‘A MULTICULTURAL SOCIETY, IF YOU CAN KEEP IT’
Building Canadian National Identity, 1970-2010

July 2020

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Acknowledgements

This paper is dedicated to all the wonderful people in my life who helped make this project a reality. It takes a lot to listen to someone drone on about national identity at the best of times, but to do that for several months while locked indoors involves a whole different level of support.

While there are innumerable people who guided, supported, and worked with me on this, there are a few that deserve standout praise. First, I'd like to thank my supervisor, Srdjan, for his willingness to work on such a complex and convoluted topic, and for helping turn my admittedly longwinded writing into something manageable. Next, I'd like to thank my friends and family for acting as the sober second judgement for so many of my ideas. Often in writing you wind up so far down a rabbit hole you lose track of how to get out; you always made sure that I did. Finally, I'd like to thank my brilliant partner Rebecca for being by my side through all the ups and downs of this process. Whether it was listening to me read a paragraph out loud for the umpteenth time or helping me work through writer's block, I truly could not have done it without you.

Thank you, all.

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ABSTRACT

Much has been written on Canada's woes at articulating a useable, broadly accepted national identity and the assorted public policy dilemmas that arise from this lack of uniting principles. Part of this stems from the residual influence of both external powers on Canadian social and political life, as well as from unanswered questions relating to domestic sovereignty and political cohesion. Accordingly, Canada's elite and mass cultures have had a difficult time outlining a positive sketch of what it means "to be Canadian". At best, many simply point to what Canada is not, which is woefully inadequate as a statement of national identity. During the roughly century and a half since formalizing the Dominion of Canada, numerous efforts have been made at creating and fostering a sense of national self-consciousness, but few of these have managed to stick in the minds of citizens or stand up to scrutiny and skepticism. However, perhaps the only identity that has endured is the notion that Canada is, fundamentally, a *proudly* multicultural state. With the rise of right wing, populist politics, both abroad and at home, and mounting anxieties over the continued existence of the liberal international order, the dominance of multiculturalism as a guiding framework is being challenged. This, therefore, raises the question: if multiculturalism can be so easily toppled, was it ever truly a central tenant of the Canadian national project?

SECTION I: Introduction

One of the most significant, and likely most enduring, features of the past 20 years has been the breakdown of nominal social cohesion across a number of high-profile states and the demand for more inclusive socio-political communities. At present, a variety of movements are calling into question the established rules and practices for how countries ought to act and how societies ought to be structured. Movements such as Brexit, America First, Black Lives Matter, and the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls remind us that national identities are not homogenous and no country, regardless of the strength of its founding myth, is immutable. Further, they showcase that even when political structures seem to provide effective avenues for accountability and input, the line between democracy and tyranny is thin at the best of times. These convulsions have a unique resonance in Canada, which has long touted its official multiculturalism as a positive case for Canadian exceptionalism in the realms of tolerance and acceptance. Indeed, in the 1988 *Canadian Multiculturalism Act* policy and national identity collided, with the Act actively serving as the endpoint for debate on what it means to be Canadian. Accordingly, Canadians often feel exempt from the types of difficult conversation that arise from calls for increased social inclusion from minority and or marginalized peoples.[1] However, despite this central and tangible use of multiculturalism in defining the national character, the concept itself remains fluid and malleable within Canada, suggesting an unspoken but undeniable weakness of its legitimacy, particularly in an age of social disruption.

The strength of such positions also matters in the Canadian context because of Canada's long and complicated history with national identity. In many ways, the history of Canada,

[1] For example, the Premier of New Brunswick has repeatedly refused to launch an inquiry into the systemic racism involved in the killing of an unarmed Indigenous man in mid-June 2020, according to a story by the CBC. Retrieved from https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/new-brunswick/first-nations-chiefs-premier-systemic-racism-new-brunswick-1.5642537

especially since Confederation, can be read as successive attempts by elites to develop and implement a national identity that is accepted by the citizenry. It is a contestation that has taken place in the shared spheres of domestic and international politics, with Canada's role as a member of the British Empire/Commonwealth and its economic proximity and dependency on the United States significantly shaping its trajectory. Certainly, as shown in Image 1.1, discourse on the subject of Canadian identity has long been associated with trying to understand these two unique relationships, and how an authentic Canadian nationalism can fit within their scope.

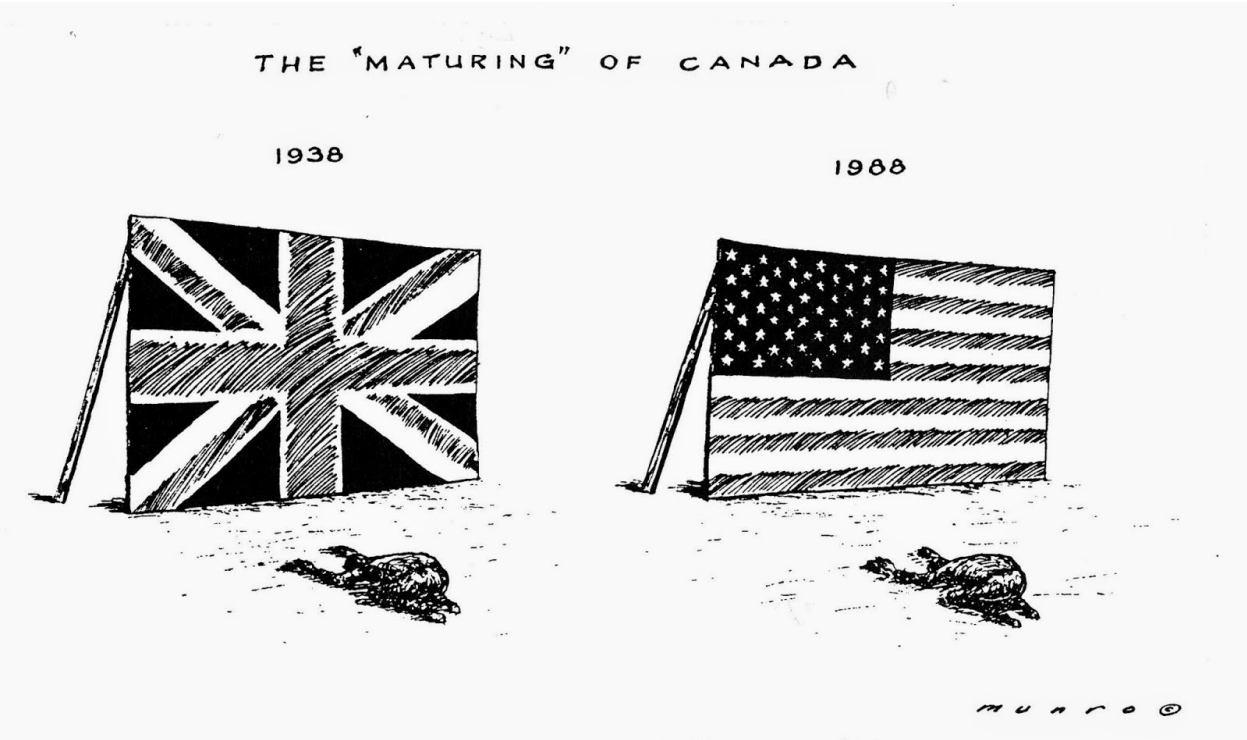

Image 1.1: "The Maturing of Canada" [2]

Despite such skeptical appraisals, early Canadian nationalists from Sir Wilfrid Laurier to Oscar Skelton argued that Canadian autonomy within a larger structure would best serve the nation, allowing it to mature while also ensuring access to markets. As Graeme Thompson argues,

[2] Retrieved from Progress is Fine, at http://progress-is-fine.blogspot.com/2014/07/the-maturing-of-canada.html.

initial Canadian autonomy was largely the product of its ability to trade.[3] Similarly, in matters of defence and politics, Canada found common cause within the so-called "Britannic Alliance" or the union of "English-speaking peoples" as Sir Winston Churchill famously described it, leading to a deepening of the nation's reliance on externals for internal validation.[4] Even as these loosely constituted international institutions gave way and the British Empire was replaced by the American Empire in the 1950s and 1960s, Canadian national identity remained firmly entangled with international relationships and its position relative to stronger powers. As such, national identity and the discourse that surrounded it was not the product of some internal value set or shared characteristics, but rather as a reflection of the nation's relations with others.

Such a construction could not persist indefinitely. In the 1960s, a legislative and discursive process began by which Canadians would be given a set of enshrined values and codified principles to place at the centre of a new national identity. Although this process would ultimately result in the adoption of the doctrine of multiculturalism as its cornerstone, the 1970s and 1980s saw Canadians engage with questions regarding the reality of their social and political community for arguably the first time. Unlike previous generations of nationalists who sought to reconcile an allegiance to empire with a pride for home, this new brand of nationalism agitated to foster a more localized form, marked by a Canadianization of politics.[5] For a variety of reasons which will be explored in more detail further on, multiculturalism emerged as the consensus articulation of

[3] Graeme Thompson, "Reframing Canada's Great War: Liberalism, sovereignty, and the British Empire c.1860s-1919," *International Journal* 73, no.1 (2018): 93.
[4] Quoted in Srdjan Vucetic, "The search from liberal Anglo-America: from racial supremacy to multicultural policies," in *Anglo-America and its Discontents*, edited by Peter Katzenstein (London: Routledge, 2012), 105
[5] Jatinder Mann, "The introduction of multiculturalism in Canada and Australia, 1960s-1970s," *Nations and Nationalism* 18, no.3 (2012): 484.

national identity, due in no small part to the country's experience with multiple 'founding peoples'.[6] [7]

Furthermore, in spite of significant efforts at institutionalizing multiculturalism, the term itself remains only roughly defined, even by the federal government. In a 2009 report on multiculturalism by the Library of Parliament, and echoing the work of scholars such as John Berry and Will Kymlicka, multiculturalism is dually defined as a "sociological fact of Canadian life" and as a "public policy at the federal level".[8] The former describes the demographic reality that Canadian society is comprised of people from "diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds", while the latter refers to how this reality is managed by federal programs and projects.[9] Both are supported by the ideology that Canadians actively support cultural diversity as a core feature of the nation.[10] Yet, this begs a series of questions: are Canadians actually multicultural in practice? Does the federal government actively cultivate a multicultural society? Given that multiculturalism policy leaves significant space for interpretation, how can it credibly anchor national identity?

