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Building the Canadian Nation?

A Thematic Content Analysis of The 2009
Citizenship Guide

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Abstract

This major research paper focuses on the new 2009 study guide "Discover Canada: The Rights and Responsibilities of Citizenship". The major research project is motivated by the potential role that the citizenship guide may have on the social formation of Canada. In essence, some of the criticism that has been laid against the new study guide focuses largely on the conservative political ideology being presented (Jones and Perry 2013). We can tentatively assert that any governmental publication presented in the optic of passing a citizenship test has the potential to influence individuals. This hypothesis comes from two factors that are implicit in citizenship. First, citizenship is intimately linked to the concept of nation and nationalism. Second the ethnic and therefore social composition of the nation is determined by the individuals that can participate in their political, economical and social life. This participation can only be done via the successful acquisition of citizenship. Therefore my general research question is the following: To what extent does the 2009 citizenship study guide "Discover Canada: The Rights and Responsibilities of Citizenship" serve as a nation building tool? If we consider the work of Ernest Gellner on the nation, it is clear that literature is a key factor in the creation of a nation; this idea can also be found in the work of Benedict Anderson in "Imagined Communities Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism"(2006).Specifically, my study aims to determine which dimensions of modern nation building are emphasised in the study guide and to what end. The theoretical framework is largely based on the work of Wimmer "Nationalist Exclusion and Ethnic Conflict: Shadows of Modernity" (2002). Wimmer identifies five dimensions of the modern nation building. These dimensions guide my empirical analysis, which applies a thematic content analysis to study the 2009 study guide. Two more dimensions will then be revealed during the course of the analysis. Ultimately guide demonstrated a much more pronounce neoliberal approach to Canadian citizenship.

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Table of Contents

Acknowledgement	3
Introduction	7
A Short History of Canada and its Citizenship: From Colony to Country.....	9
Citizenship and Nation: Review of the Literature	17
The citizenship review	18
Nationalism and nation.....	25
Concepts of Citizenship and Nation	33
Theoretical framework	33
List of important concepts	38
How To Identify a Nation Building Tool? Methodology	39
The methodological strategy	40
Defining the five elements of the nation	42
Analysis	44
Identity and Culture.....	45
Economy	49
Law.....	53
Politics.....	56
Competence	59
Military.....	62
Social Security	64
Discussion	66
The guide that builds	67
Contrasting Views.....	74
Conclusion.....	80

References 84

Introduction

Citizenship has been an intermittent source of debate and arguments since Canada's first Citizenship Act came into being on January 1st 1947. In that last decade, we have had a resurgence of the debate of citizenship. The reasons for this resurgence are multiple such as the war on terror and the massive cost incurred for the repatriation of citizens during the Lebanon and Israeli conflict of 2006 (Nyers 2010, Stasiulis and Ross2006). Also, the new study guide implemented in 2009 by the Conservative government of Canada has stimulated debate. Some commentators have suggested that the guide "Discover Canada: The Rights and Responsibilities of Citizenship" puts forward a more conservative view of Canada (Jones and Perry 2013). The guide has been criticised for putting too much emphasis on the military and the monarchy (Winter and Sauvageau 2012). Yet, as we look at the guide we should keep in mind that the guide is the study material for the Canadian citizenship test. Examining the study guide along the lines of nation building would be useful. Relatively few studies have been conducted on the topic of citizenship since the implementation of the new study guide. Some of them have looked at the emphasis of the military in the guide, such as Winter and Sauvageau (2012). Others have looked at the disproportionate representation of conservatism ideal propagated in the new 2009 study guide (Jones and Perry 2013). Yet, little has been done on the subject of the study guide as a nation building tool. The general question that is to be answered in this major research project is the following: if the new study guide is a nation building tool, what are the dimensions that are being emphasised and to what end?

Theoretically speaking, the grid of my analysis will be based Wimmer's(2001) book "Nationalist Exclusion and Ethnic Conflict: Shadows of Modernity". In his work, Wimmer establishes five dimensions that are said to be at the basis of a modern nation. I argue that

citizenship learning (e.g. through a study guide) is a nation building tool; it is a representation of the nation's aspiration which is embodied in citizenship requirements. Therefore, the citizenship study guide should have all of Wimmer's dimensions represented. If citizenship acquisition is part of the building blocks of the modern nation, we can assume that the study guide would be somewhat of a blue print for the future of Canada from the perspective of the federal (Conservative) government. The methodological approach that will be used for this major research project will be a thematic content analysis. This method will enable us to do a very detailed analysis of the 2009 citizenship study guide.

The importance of this research is a modest attempt at examining the role of citizenship education and testing and its role for Canadian nation building. However, this research is very limited since it only concentrates on examining the content of the 2009 study guide. Without being able to compare it to other study guides and other citizenship tests, it will not be possible to generalize the findings. The research will serve more as a base line for further and more in-depth studies on the subject of nation building and citizenship in Canada. This research, although limited, could potentially provide ideas for new policies regarding citizenship and nation building in Canada.

This Major Research Project consists of seven sections. I will first provide a short history of citizenship in Canada. I will then proceed with a literature review of citizenship and nationalism in Western democracies. After which I will continue with a theoretical frame work based on the work of Andreas Wimmer and explain my choice of a qualitative thematic approach, for the methodology section. Then I shall move on to the analysis and results in which several dimension were discovered. Finally I finish this Major Research Project with a discussion

section which reveals a strong emphasis on the economic dimension and the potential ramifications the new 2009 study guide may have on the Canadian society.

A Short History of Canada and its Citizenship: From Colony to Country

In this section, I will give a brief overview on the formation of Canada which will also focus on the evolution of our citizenship that has occurred over time. A historical overview is necessary if we are to understand the new citizenship study guide and the criticism that it has solicited in academic scholarship. The overview will be historically situated from 1700 to 2013. Particular attention will be given to moments that have been significant for Canada as a nation.

Before Canada started its long journey towards an independent nation on July 1st, 1867, it was a collection of colonies and even further back, it was the land of many Aboriginal peoples. France was the first country to settle in a permanent fashion as a colonial power in North America, followed by the British and other European nations (Bothwell 2009). The colonial period could be described as turbulent for much of North America. Conflicts occurred between the main colonial powers of the day and the various Aboriginal tribes that were allied with the colonial powers. At that time, France and England were the major powers fighting for supremacy. This conflict is known as "The Seven Years' War" which started in 1756 and ended in 1763. The war ended with the signing of the "Treaty of Paris" that saw Nouvelle-France being given over to English control in 1763. This conflict was also fought by Aboriginals who sided with different colonial factions. When the conflict was resolved, animosity lingered as it usually does with a conquered opponent and yet, Canada was still able to emerge out of this bloody past. Maintaining that Canada was peacefully born would be a lie. Canada may not have been born directly out of war, however conflicts still marked the beginnings of Canada (Brown 1954,

Martin 1993). The surrounding conflicts and the active participation in other conflicts such as the First World War and the Second World War shaped Canada both geographically and socially (Brown 1954, Bothwell 2009).

The First World War is a key moment in Canadian history. The First World War revealed the lingering divisions between French and English communities in Canada. The First World War was not however the first conflict to reveal the divisions that existed between the different ethnic groups of Canada. In 1889, the Boer War was the first official conflict in which Canada was taking part and it also exposed the divisions that lay in loyalties between the French communities and the English communities (Bothwell 2009). For many of the French speaking population, the Boer War and the First World War were European conflicts that did not necessitate any participation on the part of Canada as far as the French community was concerned. Nevertheless, the colonial ties shared with the British Empire saw the participation of many Canadians in the Boer War and both world wars. The deep divisions of the Canadian nation can be seen clearly with the First World War enactment of conscription. The conscription was not a popular policy for many Canadians since it forced many who did not believe in the conflict to participate. It also demonstrated the loyalty divide that existed between the British and the French speaking Canadians. The division comes from the notion of loyalty; from the perspective of many English-speaking Canadians, they owe their loyalty to the British Empire since they are still a colony within the Empire. It is also very important to be aware that Canada prior to 1914 welcomed a large portion of new immigrants from Britain itself (Bothwell 2009, 268). This led to a rousing turnout of British subjects that were willing to go to war for the British Empire in Canada. However, many who were second and third generation Canadian born did not feel this overwhelming attachment to the British Empire. Bothwell points out that the

French speaking community felt no love for the Empire especially in Ontario where French language was banned from school in both the public and religious schools (Bothwell 2009, 269). Despite the division of loyalty between different groups in Canada, it can be said that the First World War created for Canada the necessary momentum to further independence from the British Empire. If nothing else, the First World War demonstrated that Canada could manage without British supervision (Bothwell 2009). From 1917 to 1931, Canada embarked on a long process that ultimately led to its sovereignty, which it did not fully have in 1867. During an Imperial Conference in 1917, the prime minister of the time, Robert Borden along with South-African general Jan Smuts convince the members of the British Empire that the colonies can and should self govern (Bothwell 2009, 284). In 1931, the status of Westminster was signed and it officially gave almost all autonomy to Canada, except in some key areas such as the modification of the constitution in the British North American Act. From this point in 1931, when the Status of Westminster was ratified by the British Parliament, Canada became almost completely a sovereign nation (Bothwell 2009, 294).

