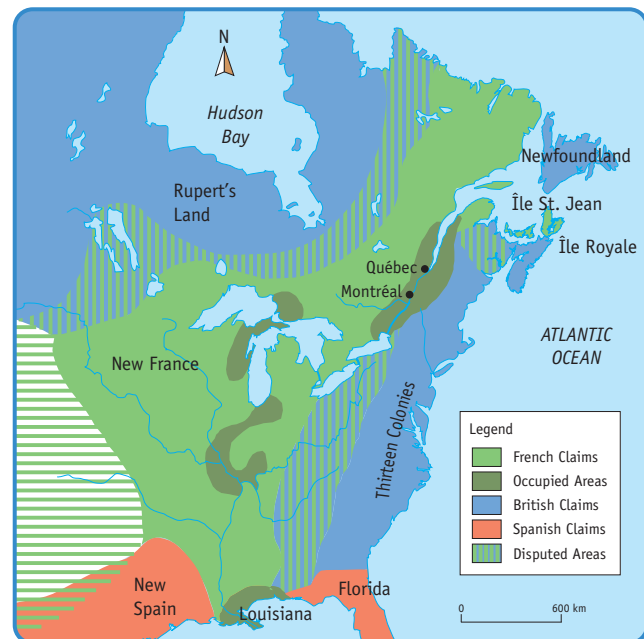


Figure 4-4

British North America consisted of the loyalist colonies and territories of the British Empire that remained after the American Revolution in continental North America during the 18th and 19th centuries.

¹ From: Canada at War website, <http://wwii.ca/page9.html>.



Figure 4-5 ▲

Upper and Lower Canada. The Constitutional Act of 1791 legally established two provinces with separate governments under a joint governor-in-chief: Upper Canada (predominantly people of British ancestry) and Lower Canada (predominantly people of French ancestry).

PAUSE AND REFLECT

What historical reasons might there be for the existence of multiple understandings of what it means to be Canadian?

Fast Facts

It is believed that the name *Canada* came from the Saint-Lawrence Iroquoian word *kanata*, meaning “village,” “settlement,” or “land.”



One Country, Two Anthems

The lyrics to the Canadian national anthem were written in French by Sir Adolphe-Basile Routhier in 1880. An English translation of the French lyrics did

not appear until 1906, and it was two more years before Robert Stanley Weir wrote the English lyrics.

“O Canada,” translated from the original French:

*O Canada! Land of our forefathers
Thy brow is wreathed with a
glorious garland of flowers.
As in thy arm ready to wield the
sword,
So also is it ready to carry the cross.
Thy history is an epic of the most
brilliant exploits.
Thy valour steeped in faith
Will protect our homes and our
rights
Will protect our homes and our
rights.*

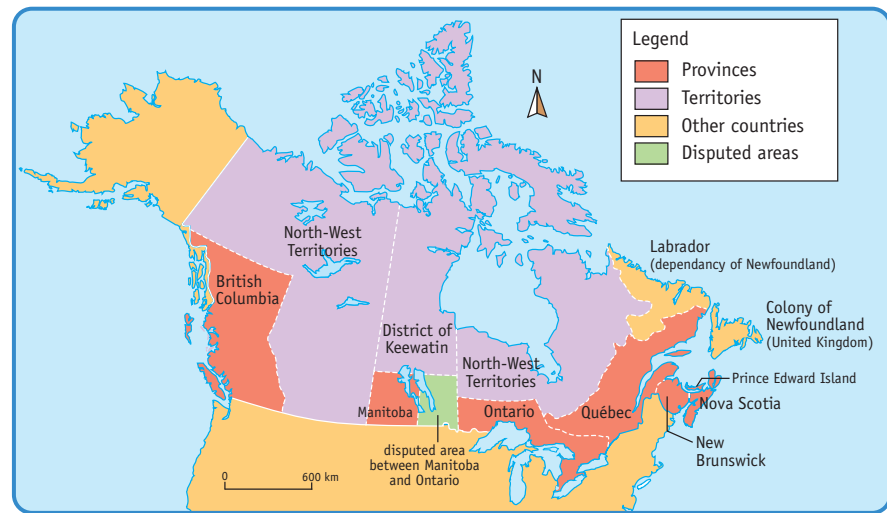
“O Canada,” English version:

*O Canada!
Our home and native land!
True patriot love in all thy sons
command.
With glowing hearts we see thee rise,
The True North strong and free!
From far and wide, O Canada, we
stand on guard for thee.
God keep our land glorious and free!
O Canada, we stand on guard for thee.
O Canada, we stand on guard for thee.*

- 1 Compare and contrast the lyrics. What do the French and English lyrics represent?
- 2 If each group (French and English) sings a different version of “O Canada,” do we still share a collective consciousness of what it means to be Canadian? In what ways?

Figure 4-6

By the time of Canadian Confederation in 1867, about 90 per cent of the Canadian population were descendants of immigrants from France and Great Britain settled mostly in Eastern Canada; the inhabitants of French origin mostly in Québec, and those of English, Irish, or Scottish descent spread through the four founding provinces, Québec, Ontario, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, as well as other British colonies.



The Canadian Railway, A National Symbol

The transcontinental railway that stretches across Canada has long been symbolic of our unity as a nation.

It was originally seen as a prerequisite for creating closer ties among the British colonies in North America, and was even a condition of British Columbia's entry into Confederation. Construction on the railway started in 1882 and ended in 1885. The first passenger train left Montréal on 28 June 1886 and arrived at Port Moody, BC, on July 4.

The CBC commissioned Canadian singer and composer Gordon Lightfoot to write "The Canadian Railroad Trilogy" for a 1967 New Year's Day program celebrating Canada's centennial. The lyrics inspire nationalism among many Canadians to this day.

The Canadian Railroad Trilogy

*There was a time in this fair land when the railroad did not run
When the wild majestic mountains
Stood alone against the sun
Long before the white man and long before the wheel
When the green dark forest was too silent to be real
But time has no beginnings and history has no bounds
As to this verdant country they came from all around
They sailed upon her waterways and they walked the forests tall
And they built the mines, the mills and the factories for the good
of us all ...
So over the mountains and over the plains
Into the muskeg and into the rain*

- 1 What perspectives on the nation of Canada are expressed in Lightfoot's lyrics? Why might Canadians be inspired to feel a sense of nationalism by this song?
- 2 What does the popularity of this song reveal about the existence of a Canadian collective consciousness?