This paper will address these questions, arguing that multiculturalism, while a useful rhetorical tool and morally sound framework, is not inherent to the Canadian national project. In an effort to make sense of the puzzle of multiculturalism, it will begin by providing a review of the literature on the subject and the methods used in the subsequent analysis. Following this, it will provide two case studies of Canada in 1970 and in 2010 to explore how Canadians spoke about themselves in everyday discourse. The former date offers insight into Canada on the eve of its 'formative years' of identity construction, while the latter provides a glance at a Canada tired of

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[6] At the time, it was argued that Canada had two founding peoples, the French and the English, but in 2009, this was officially expanded to three to include Indigenous Peoples.
[7] Mann, "Introduction of Multiculturalism", 489.
[8] Laurence Brosseau and Michael Dewing, "Canadian Multiculturalism", Library of Parliament, September 15, 2009. Retrieved from https://lop.parl.ca/sites/PublicWebsite/default/en_CA/ResearchPublications/200920E#a2-1
[9] Ibid.
[10] Ibid.

mature multiculturalism and reeling from a protracted imperialistic war. In both cases, the purpose will be to determine whether everyday discourse supports the claims that Canadians are multicultural. Ultimately, this research aims at contributing to the understanding of how governments interact with their citizenry and, specifically, whether successive Canadian governments have accurately read society's temperature when it comes to national identity and multiculturalism.

SECTION II: Literature Review

Literature on national identity and the role played by multiculturalism have become increasingly prominent in recent years, prompted in part by a re-evaluation of the dominant liberal international order. Since the end of the Cold War and the general restructuring that accompanied it, all countries, including Canada, have jostled for position and sought to confirm their place within the concert of nations. A central facet of this reimagining has been an augmented emphasis on the importance of national identity in statecraft. For Canada, this has meant determining and assessing the country's fundamental values – a process that has taken place both consciously and subconsciously. In a world of hyper-partisan politics, national identity has become a key medium of exchange for diplomats and scholars alike in evaluating international and domestic affairs, as it is often looked to when trying to make sense of decisions.[11] While the exact relationship between identity and policy will be explored in the next section, suffice to say that Canada's oscillation on identity and its reliance on multiculturalism has not gone unnoticed in the scholarship.

[11] For a complete overview on this notion, see Richard Ned Lebow, *National Identities and International Relations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016).

The literature on this subject is both wide in its scope and deep in its analysis, but for the purposes of this paper, this literature review will focus on the major themes of this paper, namely the interconnected search for a discernable Canadian national identity and the development of multiculturalism both as federal policy and as a social phenomenon, as well as how this search has been operationalized in the two case study years. To do so, the review will be divided into two sections. The first will provide a general survey of multiculturalism and national identity, including comparative texts, those dealing with the impacts of regionalism, and Canada's place in the international order. The second will explore texts more directly related to the two case studies, as well as the interaction between identity formation and popular culture, as this paper seeks to explain how national identity is performed in daily life. Overall, this review is meant to provide an academic underpinning to parallel the primary research offered in the cases studies, as well as explore previous attempts at grappling with this topic.

As shown earlier, multiculturalism is often divided into two parallel but connected fields of study (multiculturalism as social fact and as federal policy), a dichotomy shared by the bulk of the literature on the subject. However, this dichotomy is not treated as a gap in need of bridging, but rather as an additional avenue of inquiry. As such, while the precise angle may differ, scholarly work on the subject tends to focus on exploring the relationship between these two understandings rather than emphasizing it. In addition to this, there is a body of work that explores the theoretical and philosophical underpinnings of the concept and applies them to the debate. While this division is not always clear, it is a useful framework for making sense of an admittedly disunited body of work.

To take those looking at the relationship between society and policy first, scholars such as Janine Brodie, Irene Bloemraad, Marlene Munn-Joseph, and Alan Singer stand out. For the most

part, they seek to understand how multiculturalism serves as an active element of daily affairs and how it influences social discourse. Brodie's work offers a chorological interpretation of Canadian identity, arguing that Canada has gone through three distinct identity phases. At each stage, adherence to and a desire for multiculturalism policy has played a central role; however, the neo-liberal economic model of the past two decades has inherently prevented the formation of community, inevitably leading to an erosion of national identity.[12] In this way, she directly challenges the positive economic determinism of early authors. In her formulation, Canada's experience with mercantile capitalism has arrested its development rather than promote it. Within this context, scholars like Bloemraad and Vanmala Hiranandani have applied this to everyday discourse. For Bloemraad, multiculturalism is, by definition, pluralistic in its interpretation.[13] As a result, concerted and centralized educational efforts are needed to reinforce its value in society. This theme of multiculturalism requiring an active citizenry to be effective is echoed across a number of works and will play a central role in the discussion on findings later in this paper.

Similarly, Hiranandani explores how this infusion of multiculturalism into Canadian self-identity has influenced the perception of Canadian social workers travelling abroad, reinforcing the link between education and identity.[14] This is valuable since it directly comments on Canada's tradition of basing its domestic identity on its global image. While not within the scope of this paper, it is always useful to be mindful that domestic identity and global identity are often different and even at odds with one another.

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[12] Janine Brodie, "An elusive search for community: globalization and the Canadian national identity," *Review of Constitutional Studies* 7, no.1-2 (2002): 158.
[13] Irene Bloemraad, "Canada: Multicultural Model or Cautionary Tale?" *Canadian Journal of Sociology* 35, no.2 (2010).
[14] Vanmala Hiranandani, "Canadian identity: Implications for international social work by Canadians," *Critical Social Work* 12, no.1 (2008): 87.

Others, such as Phil Ryan, Michael Dewing, and Jatinder Mann, seek to engage more directly with multiculturalism policies and, specifically, with the *Canadian Multiculturalism Act*. Interestingly, Ryan's article acts as a response to a theory that the absence of far-right politics in Canada is a result of active state repression of dissent. Ryan claims that this is not the case, but rather it is Canada's active engagement with difference through multiculturalism that prevents the entrenchment of such politics.[15] This position is further supported by the work of David Ley who argues that this alone makes multiculturalism a worthwhile enterprise, since it advances the idea that citizenship requires a dialogue between policy and people.[16] This grappling with legislated multiculturalism is further explored from the angle of regionalism in the work of Dewing, Boris Vormann, and Christian Lammert, who all argue that Canada's experience with federalism has simultaneously helped strengthen multiculturalism policy and weakened it. For Vormann and Lammert, division has always been central to Canadian identity, but this internal division has not led to overt exclusionary policy.[17] For their part, Jatinder Mann argues that unlike Australia, Canada's experience of non-Western European immigration and the presence of a vocal French-Canadian minority has given the country a unique advantage in the adoption and actualization of multiculturalism policies.[18] It should be noted, however, that this thesis has been challenged somewhat in recent years, particularly by scholars of European politics citing that social difference does not necessarily led to social acceptance.[19]

Other scholars have attempted to place Canada's experience with multiculturalism into its global context. For these writers, such as Will Kymlicka, Eddy Ng, and Irene Bloemraad, Canada's

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[15] Phil Ryan, "Does Canadian Multiculturalism Survive through State Repression?" *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 22, no. 3 (2016).
[16] David Ley, *Multiculturalism: A Canadian Defence* (Vancouver Centre of Excellence, 2007).
[17] Boris Vormann and Christian Lammer, "A Paradoxical Relationship? Regionalization and Canadian National Identity," *American Review of Canadian Studies* 44, no.2 (2014).
[18] Mann, "Introduction to Multiculturalism".
[19] David Miller, "The changing face of multiculturalism in Europe", *The Globe and Mail*, April 18, 2016.

relationship with other Western countries, most notably the United States and the United Kingdom, is the most revealing since despite the perception of subservience to these powers, Canada alone has pursued legislated multiculturalism. There is relative consensus across all texts that ever-rising globalization and population migration, both peaceful and violent, will lead to an inevitable re-evaluation of the scope and purpose of Canada's multicultural stance.[20] For Ng and Bloemraad, this stance is best understood in comparative terms, since the success of multiculturalism policy must be situated within the host nation's socio-economic institutions. Put otherwise, good policy can fail if not supported by good institutions for social mobility and economic advancement. As a result, the authors conducted a SWOT analysis to determine the quality of multiculturalism policies across a number of countries, including Canada, South Korea, Mauritius, and the European Union. They conclude by arguing that multiculturalism and assimilation are not compatible, since the former demands change and the latter demands continuity. Similarly, if multiculturalism policy is not accompanied by the necessary social infrastructure, it will fail. For Canada, they argue, the challenge has not been a lack of infrastructure, but an inconsistency with its use, leading to a blend of "strategic tolerance" and desire for mutual cultural adaption.[21] Indeed, this may also point to the instability of national identity, since its central feature has long been the target of alterations.

In addition to these survey pieces is a body of work focusing on the theoretical and philosophical underpinnings of multiculturalism, the process of identity formation, and their application to specific areas of society. At the core of this group is Will Kymlicka, who, across several texts, argues that civic implications of multiculturalism are often misunderstood. In

[20] For these authors, see Eddy Ng and Irene Bloemraad, "A SWOT Analysis of Multiculturalism in Canada, Europe, Mauritius, and South Korea," *American Behavioral Scientist* 59, no.6 (2015); Srdjan Vucetic, "The search from liberal Anglo-America: from racial supremacy to multicultural policies," in *Anglo-America and its Discontents*, edited by Peter Katzenstein, 105-124. (London: Routledge, 2012); and, Will Kymlicka, "Canadian multiculturalism in history and comparative perspective: is Canada unique?" *Constitutional Forum* 13, no.1 (2003).
[21] Ng and Bloemraad, "SWOT Analysis", 630-631.

opposition to the claims that multiculturalism leads to a disunited community, he argues that Canada offers a positive example of a "multicultural form of citizenship".[22] However, this has also led to a "smug complacency" by Canadians about the effectiveness of their multiculturalism policies, and that if left unchecked, they will fall out of sync with reality.[23] Others, such as Varun Uberoi, Reza Nakhaie, and Prem Kuma offer a more discursive interpretation of multiculturalism policies, stating that while they hold normative value to Canada, simply enacting legislation and not updating it is not sufficient. All three authors argue, similar to Kymlicka, that by analyzing how Canadians discuss multiculturalism it is clear that legislation is not totally reflective of reality. In particular, Kuma argues that while Canadians are quick to use terms such as "cultural mosaic" to describe the country, these terms are rarely well defined or followed in practice.[24] The shared conclusion of these authors is that while multiculturalism is an important feature of Canadian society, it has been abandoned and requires a course correction to remain relevant.