Yet, the beginnings of independence in Canada were for many overshadowed by the two major events of the 1930's and 1940's. The great depression of 1930 saw the global economy crumble and the start of the Second World War in 1939. Canada has been building itself as a nation since 1867 yet, it still did not have an independent citizenship. The project for Canada's citizenship is started in 1945 by Mackenzie King, the Premier of Canada and Paul Martin Sr., the secretary of state. Mr. Martin pointed out that an independent citizenship project was considered necessary for Canadian nationalism. Canada had achieved almost full nationhood with the Statute of Westminster in 1931, and yet, it still did not cast off the vestigial remains of its colonial past (Martin 1993, 66). A Canadian citizenship was seen as an essential element for an

independent nation. Canadians were referred to as Canadian nationals and British subjects (Martin 1993, 67). Another important factor for creating Canadian citizenship was a matter of legal practicality. Canada did not have any citizenship laws; it did however have a collection of Acts that more or less guided Canada on issues of immigration. The Citizenship Act which was ratified in 1947 was a crucial first step, since it centralised and clarified the entry process for new citizenship and it eliminated some of the old discriminatory aspects of the Immigration Act of 1910 (Martin 1993). For example, one discriminatory aspect of the 1910 Immigration Act was that women were forced to have the same nationality as their husbands. With the new Citizenship Act, women would be allowed to choose their own nationality and not be forced to take on the nationality of their husbands (Martin 1993, 72-73). In the following decades, the Canadian Citizenship Act would be modified twice.

The modifications of the 1947 Citizenship Act which took place on February 15, 1977 were brought on by changes in the social landscape of Canada and its economic prosperity. Winter (2013, 100) points out that the modification to the 1947 Citizenship Act must be understood in the context of two important global developments. First, there is the economic growth and the advances being made in industrial manufacturing which lead to a shortage in the labour force. This situation is accentuated by a decrease in immigration from the traditional sources which are Central and Northern Europe (Winter 2013, 100). The second development comes in the changes regarding human rights during the Nuremberg trial and the civil rights movement in the United-States of America. In the 1960s and 1970s, the 1947 Citizenship Act was starting to show just how discriminatory it still was and how Canada had outgrown its first Citizenship Act. Hence, a first modification occurred in 1977 under a Liberal government. The modification had two major objectives. The first objective was to improve access and equal

treatment for new immigrants (Winter 2013). The second objective was to de-ethnicizing citizenship (Winter 2013). The de-ethnicizing of citizenship means that, in principle, citizenship was no longer based on one particular culture. This was an important break from the past legislation on immigration and citizenship which privileged white Europeans preferably from Britain. In the 1960s, however Canada started opening its borders to the world with no more formal provisions to block immigrants from the African or Asian continents.

However, Canada was not suddenly inspired to be more inclusive; Canada was pushed in this direction due to economic necessity. Winter points out that "economic growth which produced a shortage of labour and subsequently promoted increase in immigration"(2013, 100). Another significant change was that in the 1960s and 1970s, human rights groups were making progress against discrimination (Winter 2013). This translated in 1967, into a so-called "race blind" universal points system for new immigrants (Winter 2013, 100). In Canada, immigration policy that had been largely racist was replaced with a point system that was based on the country's economic demands (Walsh 2011, 864). The point system is seen as a good alternative since it allowed the Canadian government to separate between those who would be a financial boon to Canada from the one's that would become a financial burden. The point system is designed to test specific quantifiable factors such as education, occupation. The belief is that a point system will project an aura of impartiality in the processing of new immigrants (Walsh 2011,864). Further more in 1971, Pierre Trudeau, the prime minister of Canada declared Canada to be a multicultural nation (Kymlicka 1998, 15). According to Trudeau, the goal of the multicultural policy is to help new immigrants to integrate into Canada by facilitating four key aspects of their new life in Canada (Kymlicka 1998, 15). The four key aspects were the following: 1) to help the cultural development of ethnic groups, 2) to help those ethnic groups

overcome the problems facing their full participation to Canadian society, 3) to foster new relations amongst all ethnic groups in a creative fashion, 4) to assure that at least one of the official two languages is learned (Kymlicka 1998, 15). The multicultural policy of 1971 became a law in 1988. It is important to note that, according to Kymlicka, several provisions of the Canadian Multiculturalism Act are difficult to grasp. This has led to much confusion as to what multiculturalism actually is in Canada. Even today, Canadians find it still difficult to define what the relationship between multiculturalism and citizenship involves (1998,16).

Similarly, even with the 1977 modifications to the 1947 Citizenship Act, there were still some problematic aspects about defining Canadian citizenship. Again, society progressed and citizenship became again an important subject of conversation. In 1980, with the first referendum held in Québec, nationality and citizenship became important questions in Canada. Yet, this referendum was somewhat overshadowed by the 1982 repatriation of the constitution to Canada which officially made Canada an independent nation. The repatriation of the constitution, which included the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, was a pivotal moment for Canadian citizenship and nationhood. It marked a new vision of Canada and how the nation will approach society building in the future. Canada showed its willingness to be a nation of inclusion and fairness in so declaring the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. There are however some who believe that the declaration of Rights and Freedom renders the concept of citizenship in Canada pointless (Sharpe 1993). They argue that the declaration of Rights and Freedom grants almost all the same rights and freedoms for legal residents than it does for Canadian citizens – with the exception of participation in the political life of Canada (Sharpe 1993). Yet in the 1990s, the question of citizenship and nationality would come up again with a second referendum on Quebec independence in 1995. During both referendums, the unity of Canada was threatened which also

translated in exacerbating already tense divisions in Canadian society between French and English speaking Canadians.

In 2001, the question of citizenship became again a prominent topic in North America with the September 11, 2001 attacks, which prompted serious questions about security, immigration and citizenship. The attacks were carried out by men who had immigrated to the United-States of America and then carried out horrible attacks against their newly adopted country. This prompted serious questions about security but also about citizenship and immigration. Many countries of Europe and in North America revised their citizenship policies as a consequence. With the continued “war on terror” and the war in Afghanistan, Canada like so many countries, also decided to revise its citizenship test. A further point of debate in Canada was the 2006 Lebanon Israel conflict, which involved the repatriation of some 50,000 Canadians from Lebanon. Dual citizenship found itself quickly under fire. Questions of loyalty in regard to dual citizenship holders were brought to light. The cost alone of repatriation was enough to question the sensibility of dual citizenship. However, the concept of dual citizenship was revealed to be only problematic when the second nation was perceived as a source of threat or simply not a political ally (Stasiulis and Ross 2006). Another question that dual citizenship brought to light was: who has jurisdiction over an individual with dual citizenship? During the period between 2001 and 2006, up to eight different dual citizenship holders in Canada would find themselves being sent back to nations where torture was known to be a common practice (Stasiulis and Ross). With the 2006 Conservative party’s victory in federal elections, further changes to citizenship took place. In 2008, amendments were made to the Canadian Citizenship Act, coming into force in 2009.

The 2009 amendments to the Citizenship Act were made to eliminate discriminatory provisions and to put an end to outdated stipulations in the Citizenship Act. Some of the provisions that were addressed in this amendment were the cases of the "lost Canadians"(Winter 2013). The concept of "lost Canadians" refers to individuals who were born in Canada or who have Canadian parents but are unable to be recognised as Canadians due to certain aspects of the 1947 Citizenship Act that were not remedied in the 1977 Citizenship Act (Winter 2013).

Yet, these amendments did not create much of a tremor in citizenship studies when compared to the unveiling of the new citizenship study guide "Discover Canada: Rights and Responsibilities of Citizenship" in 2009. The new study guide has been scrutinized by several observers for being overly conservative (Jones and Perry 2013,). The overemphasis on the military, Canada's colonial past and patriotism seem to indicate a conservative ideological trend in the new citizenship guide (Winter 2013). Yet, some researchers, such as Adam Chapnick, find that the new guide is no more conservative than its predecessors. Rather, Chapnick argues that the expression of pride in the military or responsible citizenship would not generate more appeal for Conservatives than for any other political party. The similarities between the new guide and past guides led Chapnick to write:

The attention to history, the inclusion of the Canadian Forces in the detailed description of Canada's international achievements, and the extensive and wide-ranging selection of photographs made the Trudeau Liberal's 1977 edition of *A Look at Canada* remarkably similar in emphasis to the document produced by the Harper Conservatives more than 30 years later(Chapnick 2011, 26).

Chapnick states that there is political bias media coverage of the new study guide. In order to determine if the new 2009 guide is biased, it would be necessary to compare its content with the

Conservative Party of Canada's political platform. This cannot be achieved within the scope of this research project.

In summary, citizenship is once again an important issue in Canada. The new study guide has generated many questions and much has yet to be understood from a sociological point of view. What are the possible ramifications of the new study guide? How will the new guide affect Canada as a nation? All those questions are difficult to answer, but answers are necessary for our further understanding of Canada. In 2014, with conflicts raging around the world, what kind of national identity is suggested to aspiring Canadian citizenship candidates?

Citizenship and Nation: Review of the Literature

The literature review is based on the two main concepts that make up the main focus of the major research project, nationalism and citizenship. Both concepts make up their own distinct area of study in academic research, which will be then further divided into sub categories in order to deliver the clearest possible outline of the literature on both subjects. However, more attention was given to citizenship due to the complexity of the subject and the multiplicity of angles from which citizenship can be studied. The present state of the literature on citizenship is set in the context of a democratic nation. Focusing on democratic nations was based on two criteria. The first criteria, Canada is a democratic nation, therefore studying the citizenship of a nation without the democratic dimension would not help to inform the research which deals specifically with Canada. The second criteria, studying the citizenship of nondemocratic nation would only add confusion to an already very complex field of study.