*Up the St. Lawrence all the way to Gaspé
Swinging our hammers and drawing our pay
Driving them in and tying them down
Away to the bunkhouse and into the town
A dollar a day and a place for my head
A drink to the living, a toast to the dead
Oh the song of the future has been sung
All the battles have been won
On the mountain tops we stand
All the world at our command
We have opened up the soil
With our teardrops and our toil.²*

² From: <http://www.lightfoot.ca/canrailt.htm>.

Many Canadians consider the victory at Vimy a defining moment for Canada as a nation, as it was the first time that Canadian troops fought in a Canadian-run military operation. The four Canadian divisions of men drawn from all regions of Canada stormed the ridge at 5:30 AM on 9 April 1917. They pushed forward, showing incredible bravery and discipline despite heavy German fire. Their victory was an important strategic success, and earned Canadian troops a reputation as formidable, effective soldiers.

On the home front, Vimy became a symbol of Canadian nationalism, patriotism, independence, and pride. In 1922, the French government ceded Vimy Ridge and the land surrounding it to Canada for the construction of a memorial. The memorial, unveiled in 1936, was to commemorate the more than 60 000 Canadians who died serving their country during the First World War.

Canada's national holiday, called *Dominion Day*, was established in 1879, and in 1958 the federal government began to stage official Dominion Day celebrations. In 1968, multicultural elements were added, as well as a nationally televised show of the festivities from Parliament Hill. In the early 1980s, the government promoted and sponsored the development of local celebrations across Canada, including fireworks displays in 15 cities across the country. In 1982, the holiday was officially renamed *Canada Day*.

The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms (1982)

The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms is a legal charter that is part of the Canadian Constitution. The Charter guarantees freedoms, such as

- freedom of conscience and religion
- freedom of thought, belief, opinion, and expression, including freedom of the press
- freedom of peaceful assembly
- freedom of association

It guarantees legal rights, such as

- the presumption of innocence
- the right to life, liberty, and security of person
- security against unreasonable search and seizure

Figure 4-8 ▶

The Canadian National Vimy Memorial located on the former battlefield of the Battle of Vimy Ridge, near Vimy, France. Inscribed on the memorial are the names of the Canadian soldiers who lost their lives in France during the First World War, with the following words appearing on its base:

*To the valour of their
Countrymen in the Great War
And in memory of their sixty
Thousand dead this monument
Is raised by the people of Canada*



Figure 4-7 ▲

Canadian soldiers returning from the Battle of Vimy Ridge, 1917. This was the first time the Canadian Corps fought as one unit, and while more than 10 000 Canadian soldiers were killed and wounded, Canada was recognized for making great advances and removing German forces from an important location during the First World War.

PAUSE AND REFLECT

How was the Canadian attack on Vimy Ridge an expression of nationalism? Why might people consider this event part of what defines us as a nation?



PAUSE AND REFLECT

Which Canadian values and beliefs are reflected in the Charter? Could the support of the ideals of the Charter reflect a shared collective consciousness for Canadians? In what ways?

PAUSE AND REFLECT

Is Canada Day an expression of nationalism by the Canadian government or by the people of Canada? Do Canada Day celebrations reflect the internalized feelings of Canadians?



Figure 4-9 ▲

As part of the Canada Day celebrations, fireworks explode over Ottawa's Parliament Buildings. 1 July 2000.

Fast Facts

The term *Canadian* was first introduced as a term to identify ethnic origin in the 1996 census. In the 2001 census, 11 682 680 people identified their ethnicity as *Canadian*.

It guarantees democratic rights, such as

- the right to vote
- mobility rights, such as the right to live in any province
- equal protection under the law for all Canadians (but affirmative action programs are specifically permitted)

While the rights listed are not unique to Canada, the Charter also includes language rights that are particularly Canadian: English and French are established as official languages, and certain minority language education rights are guaranteed.³

In 2001, 10.3 million people—nearly half of Canada's population aged 15 and older, not including Aboriginal peoples—reported British, French or Canadian ethnic origins, or some combination of the three, reflecting the long history of British and French peoples in Canada. Meanwhile, 4.3 million Canadians reported other European origins, 2.9 million reported non-European origins, while 3.3 million reported mixed ethnicity.⁴

—Statistics Canada, 2007

In what ways can immigration widen the scope of who may share a Canadian collective consciousness?



Figure 4-10 ▲

(1) Judge Solange Fournier stands behind 11 adopted baby girls from China in Oshawa in April 1999. The children were all sworn in as Canadian citizens at the same time. (2) Zaid Rahman and his father Ala observe a citizenship ceremony where Zaid's mother is sworn in as a new Canadian in Halifax on 15 February 2006. This ceremony marked not only the 60th anniversary of Canadian citizenship, but also the tenth anniversary of Canada's National Flag Day. (3) New Canadian citizen Wadih Ghassa Farha accepts a Canada flag from George Stark, Canadian peacekeeper, after receiving his citizenship in Halifax on 9 August 2006.

³ From: <http://www.canadianembassy.org/government/constitution-en.asp>.

⁴ Statistics Canada, "Ethnic diversity and immigration," 7 September 2007. www41.statcan.ca/2007/30000/ceb30000_000_e.htm.

Write a Persuasive Editorial

Important skills to develop are synthesizing information and drawing conclusions about the information you have gathered, organized, and analyzed. You will apply these skills by writing an editorial on the question: How should Canadians identify themselves?

An *editorial* is a type of argumentative writing. It is an attempt to answer a question or issue. The purpose of an editorial is to *convince* or *persuade* the reader to agree with your position. An editorial uses evidence to support or test a belief. The strength of a position on an issue depends on the quality of the reasons and examples provided.

An *editorial* is an argumentative paper that proposes something, whether it calls for action or simply asks for recognition of a point of view. It centres on a proposition that you must be prepared to prove. You have to clearly show the reader why they should accept your opinion. You need to develop *logical* and *well-reasoned* arguments. Give reasons—not impressions or unsupported assertions—for your conclusions. Provide facts that are accurate, valid, and relevant.