Across these texts, the authors repeatedly highlight that multiculturalism cannot succeed if it is treated as passive or if the social aspect is considered a secondary or subsequent feature. It is in this respect that multiculturalism becomes part of the national identity beyond simple rhetorical posturing and where scholarship and discourse meet. In other words, the Canadian experience with multiculturalism as identity must also be examined as a function of daily society. To this end, this section of the literature review will focus on those texts that seek to apply the study of identity and multiculturalism to Canadian society.

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[22] Will Kymlicka, "Ethnic, Linguistic, and Multicultural Diversity of Canada," In *The Oxford Handbook of Canadian Politics*, edited by John Courtney and David Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).
[23] Keith Banting and Will Kymlicka, "Canadian Multiculturalism: Global Anxieties and Local Debates*," British Journal of Canadian Studies* 23, no.1 (2010).
[24] Prem Kuma, "Canadian multiculturalism," *Humanist in Canada* 118, no.3 (1996).

In the context of this paper, the most active moment of Canadian history for identity confrontation came during the War in Afghanistan. Authors such as Yannick Veilleux-Lepage, Gregory Albo, Jerome Klassen, and Justin Massie have sought to understand the impact of such a protracted and inconclusive conflict on the Canadian psyche. Both Massie and Veilleux-Lepage accomplish this by testing common interpretations of war support on Canadians' willingness to persecute the war. Massie argues that the war was regularly presented in realist terms to Canadians, highlighting the prestige involved in contributing. This was not well received by the Canadian population, who largely do not identify with the realist understanding of global affairs.[25] Similarly, Veilleux-Lapage tested the casualty theory of war support, finding that as causalities increased so did support for the war. He argues that this is because Canadian interest in the war can be best understood through the sunk cost theory of war support.[26] His findings also highlight that war support was closely tied to the feeling that Canada had a duty to other coalition members, a sentiment echoed in the work of Albo and Klassen.[27] For Albo and Klassen, the ties to the British Empire remain a potent force in the Canadian military ethos and further highlight Canada's preference for operating in an alliance setting, suggesting that while Canada has fought for a more independent international presence, it remains trapped in a legacy of alliance.

Still others, such as Richard Pattinson, David Mutimer, and Karoline Maclachlan, used the context of Canada's involved in Afghanistan to explore how the nation's popular culture reacted to fighting in a 'hot war'. Mutimer and Maclachlan in particular used the CBC's radio show *Afghanada* as a case study for how the war was being depicted to Canadians. Both note that the

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[25] Justin Massie, "Canada's war for prestige in Afghanistan: A realist paradox?" *International Journal* 68, no.2 (2013).
[26] Yannick Veilleux-Lepage, "Implications of the sunk cost effect and regional proximity for public support for Canada's mission in Kandahar," *International Journal* 68, no.2 (2013).
[27] Gregory Albo and Jerome Klassen, *Empire's Ally: Canada and the War in Afghanistan* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012).

show reinforced the need to 'rally to the flag' during the war and re-cast the Canadian population as defenders of freedom and liberty, a role not typically held by Canadians.[28] In this way, *Afghanada* becomes representative of what Ian McKay and Jaime Swift have described as Canada's shift from a nation of peacekeepers to a thoroughly 'warrior nation'.[29] Further writers like Jay Scherer and Scott Watson have argued that the deeply integrated relationship between sports, particularly hockey, and the military are indications of an intentional re-branding effort of Canada's national identity.[30] Similar work has also been done on the presentation of the war and Canadian identity in children's literature and academic texts, notably by Brandi Hinnant-Crawford, Spencer Platt, and Christopher Newman.[31] These texts also point to the reality that multicultural and peaceful are rarely synonymous, and indeed, are often contradictory. In Canadian discourse, the terms 'multicultural' and 'peaceful' are regularly treated as interchangeable, but this is not the case, as best exemplified by the fact that almost all empires are/were multicultural, but they are/were rarely if ever peaceful. This further suggests that in the Canadian context, 'multicultural' is considered a catch-all for positive traits and does not actually represent a consistent or coherent set of beliefs or values.

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[28] Karoline Maclachlan, "Afghanada, or how to be a Good (Canadian) Soldier," *American Review of Canadian Studies* 46, no. 3 (2016); and, David Mutimer, "The road to Afghanada: miltiarization in Canadian popular culture during the war in Afghanistan," *Critical Military Studies* 2, no.3 (2016).

[29] Ian McKay and Jamie Swift, *Warrior Nation: Rebranding Canada in an Age of Anxiety* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2012).

[30] Jay Scherer and Jordan Koch, "Living with War: Sport, Citizenship, and the Cultural Politics of Post-9/11 Canadian Identity," *Sociology of Sport Journal* 27, no. 1 (2010); and, Scott Watson, "Everyday nationalism and international hockey: contesting Canadian national identity," *Nations and Nationalism* 23, no. 2 (2017).

[31] Brandi Hinnant-Crawford, Spencer Platt, and Christopher Newman, *Comprehensive Multicultural Education in the 21st Century: Increasing Access in the Age of Retrenchment* (Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing Inc., 2019).

SECTION III: Research Design and Methodology

One of the through-lines that can be drawn across the literature on this subject is the need for national identity to be explored as a multifaceted phenomenon with proper engagement towards both its policy and social aspects. As has been shown, the Canadian struggle with identity is rooted in the miscommunication between social obligation and policy priority; as such, it is difficult to determine where rhetoric ends and actions begin. In order to bridge this gap, this paper will approach the questions of identity from a combined angle of literature review and case study analysis, both grounded in discourse analysis. Further, it will make use of qualitative and quantitative methods to mutually reinforce the conclusions. At its core, this paper is a discursive interrogation of Canadian national identity as expressed through multiculturalism.

For the discursive elements, this paper takes its central methodological inspiration from the Making Identity Count project.[32] This project develops databases for use in international relations scholarship, aiming to provide researchers with a source of comparative information on the behaviour of nations for use in constructivist arguments. It argues that despite a recognition by international relations scholars that global affairs are no longer solely driven by a "distribution of powers", but rather by a "distribution of identities", many still persist "as if social and relational phenomena do not matter". Put otherwise, despite national identity playing an increasingly central role in global affairs, it remains largely and intentionally ignored by the academic community. According to the project authors, this is due in part to a lack of substantive comparative data on the subject, resulting in piecemeal efforts to draw meaningful conclusions from national identity in the realm of international politics. As a result of this omission, scholarship has been systematically weakened and the interpretation of policy rationale adversely effected.[33]

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[32] Information on the project can be found on its website, at https://www.makingidentitycount.org/.
[33] Ibid.

At the core of the project's approach is a greater appreciation for the influence of national identity on decision-making and a belief that it can be reasonably measured. As the project's website states: "national identity should be included as an alternative explanation in many areas of world politics because constructivist [international relations] theory has already demonstrated its basic empirical validity in a wide variety of domains".[34] Often, the concept is dismissed due to its inconsistency but, by using discourse analysis, its strength as an intersubjective metric can be leveraged and a comparable dataset can be created. In this way, national identity becomes a quantifiable and comparative tool, usable across a wide variety of academic disciplines. As such, the project authors conclude these two main advantages: first, it offers an alternative to objectivist readings of policy outcomes, one based on intersubjective, constructivist terms; and second, it offers the potential for national identity to be properly measured beyond the current survey-based models.[35] Consequently, the connection between national identity and federal policy is more honestly addressed.

Given the strengths of this approach and the complex nature of Canadian identity, this paper borrows its research design of the Making Identity Count project, opting to create a constructivist analysis of Canadian identity based on comparative datasets to challenge the established rhetoric of Canada's multicultural character. In addition to this approach, it also employs a more traditional literature review-based method, building on these findings by anchoring them in quantifiable readings and developing conclusions based on a combination of the two. This attention to methodology is ultimately undertaken to reinforce the epistemology of the subject in the hopes of offering new and compelling insights.

[34] Ibid.
[35] Ibid.

With this background in mind, the actual process by which this paper was researched, and its data recorded, also represents a reflection of the narrative, seeking to add to the conclusions and act as an additional layer of analysis by treating the research as active and living. One of the main reasons cited for the weakening of multiculturalism in Canada has been the passive attitude shown towards it, so the active nature of this paper's research design is meant to counter that. As mentioned, central to this is the use of discourse analysis and its usefulness in interpreting both elite and mass culture. In capturing the interplay between how Canada's elites and the public-at-large have described what it means to be Canadian and in searching for a correlation between the two, this paper asks whether federal policy is best understood as a reflection of the will of the masses or as a manifestation of elite posturing. This is meant to add to the growing commentary on the centralization of decision-making within the Canadian political system and specifically address the mounting concern that Canada's Westminster system is being negatively "Americanized".[36] The methodology is meant to act as a piece of the analysis by offering more than observations, by tying together discursive investigation and academic inquiry. In order to best accomplish this objective, this paper will examine whether the language of multiculturalism, either as a social phenomenon or a federal policy, has meaningfully entered in the vocabulary of Canadians in respect to their identity.