The literature on citizenship has focused mainly on four dimensions: social, political, economic, educational. These four large dimensions encompassed most of the literature on citizenship. The classification used is based on my understanding of the literature and on the works of Y.M. Hébert and her edited book "Citizenship in Transformation in Canada" (2002). This specific book was very useful since it offered a clear organisation of the literature on the topic of citizenship in Canada. As the literature review proceeds, each dimension will be explained and an article or two will be given as examples for each dimension.

The citizenship review

The vast amount of the current literature on citizenship deals with the social dimension of citizenship. At stake are questions of inclusion and exclusion, and specifically of gendered or ethnicized minorities' egalitarian inclusion and the lack thereof. The article of Strang-Boag(2002)"Who Counts? Late Nineteenth-and Early Twentieth-Century Struggles about Gender, Race, and Class in Canada" demonstrates effectively how citizenship studies have tackled some very important debates in social sciences such as equality and gender issues. Another very important debate in citizenship is centered around the notion of the "other" and those excluded from citizenship. The notion of shifting boundaries is a very important topic in citizenship since it can be understood as the reflection of social change in a given society (Winter 2013). In essence, the social dimension of citizenship reflects the evolution of inclusion and exclusion in the social life of citizens in their respective nation.

The political dimension is the second most prominent area of research in citizenship studies. Citizenship can often be understood as a legal designation (Morton 1993). A citizen can also be defined as a "competent member of society" as defined by Bryan S. Turner in his definition of citizenship in "Citizenship and Social Theory"(1993). Citizenship can also be

understood as a tool to differentiate between those who are included and excluded in a nation state. Citizenship is the core contract by which individuals engage with their nation; it outlines their rights as citizens and also their responsibilities towards the nation and their fellow citizens. What citizenship confers to the citizens is a set of rights and obligations that are predetermined by the nation state in which you have acquired your citizenship. The rights and obligations that are associated with citizenship vary from one nation state to another. Inevitably, the practices surrounding citizenship vary, yet some key elements remain present in all conceptions of citizenship. In the case of most democratic nation states, citizenship plays an important role in the active participation in the political affairs of the nation (Marshall 1965, Janowitz 1980, Turner 1993). Citizenship becomes critical to participation in a democratic nation state; without legal citizenship, individuals cannot take full part in the political aspect of life. Marshall (1965) shows how the idea of citizenship evolved in the United Kingdom. In that country, citizenship started with civil rights in the 18th century, then moved on to political rights in the 19th century and finally to social rights in the 20th century. This linear vision of the evolution of citizenship has been criticised by many authors. In the book "Contesting Canadian Citizenship" by Dorothy Chunn, Robert Menzie and Robert Adamoski in 2002, a case is made against the passive approach to citizenship that Marshall allegedly upholds. Many rights that citizens now enjoy are the result of conflicts between different actors in society. One such example is the right to vote for women which occurred, in Canada, on May 24 1918 and entered in effect on January 1st, 1919. This particular right was not given over without a significant amount of protest and fight. Another example of non-passive achievement of rights can be seen in the fight for civil rights in the United States by Martin Luther King. The political aspect of citizenship in the last two decades touches on a variety of subjects; however, a recurring theme focuses on how a given nation or

government proceeds to determine who can and cannot be a citizen. This is also demonstrated in the recent literature on citizenship exams in several Western countries (Walsh 2011, Paquet 2012, Winter 2013).

Another aspect of the social and political study of citizenship is that of the neo-liberal ideology. In the last decade, the notion of neo-liberalism and its effect on the socio-political dimension have been examined in many interesting articles in Canada and across the world. Neo-liberalism has been studied in the context of citizenship in Canada by Janine Brodie in her 2009 work "From Social Security to Public Safety: Security Discourses and Canadian Citizenship". Neo-liberalism is pointed out as being one of the major factors in the changing of citizenship in recent decades.

Suffice it to say that the stagflation of the 1970's, the ascendancy of the neo-liberal governing paradigm, the new public management's strict adherence to the disciplines of the market, the elevation of neo-classical economists as the arbiters of policy formation, and the pressures of continental harmonization all have chipped away at the foundations of the postwar citizen state-security bargain. (Brodie,2009)

As we can see from this quote, Brodie acknowledges that neo-liberalism has played a part in the changing of citizenship from emphasizing rights of social welfare to emphasizing the economic responsibilities of the individual. Since neo-liberalism has become the dominant ideology in many western countries including Canada, it has become an important field of study in citizenship. Neo-liberalism promotes individuality and individual responsibility which is an important break from past conceptions of society which were much more focused on community(Brodie, 2009).

The economic dimension of citizenship is rarely the main objective in citizenship studies, but it is an underlying theme of the socio-political aspect of citizenship. In addition, there is also

the study of diasporas which contribute to both the local economics of their adoptive nation and their native land. The economical dimension of citizenship is also underlined in the articles of Stasiulis(2002) and Nyers (2010) concerning the “rescue” of dual citizens. There is also the question of citizenship testing. It is argued that citizenship must be understood from an economic point of view since the reason for much of the immigration and consequently future Canadian citizens is the quest for a better life (Walsh, 2011). This quest for a better life has been both lucrative for the government and in certain instances very costly. Nyer’s article on rescuing dual citizens from the 2006 Lebanon conflict with Israel shows how much it costs the nation to intervene on the behalf of dual citizens. Yet, dual citizens are also lucrative due to the potential for opening new markets that were previously closed to Canada. What is odd is the backlash faced by the dual citizenship holders. On the one hand, the Canadian government encourages dual citizenship exactly for the reason of financial gain to the nation. On the other hand, it has also been observed is that dual citizenship can become a disadvantage if the countries involved oppose each other(Stasiulis and Ross, 2006). In Canada, there are multiple examples when dual citizenship has become a liability for some; the Lebanon and Israel conflict in 2006 is just one example amongst others. Yet, skilled immigrants often represent a source of income to the nation. However, the same cannot necessarily be said of refugees. Aihwa Ong, in a study of Cambodian refugees from the Vietnam War, compares how immigrants and refugees are treated differently(1996). Her research shows that immigrants are seen as being less intrusive than refugees. This is because immigrants chose to change nations while refugees are chased out of their nation and usually do not have many resources and little or no choice as to where they land (Ong,1996). Although this is an American study, it can easily be transferred to Canada since this country also welcomes refugees. In the end, immigration and citizenship are strongly

economically driven. Without citizenship, a person's level of implication in society is diminished even if he or she has been part of the society for a long period. The abuse that non-citizens may experience in Canada is mitigated in part by the 1982 Charter of Rights and Freedom. However, the claim that the Charter of 1982 has eliminated the abuse of newly arrived immigrants or aspiring immigrants has not yet been fully proven to my knowledge.

The last category that I would like to address is the literature on citizenship and education. The educational aspect is important for citizenship since it is one of the major ways in which we verify the competences of citizens and insure their participation in society. The other very important aspect of citizen education is the integration of new citizens by learning the culture of the nation they have now joined. Much of the current literature on citizenship and education is focused on citizenship tests, as well as on school curricula and how much importance, if any, is given to citizenship. In the work of Kennelly and Llewellyn (2011) on citizenship education, they point out that one of the reasons for the rise and emphasis on citizenship education came from the decline in voter turnouts during elections. Their research investigates the effects the new curriculum surrounding citizenship has on the level of participation but also on the inclusion and exclusion of individuals taking part in the courses. Here, the social and educational aspects of citizenship overlap. Even T.H Marshall (1965) saw education as being the principal promoter of citizenship. Education is necessary for the attainment of citizenship but also for its ongoing success. Marshall saw education as being not only a privilege but as a fundamental right of each citizen to be educated, since without any education, citizens would be unable to make use of their citizenship and all the rights it conferred to them. Yet, as Kennelly and Llewellyn (2011) reveal, the way in which citizenship education is being delivered seldom promotes participation in citizenship in a significant way.

There is a variety of works that fall under the education dimension. Especially, historical accounts of citizenship can be named. Most of the studies that deal with Canadian citizenship from a historical perspective, single out English Canada. Issues of French Canadian citizenship are neglected or relegated to “Quebec studies”. Indeed, many authors divide between French and English Canada due to the complexity and differences in respect to their experience and stories. This is appropriate in the sense that the real acceptance of non-British “others” did not really start before the 1947 Citizenship Act. The issue often raised with questions related to citizenship education concerns the amount of funding available for educational programs such as second language training. In Canada, the silent dismantling of multiculturalism over the past couple of years can be seen as an example of a larger trend of defunding educational programs. Abu-Laban, in an article entitled "Reform by Stealth: The Harper Conservatives and Canadian Multiculturalism"(2014)describes how multiculturalism has been defunded and rendered almost useless to minority groups by the present government. This article is one of the many political and sociological studies attempting to understand the redefinition of citizenship under the Conservative government of Canada.

In 2009, a new study guide for citizenship was introduced; this new guide has solicited a variety of research, analysis and critics across Canada. There were three major papers that have analysed the new study guide. The first of those works is by Eslyllt Jones and Adele Perry which is a “counter guide” to the new 2009 study guide. The "People's Citizenship Guide: a response to conservative Canada" was a critique of the new study guide of 2009. In the first page of this publication, the authors state clearly that the contents of the new study guide are, according to them, racists with nationalists overtones and militaristic in nature (Jones and Perry,2011).The citizenship guide is a political tool for the conservative party of Canada according to Jones and

Perry(2011). In their critic and redefinition of what Canada is and should be, they point out that theirs is by no means the only narrative for Canada. This work contains the same sections and themes as the official 2009 citizenship guide. This small book along with other works will be crucial for my own research. How the official guide is analysed and studied by other academics will give me a better understanding of my research subject.