Your editorial should follow a specific structure:

- Introduction: state the issue
- Body: support your position
- Conclusion: restate the issue

Step

1

Conduct Research on the Question/Issue

Research the issue to find out the present and historical answers to the question.

- Gather as much information as possible to support your position/argument.
- Ensure that the facts support your particular point of view.

Step

2

Organize a Persuasive Editorial

After you have conducted your research, you must decide where you stand on the issue or what position you hold. You need to plan and organize your argument.

Your editorial should be presented in a logical and coherent manner. It must have unity—all the facts must be accurate and must be related to the main ideas. Your arguments need to be presented in an order that is likely to be persuasive. Unnecessary material that is not important to the development of your thesis statement should be left out.

An editorial should always keep the reader in mind. It must have unity and coherence to ensure that the reader will be able to follow what you have written.

An editorial usually follows a deductive order (from the general to the particular). Your position or thesis needs to be substantiated by a series of specific examples.

Step

3

Introduction—State the Issue

Make a strong opening statement on the issue: How should Canadians identify themselves? (Do Canadians have an identity?)

- Explain the issue.
- Identify alternative viewpoints on the issue.
- Include a *thesis statement* (overview) of your personal opinion.

Step
4

Body—Develop your Position on the Issue

Use logic and persuasiveness to defend your position by using a well-reasoned and analytical tone. State your ideas in a straightforward, qualified manner.

- Challenge opposing opinions by selecting the central points of contention and refuting them.
- Devote one paragraph to every major argument supporting your position.
- Save your most important argument for last. By moving from the least to most important argument, you prepare the reader's attention for the clincher.

Step
5

Conclusion—Restate your Position on the Issue

Make a *strong* closing statement by restating your position or thesis in different words.

- Sum up your arguments.
- Restate your thesis in different words.

Explore the Issues

- 1 Select a group in Canada and explore the understandings of being Canadian among members of that group. Create a presentation based on your findings.
- 2 Research one of the following topics:
 - Canada: “The True North Strong and Free”
 - Multiculturalism and Canada
 - Bilingualism and Canada
 - Peacekeeping and CanadaAnalyze understandings of the topic and provide evidence that supports whether or not there is a shared collective consciousness among Canadians.
- 3 Visit the Citizenship and Immigration Canada website (through the link on the *Perspectives on Nationalism* website). Examine the information on the citizenship test for new Canadians. What understandings of being Canadian do new citizens take on?
- 4 How has the Canadian shared collective consciousness evolved with increasing diversity in immigration? Compare and contrast the historical understandings of being Canadian to contemporary understandings. Find immigration statistics to support your answer on the Statistics Canada website (through the link on the *Perspectives on Nationalism* website).

Exploring Canadian Perspectives

Question for Inquiry

- Is there a range of collective consciousness among people in Canada?

To what extent do our histories shape our collective consciousness? Within Canada, there are diverse understandings of the meaning of nation. Among Canadians, there may be one common national identity or a range of understandings of who we are. Historically, the collective consciousness of the Québécois in Canada has developed since the first French settlements in Canada. First Nations, Métis, and Inuit peoples also hold alternative understandings of nation based on their unique languages and cultures that predate the arrival of Europeans.

Québécois Nationalism

Who are the Québécois? Historically, people in Canada who spoke French called themselves *Canadien* or *Canadien-français*. This distinguished the people of New France from those of France. Being *Canadien* developed as a shared experience based on life in New France. Francophone identity as *Québécois* emerged in the 20th century, as both a political and a linguistic distinction from the Anglophone population in Canada and from Francophones elsewhere in Canada. How has this Québécois identity emerged as an internalized feeling shared uniquely by Francophones in Québec?

It seems evident to me that we are a nation. We are part of the founding peoples of this country. We were there from the start.

—Québec MP and Labour Minister Jean-Pierre Blackburn, 2006

WE, in the name of the people of Lower Canada, adoring the decree of the divine providence who allows us to overthrow the government which has ignored the reason for which it was created, and allows us to choose the form of government most likely to establish justice, to ensure domestic peace, to provide for common defense, to promote the general good, and to guarantee to us and our posterity the benefits of civil and religious Liberty ...⁵

—translated from the Declaration of Independence of Lower Canada, 1838

Until the last several decades of the 20th century, Québec's economy was largely in the hands of the province's English-speaking population. To provide employment for Québec's growing population in the first half of the 20th century, the provincial government had

Fast Facts

Francophone is a term that refers to people whose first language is French. As Francophones in Québec began to use the term *Québécois* to refer to themselves in the latter half of the 20th century, the terms *Franco-Albertan*, *Fransaskois* (from Saskatchewan), and *Franco-Columbien* (from British Columbia) emerged. They became terms that reflect the identity of some Francophones outside of Québec.

PAUSE AND REFLECT

Reflect on the use of “we” in these quotes. Who is the “we” most likely referring to?

5 From: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Declaration_of_Independence_of_Lower_Canada.

Fast Facts

René Lévesque proposed the idea of *sovereignty-association* to govern the relationship between Québec and the rest of Canada in 1967. If implemented, it would allow Québec to maintain an economic relationship with Canada while providing Québec with political autonomy.



Figure 4-11 ▲

In October 1967 René Lévesque founded the Mouvement Souveraineté-Association (MSA), which in 1968 combined with the Rassemblement pour l'indépendance nationale (RIN) to form the Parti Québécois. Lévesque was the first PQ president, and remained the leader until his resignation in 1985.

encouraged businesses owned by English-Canadians and Americans to establish themselves in Québec. This policy provided the opportunity for Anglophones to dominate Québec business, even though they formed a minority of the province's population. By the 1960s, studies showed that the average incomes of Francophone Québécois were lower than the average incomes of Anglophones in the province, and that Francophones' job opportunities and earnings were better if they were able to work in English.

This situation led to a generation of Francophones in Québec wanting greater economic opportunities and political control in their own province. Using the campaign slogan "*Maîtres chez nous*" ("Masters in our own house"), the liberal government of Jean Lesage was elected in 1960, and introduced a series of reforms in a period known as *la Révolution tranquille* ("the Quiet Revolution").