It is in the pursuing of this active research design that this paper draws from the Making Identity Count project and which makes use of literature coding as its primary research vehicle. In an effort to capture both elite and mass opinion, research began by identifying a number of key texts written by Canadians about Canada, with at least perceivable amounts of self-conscious reflection on identity as a central aspect of the text. These texts were then grouped into categories,

[36] Ian Brodie, *At the Centre of Government: The Prime Minister and the Limits on Political* Power (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2018), 27.

resulting in an analysis of speeches, newspapers, novels, films, and history textbooks. The texts chosen (see Appendix A) are meant to reflect a temporal view of Canada in 1970 and 2010 in as holistically a sense as possible. As such, all the texts were written in their respective case study year. The speeches are meant to showcase the clearest expression of elite opinion, with all of them coming from the executive branch of government. The newspapers, novels, and films are all meant to provide the views of the masses as represented by their consumption of the various medias, with an assumption that they will purchase in greater numbers those that adhere to their worldview or reinforce their sense of self. Further, since the films and novels are all set in Canada, their descriptions can be viewed as reproductions of the authors' view of the nation and society. Finally, the history textbooks offer a blend of elite and mass culture. Those contributing to the textbooks as members of the academic elite and provide an authoritative view on traditional Canadian history — one meant to prepare young Canadians to better understand their place in the world. In this way, the language used and the depictions given are informative insights into how elites wanted the masses to view Canada. In all cases, the sources are meant to reflect generalities and averages, not an artificial homogeneity of opinion. In other words, the whole is treated as more valuable than the sum of its parts.

These sources were then combed through for references to Canadian national identity or value statements concerning the character of the nation or its people. In the end, 21 categories were selected as the most representative of everyday discourse, with some overlap between the two cast studies. While this list does not independently explain national identity, when paired with the themes and topics that emerged from the literature review, a more complete appraisal of Canadian national identity in 1970 and 2010 emerged. Further, as a primary source, the results of the coding offer a more direct insight into the formation and expression everyday identity, a central

component of discourse analysis. In this way, the methodology contributes to the overall findings of the paper rather than acting exclusively as a background feature.

Through a combination of primary, code-based analysis, taking significant inspiration from the Making Identity Count project, and a more traditional, qualitative literature review process, the methodology of this paper seeks to enhance its findings by taking an active and participatory role in the narrative. By dealing directly with elite and mass opinion, this paper seeks to add a layer of quantitative rigour to the breadth of qualitative material currently available on the subject. Further, as hinted at above, the conclusion of this paper emphasizes that an active, participatory form of citizenship is required if multiculturalism is to survive as a central component of the Canadian national psychology. As such, this methodology seeks to handle its subject matter – the Canadian population – as active. By engaging directly with what was said, rather than exclusively with interpretations, it gives the population a dynamic role, mirroring the eventual recommendation given by this paper. In offering a novel take on the relationship between federal policy as represented by legislated multiculturalism and public opinion writ large, this paper seeks to improve existing scholarship with a strong methodological framework as a central component. In combining form and content in this way, the conclusions of the paper are supported not only by the results of the qualitative and quantitative analysis therein, but also by the research design overall.

SECTION IV: Case Study, Canada in 1970

In the traditional historical narrative of Canada, the period between 1963 and 1982 is widely considered the most formative in creating the modern Canadian state.[37] Mirroring the

[37] Brosseau and Dewing, "Library of Parliament Report".

global counter-culture movement of the 1960s and 1970s, the dominance of white, Anglo-Canada was challenged by various marginalized and oppressed groups ranging from Indigenous Peoples to French Canadians to sexual and ethnic minorities. Although Quebec's Quiet Revolution is often presented as the most obvious example of this change, peoples across Canada began to agitate for a widening of the mainstream social community. This shift in the meaning of social community was driven in large part by the increasing role played by mass culture and an at least tacit acknowledgement that change was becoming a more potent force than continuity. This era saw the final decline of the British Empire as the dominant global power and the rise of the United States as the leader of the Anglo-American alliance. For Canada, always cognizant of its place in that alliance, these years were also a watershed moment in the creation of national identity.[38] Moreover, driven by the highly partisan politics of the Cold War, national loyalty and pride contextualized politics, leading to a greater awareness of social cohesion as a component of power.[39] As a result, Canadian nationalists were afforded the opportunity to carve out a unique national experience for their country, shaped by the various force of change present at the time.

Into this space stepped a series of leaders who embodied the liberalism of the mid-20th century. Statesmen such as Lester Pearson and Pierre Trudeau sought to engrave their mark on Canada by introducing policies and legislation that would place the country on a new trajectory, one infused with the idealism and values of a more cosmopolitan world view.[40] In attempting to synthesize the country's predominantly white population with its growing minority populations, Canada's elites established a new norm for Canadians: one governed first by a belief in binational

[38] Shannon Conway, "From Britishness to Multiculturalism: Official Canadian Identity in the 1960s," *Canadian Studies* 30, no.1 (2018): 26.
[39] Lebow, "Identity and IR", 6.
[40] Patricia K. Wood and Liette Gilbert, "Multiculturalism in Canada: Accidental Discourse, Alternative Vision, Urban Practice," *International Journal of Urban and Regional* Research 29, no.3 (2005): 680.

and biculturalism, followed by multiculturalism.[41] However, while Canadians from both the public and private spheres have been quick to romanticize and idealize this era, doing so runs the risk of exemplifying a *post hoc* understanding of the past. While there is little doubt that the period between 1963 and 1982 saw arguably the most concentrated and overt efforts at articulating, consolidating, and embedding Canadian nationalism, it is crucial to separate the intentional and unintentional outcomes of these efforts.[42] In addition, it is worth questioning the correlational relationship between everyday nationalism at the elite level and among the masses. Ultimately, this section is meant to serve as the counterweight to the elite-driven narrative told in the majority of academic sources, offering an alternative view of Canada during this pivotal moment in history, focused more on everyday discourse.

To this end, Table 4.1 outlines the main identity themes taken from a survey of the dominant discursive literature of 1970.[43] The table lists the most prominent identity categories by raw count recovered from the literature as defined by roughly the top half of categories. In total, 47 unique identities were recognized, and 532 counts were tracked. The 21 identities listed are those with at least nine counts. Of them, only four received counts from all five types of sources, these being divided/regionalism, American (Other), resource-rich, and capitalist, but all those listed received counts in at least 3 of the text selections.

Discourses surrounding Canadian national identity in 1970 were characterized by the interplay between two dominant identity categories: a deliberate presentation of Canada as a unique polity with a history worth exploring and growing anxiety about how to address the challenges of a new age, both at home and abroad. As mentioned previously, entering the decade

[41] Conway, "Britishness to Multiculturalism", 13.
[42] Wood and Gilbert, "Accidental Discourse", 681.
[43] For a full account of the sources used, please see Appendix A.

Canadians were faced with a number of significant social, economic, and political changes that demanded a response from both the state and the citizenry.[44] Clear cleavages formed in response, creating a number of discursive contestations which were often resolved in a parallel manner by both the state and the citizenry. For the former, this manifested itself in a deliberate and unrelenting drive to legislate and regulate Canadian identity, resulting in multiple acts of Parliament, codified articulations of identity, and a conscious shift at the elite level towards talking about Canadian identity. The outcome of these efforts forms the basis of the traditional, academic presentation of Canada's past, as outlined above.

Table 4.1: Canadian Identity 1970, Raw Count
Top 21 (out of 47)

Identity Category	**Total**	Speeches	Newspapers	Textbooks	Novels	Films
Canadian (Self)	**45**	4	1	29	11	0
Labour unionist	**33**	0	19	1	8	5
Divided/ regionalism	**30**	1	4	10	10	5
American (Other)	**27**	1	16	6	3	1
Resource rich	**27**	1	1	11	11	3
Traditional	**23**	0	1	6	9	7
Anxious	**20**	5	2	0	9	4
Capitalist	**20**	1	4	2	8	5
Rule of law	**20**	9	6	0	4	1
Adventurous/ pioneering	**18**	2	0	4	12	0
British/ the Empire	**17**	2	4	9	2	0
Rural-urban divide	**13**	1	1	0	9	2
Desolate	**13**	0	0	4	9	0
Ascendant/ developing	**13**	1	1	3	8	0
Global	**13**	4	7	2	0	0
Expansionist	**12**	0	0	2	10	0
Colonial	**12**	0	0	5	7	0
Unruly/ difficult to govern	**11**	0	0	2	9	0
United	**10**	3	0	0	7	0
Stagnant	**9**	0	0	0	3	6
Strong government	**9**	1	1	0	7	0

[44] Conway, "Britishness to Multiculturalism", 12-13.

This policy-centred identity was contrasted by a dynamic wherein elites made measured efforts to instil a feeling of Canadian 'uniqueness' separate from that of the United States or Britain. By intentionally casting Canadian history as the story of a nation being built, rather than as the political and cultural by-product of empire, elites were projecting a view that national identity ought to be, ultimately, Canadian. However, it is not entirely clear if this was successful, suggesting that while national self-awareness was growing, many were preoccupied with the anxieties about future challenges and the threat these challenges posed to their intimate, personal lives. Thus, there can be seen conscious efforts and (sub)conscious counterefforts at creating a new Canada for this new age.

Canadian elites spent significant political capital on reinforcing this ascendant notion that national identity was to be nurtured and entrenched. In his speech regarding the FLQ, then-Prime Minister Trudeau called on Canadians to remember what makes Canada unique is their devotion to democracy and liberty, calling Canada the "most wholesome and humane lands on this earth".[45] This sentiment is echoed in the Throne Speech, where the Governor General stated that Canadians possess the ability to choose the type of society they wish to live in:

> A society in which human differences are regarded as assets, not liability; a society in which individual freedom and equality of opportunity remain as our most cherish possessions; a society in which the enjoyment of life is measured in qualitative, not quantitative terms; a society which encourages imagination an daring, ingenuity and initiative, not coldly and impersonally for the sake of efficiency, but with warmth and from the heart as between friends [46]

[45] The Right Honourable Pierre Trudeau, "Speech regarding the FLQ Crisis" (Radio broadcast, October 16, 1970), 5. Retrieved from https://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/primeministers/h4-4065-e.html

[46] His Excellency the Governor General Roland Michener, "Speech from the Throne" (Speech, Ottawa, ON, October 8, 1970), 3. Retrieved from https://www.poltext.org/sites/poltext.org/files/discoursV2/Canada/CAN_DT_XXXX_28_03.pdf

In both of these evocations, elites at the highest rungs of Canadian society present a view of Canada's values as being self-contained and not reliant on their relationship to a foreign values structure, such as the British Empire. Furthermore, the Throne Speech presented the idea that Canadian values must be set by the actions of citizens rather than as a set of norms established by legal documents or ideals forged in armed conflict. This is also reflected in the textbook and Berton novel, which both argue that the future success of Canada lies in an active citizenry.[47] [48] This also returns to the point made by Trudeau in his "Just Society" speech; namely, the root of the emerging Canadian national identity and of multiculturalism as its central tenant requires an attentiveness to the population. If it were the case that Trudeau and the rest of Canada's liberal-minded elites were motivated by an intuitive reading of the Canadian population, similar themes would also be present in the everyday discourse of the citizenry. However, when analyzing the primary discursive outlets of the time, that is not the case.