The second study that is very interesting and useful is written by Adam Chapnick and entitled: "A 'Conservative' National Story? The Evolution of Citizenship and Immigration Canada's *Discover Canada*" (2011). In this article, Chapnick argues that the new citizenship guide is not fundamentally different from its predecessor, the "Look at Canada" guide, issued first as a learning tool for citizenship judges during the Trudeau era in the 1970's. He also categorically states that the new guide does not paint Canada in capital C conservative colours, and is therefore not an attempt by the Conservative party of Canada to indoctrinate new citizens. So far, the two published works concentrate on the political implications of the 2009 study guide.

The last published work to be discussed here is an essay written by Raymond B. Blake(2013). His analysis of the guide is much more focused on a historical point of view since Blake is an historian by trade. However, this essay does provide another view on the subject of the 2009 study guide. Blake points out in his essay that history can be interpreted in many ways which is exactly what the present government did with the new 2009 study guide. Another interesting outcome of Blake's research are the main points of criticism that are levelled against the 2009 study guide, what is omitted and the general presence of the conservative ideology all through the guide. The criticism of what is omitted can be linked directly with my own research interest. To recall, the specific questions that I have asked on the subject are: What are the dimensions of the modern nation that are reflected in the content of the new citizenship guide?

Which of those dimensions are being emphasised and to what end? Blake's essay offers tentative answers to these questions.

As we can see, all three articles are focused on either the political implication of the guide or its historical content. The three articles study which narrative of Canada and Canadian citizenship is dominant in the new study guide. It is important to note that all three articles could have easily been categorised under both the political and social dimensions of citizenship. The reason for their placement in the educational dimension was due to the nature of the study guide itself, which aims to educate new citizens about Canada.

Nationalism and nation

This literature review concerning nation-state and nationalism concentrates on the western experience. The concept of the nation is quite similar for all nation-states. Since the goal of this major research project is to identify if and to what extent the new 2009 "Discover Canada; The Rights and Responsibilities of Citizenship" study guide is actually a nation building tool, and to also identify which dimensions are being emphasised, it is important to look at the development of nationalism in a wider setting. Thus, the articles and books pertaining to nationalism that are reviewed here, are largely focused on the Canadian experience and more generally on the western conception of nationalism and nation.

How do we define and understand the modern nation-state? One of the first attempts at a modern theory of the state was written by Max Weber which read as "The existence of an administration able to sustain the claim to the legitimate monopoly of control of the means of violence and to uphold that monopoly within a given territorial area"(Karspersen 2000, 69).However, the modern nation-state is much more than the use of legitimate violence and monopoly over a territorial area. The importance of the legitimate use of force has been the focus

of many studies concerning nation and nationalism (Wimmer 2002, Gellner 2005, Fougeyrollas 1987). There are researchers such as Ernest Gellner who places much more emphasis on the industrial age and the high culture, which for Gellner translates to standardized education for the masses. Gellner sees industrialisation as being the catalyst for the modern nation. Through wide spread standardised education, people took note of their cultural differences and were therefore able to act upon those differences and claim their own nationalism. At the same time, these differences were also created and reinforced for example through print capitalism, as Benedict Anderson writes (2006). It is important to understand that for Gellner, there was no naturally occurring nationalism, only reshaping of social organisation during the industrial age. Gellner's work displays quite well the links that exist between nation, nationalism and citizenship with the importance of standardized mass education. As T.H Marshall points out in his essay on the development of citizenship, education is a key factor for citizens to be able to utilise the full worth of their citizenship (1965). Education and culture play an important role in the development of nationalism. In fact, it is only through literary creations that nationalism could be fostered at first. Gellner points to the renaissance, when literacy was becoming more pervasive and the rediscovery of western philosophers fostered change in society and ultimately led to revolution. Revolutions, most notably the French Revolution of 1789 brought the idea of nationalism to the forefront of social organisation. It is worth noting that revolutions had already occurred in certain parts of Europe, with little changing in the way the world was being governed. Yet, the French Revolution was a total and complete break with the established political order of the day. As Fougeyrollas points out in his book "La Nation; Essoretdéclindessociétésmodernes", in France, the ideas of nation and patriot were already starting to circulate in the 16th century (1987,63-64).Fougeyrollas indicates that the reaction of

the neighbouring kingdoms and empires is proof of the enormity of the social break which occurred in France at the time. Austria and Prussia saw their chance for expansion due to the weakened state of France, and their elites were further bolstered by the nobility who fled France for more hospitable climates in England and Germany. This led to what Fougeyrollas calls the counter revolution(1987,66). The French Revolution in other words marks the beginning of the modern nation as a political, cultural and social organisation. In essence, it is through the propagation of literacy and rediscovery of western philosophy and industrialism that the nation is born for Gellner. Industrialism is very important for Gellner's vision of nation and nationalism since the mobility afforded by the industrial age was of key importance in developing nationalism, henceforth the nation. The mobility provided by industrialism gave people the chance and opportunity to leave their home and to explore. Through this exploration, people were ultimately confronted to other cultures and took conscience of their own “national” identity. Gellner describes that during the agrarian age, people in general did not leave their regions very much and the only real use of culture was to identify strangers within their own communities or at the market where people from many different regions met (1987, 12). Gellner believes that in order for nationalism to function, there needs to be cultural homogeneity; this could only occur with education and mobility. Standardized education and more people moving to the cities for work generated a certain level of cultural homogeneity, which then fostered a sense of nationalism. As we can see, Gellner gives us three very important dimensions for understanding nationalism and nations: industrialisation and culture through the proliferation of mass standardised education.

The educational aspect is very important because it can be seen as being one of the catalysts for the work of Anderson. In this book "Imagined Communities Reflections on the

Origin and Spread of Nationalism" (2006), Anderson examines how the nation is based on the imagined sense of communities that is articulated through the creation of literature and print media. Anderson's most notable examples for this are novels and newspapers. Similar to Gellner's work, Anderson sees that through the medium of literature, a process of cultural homogeneity is occurring, which has the potential to translate into nationalism. Through stories and novels, individuals were able to identify with the problems and joys of being part of the same region or community. With education being widely spread and not held by a select few or an elite, it gave the opportunity to those who had ideas for new ways of social organisation to be read and heard by the common people for whom the change would be most beneficial.

Newspapers and pamphlets were key for building the idea of the French nation and the idea of equality which upset the established order of the absolute monarchy in France at the time (Fougeyrollas 1987, 64). Gellner and Anderson demonstrate the importance of education and literature for our understanding of nationalism and therefore the nation. Without wide spread education and literature discussing the events of a kingdom, people would not have been able to identify with their fellow peasants in other parts of the kingdom; the words of the revolutionaries would not have been able to unify the people. Consequently, the educational dimension makes up an important part of studies on nationalism and citizenship. The dissemination of education brought a certain uniformity of culture.

Culture is another important dimension of nationalism and nation. In most of the literature on nationalism, culture or cultural aspects such as art or literature play a crucial role in the formation of the nation. Just as the kings of the past hired artists to paint their portraits, so do nations. A great example of this can be found in an essay of Janice Cavell, entitled "Comparing Mythologies: Twentieth-Century Canadian Constructions of Sir John Franklin"(2007). In this

article, Cavell shows the rise and fall of Sir John Franklin as being the iconic British hero in 1850 and how progressively this myth is gradually reduced due to the rise of Canadian nationalism. Two very important elements about culture and nationalism are indicated on the first page of Cavell's essay:

The sheer bulk of such writings gives credence to the idea that the Franklin story has a deep innate appeal to the Canadian mind. However, when these texts are examined in chronological order, two facts quickly become apparent: first, there were very few Canadian accounts of the Franklin tragedy before the early 1900s, showing that fascination with his story is not part of the Canadian essence. Second, Canadian interpretations of the tale underwent a major shift in the 1970 (Cavell 2007,15).

As can be seen from this quote, the myth of Sir John Franklin is really only crafted for Canadians in the 19th century, and it undergoes a major shift in the 1970s because of the rise of Canadian – as opposed to British -- nationalism. Sir John Franklin was much more a British hero than he ever was a Canadian hero. Yet, the British hero will not do for Canadian nationalism. Also, as Cavell illustrates, Canada only received the governance over the Arctic from the British Empire in 1880(2007,16). The idea of the Arctic had no real significance for a society which is mainly focused on resource exploitation and agriculture. Today, however, the Arctic has meaning for Canadians. Another great example of the importance of culture in nation and nationalism studies can be seen in the endeavours of Lorne Pierce in crafting and exposing nationalistic art. Pierce utilised his position as publisher to educate Canadians on the artistic creations of their fellow Canadians in the form of art books. This artistic undertaking had, as the author Sandra Campbell points out, an important amount of nationalistic elements (2007). Through the collection of art from Canadians, Pierce was trying to establish Canadian art in its own right. What Pierce wanted above all was that Canadian culture and art not be mistaken for British art or American art. The goal behind Pierce's book was the continued construction of Canada and this again demonstrates

the importance of culture and art in nationalism. Without education, nationalism and therefore citizenship could not be possible.