The reforms introduced during the Quiet Revolution were instrumental in reversing the economic and political leadership of Québec, and in turning control of the economy over to French-speaking citizens of Québec. Among the reforms introduced were

- the modernization of Québec's industries
- the nationalization of the hydroelectric industry
- reforms to the education system
- the establishment of social programs and public institutions to offer services in French

Feelings of nationalism in Québec shifted during the Quiet Revolution of the 1960s. Premier Jean Lesage's reforms not only shaped Québécois collective identity, they also reduced the influence of Anglophone identity in Québec.

During this time, the term *Québécois* became popular for distinguishing the Francophones of Québec from Francophones elsewhere. Lesage's political, social, and economic reforms helped create a generation of young and educated Francophones who strongly identified themselves as Québécois. The government's promotion of a Québec for and led by Francophones became widely accepted by the Québécois. During this time, many ideas regarding the necessity for constitutional change and regarding Québec's status in Canada were discussed. These ideas included co-operative federalism, special status, sovereignty-association, and complete separation.

For a few Québécois, the ideas and reforms of the Quiet Revolution were too moderate, and they pushed for more dramatic changes. The creation of political movements and parties—such as *Rassemblement pour l'indépendance nationale* (the RIN, founded in 1960), the *Parti républicain du Québec* (1962), the *Mouvement Souveraineté-Association* (the MSA, formed by René Lévesque in 1967), and, finally, the *Parti Québécois* (the PQ, founded in 1968 by the uniting of the RIN and

MSA)—grew in response to the demands for change. In the spring election of 1970, the PQ had won 23 per cent of the popular vote but had only 7 seats out of a possible 108 in the National Assembly of the province of Québec. This situation, along with other grievances, led to the *Crise d'octobre*—the October Crisis of 1970.

The *Front de libération du Québec* (FLQ), a radical group, was formed to spark change through protest and violence. The October 1970 kidnappings and murder by one radical faction of this group led the government of Canada to invoke the War Measures Act, in order to give the government the power to suppress the FLQ. The War Measures Act resulted in the suspension of citizens' legal rights, and the arrest and detention of over 400 Québécois without any charges being laid against them. This event created a division between some Québécois and the rest of Canada about the future of Québec and the Francophone Québécois in Canada.

During Québec's Quiet Revolution, in 1963, Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson set up the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism to report on ways to respond to the growing separatist movement in Québec. A major recommendation of the report six years later was that French and English be declared the official languages of the Parliament of Canada, of the federal courts, and of the federal government. The work of this commission led to the development of the Official Languages Act.

The next prime minister, Pierre Elliott Trudeau, responded to the sense of Francophone isolation with the Official Languages Act of 1969 and, later, the repatriation of Canada's Constitution in 1982, enshrining the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. From his point of view, these two actions would guarantee a future for Francophone Québécois in a Canadian federation where their language and culture would be protected by law. But for many Québécois, the linguistic and education rights in the Charter of Rights and Freedoms did not go far enough to realize their ideal of Québec as a nation for the Québécois.

During this period, a political party supporting an independent Québec emerged, and in 1976 was elected as Québec's provincial government. Led by René Lévesque, the Parti Québécois offered *sovereignty-association* (combining political autonomy and economic association) with Canada as a means to achieve an independent nation-state for the Québécois. As premier of Québec, Lévesque presented a referendum question in 1980 asking the people of Québec whether his government should pursue sovereignty-association. The result—in which roughly 60 per cent of Québec



PAUSE AND REFLECT

How did the political reforms of the Quiet Revolution and the extreme actions and resulting isolation of some Francophones from the October Crisis encourage a Québécois nationalism focused on the preservation of the French language and Québécois culture in Canada?

Fast Facts

The 1980 referendum in Québec posed the following question: *The Government of Québec has made public its proposal to negotiate a new agreement with the rest of Canada, based on the equality of nations; this agreement would enable Québec to acquire the exclusive power to make its laws, levy its taxes and establish relations abroad—in other words, sovereignty—and at the same time to maintain with Canada an economic association including a common currency; any change in political status resulting from these negotiations will only be implemented with popular approval through another referendum; on these terms, do you give the Government of Québec the mandate to negotiate the proposed agreement between Québec and Canada?*⁶

6 Graeme Hamilton, "A party's tongue-tied tactics," *National Post*, 15 March 2008. http://www.nationalpost.com/todays_paper/story.html?id=377548.

Fast Facts

The Meech Lake Accord (1987) and the Charlottetown Accord (1992) represent the efforts of the Mulroney government and provincial premiers to amend the Constitution to include the interests of Québec—the province that, under the leadership of Premier René Lévesque, refused to ratify the new Constitution. These accords would have recognized Québec as a distinct society, along with other amendments to provincial powers, the Senate, and the Supreme Court of Canada.

PAUSE AND REFLECT

In what ways did a sense of collective identity among Québécois contribute to efforts to create a sovereign nation-state?

Fast Facts

The increased popularity of the *Action démocratique du Québec* (ADQ)—which, in 2007, became the official opposition in the provincial National Assembly—offers an alternative to sovereignty-association. The ADQ, which held 31 per cent of the popular vote and elected 41 members in 2007, advocates more autonomy within Canada without making constitutional debate a priority or requiring a referendum.



voters voted against this move toward independence—left many Québécois disappointed about the future of a separate nation-state. In 1982, Lévesque refused to ratify Canada’s newly repatriated Constitution, saying that the new Constitution offered little to Québec and the Québécois. Lévesque died in 1987 without having achieved the Québécois nationalist dream.

Without Québec’s ratification of the 1982 Constitution, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney began talks in 1987 to amend the Constitution to include the issues and concerns of Québec. All the provincial premiers met at Meech Lake, in Québec, to draft the details. A tentative agreement on the amendment would allow Québec to be recognized in the constitution as a “distinct society” within Canada. Each province had three years to ratify the Meech Lake Accord in its legislative assembly. The governments of Newfoundland and Manitoba failed to pass the Meech Lake Accord by the June 1990 deadline. The defeat of this accord further shaped the sense of isolation of the Québécois and increased their desire to seek their own separate nation. Several Québec Francophone MPs broke away from Mulroney’s Progressive Conservative government and formed the *Bloc Québécois*, a new party founded on the idea of a sovereign Québec. The Bloc continues to represent Québec’s interests through its Members of Parliament in Ottawa.