As shown in Table 4.1, while the drive to establish a uniquely Canadian national identity is quite visible in the elite-driven sources, it was uneven at best. While it is entirely understandable that average Canadians were not actively and continuously engaging in high-level discussions on the nature of identity, the reality is that there is almost no mention at all of identity, and absolutely no mention of multiculturalism. While it could be argued that identity does not require explicit reference to be felt, effective or legitimate multiculturalism must be active. What these results highlight is that the multicultural rhetoric espoused by Canadians may a product of repetition leading to belief, rather than as a sentiment stemming from inherent principles. Indeed, the closest any source gets to signalling out multiculturalism as important or part of the national fabric is a

[47] H.H.Herstein, J.L. Hughes, and R.C. Kirbyson, *Challenge & Survival: The History of Canada* (Scarborough, Ontario: Prentice-Hall, 1970), 430,
[48] Pierre Berton, *The National Dream: The Great Railway 1871-1881* (Toronto: Anchor Canada, 1970), 383.

brief mention of the need for "tolerance" in the concluding chapter of the textbook.[49] In presenting Canada's past, both the textbook and the historic novel offer an economic telling of history, where identity is the function of income. From this, it can be surmised that the average Canadian did not see themselves as a new brand of liberal, interested in the promotion of a multicultural nation-state. It also does not seem likely that when enacting his famous suite of multicultural policies Trudeau was responding to calls from his citizens.

However, while the specifics may not perfectly align, Canada's elite did touch upon a different current running through the general population: a desire for change rooted in anxieties about the future. Throughout all texts, from the Throne Speech to the films, Canadians expressed their concern over adapting and thriving in a "new age".[50] [51] It is clear that the old ties to the British Empire that had knit the nation together for the previous century were unravelling and there was a distinct dissatisfaction over merely replacing British hegemony with American hegemony. Similarly, even if they did not frame the French-English divide in the language of national identity, the themes of regionalism and linguistic division dominate much of the analysis. As a result, Canadians were both directly and indirectly calling upon their government to offer them a new vision of the future and the present. While few acknowledged the impact of legislation such as the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism or the *Official Bilingualism Act*, these are nonetheless examples of the government responding to an undercurrent demanding change.

Ultimately, this interaction between academic tradition and discursive reality return to the highly contested nature of national identity and the problems that can arise when trying to locate and define it. While this division between elite posturing and the priorities of the masses can be

[49] Herstein, Hughes, and Kirbyson, *Challenges and Survival*, 436.
[50] His Excellency the Governor General, "Throne Speech", 1.
[51] Donald Shebib, *Goin' Down the Road*, directed by Donald Shebib (1970; Toronto: Chevron Pictures), film.

seen as emblematic of class distinction or a disconnect between social spheres, it is also a pointed reminder that identity is rarely homogenous, even when presented as such. In 1961, William Morton outlined three main causes for the rise in discourse surrounding national identity: the Quiet Revolution in Quebec, the global decline of the British Empire, and the threat posed by Americanization in Canada.[52] Running through his three causes is the notion that Canadians were demanding greater autonomy within the structure of the state and an increased say in the form and content of their identity. When read through the lens of the everyday discourse of 1970, the decision by the Trudeau government to move away from overt biculturalism and embrace a multicultural stance can be seen as an effort to maintain control over collective national identity while also allowing a greater degree of freedom for the citizenry.[53] Accordingly, while it would be a mistake to assume a universal application or acceptance of multiculturalism as the central tenant of Canadian identity in 1970, Canadians were indeed agitating for a shift in identity politics through the 1960s and 1970s, so perhaps Trudeau and his government were responding to a social undercurrent after all.

SECTION V: Case Study, Canada in 2010

By 2010, Canadian policy and society had been guided for over two decades by official multiculturalism.[54] As referenced in the Introduction, this era is defined not so much by the creation and implementation of a new national identity but a confrontation between a fully matured identity and changing historical currents and societal demands. Further, the intervening years had been a time of tremendous change, both for Canada and the world. In the years since Trudeau had

[52] William Morton, *The Canadian* Identity (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961), 125.
[53] Conway, "Britishness to Multiculturalism", 48.
[54] This date is debatable, but here it is measured from the adoption of the *Canadian Multiculturalism Act* in 1988.

stewarded the nation through its political awakening, culminating in the patriation of the Constitution in 1982, domestic tension had remained high in many areas. Not only had Quebec refused to sign the "Canadianized" constitution[55] and Indigenous Peoples been largely ignored in its drafting, but the process, described by Srdjan Vucetic as a "carefully choreographed […] chance to celebrate Canada's complex diversity", had highlighted a growing dissatisfaction over who this new political community ought to represent.[56] Nearly a decade afterward was spent trying to rectify these shortcomings, but to no avail. In this way, even contemporary Canadians seem to have, at least somewhat, rejected the liberal consensus of 1982. Indeed, in many ways these issues have persisted to the present, highlighting the need to more deeply question the roots of Canada's national identity.

On the international front, unable to fully sit out the military adventurism of the Cold War, Canada's commitment to the Anglo-American alliance became personified by the nation's involvement in numerous peacekeeping operations through the final decades of the century.[57] Although these interventions were masked in the language of liberation and stability, ultimately they were merely a new form of Western imperialism and had the effect of bringing the military into further contact with mass and elite culture.[58] In peacekeeping, a number of Canadian interests were able to find common cause, leading to its embrace as a central component of Cold War policy. Unlike the direct military interventions of previous generations, peacekeeping promised to be more collaborative and was positioned as a legal, ordered response to efficiently end conflict and restore peace. For the liberally minded in Canada, peacekeeping offered a chance to operationalize

[55] They still have not.
[56] Vucetic, "Liberal Anglo-America", 113.
[57] A. Walter Dorn, "Canadian Peacekeeping: Proud Tradition, Strong Future?", *Canadian Foreign Policy* 12, no.2 (2005): 26.
[58] Bruno Charbonneau, "The Imperial Legacy of International Peacebuilding: The Case of Francophone Africa," *Review of International* Studies 50, no.1 (2014): 610.

Canada's new identity on the world stage and carve out a unique role for Canada to play in the Anglo-American alliance.[59] Simultaneously, these missions satisfied those seeking a return to the military glory that had supposedly accompanied Canada's birth as a nation. By welding together militarism and liberalism in this way, peacekeeping normalized the role of the military in the daily lives of Canadians.[60] However, it would remain to be seen if militarism and multiculturalism could co-exist in the national psyche.

All of this is to say that by 2010, Canadian national identity was not a settled matter and the age of mature multiculturalism has been fraught with struggles over identity and legacy. In order to develop this idea further, Table 5.1 outlines the main discursive themes that emerged from the 2010 literature coding. Like the previous case study, this table lists the most prominent identity categories by raw count recovered from the literature. In contrast to the 47 categories identified and 532 counts, this set of coding revealed 56 identities and 701 counts. This highlights that identity was a far more prominent feature of discourse in 2010, suggesting that as opposed to 1970 where identity discourse was emerging as a novel concept, in 2010, it was taking place against the backdrop of a well-established framework. As will be shown, discourse in 2010 was both more pointed and more contested than in 1970.[61]

In order to better contextualize the 2010 discourse, it is useful to acknowledge that contemporary Canadian society continues to be shaped by the identity contestations highlighted in this section. Even with the election of Justin Trudeau's Liberals in 2015, the nation remains largely reflective of Stephen Harper's time as prime minister. Indeed, much of the Liberals' platform in 2015 was focused on undoing the changes made by Harper's government and returning Canada to

[59] Dorn, "Canadian Peacekeeping", 26.
[60] John Karlsrud, "From Liberal Peacebuilding to Stabilization and Counterterrorism," *International Peacekeeping* 26, no.1 (2018): 3.
[61] Like with the previous case study, a full summary of the sources used can be found in Appendix A.

its natural, liberal model.[62] In large part, the impact of the Harper government comes from the fact that during these years, the nation experienced two of the most traumatic and revealing events in recent history: the 2008-09 Financial Crisis and the War in Afghanistan. Given the magnitude of these crises, Harper was uniquely situated to reshape Canadian national identity, presenting his changes as necessary reactions to significant threats facing the existing domestic order.

Table 5.1: Canadian Identity 2010, Raw Count
Top 21 (out of 47)

Identity Category	**Total**	Speeches	Newspapers	Textbooks	Novels	Films
Anxious	47	8	19	5	11	4
Struggling (financial)	37	4	18	9	5	1
Industrious	33	7	10	16	0	0
Proud (Canadian)	33	16	7	9	1	0
Unsafe	32	1	11	4	9	7
Democratic	26	10	6	10	0	0
Militarized	26	7	6	12	0	1
Innovative/adventurous	26	1	8	11	1	5
Divided/regionalism	25	2	4	16	1	2
Global (power)	23	5	9	9	0	0
Rural-urban divide	23	0	10	10	3	0
Global (institutions)	22	5	9	7	0	1
Strong government	22	6	6	8	2	0
United	20	9	3	7	0	1
Proud (Western)	20	3	9	8	0	0
Nostalgic	18	2	5	10	0	1
Multicultural/diverse	18	1	6	6	1	4
Competitive	12	3	3	5	1	0
Progressive	11	0	4	4	0	3
Order	9	2	4	3	0	0
Tradition	7	0	3	4	0	0

Further reflecting the impact of the two major crises of the year, the identity categories in Table 6.1 can be broadly broken down into those reacting to the war and those reacting to the

[62] "A New Plan for a Strong Middle Class", Liberal Party Platform, 2015. Retrieved from https://www.liberal.ca/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/New-plan-for-a-strong-middle-class.pdf

financial crisis. However, similar to the 1970 results, this table showcases a Canadian population primarily concerned with their personal well-being and safety, conceptualizing their identity around these more intimate needs. Unsurprising given the current events, Anxious emerged as the most dominant category, moving up seven places from the 1970 table. Additionally, Struggling (financial) also finished as the second most common category, reinforcing the idea raised in the previous case study that Canadians view their identity has a product of economic stability above all other factors. This is certainly played out in the elite discourse examined, where the Throne Speech spoke extensively on the value of middle-class Canadians in restarting the economy.[63]

Returning to the idea presented by Graeme Thompson that early Canadian identity was a product of its capacity to trade, similar themes of economic integration and competition came out across the textbook. Similar to the 1970 textbook, it offered a predominantly economic telling of Canadian history, reflecting the mainstream academic style of tracking Canadian history by its economic developments above all else.[64] For Canadians across the social community, economic incentives were the main drivers of daily life, and thus the main source of national identity.