The third aspect of nation and nationalism has to be modernity. Nations are described as being the modern form of social organisation. Andreas Wimmer in his book "Nationalist Exclusion and Ethnic Conflict: Shadows of Modernity" (2002) gives a comprehensive understanding of the nation, its nationalism and how it can be identified as a modern form of social organisation for society. In order to understand the making of the modern community, Wimmer is trying to consolidate our understanding of nation, nationalism and modernity.

In the third chapter of his book "Nationalist Exclusion and Ethnic Conflict: Shadows of Modernity", Wimmer is trying to take some distance from what he found to be shortcomings in the theoretical explanation of nation-state and nationalism. The first obstacle that Wimmer identifies as being problematic is the functionalist approach used by Gellner and other researchers that looks for correlations between various aspects of what others consider to be modernity, such as industrialisation (Wimmer 2002, 52; Gellner 2005). The second obstacle is to have a clear understanding of the social conditions that must be present in a society in order to replace other identities and solidarities in any given society by a social elite nationalist view. It is important however to understand that although Wimmer finds flaws with the functionalist approach of Gellner and others, it remains the concept closest to his own understanding of nation and nationalism.

The second aspect of his theory is very interesting for this major research project since it touches on the idea of citizenship. The nation-state as a form of social closure can be easily linked to the concept of citizenship, however this was not always the case. As Wimmer explains

in the third chapter, citizenship was based on the geographical region from which you came from. It had nothing to do with your culture or language or even ethnicity. Citizenship at first was just a statement of your geographical positioning in the world. This changed over time during the period of 1850 in France and Prussia where the distinction was now based on language and ethnicity (Wimmer 2002, 58). This then gave citizenship its synonymous relationship with nationalism (Wimmer 2002, 58), which in turn changed the application of national law, which was based on equality but only for those members belonging to the nation, thus the citizens. Citizenship then played an important role in our modern understanding of the army. When kings and princes commanded the loyalty of men through sworn fealty or a good pay, troops ethnicity was not important; with citizenship and nationalism, it became a very different story. Only those who are members of the nation can defend it or be privy to its plans. Loyalty to the nation then becomes paramount. The formation of an army was drastically changed; mercenaries are no longer seen as being acceptable since they are either of a different ethnic background or just in it for the pay. This idea of the citizen soldier was first seen during the French Revolution (Wimmer 2002, 61). Finally, the last step in making the modern nation-state is social security; the idea of caring for all members of the nation was inspired by nationalism and the idea of imagined communities (Wimmer 2002, 61-62). This again excludes everyone that is not a citizen. If you do not belong to the nation-state, you cannot claim social security. Wimmer concludes that nation-state is the modern form of structuring and organising society. The modern nation-state has become this all-encompassing entity which fuels culture and identity, law, politics and the military. It does so by defining the borders not only of the territory it occupies, but also by establishing social borders that distinguish us from those we consider “others”.

Hence, the relationship between citizenship and nationalism seems to be ignored by many authors or it is taken for granted that modern citizenship implies nationalism. Research on citizenship and nationalism such as Wimmer's work tries to demonstrate that the links that now exist between citizenship and nationalism involve the process of social closure (2002, 57). This kind of research has stimulated a field of study on the effects that citizenship has on the social inclusion and exclusion of ethnic groups and immigrants in the context of democratic nation-states. Nevertheless, there is a definite lack of information on how official citizenship study guides influence immigrants' and minority groups' perception of their new nation. This gap seems to be even more pronounced in the Canadian context. The research that has been accomplished on the new 2009 study guide "Discover Canada: Right and Responsibilities of Citizenship" does not directly address the question as to what extent the new study guide influences Canadian nation building and nationalism. So far, the research that has been conducted on the subject focuses more on the political ideology that is being presented in the study guide. It does not examine the potential capacity of the study guide to represent and impact nation building. This is an important gap in the literature. The contribution that my major research project will provide is an empirical answer to the role the 2009 citizenship guide plays for the national construction of Canada. I will examine which dimensions of citizenship are highlighted in the guide, and hence given importance by the federal government. This will provide a more concrete base for understanding and potentially criticising the 2009 guide "Discover Canada: The Rights and Responsibilities of Citizenship".

Concepts of Citizenship and Nation

Theoretical framework

The theoretical framework that I will be using is taken from both citizenship studies and that of nation studies, which are very closely related to citizenship issues in democratic nation states such as Canada. In order to explain the importance of the citizenship guide in this research, it is critical to have a good understanding of citizenship and what it entails for sociological research. Citizenship can be defined as being a member of a nation, which gives individuals access to three fundamental rights. The three rights that Marshall deemed essential for citizenship were: civil rights, political rights and social rights. The civil rights as Marshall explained are the rights to choose one's profession and be able to have access to the courts in order to defend themselves against abuse or thievery by others (T.H Marshall, 1965, 82). In its simplest interpretation, civil rights are the rights to live and work where you so desired and be treated fairly by the law. Political rights are the rights associated with the holding of public office and active participation in the political life of the nation, province or town (T.H Marshall, 1965). It gives the right to individuals to participate in the political life of their nation. Finally, social rights are defined as the right to participate in the full cultural offers of your society, such as education. The three rights mentioned are key elements in understanding citizenship.

Citizenship studies have evolved since T.H Marshall wrote his essays on the subject of citizenship. Bryan S. Turner identified the economic dimension of citizenship which was not clearly stated in the work of T.H Marshall but is crucial for the understanding of citizenship in a capitalist nation such as Canada. The definition of citizenship used by Turner will be the definition that I will be using in this major research paper:

Citizenship may be defined as that set of practices (judicial, political, economic and cultural) which define a person as a competent member of society, and which as a consequence shape the flow of resources to persons and social groups (Turner 1993,2).

In using both Turner and T.H Marshall, we now have a strong definition of citizenship in a democratic nation state such as Canada. The concept of citizenship and the definition provided by Turner illustrate another important aspect of the theoretical framework for the analysis of the citizenship study guide. The notion of “competence”, which is clearly implied in Turner's definition of citizenship seen above, reveals that the selection process of citizenship is essential to the construction of the nation. Citizenship is defined by Turner as a set of practices which define a person as a competent member of society (Turner 1993,2). The fact that the competence of individuals is being tested could also suggest that the nation who imposes such tests is doing so in order to be able to control the social composition of the nation (Etzioni 2007). Therefore, citizenship testing would be an exercise of nation building.

The notion of testing is another highly studied field in citizenship studies. Christian Joppke in his influential book "Citizenship and Immigration" explains the shift in citizenship testing in Europe and consequently its influence on citizenship as an identity (2010). Joppke explains how citizenship testing has become almost the only way for democratic nations to retain control on citizens selection while not resorting to openly discriminatory practices. Citizenship testing, therefore, becomes a great tool to foster specific characteristics in aspiring citizens. This is accomplished by placing much of the attention of the test on culture and identity of the host nation. By fostering a deeper understanding of the host nation, the hope is that new citizens will integrate their new society more easily. Citizenship testing main issue usually stems from the

perception of equality of the test for those taking part or even, the validity of administering a test in order to determine your legitimacy for becoming a citizen (Walsh 2011). The selection of citizens through testing informs us on the composition that is sought by a nation that would be further proof that citizenship testing is a nation building tool. The nature of some citizenship tests focuses on the cultural aspects of the new nation. The reason for this is to control and assure the social composition of the new citizens. However, citizenship cannot be understood without the concept of nation. In order to answer and analyse our questions, we must understand not only citizenship but the concept of nation as well.

As mentioned in the literature review above, the work on nationalism by Benedict Anderson gives us our first understanding of what is a nation for the last two hundred years. For Anderson, the nation is at its very core an imagined community (Anderson 2006). Nations are in essence the total and absolute creation of human organisation. Anderson says that the major difficulty that is found among those who study nationalism is the question of origins. According to Anderson, nations have existed long before anyone called them nations if we consider them to only be imagined communities(2006, 6). The concept of imagined communities as a way to describe the nation comes from the fact that not one single individual will ever meet all the other members of this community. Anderson makes the argument that imagined communities did not begin with nations but have been the result of social organisation of humanity bigger than village as this quote states: "In fact, all communities larger than primordial villages of face-to-face contact (and perhaps even these) are imagined" (Anderson, 2006, 6). Therefore, the sense of community and unity is imagined (Anderson, 2006,6). The concept of imagined communities to explain a nation is very crucial for understanding the perpetuation and solidarity of a nation through time. The fact that individuals believe that they share a set of common beliefs with all

other members of their nation be it past, present or future creates a certain amount of social cohesion within the nation. In his book, Anderson quotes Ernest Renan, a French philosopher and writer who wrote on the subject of nations. Renan himself believed that in order for a nation to function, it needs not only common ideals but a great amount of forgetting as well (Anderson 2006,6), which re-enforces the idea that nations are built and can therefore be modified by individuals or groups, and that nations are not set in any permanent way. With Anderson's explanation of nation as imagined communities, we have the outline of our theoretical frame for understanding nation and nationality. This will contribute to our understanding of the research question and inform our analysis later on.