In another constitutional agreement, reached in Charlottetown in 1992, Prime Minister Mulroney attempted once again to affirm Québec’s status as a “distinct society.” The new agreement—the Charlottetown Accord—also failed to pass, this time in a national referendum put to the voters of Canada.

The 1990s were a period of strong expressions of Québécois nationalism that focused on defining Québec’s place in Canada, or on its path to possibly becoming a separate nation. In this period of heightened Québécois nationalism, the separatist Parti Québécois was again elected as the government of Québec. The results of a 1995 Québec referendum reflected strong support for Québec sovereignty. This referendum posed the following question:

*Do you agree that Québec should become sovereign, after having made a formal offer to Canada for a new economic and political partnership, within the scope of the bill respecting the future of Québec and of the agreement signed on June 12, 1995?*⁷

In this vote, 50.58 per cent of Quebecers voted against sovereignty, while 49.42 per cent voted in favour, resulting in a narrow rejection of sovereignty-association. In the years following this close vote, support for a sovereign Québec began to decline.

⁷ From: <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com/index.cfm?PgNm=TCE&Params=A1ARTA0010730>.



What Is First Nations Nationalism?

There may be a shared sense of collective consciousness among people in Canada, as explored in an earlier Question for Inquiry. There may also be many understandings of who First Nations peoples are. In response to questions about identity, the responses may be as diverse as there are diverse nations: “I am Canadian, and also First Nations” to “I am Anishinabe, Blackfoot, and Dene,” and so on. This internalized feeling of being a people with a shared history, experience, language, and culture may be unique to a specific First Nations group. It may also be a shared collective consciousness among many First Nations people from diverse groups who share understandings such as “we are the first peoples of Canada.” In this section you will examine what shapes nationalism within and among First Nations. What internalized feelings do members of a First Nation have of who they are?

Ovide Mercredi is a Cree from Grand Rapids, Manitoba. He is a negotiator, activist, and lawyer, and was National Chief of the Assembly of First Nations from 1991 to 1994 and from 1994 to 1997.

*We the Indigenous Peoples of the Americas understand all too well that our survival and future is linked to the maintenance of our separate and distinct identity, and to the free exercise of our inherent self determination within our territories.*⁸

—Ovide Mercredi

Georges Erasmus is a member of the Dene Nation in the Northwest Territories. From 1976 to 1983, he served as president of the Indian Brotherhood of Northwest Territories/Dene Nation. He was National Chief of the Assembly of First Nations from 1985 to 1991.

To paint a picture of the Canada that Aboriginal people envision I need only turn to the ideals of a good life embedded in Aboriginal languages and traditional teachings. The Anishinabek seek the spiritual gift of “pimatziwin”—long life and wellbeing which enable a person to gain wisdom. The Cree of the northern prairies value “miyowicehtowin”—

Figure 4-12 ▲

A number of First Nations people of Canada taking part in various cultural and social activities: two Cree women at Wanuskewin Native Heritage Park, Saskatchewan; a Salish paddling team in British Columbia; and participants in a Vancouver Island Thunder Powwow Drum and Dance competition in Duncan, British Columbia.

PAUSE AND REFLECT

Analyze Mercredi's choice of words in the quote to the left. How does he express who First Nations peoples are?

⁸ Ovide Mercredi, speech at the Save Canada Conference, Ottawa, Ontario, 20–21 August 1999. <http://www.converge.org.nz/pma/ovide.htm>.



PAUSE AND REFLECT

Examine Erasmus's statement. What does he say are the shared experiences of First Nations peoples? Compared to the voices of First Nations people in earlier chapters, to what extent is Erasmus voicing a shared internalized feeling of being First Nations?

having good relations. The Iroquois Great Law sets out rules for maintaining peace "Skennen kowa" between peoples, going beyond resolving conflicts to actively care for each other's welfare. Aboriginal peoples across Canada and around the world speak of their relationship with the natural world and the responsibility of human beings to maintain balance in the natural order. Rituals in which we give something back in return for the gifts that we receive from Mother Earth reinforce that sense of responsibility.⁹

—Georges Erasmus



PAUSE AND REFLECT

In what ways does the quote by Matthew Coon Come add to the understandings of shared experiences of First Nations people?

Matthew Coon Come is a member of the Mistissini Cree Nation in Northern Québec. He was National Chief of the Assembly of First Nations from 2000 to 2003.

And yet there are wonderful stories, success stories and important achievements among all of our Indigenous peoples and nations. And we need to celebrate our survival. Let us wonder at the continuing and rich diversity of our cultures and at the infinite value of our philosophies, of our languages, of our music, our tradition knowledge, and our beliefs. Let us showcase our triumphs in business, the arts, technology and other fields.¹⁰

—Matthew Coon Come



A Declaration of First Nations

This declaration is on the Assembly of First Nations website:

*We the Original Peoples of this land know the Creator put us here.
The Creator gave us laws that govern all our relationships to live in harmony with nature and mankind.
The Laws of the Creator defined our rights and responsibilities.
The Creator gave us our spiritual beliefs, our languages, our culture, and a place on Mother Earth which provided us with all our needs.
We have maintained our Freedom, our Languages, and our Traditions from time immemorial.
We continue to exercise the rights and fulfill the responsibilities and obligations given to us by the Creator for the land upon which we were placed.
The Creator has given us the right to govern ourselves and the right to self-determination.
The rights and responsibilities given to us by the creator cannot be altered or taken away by any other Nation.¹¹*

- 1 What shared understandings and experiences are expressed in this declaration?
- 2 Analyze the "we" in this declaration. How does the declaration express an internalized feeling of who First Nations people are as a group?

⁹ Georges Erasmus, speech at the LaFontaine–Baldwin Symposium, 2002. <http://www.lafontaine-baldwin.com/speeches/2002>.

¹⁰ Matthew Coon Come, speech at the Indigenous Peoples Summit of the Americas, Ottawa, 28–31 March, 2001. <http://www.dialoguebetweenations.com/OASdeclaration/english/MatthewCoonCome.htm>.