However, unlike the 1970 example which saw these types of capitalist economic identities paired with praise for the ascendant welfare state model of Canadian policy, discourse in 2010 focuses almost exclusively on the need for competition and innovation to deliver the nation from its economic woes. In part this can be seen as being rooted in Prime Minister Harper's desire for closer ties to the United States economically, but also in a preference for aggressive, masculine decision-making. Across both speeches analyzed, Harper makes continued reference to the value

[63] Her Excellency the Governor General Michaelle Jean, "Speech from the Throne" (Speech, Ottawa, ON, March 3, 2010). Retrieved from https://lop.parl.ca/sites/ParlInfo/default/en_CA/Parliament/procedure/throneSpeech/speech403

[64] Diane Eaton and Garfield Gini-Newman, *Canada: A Nation Unfolding*, third edition (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 2010).

of Canadian patriotism, attempting to galvanize the nation through a shared sense of national pride. In his address to the Legislative Assembly of British Columbia, he stated that "Patriotism as Canadians should not make us feel the least bit shy or embarrassed" and that the maple leaf ought to be a rally point for Canadians as a sign of "courage in the face of hardship".[65] In both quotes, he questioned the notion that patriotism was somehow un-Canadian or counter to the Canadian identity. Although not explicit, this speech ought to be read as Harper's dismissal of multiculturalism's place as the core of Canadian national identity, to be replaced by patriotic nationalism.

This new brand of national identity was to be buffeted, at least according to elite discourse, by the embrace of a military-industrial character for the nation. As can be seen in Table 6.1, both Industrious and Militarized feature in the top ten categories. While the latter also has obvious implications for discourse surrounding the War in Afghanistan, it also speaks to structure of this new identity, characterized by a more masculine take on domestic and foreign affairs. In the Throne Speech, Governor General Michaelle Jean states that in the face of mounting global crises, Canada must "stand for freedom" on the global stage.[66] For Canada's elites, this is not a matter of projecting an inviting persona, but rather from a more realist application of power, wherein Canada must leverage the fact that is possesses "one of the strongest economies in the industrialized world" to take a clearer lead in global affairs.[67] The presence of this prestige-minded identity can be further seen in the position of Proud (Western) and Global (power) on the list.

Connected to this desire for increased global power recognition is the discourse surrounding Canada's involvement in the War in Afghanistan and its heavy cost in blood and

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[65] The Right Honourable Stephen Harper, "Address to the Legislature of British Colombia" (Address, Victoria, BC, February 11, 2010), 2972. Retrieved from https://www.leg.bc.ca/content/Hansard/39th2nd/H0211pm-04.pdf
[66] Her Excellency the Governor General, "Throne Speech".
[67] Ibid.

treasure. By 2010, Canada had been actively engaged in the conflict for eight years and in a leading role for four. At the start of 2006, only eight Canadians had been killed in Afghanistan, but by the end of the Kandahar mission, 154 Canadians were dead. In a war that claimed 159 Canadian lives as of 2019, 92% of the deaths came in those years.[68] In 2011, the bulk of Canadian forces were withdrawn from Afghanistan and replaced with a NATO-led training mission, then in 2014, the last elements of the Canadian Armed Forces departed Afghanistan and the country's first real experience of war in two generation came to an end. The impact of over a decade of fighting was felt in Canada's domestic politics almost immediately. In efforts to justify the country's sacrifice of blood and treasure, efforts, both subtle and overt, were made to reimagine the nation as one possessing a rich martial heritage.

As already shown, the war stoked an ideological shift at the elite level of Canadian society, shifting the emphasis of policy away from humanitarian aid and development towards intervention and conflict resolution. However, this regularly took the form of villainizing anything and anyone that stood counter to "Canadian values", defined in as broad of terms as possible. While the impact of this at the elite level was a rallying to the flag and a reinforcement of Canada's duty to defend freedom at home and abroad, it had the opposite result on mass culture. Faced with continued messages of the dangers posed to daily life, many Canadians expressed their fear and concern over their personal safety. In addition to the more generic Anxious category, Unsafe also emerged as a dominant category, driven primarily by mass discourse. In Letters to the Editor and editorials to the *Globe and Mail*, Canadians conveyed their growing paranoia and concern over the ability of the Canadian state to adequately protect them. As an unintended consequence of constant and

[68] All information retrieved from Veteran Affairs Canada, https://www.veterans.gc.ca/eng/remembrance/history/canadian-armed-forces/afghanistan-remembered/fallen

brutal "othering", the diversity that was once heralded as binding the nation together was increasingly being viewed as a liability.

Similar themes emerged in the novels, both of which present a society stalked by internal foes and dangers. In *Annabel*, written by Kathleen Winter, the plot revolves around the themes of intolerance of "others" and the physical violence that often accompanies such sentiments.[69] Likewise, *Room,* written by Emily Donoghue, problematizes the notion that life in Canada is beyond danger, emphasizing the internal threats posed by those considered to be part of the socio-political community.[70] In both cases, daily life is presented as uncertain and fraught with risk. All of this speaks to a disconnect between mass and elite culture when it came to the priorities underlying identity, but also to the effectiveness of government rhetoric on the topic. While most Canadians continued to view their identity expressed most clearly in personal priorities, it is obvious that the language of militarization was seeping into daily life, undermining the place of an accepting, tolerant multiculturalism.

In studying this relationship, a disjointed picture of Canadian identity is painted – one struggling to reconcile a familiar but unresponsive identity in multiculturalism with a fresh if unnerving identity in militarized nationalism. Much like with Trudeau, it is unclear which aspect of this change are simply the product of historical happenstance and which are the result of active cultivation on the part of the leader. That said, it is clear that in 2010 Harper was attempting to reshape Canadian identity towards a version more closely aligned with Canada's Anglo-American allies, and, in many ways, he seems to have been successful at least in elite spheres. The unintended consequences of this agenda on mass discourse created a far more anxious and paranoid society. Given that contemporary Canada continues to grapple with the impact of this era, it is hard to

[69] Kathleen Winter, *Annabel* (Toronto: House of Anansi Press, 2010).
[70] Emily Donoghue, *Room* (New York: HarperCollins, 2010).

determine exactly what the long term results will be, but suffice to say that in 2010, Harper's language of militarism, nationalism, and patriotism seem to have irrevocably entered into mass discourse, although not likely in the way he had intended.

Section VI: Discussion

In examining these two pivotal moments in Canadian history, it is clear that the struggle for identity remains an enduring component of the national project. Ironically, it could be argued that this protracted contest is itself the nexus of Canadian identity. This is certainly the position taken by Linda Hutcheon. She argues that the tension between centuries of political and social domination by the British and a sudden "disfiguring" of this identity by the presence of non-white immigrants has caused Canadians to reject sweeping identity claims, instead favouring a more decentralized version of identity.[71] However, while such claims are certainly valid, in comparing and analyzing the two case studies provided, this conclusion is revealed to be somewhat shallow. Across both discursive studies, Canadians at both the mass and elite level are shown to be both attentive and aware of the need for a usable national identity and the value it could offer. These discussions are all the more relevant given the highly combative nature of contemporary politics. As mentioned, Justin Trudeau's time as prime minister has been contextualized by an overt rebuking of Stephen Harper's militarized nationalism and an attempt at returning Canada to the supposed golden age of Liberal-led politics. Accordingly, the dual legacies of multiculturalism and militarization remain essential parts of contemporary Canadian identity.

Among the most significant elements to emerge from the two cases is the distinction between peace, multiculturalism, and militarism. As previously mentioned, the particular brand of

[71] Linda Hutcheon, *Irony's Edge: The Theory and Politics of* Irony (London: Routledge, 1995), 176-177.

Canadian multiculturalism espoused by elites in 1970 was a profoundly peaceful one, at least rhetorically, and played off the idea that the Canadian political experience was intrinsically different from that of the United Kingdom and the United States. However, not unlike other liberal democracies, Canada has never expressed any discomfiture over the paradox of using violence to uphold peace. Even in 1970 when facing violent insurrection from the FLQ, not only did Trudeau call on average Canadians to stand up to the terrorists, but he famously invoked the War Measures Act, suspending civil liberties and deployed the Canadian Armed Forces across Quebec.[72] As seen in the discourse of the time, this overtly violent posture was not viewed as being at odds with the language of multiculturalism, casting a shadow on the idea of Canadian exceptionalism in the realm of peaceful multiculturalism.[73]

Nonetheless, this relationship has been most profoundly represented by the on-going legacy of Canada's role in the War in Afghanistan. For historians, the conclusion of Operation Enduring Freedom in 2014 and the withdrawal of coalition forces from Afghanistan rang with the familiar tone of past military exploits. To begin, it remains entirely unclear if the mission was a success and what tangible outcomes it achieved towards creating an enduring peace in Afghanistan. As a testament to this, Western forces remain in the country, both in combat and non-combat roles, through Operation Freedom's Sentinel. Despite 13 years of war, at least 120,000 casualties on both sides, and an estimated $120 billion USD, the end of Operation Enduring Freedom resembles nothing so much as the end of the Vietnam War, with the US and its allies declaring victory and getting out.[74] In addition, given the continued military presence in

[72] CBC Story, October 16, 1970. Retrieved from https://www.cbc.ca/archives/entry/october-crisis-trudeaus-war-measures-act-speech
[73] Cas Mudde, "Putting Canada in a Comparative Context: Still the Multiculturalist Unicorn" *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 22, no.3 (2016): 355.
[74] Stephen M. Walt, "Declare victory and get out?", *Foreign Policy*, December 19, 2012.