Our understanding of the concept of nation is further improved by the work of Andreas Wimmer. In the book "Nationalist Exclusion and Ethnic Conflict: Shadows of Modernity" (2002), Wimmer demonstrates how the concept of nationalism came to be incorporated in citizenship and also the principle of equality that was fostered and propagated through the French Revolution of 1789 which in turn stewarded social change in five dimensions of European society. Those five dimensions are also the base line that can be used for understanding what are some of the characteristics of a modern nation. The five dimensions are culture and identity, law, social security, politics and finally military. Those dimensions are the backbone of the modern nation. In Wimmer's diagram, nation is placed at the center since its conceptual change forces the five dimensions to evolve. With nationality also comes the notion of equality according to Wimmer which is an important shift in social organisation when compared to a cast system or the feudal organisation of medieval Europe. This shift towards equality was credited for being able to promote democracy within nations. Nationalism has also become synonymous with danger because it can lead to despotism and ruin. However, the ideology and governance

preceding modern nationalism, such as the cast system or feudal lords and monarchy were also purely despotic. For the sake of the research question, the five dimensions of a modern nation identified by Wimmer (2002) will be used to examine which dimensions of nationhood are emphasized in the citizenship study guide.

The five dimensions that Wimmer exposes demonstrate that social closure is created through the boundaries of the nation. The only way to overcome this social closure is by officially joining the nation. This is accomplished through the obtaining of citizenship of that nation. This serves to create the link between nation and citizen. Nation and citizenship must be understood as part of a whole. As Wimmer points out in this citation, nationality is only a modern version of the inclusion and exclusion that individuals create within a society:

In pre-modern politics, village communities or guilds may have organised social solidarity. Legal provisions separated conquerors from conquered, nobles from commoners, peasants from townsmen. Political entities were based on religious distinctions (the Christian empire, the Kalifat) or, at lower levels, on realms of dependence and loyalty (a principality). Seen together, a complex web of criss-crossing definitions of belonging emerges. In the modern age, however, all major modes of inclusion and exclusion are bundled together around the principle of national membership(Wimmer 2002, 64).

As the citation exposes, the concept of inclusion and exclusion is now based on nationality and citizenship. Nationality and citizenship re-enforce the idea that you belong to a certain group that has certain characteristics and identity (Wimmer 2002). The concepts of inclusion and exclusion are very important for the modern nation since as Wimmer points out, there is a popular belief in nationalist understanding of national self determination(2002,59) which means that nations have a right to pursue what they believe to be in their best interests. If we then apply this logic to the modern nation of Canada and to our research question, we should very well find all the elements

of a nation building tool within a citizenship study guide. The question remains, which of them are more stressed, which are deemphasized.

List of important concepts

Social Closure: The definition of social closure that I will be utilising is that of Andreas Wimmer and that of Raymond Murphy's (1988) theory of social closure which is largely based on the work of Max Weber. Social closure occurs when a dominant group or an individual has power or authority to either include or exclude an individual or a group from participating in politics or economy or more importantly citizenship. The exclusion and inclusion are usually based on criteria determined by those who have either the power or the authority. Wimmer's perspective is that nationality is the new form of social closure and he describes two specific points:

First, the nation is regarded all at once as social, economic, political and cultural unit, in other words, as an all-encompassing social totality not differentiated by estates or by political division of a fundamental nature. The second aspect is that this totality is imagined as a territorial unit with clearly defined borders separating the homogeneous domestic realm from the heterogeneous external one(Wimmer 2002, 53).

With Wimmer and Murphy's contribution to the theory of social closure, we now have a much clearer concept with which to work and analyse the 2009 study guide.

Citizenship:

Citizenship may be defined as that set of practices (judicial, political, economic and cultural) which define a person as a competent member of society, and which as a consequence shapes the flow of resources to persons and social groups(Turner 1993,2).

Nation:It is a geographically determined area in which one or more cultures are present and form a distinct political unit (Wimmer 2002, Gellner 2005).

Nationalism: It is the fostering of a specific culture over a geographical region which holds symbolic value for individuals of a given culture. This translates into a sense of belonging and a desire to form their own system of governance where they are the dominant group (Wimmer 2002, Gellner 2005, Anderson 2006).

How To Identify a Nation Building Tool? Methodology

Why analyse the study guide? The new study guide will be analysed for the representation of Canada that are portrayed, as well as its possible implication on Canadian society. Since the guide is mandatory literature and study material for the citizenship testing in Canada, we must understand what the guide conveys and what are the possible implications this guide will have not only on new citizens but also on the rest of Canadian society. The guide's main purpose is to give the appropriate knowledge to the individual who wants to pass his citizenship test. Yet, some authors, such as Esyllt Jones and Adele Perry (2011), have argued that the new study guide has a rather large focus on military history and the monarchy and not enough on our democratic process and the successes we have enjoyed with it. As stated earlier, the major criticism levelled against the study guide by Jones and Perry is that the new guide presents a very conservative image of Canada. Jones and Perry are contradicted by scholars such as Adam Chapnick (2011). These opposing perspectives invite a debate about political ideology. However, this is more than this research project can deliver. Rather, his research project takes a step back and examines more principally if and how the new study guide is a nation building tool. First, and primarily, this research project asks: what are the dimensions of the modern nation that are represented and emphasised in the guide? In a second step, I will also aim to answer the question: what is the purpose of these representations? This will allow me to speak about the ongoing debate among scholars of how “conservative” the guide really is. However,

the main contribution of this research project lies in a detailed analysis of the themes that are presented in the guide. In order to answer my research questions, a few methodological questions must be answered as well.

The methodological strategy

The approach that I have chosen to conduct this research is based on a qualitative approach, specifically a thematic content analysis (Hsieh and Shannon 2005). A qualitative approach was chosen since the objective of the research is to discover and understand which themes are most emphasized in the 2009 study guide "Discover Canada: The Right and Responsibilities of Citizenship". The qualitative methodology was chosen over a quantitative method since merely counting words or thematic frequencies would not give us a good understanding of the issues at stake. The objective is to identify which elements of the modern nation are mobilized in the new study guide of 2009. This will help to demonstrate how a specific form of nation building is done today. It will also allow me to see which dimensions are being emphasised and to what end. The advantage of using a theory-based thematic content analysis is that it does not pretend to start "from scratch". Rather, it is building on the literature on the subject of nation building; it is guided by categories that are already established in the literature, but also allows for new themes to emerge from the data (Hsieh and Shannon 2005).

The coding process will be accomplished through the use of NVIVO program for qualitative research. This specific program will help by creating a color coding for the different categories which will in return help to agglomerate all the segments of the text that have been coded in the same fashion.

The coding for a thematic analysis consists of utilising some pre-existing categories from past research on a similar project of research (Hsieh and Shannon 2005, 1281). Since the

objective of the research is to determine to what extent the study guide "Discover Canada: Rights and Responsibilities of Citizenship" is a nation building tool and which themes of nation-building it mobilizes, we can use the work of Andreas Wimmer on the modern nation from his book "Nationalist Exclusion and Ethnic Conflict: Shadows of Modernity". Wimmer in this particular work explores five dimensions that according to his research are key components of the modern nation. Therefore, we can use the elements of Wimmer's theory for modern nation to generate a first set of codes for immediate use in the coding process. As mentioned in the theoretical framework in the previous section, the five elements of Wimmer's theory are: culture and identity, politics, law, military and social security.

Wimmer's theory of compromise and closure applied to a nation has generated some great insight on the relationship that exists between individuals and their nation. The relationship described by Wimmer was how the inclusion and exclusion process of a modern nation passes through the five dimensions previously said in the text. In the case of the military as an example, in the past, nations or kingdoms were willing to pay for already trained mercenaries; however, in the modern nation, the notion of loyalty to one's nation makes the hiring of mercenaries problematic. The reason for the problem is that mercenaries are loyal to their pay not to the nation. In order to be part of a nation's military, individuals must be citizens in the modern nation. The same dimension "military" will be applied to the citizenship guide to see if Canada does encourage its citizens to be part of the military. If it is the case then, we will find proof of this in the 2009 study guide and we will have confirmed one dimension of the modern nation. In order to help in the coding process and to insure a systematic coding throughout the whole document, we shall define all five elements necessary for the modern nation according to Andreas Wimmer.

As previously stated in the introduction of the major research project, the question that we are trying to answer is as follows: To what extent is the new 2009 study guide "Discover Canada: The Right and Responsibilities of Citizenship" a nation building tool? Which dimensions of nation-building are highlighted? These questions stem from the research that has been conducted so far on the 2009 study guide by various academics in Canada. In some of the research, the question is focusing on the impact the guide will have on the new citizens but also what it means for Canada (Jones and Perry 2013). Yet, what is not clear is how a simple study guide poses such a problem to Canada? Therefore, I strongly believe that we should first determine if the study guide "is more than a study guide". We need to clarify if the study guide does more than just relate "objective" material for an exam which brings us to a more specific question. What are the dimensions of the modern nation that are being presented and emphasised and to what end? Again, by using Wimmer's work on modern nation, we will be able to see if the 2009 study guide is a nation building tool and we will focus on the dimensions that are being emphasised the most through a thematic content analysis. The dimensions that are emphasised will be determined by the amount of times the same dimension is coded in the study guide.

Defining the five elements of the nation

Culture and Identity: This element of the modern nation can be found through the use of the concept of the "Imagined Community" by Benedict Anderson. In this concept of imagined communities, what is imagined is the political vision of the nation based on common origins and a shared history that unites individual into a community. Therefore, what creates culture and identity for a nation? It is the history and geographical positioning of the nation. There are many other aspects of culture and identity. Anything that is conceived as being the product of the nation's effort or its people may count as the cultural aspect such as art and knowledge. Identity

refers to specific character traits found in or assumed to be in the nation. An example of this is that Canadians are polite. Therefore all passages that refer to things that have been created by Canadians will be coded under culture and identity. All elements referring to character traits or used to define Canadians will be interpreted as being part of culture and identity.