¹¹ From: <http://www.afn.ca/article.asp?id=52>.

Figure 4-13

Shamanizing #1 by Aoudla Pudlat. Aoudla Pudlat is an Inuit artist from Cape Dorset, Nunavut. While sculpture is an art form often associated with the Inuit, many have expressed themselves and their culture via other media. Pudlat’s prints and lithographs are celebrated for their highly stylized animal and landscape imagery, and their expression of traditional Inuit practices and beliefs.¹²

Our hair is the grass on the prairie; our bones are the mountains; our veins and arteries are rivers, streams, creeks; our breath is the wind; our heart is in the middle of the earth ... So for us Mother Earth is more than just a provider. For us, She’s our teacher, our protector; we learn from Her ... we heal from Her.

—Paulette Fox, member of the Blood Tribe of the Blackfoot Confederacy

*These mountains are our temples, our sanctuaries, and our resting places. They are a place of hope, a place of vision, a place of refuge, a very special and holy place where the Great Spirit speaks with us. These mountains are our sacred places.*¹³

—Chief John Snow, Nakoda Sioux (Stoney) Nation



Who are the Métis?

The Métis, as a distinct Aboriginal people, fundamentally shaped Canada’s expansion westward through their on-going assertion of their collective identity and rights. From the Red River Resistance to the Battle of Batoche to other notable collective actions undertaken throughout the Métis Nation Homeland, the history and identity of the Métis people will forever be a part of Canada’s existence.¹⁴

—Métis National Council website

People are starting to realize that the Métis people, we gave up lots and we gave lots to this country ... We’re a people now today. Nobody can say, well, you’re just a Métis—no more of that. We are welcome at the same level as you and we’re back. We’re not leaving. We’re not going nowhere.¹⁵

—Elder Homer Poitras

- 1 What are the similarities and differences in experiences that shape First Nations nationalism and Métis nationalism?

12 http://www.spiritwrestler.com/catalog/index.php?artists_id=410

13 *These Mountains Are Our Sacred Places: The Story of the Stoney People* (Calgary, AB: Fifth House, 2005).

14 From: www.metisnation.ca.

15 From: http://www.abheritage.ca/eldersvoices/voices/voices_metis_crossing.html.

PAUSE AND REFLECT

As an artist, what understandings does Janvier share and express in his work that demonstrate a shared collective consciousness with the Dene Suline Nation?

PAUSE AND REFLECT

Focus on the “we,” “our,” and “us” in Paulette Fox’s statement. What understandings does Fox share with the Blood Tribe?

PAUSE AND REFLECT

How do these understandings and those expressed in this Voices section contribute to a shared collective consciousness for First Nations peoples?



Inuit Perspectives

The Inuit share diverse cultural and linguistic traits that vary across the Arctic region, and are a distinct and separate group from the First Nations. Their historical experiences with the Canadian government differ from those of the First Nations or Métis, as Inuit were initially brought under Canadian jurisdictions as ordinary citizens.¹⁶

Inuit share many common connections through their relationship and experiences living in the northern geographic region of Canada. Their relationship to the land is very important, as life in their communities is tied closely to the land.

*Our emotional, spiritual and cultural well-being and health depend on protecting the land. We cannot find our way with band-aid solutions. For Inuit, the environment is everything.*¹⁷

—Sheila Watt-Cloutier,
a Canadian Inuit activist and a political representative for
Inuit people at the regional, national, and international levels.

The recognition of Nunavut in 1999 and of the other territories, and the economic development of the Arctic region—through activities such as mineral and hydrocarbon extraction—have given the Inuit the opportunity for continued self-determination and governance. The Inuit continue to share a collective desire for the preservation of their culture in a changing world.

*As a people, we have undergone immense changes in a generation. Despite the many changes our society has encountered, we retain strong ties to the land and our traditions. People coming to the north today see Inuit taking part in many aspects of modern life—working in an office environment, watching hockey on television, shopping at local stores, making political speeches. What they may not see at first is that Inuit continue to have a strong, unique culture that guides us in our everyday life—our close ties to the land, a dedication to community and a strong sense of self-reliance.*¹⁸

—Martha Greig, president,
Pauktuutit Inuit Women of Canada, 2006.



Figure 4-14

(1) An Inuit man in traditional hunting furs stands beside his son near a hunting camp in Pangnirtung, Nunavut. (2) An Inuit family riding an ATV in Pangnirtung, Nunavut. (3) An Inuit baby is carried in a papoose, a child carrier which can be worn on either the front or the back, in the northern Labrador community of Nain.

¹⁶ *Aboriginal Perspectives* (Edmonton, AB: Duval House Publishing, 2004).

¹⁷ From: http://www.canadiangeographic.ca/cea/archives/archives_lifetime.asp?id=159.

¹⁸ Pauktuutit Inuit Women of Canada, *The Inuit Way: A Guide to Inuit Culture*, revised 2006. http://www.pauktuutit.ca/PDF/publications/pauktuutit/InuitWay_e.PDF.

Inuit are an original people of the land now known as Canada, and our history represents an important and fascinating story. It is not just a story about an early chapter of Canadian history. Indeed it is an epic tale in the history of human settlement and the endurance of culture. Each chapter of our story provides valuable lessons and insights about issues that matter to cultures everywhere. Our history is about people and their relationship to the environment and to each other; about dealing with change as well as the causes and consequences of change forced on us through colonialism; and about how we have reestablished control over our cultural, economic and political destiny through land claims and self government. Above all, the story of Inuit is about how we as a culture are able to live in balance with the natural world.¹⁹

— Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK), an organization that represent the rights of the Inuit at the national level, and works to improve living conditions for Inuit economically and socially.

- 1 How does the Inuit relationship to northern lands shape their identity?
- 2 Are the changes that are occurring in the northern region of Canada creating an opportunity or challenge for the Inuit peoples and their sense of identity? Why do you think that is?

Explore the Issues

- 1 Based on the examples in this section, summarize alternative meanings of nation and nationalism in Canada.
- 2 To what extent do alternative meanings of nation and nationalism shape alternative understandings of Canadian identity?
- 3 To what extent is Canada a reflection of the embracing of many understandings of nation and nationalism?

¹⁹ From: <http://www.itk.ca/5000-year-heritage/index.php>.