Afghanistan, questions have inevitably been raised about the purpose of the sacrifice. For Canada especially, the war appears to come have come at the cost not only of blood and treasure, but also at the nation's ability to claim that it is inherently peaceable and tolerant. At a minimum, it has forced even the staunchest liberal to reassess what they mean by multicultural and determine how that can fit into a more interventionist foreign policy.

As previously mentioned, Canada is arguably undergoing a new round of identity contests; perhaps a sign of things to come as politics becomes increasingly focused on personal virtue and more partisan by nature. In part, this has focused on attempting to blend the "smug complacency" of previous generations when it comes to multiculturalism's place in the national psyche with the realities of Canada as a global military-industrial actor.[75] In an attempt to combine these two themes, Canada has become the global champion for the so-called "rules-based international order", a phrase oft-repeated by Canada's former Foreign Minister and current Deputy Prime Minister Chrystia Freeland.[76] These efforts at harmonizing the multiculturalism of the 20th century with the militarism of the 21st find common cause in Canada's Defence Policy, *Strong, Secure, and Engaged*. Within this document – one of the few macro-level guidelines released in recent years – lies the nexus of this reconciliation, with Canada committing to increasing humanitarian support, pursuing a more active role in peacekeeping operations, while also dramatically increasing military spending across the sector.[77] While many of the priorities seem to suggest a desire to return to the international posturing of the 1970s, the fact that these programs are couched

[75] Banting and Kymlicka, "Anxieties and Debates", 51.
[76] The term is the top priority listed by Global Affairs Canada. Retrieved from https://www.international.gc.ca/gac-amc/priorities-priorites.aspx?lang=eng
[77] Government of Canada, "Strong, Secure, Engaged: Canada's Defence Policy. Retrieved from https://www.canada.ca/en/department-national-defence/corporate/reports-publications/canada-defence-policy.html

within the framework of military and defence spending is emblematic of the way national identity has evolved over the years.

Debate on the relationship between identity, violence, and multiculturalism has also been taken up by those in the non-governmental sphere, highlighting that these questions present not only a policy issue, but one of public interest. Perhaps the most relevant to the specific nature of 21st century politics is the ways in which discourse on multiculturalism have interacted with right-wing, conservative politics in Canada. In an article discussing the absence of far-right politics in Canada, Emma Ambrose and Cas Mudde argue that the failure of these parties stems from "the country's unique multicultural policies" and "strong state side repression of dissent of [right wing parties]".[78] They continue that this is because multiculturalism policies remain the embodiment of liberal Canada, so challenges to them are seen as challenges to the normative basis of the country. At first glance, this seems to reinforce the hypothesis that Canada's multicultural identity is far more a reflection of high-level, elite agenda setting than as a reaction to popular support.

That being said, as Phil Ryan notes, such arguments willfully ignore the large minority within Canada that legitimately views multiculturalism and its associated terms as threats to Canadian unity. In a discursive analysis of right-leaning newspapers, including the *Calgary Sun*, the *National Post*, and *Le Devoir*, Ryan points out that all displayed at least a 2:1 ratio of negative coverage to positive coverage, with the *Sun* actually running a 9:1 ratio. This coverage was neither "restrained or diplomatic", and included such lines as "Multiculturalism leads to balkanization and has helped to create a tribal Canada with no political or moral centre", "Multiculturalism has widened the distance between the two founding nations, and, by indulging whims of hyphenated ethnic minorities, increased divineness at home", and "Until recent times, the West has been

[78] Emma Ambrose and Cas Mudde, "Canadian Multiculturalism and the Absence of the Far Right," *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 12, no.1 (2015): 214.

spoiled by the loyalty of immigrants, even from hostile regions or cultures… In the last 30 years, a new type of immigrant emerged: the immigrant of dubious loyalty".[79] Indeed, stories like this seem to suggest that rather than multiculturalism thriving due to the absence of opposition, that opposition to its privileged place in the Canadian zeitgeist leads to it being the constant target of negativity and hatred.

Contestations like this emphasize that the challenges with enacting policy and implementing it are rarely the same and are often at odds with one another. It many ways, early multiculturalism policies were examples of political policy aimed at increasing immigration. For these, high-level buy-in was all that was required for success, but with the switch to social, integration-based multiculturalism policies, new challenges arose over ensuring ground-level buy-in.[80] Similarly, the language surrounding exactly what form Canadian multiculturalism would take has often presented competing ideas, suggesting the lack of a clearly defined vision.[81] As shown earlier, multiculturalism in Canada has never truly enjoyed the quotidian support of the masses in Canada beyond perfunctory statements of its value. As a result, when pressed by the emerging challenges of the 21st century, it is unsurprising that it has "come under stress", as Sheila Copps argues.[82] Now, as in 1970 and 2010, Canadians are far more concern with daily affairs, such as financial stability and personal safety, suggesting that while many continue to extol the virtues of Canadian pluralism, it does not play a meaningful role in the tangible application of everyday nationalism.

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[79] All quoted in Ryan, "State Repression", 343-344.
[80] Keith Banting and Will Kymlicka, "Is there really a retreat from multiculturalism policies? New evidence from the multiculturalism policy index." *Comparative European Politics* 11, no.5 (2013): 578.
[81] Kuma, "Canadian Multiculturalism", 13.
[82] Sheila Copps, 'Canadian Multiculturalism 'under stress'," *The Hill Times*, August 17, 2012.

This divide between framing national identity as a product of global perception versus domestic value projection has dominated Canadian history. As shown across this paper, Canadians have struggled to put together a national identity based solely on internal values, without the need to appeal to an outside force for validation. While this may not seem to be all that problematic, it leaves national identity in a precarious position, since external changes can greatly impact internal perception. Since Canada engages so frequently with global institutions and its identity is often bound so closely to other states, it can lead to unnecessary complications in the realm of foreign policy. As such, one way in which Canada has attempted to blend the domestic and the international is through the medium of sports. Through sports, particularly hockey, Canada has managed to foster a somewhat unique sense of self, predicated on external involvement, but one that ultimately resides at home. Further, sports often act as a meeting group between elite and mass culture, given it added weight in the discussion of identity.

The hosting of the 2010 Olympic Winter Games in Vancouver serves as a flashpoint in understanding the relationship between sports as a commodity and nationalism, particularly given the role played by ice hockey in contemporary identity construction and the political context surrounding the Games. As Scott Watson has argued, Canada has long used hockey to reinforce an "Us vs Them" mentality, whereby an external other is villainized to the benefit of an internal us.[83] Within this framework, hockey is treated as the physical manifestation of the nation, capable of competing directly against other nations. As Image 6.1 shows, this competition is not merely metaphorical, but represents the reality of the more militarized, combative discourse that surrounds sports and the Olympics. Not only do such images reinforce popular stereotypes of "others", but also the need to stand up to them.

[83] Scott Watson, "Everyday nationalism and international hockey: contesting Candian national identity," *Nations and Nationalism* 304.

Image 6.1, "The Rivalry Between Vancouver 2010 and Sochi 2014".[84]

With the stakes set so high as a result of this mentality, ownership of the values that surround the sport and its personalities becomes crucial.[85] The most obvious example of this is the role played by Don Cherry in his role as host of *Coach's Corner* on the CBC's *Hockey Night in Canada*. Following Canada's entry into the War in Afghanistan, Cherry began to use his podium to promote the CAF and espouse a general pro-military stance in line with conservative and neoliberal policies.[86] He further criticized Jean Chretien's Liberals for failing to join the United States in their invasion of Iraq, claiming it went against Canadian values.[87] As Andrew Potter explains, this closeness can be explained as a by-product of the fact that the military and

[84] Retrieved from Mackay Cartoons at http://mackaycartoons.net/
[85] Lisa McDermott and Jay Scherer, "The 2010 Vancouver Olympics and Canada's War in Afghanistan: The Intersection of Sporting Spectacle and the Politics of Precariousness," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 53, no. 2 (2019): 323.
[86] Ibid.
[87] Ibid.

professional sports are arguably the only two "communities of honour" that remain in modern society. Accordingly, the two share many of the same values, such as duty, courage, and a prioritization of the collective above the individual.[88]

As the War in Afghanistan grew in commitment, hockey continued to play a vital role in the memorialization and ritualization of the fallen, with initiatives such as *Tickets for the Troops* and the singling out of combat veterans in the crowd bringing the heroism of war to the fore at the expense of a more nuanced understanding of the cost and practice of fighting a war.[89] Spurred on by characters like Cherry, support for the troops, much like a hockey team, became a zero-sum game, with absolute and blind devotion the only acceptable form of support. This mentality was put to the test in 2007, when Graeme Smith published an article outlining the horrific treatment of Afghan detainees in Canadian custody. The story forced Canadians, both elites and masses, to rethink their stance on the war and question the legitimacy of official reports, including, as Roland Paris argues, the notion that the Canadian government was "over selling battlefield achievements".[90]

Despite agitation for reform and oversight, the federal government remained steadfast in its defence of the actions. In response to questions on it, Prime Minister Harper deflected the issue by claiming that critics were "siding with the terrorists" and "failing to support Canadian troops", as well as claiming that all those detained were members of the Taliban, despite evidence to the contrary. Additionally, CAF members continued to transport detainees into "torturous conditions".[91] For Lisa McDermott and Jay Scherer, this behaviour is a result of two central truths

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[88] Andrew Potter, "Culture Clash: Why the Media and the Military Can't Get Along," in *Canadian Defence Policy in Theory and Practice*, edited by Thomas Juneau, Philippe Lagasse, and Srdjan Vucetic (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2020), 204-205.
[89] Scherer and Koch, "Living with War", 22.
[90] Roland Paris, "The Truth about Canada's Mission in Afghanistan," *Centre for International Policy Studies* Policy Brief no.22 (2014): 3.
[91] Quoted in McDermott and Scherer, "Vancouver Olympics", 330.

about Canada in the post-9/11 world: firstly, Muslims and other radicalized groups are no longer considered part of the legitimate legal community; and secondly, "certain lives do not quality as lives" within certain frameworks.[92] Put more clearly by Sherene Razack, "indifference is as morally culpable as direct involvement".[93] In this case, Canada's indifference to the treatment of Afghan lives, Taliban or otherwise, laid bare the reality that any claims to the notion that Canada stands for tolerance, freedom, and acceptance is patently false.