Politics: The political aspect of the modern nation comes from self-determination, meaning that only citizens of a nation can hold office or participate in the forming of policy in their country. The notion of politics in a modern nation revolves around the concept of democracy. In a democratic system, each citizen has rights and duties to participate in the election of members that will in return govern the nation. Canada however presents a unique challenge in this regard since it is a constitutional monarchy. The head of the state is the sovereign either (King or Queen). Consequently, events pertaining to the monarchy will be coded primarily in the cultural dimension. Although Canada is a constitutional monarchy, it remains that the true democratic power remains with the House of Commons, consequently the monarchy will not be coded under the politics. This choice is informed on the basis that Canada remains a democratic nation, which means that true political participation is only for citizens. Therefore the political dimension will comprise primarily the practical elements in day to day citizenship, while aspects related to the monarchy will be relegated to the cultural dimension since their relevance is more cultural and historical.

Law: The concept of law in a modern nation is based on the notion of equality before the law. Every individual in a nation whether he be male or female shares the same privileges under the law. Yet, this only applies if you are a citizen of the nation (Wimmer 2002, 57). Hence, the privileges of the law are consequently reserved for citizens.

Social Security: Every service that a nation offers is to guaranty a certain level and quality of life. Social security in its essence means to protect or help against life uncertainties, such as sickness or lost of employment. All passages in the study guide that make reference to social security, such as health care will be coded with social security.

Military: It is defined as being composed only of citizens that have the right and responsibility to protect the nation. The nation provides rights and in exchange, citizens have a duty and responsibilities to protect the nation (Wimmer 2002, 61). Every passage that makes mention of the military will be assigned this code.

Analysis

The analysis of the 2009 study guide "Discover Canada; The Rights and Responsibilities of Citizenship" has produced some intriguing results. As I had previously established in my theoretical frame work and methodology section, the initial five codes that are going to be used were taken from Andreas Wimmer's work on the modern nation(2002). Furthermore, during the process of coding the study guide, two new dimensions were identified. These dimensions are entitled "economy" and "competence"; both will be explained further below. To establish an order in the presentation of the results, I will begin with code that was most often used.

1. Identity and culture	60 references coded (20,90% coverage)
2. Economy	36 references coded (5.26% coverage)
3. Law	31references coded (7,15% coverage)
4. Politics	26 references coded (8.43% coverage)

5. Competence	23 references coded (6.17% coverage)
6. Military	21 references coded (6.27% coverage)
7. Social security	5 references coded (0.81% coverage)

Identity and Culture

Identity and culture of the modern nation can be understood by Anderson's (2006) work on the 'imagined community'. The idea of the imagined community focuses on two very important aspects such as a belief in political community of destiny grounded in common origin and historical experience (Wimmer 2002,52). What is meant by political community is that we share more or less the same ideas and notions on how to govern our nation which is based on the idea that we come from the same regions geographically and that we share a common story regarding our origins as a people. Now this thread of shared political community will be demonstrated in this section and in the politics section. Through all of the study guide, I coded everything which discussed the Canadian history as well as any material that could be associated as being part of the Canadian identity, such as art, scientific achievement or even military and economic achievements. The historical and cultural achievements of Canada serve to create our identity but also to create a boundary between us and the "others". This notion of differences between us and the "others" is present all through the 2009 study guide for the citizenship test. It will be demonstrated in the following excerpts from the guide.

For 400 years, settlers and immigrants have contributed to the diversity and richness of our country, which is built on a proud history and a strong identity.

Canada is a constitutional monarchy, a parliamentary democracy and a federal state. Canadians are bound together by a shared commitment to the rule of law and to the institutions of parliamentary government.

Canadians take pride in their identity and have made sacrifices to defend their way of life. By coming to Canada and taking this important step toward Canadian citizenship, you are helping to write the continuing story of Canada (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2009,3).

As we can see from this quote from the 2009 study guide, Canada is based on a pioneering culture, which is synonymous with hard work and innovation. This will become even more relevant as we go further into the document. Another important segment of this quote is that it identifies our "political community": Canada is a constitutional monarchy, a parliamentary democracy and a federal state. The 2009 study guide "Discover Canada: The Rights and Responsibilities of Citizenship" clearly outlines Canadian political structure and consequently Canadian cultural identity. The quote further points out that Canadians are bounded by a shared commitment to the rule of law. This is very important since the laws themselves represent both Canada's past as a former colony and Canada's present as an independent and modern nation. To illustrate how law connects us to Canadians' past, here are a few examples.

Canadian citizens have rights and responsibilities. These come to us from our history, are secured by Canadian law, and reflect our shared traditions, identity and values.

Canadian law has several sources, including laws passed by Parliament and the provincial legislatures, English common law, the civil code of France and the unwritten constitution that we have inherited from Great Britain (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2009,8).

As shown in this quote, we can clearly see that key founding principles of Canadian culture, laws and political beliefs are based in large part on the laws from England. In the province of Québec, the civil code of France is used. An argument could be made that the most important groups for the formation of Canada as a nation come from the French and English, as no other group in Canada is mentioned as far as law and politics are concerned. Once again, it demonstrates that

identity and culture are part and parcel of the modern nation since it excludes many other cultures in its common origins story.

However, when we enter the section "Who We Are " in the 2009 study guide, the representation of Canada becomes a little more inclusive as this segment of text demonstrates:

To understand what it means to be Canadian, it is important to know about our three founding peoples— Aboriginal, French and British (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2009,10).

We can see that on page 10, for the first time in the 2009 study guide, it is acknowledged that Aboriginals are part of 'who we are'. As this section indicates, to understand Canadians and by extension Canada, knowing the two or three “founding people” is seen to be key. Yet, we see already in the culture surrounding Canadian laws and beliefs that the Aboriginals are already excluded as there is no official Aboriginal law. This exclusion, which is crucial for the modern nation concept as explained by Wimmer, is further enforced with a very important text at the beginning of the section of "Who We Are".

Canada is known around the world as a strong and free country. Canadians are proud of their unique identity. We have inherited the oldest continuous constitutional tradition in the world. We are the only constitutional monarchy in North America. Our institutions uphold a commitment to Peace, Order and Good Government, a key phrase in Canada’s original constitutional document in 1867, the British North America Act. A belief in ordered liberty, enterprise, hard work and fair play has enabled Canadians to build a prosperous society in a rugged environment from our Atlantic shores to the Pacific Ocean and to the Arctic Circle—so much so that poets and songwriters have hailed Canada as the “Great Dominion” (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2009, 10).

Now through all of the quotes above, no specific group is mentioned. However, all facts pertaining to Canadian political culture are directly linked to Canada’s British inheritance as a former colony. It emphasises only the British link to Canada and excludes all other groups that have contributed significantly to the formation of Canada as a nation. Nevertheless, the authors

of the guide acknowledge more of the diversity of Canada later on in the section "Who We Are".

The way in which the founding people are presented is not detailed or meaningful. The authors of the guide give more or less accurate accounts of the first settlers' dealing with the Aboriginals. There are a few peace offerings for the Aboriginals in this section such as stating that Canada did have residential schools, and that what happened in those schools was a terrible tragedy.

From the 1800s until the 1980s, the federal government placed many Aboriginal children in residential schools to educate and assimilate them into mainstream Canadian culture. The schools were poorly funded and inflicted hardship on the students; some were physically abused. Aboriginal languages and cultural practices were mostly prohibited. In 2008, Ottawa formally apologized to the former students. (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2009, 10).

This quote can be interpreted in two ways. First, I believe most would see it as a historical accuracy that the Canadian state propagated a crime against a minority group and then subsequently apologized. The second way of looking at this quote would be to say that it is part of Canadian identity and culture to be willing to accept that mistakes were made. Overall, the section depicting the Aboriginal people seems more like a token part of the guide; Aboriginals are clearly not described as an actual founding member of the Canadian nation. The English and French sections are much more informative as this quote will demonstrate.

Canadian society today stems largely from the English-speaking and French-speaking Christian civilizations that were brought here from Europe by settlers. English and French define the reality of day-to-day life for most people and are the country's official languages. The federal government is required by law to provide services throughout Canada in English and French (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2009,11).

This quote clearly establishes the cultural identity of Canada as far as the 2009 study guide "Discover Canada: Rights and Responsibilities of Citizenship" is concerned. It states that Canada

is largely composed of English and French descendants of a mostly Christian back ground. Furthermore, it creates more separation along cultural and religious line, which is evidence that Wimmer's concept of the modern nation applies here. According to the identity and culture parameters established by Wimmer, in order to have a truly modern nation, a clear cultural identity must be established to insure a differentiation or boundaries between those we consider the "others". The way in which Canada establishes boundaries is through language and religion as demonstrated in the previous quote. On the one hand, the guide calls Aboriginal people as part of the founding members of Canada. On the other hand, the guide points out that "Canadian society today stems largely from the English-speaking and French-speaking Christian civilizations that were brought here from Europe by settlers"(2009,11). This clearly shows that the main cultural identity of Canada as a nation is based on the French and English cultures. There are evidently many more minority groups to speak of but, they are mentioned further down in the section of "Who We Are". This fairly late and subordinate placement in the guide does not provide the reader with a strong sense that these other groups meaningfully contributed to the nation. Even the historical section of the guide focuses more on the French and English roles in shaping the nation, which is again further proof of the importance both cultures are given in the Canadian context. Actually, Wimmer's dimension of identity and culture is clearly present in the new study guide. The culture and identity that matter most are those inspired by Canada's British heritage; second is French Canadian culture as expressed in language and law.