1



2

Figure 4-15 ▲

(1) American citizens of various ethnic and cultural backgrounds take part in Independence Day events in Miami Beach, Florida, in 2007. (2) The Statue of Liberty Enlightening the World, more commonly known as the Statue of Liberty, is often seen as a symbol of freedom and democracy. The statue was dedicated on 28 October 1886 to commemorate the centennial of the United States and was a gift of friendship from the people of France, sculpted by Frédéric Auguste Barthold.

Fast Facts

On 16 December 1773, a group of men boarded the ships of British tea merchants and dumped an estimated £10 000 worth of tea into the harbour. This event became known as the Boston Tea Party, and was a significant expression of American nationalism and a defining moment in the development of an American identity.

Exploring American Identity

Question for Inquiry

- Do Americans share a collective consciousness?

The United States of America was founded through the immigration of people from around the world of different cultures, ethnicities, and religions. Despite these diverse backgrounds, do Americans share a collective consciousness? What makes Americans think of themselves as *Americans*? What do Americans share that makes them feel American?

Figure 4-16 ▶

Landing of the Pilgrim Fathers by Dudley C. Tennant, depicting the arrival of English Pilgrims at Cape Cod on 21 December 1620. Early colonists and immigrants to America began to develop a collective identity distinct from those of the countries from which they came. This was based on their shared experiences as pioneers, frontiersmen and women, and members of a new American society, and was influenced by the character of the land itself.



On December 21, 1620, these landed on the desolate shores of Cape Cod, in America, a brave little band of English pilgrims. They had set out from Plymouth in the Mayflower more than three months before, and after a perilous voyage had reached the strange land that was to be their new home. Spurred by their religious differences with the Church of England they had been compelled to leave their country for Leiden, in Holland, but for their increasing number, they determined to seek a new residence in America. Curiously enough, the place at which they settled was named Plymouth.



Figure 4-17 ▶

The Boston Tea Party as depicted by an unknown English artist in the early 20th century. On the night of 16 December 1773, a number of men disguised as Aboriginal Americans boarded three British East India Company trading ships and dumped their shiploads of tea into Boston Harbor. The men were part of an organization called the “Sons of Liberty” and they acted in protest of new British laws and taxes on American colonies. Many people see the Boston Tea Party as a catalyst for the American Revolution and the war in 1775.

American Revolution: 1775–1776

American feelings of belonging and identity were strengthened and solidified by their fight for independence from the British Empire during the Revolutionary War. American feelings of nationalism and belonging to a nation separate from the British Empire began to grow until protest in Boston sparked a British military response. Fighting broke out in 1775, and by 1776 representatives of the 13 colonies voted unanimously to adopt a Declaration of Independence, by which they established the United States of America.

Fast Facts

The American Revolution was inspired in part by the ideas of Age of Enlightenment writers, who advocated reason—rather than heredity or divine right—as the primary basis of authority and promoted changes such as the organization of people into nations and greater rights for common people. As well, the British government imposed a series of taxes on the American people. These taxes were very unpopular, especially since Americans had no representation in the British Parliament.

PAUSE AND REFLECT

What shaped the first understandings of America as a nation? How might early American nationalism influence American collective identity today?



Documents at the Core of an American Identity

The following excerpts are from two of the most important American legal documents: the Declaration of Independence (1776) and the United States Constitution (1787).

Declaration of Independence

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness; that to secure these ends, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government shall become destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, & to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles & organising its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety & happiness.

United States Constitution

We the People of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

- 1 What understandings of nation are captured in these excerpts?
- 2 What do these excerpts reveal about the collective identity of the American people?
- 3 How have Americans used these documents in expressions of nationalism and patriotism since the founding of their country?



Two Songs and Two Understandings of Nation

There are two key patriotic songs sung by the American people: “America the Beautiful” and “The Star Spangled Banner.” Although the latter is the official national anthem, many people have petitioned to have “America the Beautiful” acknowledged as an official song of the United States.

America the Beautiful

*O beautiful, for spacious skies,
For amber waves of grain
For purple mountain majesties
Above the fruited plain!
America! America! God shed His grace
on thee,
And crown thy good with
brotherhood, from sea to shining sea.*

The Star Spangled Banner

*O say, can you see, by the dawn's
early light
What so proudly we hailed at the
twilight's last gleaming,
Whose broad stripes and bright stars,
through the perilous fight,
O'er the ramparts we watched, were
so gallantly streaming?
And the rockets' red glare, the bombs
bursting in air,
Gave proof through the night that our
flag was still there.
O say, does that star spangled banner
yet wave
O'er the land of the free, and the
home of the brave?*

- 1 Examine these two songs. What understandings of nation does each represent?
- 2 What does the difference between these two expressions of nationalism reveal about the nature of an American identity?

melting pot: a term referring to the assimilation of new immigrants to the dominant culture of their new country.

PAUSE AND REFLECT

Does the idea of an American *melting pot* hold true for all immigrants?

A Melting Pot

Many early Americans viewed the country as a **melting pot** of people from a variety of ethnicities, cultures, and religions to form an American “new man.” This idea was described by Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur in *Letters from an American Farmer* (1782):

Whence came all these people? They are a mixture of English, Scotch, Irish, French, Dutch, Germans, and Swedes ... What, then, is the American, this new man? He is neither a European nor the descendant of a European; hence that strange mixture of blood, which you will find in no other country ... He is an American, who, leaving behind him all his ancient prejudices and manners, receives new ones from the new mode of life he has embraced, the new government he obeys, and the new rank he holds ... The Americans were once scattered all over Europe; here they are incorporated into one of the finest systems of population which has ever appeared.²⁰

—J. Hector St. John Crèvecoeur

²⁰ J. Hector St. John Crèvecoeur, *Letters from an American Farmer*, ed. W. P. Trent and Ludwig Lewisohn. (New York: Duffield, 1904).

Civil War: 1861–1865

Less than 100 years after its birth as an independent nation-state, the United States of America became increasingly divided. Slavery was one of the key issues leading to the American Civil War. Many people of the Southern states (the Confederation) owned slaves, while most people of the Northern states (the Union) were opposed to slavery. Hostilities between the two sides lasted from 1861 to 1865.