By 2010, as Canada set up to host an Olympic Games meant to symbolize peace and goodwill, the nation was beset by scandal and the cost of a seemingly endless war; however, in spite of this, the Games were still immensely popular in Canada, especially as Canadian athletes began to win. On the surface, at least, it appeared as though the warrior mentality promoted by sports had carried the day, with Harper's calls for pride and patriotism being echoed across *Globe and Mail* articles. For a population grown accustomed to public displays of military support and military pride, the hyper-nationalism of the Olympic Games did not seem out of place, and indeed, validated the idea that Harper's efforts at causing an ideological identity shift were successful.

Despite not coming at the expense of official multiculturalism, it is difficult to argue that the underlining legitimacy of the identity had not been seriously eroded. For those from radicalized and or minority communities, the deliberate othering caused by over a decade of war was leading to a sense that perhaps Canada was not as accepting as it claimed. Further, the neoliberal ideology underpinning much of the militant nationalism inherently minimized diversity and tolerance as central tenants. So, while Canadians may continue to claim some vague sense of multiculturalism as its defining feature of their national identity, the reality is that these claims lack a certain

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[92] Ibid, 331.
[93] Sherene Razack, "From the Somalia Affair to Canada's Afghan Detainee Torture Scndal: How Stories of Torture Define the Nation," in *Empire's Ally: Canada and the War in Afghanistan*, edited by Jerome Klassen and Greg Albo (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), 369.

ideological footing. Arguably the most damning example of this is the rationale behind the boycott of the 1980 Moscow Olympics. In justifying their move, the United States and their allies, Canada included, argued that the Soviet Union's "aggressive action in Afghanistan" required the nation to "pay a high price" for their attempts at "colonial domination of others".[94] Without any of the virtues of hindsight, these same nations swept the mistreatment of Afghan civilians under the rug in anticipation of the 2010 Vancouver Games, proving to segments of the population already reeling from impact of systemic othering that Canada was no better than any other imperial power. In addition to reinforcing the ties between sports, politics, and war, this total lack of self-awareness fully discredits the notion that Canada is an exceptionally multicultural society.

Ultimately, such examples suggest that Canadian multiculturalism does not stem from any sort of overwhelming desire to create a diverse nation-state, but rather from the process of elite-level myth making. Birthed partially from the inherent diversity required to populate and develop such a large landmass in the early days of Confederation and from the continued movements of peoples from Europe to North America in the 20th century, Canadian multiculturalism is a policy of necessity, not of idealistic values. That is not to say that it is necessarily false, but it is certainly one with different implications for different people. For elites, it represents a convenient catch-all to excuse the existence of the lingering effects of colonialism and the absence of a movement to thoroughly reform the system. While this may appear to be a cynical reading of politics, it is worth noting that despite the wide-spread use of the language of multiculturalism by all governing parties, very little has been done to update or improve the now nearly three-decade old *Canadian*

[94] McDermott and Scherer, "Vancouver Olympics", 340.

Multiculturalism Act.[95] Further, as shown in the aftermath of Canada's withdrawal from Afghanistan, the nation does not appear to have learned the lessons from that war.

On the other side, for mass society and particularly for new Canadians, a multicultural identity remains one of the few positive depictions of identity. Rather than identity being formulated as "not American/British", it holds the unique position of being a Canadian-centric trait. However, as the 2010 discourse shows, its lack of a tangible anchoring point has seriously undermined its legitimacy in the eyes of a population more concerned about daily well-being and prosperity. These same concerns can be seen in the 1970 discourse, suggesting that this disconnect might be found in the roots. Consequently, what these two case studies, along with the accompanying literature, have shown is that multiculturalism as an expression of national identity exists much more strongly as a rhetorical tool than as an extension of public policy. So, while Canadians may continue to argue for its privileged place in the national character, it is worth questioning how authentic of a belief this is.

SECTION VII: Conclusion

The search for Canadian national identity reveals that nation-building is rarely the product of consensus-based decision-making and is often accompanied by far more exclusion than inclusion. In spite of rhetoric claiming that Canadian history is somehow less brutal or exploitative than that of the United States, the United Kingdom, or France, it is clear that restrictive community management has always been at the heart of the national project. Unlike these other nations, though, Canadian history has apparently been rescued by a contemporary acceptance of difference and a willingness to open the nation to non-Canadians. While there is at least limited

[95] Varun Uberoi, "Legislating Multiculturalism and Nationhood: The 1988 Canadian Multiculturalism Act, "*Canadian Journal of Political Science* 49, no.2 (2016): 282.

acknowledgement of past crimes, these are presented through the rose-tinted glasses of multiculturalism and recast as divergent cases rather than the norm. In this way, as Stephen Harper claimed in 2010, only Canada has been able to become a benefactor of historical circumstance.[96] Even in rejecting multiculturalism as an identity marker, Stephen Harper did not argue for its total dismantling, simply its reconfiguration to meet the needs of the day. Like any dominant identity, it was only as valuable as its ability to bind people together.

Part of why this shift was so uncontroversial was due in part to Canadians continued passivity towards their own identity. As shown in the two case studies, daily concerns such as financial stability and physical well-being remained far more prominent than either multiculturalism or its militarized evolution. As such, following the theory of elite cueing regarding public opinion[97], Canadians were willing to accept any identity so long as it was complemented with solutions to their more intimate grievances. As Prem Kuma explains, this is part of why "cultural mosaic" model of multiculturalism has been so popular in Canada, it is not necessarily a call to action but rather an imposition from above.[98] This idea can trace its roots back at least to 1900, when Prime Minister Wilfrid Laurier spoke of the Gothic cathedrals he had seen during his visit to London to celebrate Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee. He described them as being made of a "harmonious blend" of materials, which symbolized to him the Canadian nation. He went on to state that "as long as I live, as long as I have the power to labour in the service of my country, I shall repel the idea of changing the nature of its different elements. I want the marble to remain marble; I want the granite to remain granite; I want the oak to remain oak".[99] In contrast

[96] The Right Honourable Stephen Harper, "Address to the BC Legislature".
[97] Adam Berinsky, "Assuming the Costs of War: Events, Elites, and American public Support for Military Conflict", *The Journal of Politics* 69, no.4 (2007): 984.
[98] Kuma, "Canadian Multiculturalism (2)", 14.
[99] Quoted in *Transformations in Schooling: Historical and Comparative Perspectives,* ed. Kim Tolley (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 112.

to the myriad of states that call on its citizens to be active in the cultivation of the nation, here Laurier asks for inactivity and continuity to be the order of the day – a message that seems to have persisted.

As shown, it is difficult to agree with the statement that everyday Canadians are especially multicultural in their discourse or that they view multiculturalism as a key component of Canadian nationalism. While this is not inherently negative, it does somewhat shatter the notion that Canada is somehow unique in its multicultural posturing. Indeed, at best Canadian multiculturalism can be said to be largely performative and far from the common trait shared across the nation that it is often presented as. However, this lack of honest buy-in does not totally discredit its place in the long history of shaping and reshaping Canadian identity, and it can offer telling insights into policy decision-making. In the contest between policy as reflection of popular will and leader agenda-setting, the case of multiculturalism, as well as its militarized reformation, firmly support the latter. This highlights that Canadian politics and identity formation does not follow a unique path, with the major turning points coming as a result of executive decision-making. This can be further seen in the Laurier quote above, where although the Prime Minister does not call on citizen action, he does commit to action at the elite level, further enforcing the notion that Canadian identity policy is a top-down process. While further research will be required to locate the true nexus of Canadian identity, as far as multiculturalism is concerned, its tenuous position within the Canadian narrative is certainly threatened, and work will be needed if Canadians hope to be able to continue holding it as a definitive marker of the nation.

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APPENDIX A: Explanation of Primary Texts

As mentioned across several sections, this paper makes use of literature coding as its main source of primary data and research. Throughout, these texts are considered for their insight into what the Making Identity Count project refers to as "everyday nationalism" and used in concert with dominant academic literature to develop a more mature sense of Canadian nationalism. These sources are meant to capture the leading identity markers and themes of their respective time period, with an emphasis on majority values rather than all-encompassing values. As such, the sources chosen are meant to reflect the most popular form of the media, as measured either through consumption or importance/relevance to political happenings. Additionally, they were all published in the year of the case study, as to maximize the influence of the given year on the source.

Given the white, male structure of the Canadian state, both in 1970 and 2010, the overwhelming majority of the sources were authored by white men. While the lack of diverse voices can credibly be seen as a weakness of this approach, the intention was to capture the most widely consumed medias, not necessarily those most reflective of Canadian society. Further, these sources do little to address the on-going mistreatment of Indigenous Peoples by the Canadian state. While these shortcomings are due to the limited scope of this paper and not a systematic ignorance, it is worth noting that these sources do not represent the breadth or depth of Canadian discursive literature on identity. With that in mind, however, Table A.1. outlines the sources used for each case study.

Table A.1: List of Sources Used in Literature Coding

	1970	2010
Speeches	- The 1970 Throne Speech - Pierre Trudeau's speech regarding the FLQ Crisis - Pierre Trudeau's speech to open the first annual Arctic Winter Games	- The 2010 Throne Speech - Stephen Harper's address to the BC Legislative Assembly in advance of the 2010 Vancouver Olympic Games - Stephen Harper's opening remarks at the G20 'sherpas' meeting
Newspaper	- The *Globe and Mail*	- The *Globe and Mail*
Novels	- *The National Dream* by Pierre Berton - *Fifth Business* by Robertson Davies	- *The Room* by Emily Donoghue - *Annabel* by Kathleen Winter
Films	- *Goin' Down the Road,* written by Donald Shebib and William Fruet - *The Act of the Heart,* written by Paul Almond	- *Splice*, written by Vincenzo Natali
Textbooks	- *Challenges & Survival: The History of Canada,* edited by H.H. Herstein, L.J. Hughes, and R.C. Kirbyson	- *Canada: A Nation Unfolding,* edited by Garfield Gini-Newman and Diane Eaton