In 1862, Abraham Lincoln, the leader of the Union states, wrote the *Emancipation Proclamation*, which proclaimed the freedom of all slaves and made ending slavery in the South a focus of the war. The war between the North and South was brutal and deadly. It resulted in 620 000 soldier deaths and an untold number of civilian casualties, but created a strong political unity between the states. Nevertheless, unresolved social, political, economic, and racial tensions between the North and the South still divide the American people today.

The American Dream

Many immigrants were lured to America by the idea of the *American Dream*, which was based on the optimism of the first leaders of United States who saw America as a land of plenty, opportunity, and destiny. Generally, the American Dream is the idea that immigrants have the freedom to achieve their goals through hard work; one's prosperity depends on one's abilities and hard work, not on one's social or economic class. The myth of the American Dream changes with the times and with the diverse experiences and backgrounds of those who believe it.

Many new immigrants to the United States came through the harbour at New York City. One of their first sights of America was the Statue of Liberty. Although they likely were never able to read the inscription, it depicts an American nationalism that has become a symbol of the national identity.

*Not like the brazen giant of Greek fame,
With conquering limbs astride from land to land;
Here at our sea-washed, sunset gates shall stand
A mighty woman with a torch, whose flame
Is the imprisoned lightning, and her name
Mother of Exiles. From her beacon-hand
Glows world-wide welcome; her mild eyes command
The air-bridged harbor that twin cities frame.*

*"Keep, ancient lands, your storied pomp!" cries she
With silent lips. "Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore.
Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost to me,
I lift my lamp beside the golden door!"*

— Inscription on the Statue of Liberty (1886)



PAUSE AND REFLECT

Is the Civil War a symbol of American nationalism for both the people of the North and of the South? Does this shared history unite Americans as a nation or divide them?

Fast Facts

The mythology surrounding the American Dream was strengthened by the rags-to-riches stories of American businessmen such as Andrew Carnegie and J.D. Rockefeller.



PAUSE AND REFLECT

Why might the idea of the American Dream be used in expressions of American nationalism? Is it a shared experience for many newcomers? Why or why not?

Ideas and Opinions

“ [The American Dream is] that dream of a land in which life should be better and richer and fuller for everyone, with opportunity for each according to ability or achievement. It is a difficult dream for the European upper classes to interpret adequately, and too many of us ourselves have grown weary and mistrustful of it. It is not a dream of motor cars and high wages merely, but a dream of social order in which each man and each woman shall be able to attain to the fullest stature of which they are innately capable, and be recognized by others for what they are, regardless of the fortuitous circumstances of birth or position.²¹ ”

—James Truslow Adams, *The Epic of America* (1931).

“ Let America be the dream the dreamers dreamed—
Let it be that great strong land of love
Where never kings connive nor tyrants scheme
That any man be crushed by one above.
(It never was America to me.)
O, let America be America again—
The land that never has been yet—
And yet must be—the land where every man is free.²² ”

—Langston Hughes, African-American poet and activist, “Let America be America Again.”

Why are there different views about the American Dream? What factors affect the American Dream?

Web Link

For stories from immigrants about their experiences pursuing the American Dream, visit the Merage Foundation for the American Dream through the link on the *Perspectives on Nationalism* website.

PAUSE AND REFLECT

Why do Americans view themselves as defenders of democracy? Do others view America as defenders of democracy?

Defenders of Democracy

Americans are often portrayed in news media, movies, and television as “defenders of democracy”, based on their roles in military conflicts around the world.

T I M E L I N E

- 1940s:** A *cold war* begins to develop between the United States and the Soviet Union, pitting capitalism and democracy against communism.
- 1950–1953** The American government sends troops to fight in the Korean War against communist forces.
- 1963–1973** The United States fights in Vietnam against communist forces.
- 1980s** American intervention around the globe, for example in Lebanon, Grenada, Libya, and Central America.
- 1990–1991** America leads a UN-authorized coalition to liberate Kuwait from the Iraqi forces that had invaded the country.
- 2003** America invades Iraq based on allegations that Iraq was in possession of and was actively developing weapons of mass destruction.

²¹ From: <http://memory.loc.gov/learn/lessons/97/dream/thedream.html>.

²² Arnold Rampersad, ed. *The Collected Poems of Langston Hughes* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1994).

Explore the Issues

- 1 Research one of the following topics:
 - “America the free”
 - America as a republic
 - “God Bless America”
 - political ideas that define American identity
 - one language; one people

Analyze understandings of the topics and identify evidence that supports whether there is a shared collective consciousness among Americans.

- 2 Is there diversity in the perspectives on American identity among Americans?

Immigration to the United States²³

In March 2000, the foreign-born population of the United States was 28.4 million. Ten per cent of the US population was foreign-born in 2000, the highest rate since 1930.

- 14.5 million (50%) foreign-born residents were from Latin America
- 7.2 million (26%) foreign-born residents were from Asia
- 4.4 million (15%) foreign-born residents were from Europe

- 3 Immigration continues to affect the identity of Americans. In coming to America, what shared understandings of being American becomes part of immigrants’ new identities?
- 4 Compare and contrast the historical understandings of being American with contemporary understandings.
- 5 Is there a shared collective consciousness among the American people? Explain your answer. How does this relate to American nationalism and national identity?

Reflect and Analyze

In this chapter you explored how a group or nation may share a collective consciousness, which develops as a result of a shared history, culture, language, and/or beliefs. You explored whether or not Canadians share a collective consciousness, to what extent our diverse histories and diverse understandings of the meaning of nation could shape a range of collective consciousness in Canada, and whether or not Americans share a collective consciousness.

Respond to Ideas

- 1 How does a shared collective consciousness develop?
- 2 Do newcomers take on the collective consciousness of their new country?

- 3 Despite this diversity in Canadian perspectives, is there a shared Canadian consciousness?

Respond to Issues

- 4 To what extent can the identities of individuals in Canada reflect nationalism for Canada and shared consciousness with other groups?

Recognize Relationships between Concepts, Issues, and Citizenship

- 5 To what extent is a shared collective consciousness and national identity reflected in the nationalism of a group?

23 From: <http://www.census.gov/prod/2002pubs/cenbr01-1.pdf>.