Economy

Economic dimension was added to the original five dimensions that Wimmer identified as part of his modern nation concept. The decision was made to have the economic dimension as the theme of economic growth and responsibility was presented at many diverse points in the

new 2009 study guide. Hence, this section will demonstrate how the economic dimension is part of the modern nation, specifically in Canada. I argue that the economic dimension is important because if we take into consideration the work of Ernest Gellner on nations and nationalism, he makes the argument that nationalism would not have been possible without industrialisation. The industrialisation process would not have been possible if we did not have capitalism creating the demand for faster and cheaper goods. Therefore the economic dimension is quite indispensable to the fabric of the modern nation. Further proof of the importance of the economic dimension is provided by the 2009 study guide itself; an entire section is called "Canada's Economy"(42). I will demonstrate with some key segments from the study guide itself the importance of the economic dimension.

This quote is taken from the historical section of the guide, which is the longest section of the study guide with ten pages. It shows early on the importance of the economic dimension.

However, Aboriginals and Europeans formed strong economic, religious and military bonds in the first 200 years of coexistence which laid the foundations of Canada (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2009,14).

The quote was taken from the first page of the section "Canada's History". This statement is made right after the statement that many Aboriginal people died due to diseases brought on by the European explorers. Now the emphasis may have been made in order to counter balance the terrible loss of life that occurred with colonisation or just a small reminder of the original reasons of colonies as an economic endeavour. In the end, what this quote does is to emphasise that Canadians share a strong economic bond with Aboriginal peoples. Further proof of the value that is placed on the economic dimension comes into play when the role of the French settlers is presented:

The French and Aboriginal people collaborated in the vast fur-trade economy, driven by the demand for beaver pelts in Europe. Outstanding leaders like Jean Talon, Bishop Laval, and Count Frontenac built a French Empire in North America that reached from Hudson Bay to the Gulf of Mexico (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2009,15).

In less than three pages in the section on Canada history, the importance of the economy or economic relations is brought up no less than three times. As the following quote demonstrates:

In 1670, King Charles II of England granted the Hudson's Bay Company exclusive trading rights over the watershed draining into Hudson Bay. For the next 100 years the Company competed with Montreal-based traders. The skilled and courageous men who travelled by canoe were called voyageurs and coureurs des bois, and formed strong alliances with First Nations (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2009,15).

A GROWING ECONOMY

The first companies in Canada were formed during the French and British regimes and competed for the fur trade. The Hudson's Bay Company, with French, British and Aboriginal employees, came to dominate the trade in the northwest from Fort Garry (Winnipeg) and Fort Edmonton to Fort Langley (near Vancouver) and Fort Victoria—trading posts that later became cities.

The first financial institutions opened in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. The Montreal Stock Exchange opened in 1832. For centuries Canada's economy was based mainly on farming and on exporting natural resources such as fur, fish and timber, transported by roads, lakes, rivers and canals (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2009,16).

As far as the historical material is concerned, the economy is being presented very often. There is clearly a strong emphasis on the Canadian economy all through the guide as is demonstrated by the amount of times 'economy' was coded. It is the second most coded subject. Also it is important to remember that the example being presented can be found in the first three pages of the historical section; we have not even begun the section that is dedicated to the economy which is found much later in the guide, on page 42. Finally, much of the creation of Canada and its expansion is understood in economic terms, which clearly show the importance of the economic

dimension in the foundation of the nation.

MOVING WESTWARD

Canada's economy grew and became more industrialized during the economic boom of the 1890s and early 1900s. One million British and one million Americans immigrated to Canada at this time.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier became the first French- Canadian prime minister since Confederation and encouraged immigration to the West. His portrait is on the \$5 bill. The railway made it possible for immigrants, including 170,000 Ukrainians, 115,000 Poles and tens of thousands from Germany, France, Norway and Sweden to settle in the West before 1914 and develop a thriving agricultural sector (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2009,20).

One of the great historical moments for many modern nations is the Great Depression, so crucial in fact, that in the guide it is portrayed as being a very important part of Canadian history.

The "Roaring Twenties" were boom times, with prosperity for businesses and low unemployment. The stock market crash of 1929, however, led to the Great Depression or the "Dirty Thirties." Unemployment reached 27% in 1933 and many businesses were wiped out. Farmers in Western Canada were hit hardest by low grain prices and a terrible drought (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2009,22).

Canadian history stops at the Second World War and the following section is called "Modern Canada", which starts the following way:

TRADE AND ECONOMIC GROWTH

Postwar Canada enjoyed record prosperity and material progress. The world's restrictive trading policies in the Depression era were opened up by such treaties as the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), now the World Trade Organization (WTO). The discovery of oil in Alberta in 1947 began Canada's modern energy industry. In 1951, for the first time, a majority of Canadians were able to afford adequate food, shelter and clothing. Between 1945 and 1970, as Canada drew closer to the United States and other trading partners, the country enjoyed one of the strongest economies among industrialized nations. Today, Canadians enjoy one of the world's highest standards of living—maintained by the hard work of Canadians and by trade with other nations, in particular the United States.

As prosperity grew, so did the ability to support social assistance programs. The Canada Health Act ensures common elements and a basic standard of coverage. Unemployment insurance (now called "employment insurance") was introduced by the federal government in 1940. Old Age Security was devised as early as 1927, and

the Canada and Quebec Pension Plans in 1965. Publicly funded education is provided by the provinces and territories (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2009,24).

The economy is so important that two pages are dedicated to it as this quote demonstrates:

Canada's Economy

A TRADING NATION

Canada has always been a trading nation and commerce remains the engine of economic growth. As Canadians, we could not maintain our standard of living without engaging in trade with other nations.

In 1988, Canada enacted free trade with the United States. Mexico became a partner in 1994 in the broader North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), with over 444 million people and over \$1 trillion in merchandise trade in 2008.

Today, Canada has one of the ten largest economies in the world and is part of the G8 group of leading industrialized countries with the United States, Germany, the United Kingdom, Italy, France, Japan and Russia(Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2009, 42).

The economic dimension is so relevant that in almost each of the descriptions for the provinces and territories, their economic pedigree is part of their description. The only territory that does not have any economic information displayed is Nunavut. All other provinces and territories have their economic contribution displayed. It is clear from all the economic references coded on the subject of economy that this dimension was necessary for the nation.

Law

Law for a modern nation, as Wimmer describes it, is the equality principle between all citizens. In the guide, we have discovered key segments that I believe illustrate well the point of equality for all citizens. I will also present further proof of the inequality that is inherent in not having the citizenship of the country that one lives in. In a secondary part of the analysis of the coding for 'Law', I will make the argument that the rule of law is very much emphasised by the

2009 study guide which is further evidence that law is a key component of citizenship and by extension, the nation.

The first thing that an aspiring citizen reads when he or she opens the guide already refers to a legal statement:

You are becoming part of a great tradition that was built by generations of pioneers before you. Once you have met all the legal requirements, we hope to welcome you as a new citizen with all the rights and responsibilities of citizenship (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2009,3).

The quote states that once a citizenship candidate met all legal requirements then and only then will he or she be able to become a citizen with all the rights and responsibilities. This is another way of saying that now this person will be officially an equal to Canadian citizens. Further down we have another reminder of the importance of the law within Canada with this quote:

Obeying the law — One of Canada's founding principles is the rule of law. Individuals and governments are regulated by laws and not by arbitrary actions. No person or group is above the law.(Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2009,9).

This specific quote is taken from page 9 from the guide and it is called "Rights and Responsibilities of Citizenship". It states that no individual is above the law; it also demonstrates a key factor for a modern nation: "Individuals and governments are regulated by laws and not by arbitrary actions." It clearly demonstrates that no single individual is more important than the nation. This is critical for the modern nation, which as Wimmer (2002) points out, wants to be an all encompassing social entity; there can be no one above the nation, no one can command more loyalty than the nation.

It is important to understand that although Canada is a very inclusive nation, it also excludes individuals in key areas, which is typical for modern nations. The law prohibits any individual that do not have citizenship to participate in the political affairs of a nation.

Living in a democracy, Canadian citizens have the right and the responsibility to participate in making decisions that affect them. It is important for Canadians aged 18 or more to participate in their democracy by voting in federal, provincial or territorial and municipal elections(Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2009,29).

VOTING

One of the privileges of Canadian citizenship is the right to vote. You are eligible to vote in a federal election or cast a ballot in a federal referendum if you are:

- a Canadian citizen; and
- at least 18 years old on voting day; and
- on the voters' list.(Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2009,30)

As we can tell from the example that I have extracted from the 2009 study guide, Canada's law forbids anyone who is not a citizen to vote. He or she must be 18 years old and be registered on a voting list. One could say that Canadians are not all equal as citizens since you must be 18 years old to vote. However, since this age limit applies to every citizen and most of them are growing up in Canada, we cannot really speak about discrimination related to age.

Law is a very important part of this guide; the government of Canada obviously believes that law is a key component of Canada that newcomers need to understand. This can be found in many different examples in the study guide. Below, I will demonstrate another few examples of the importance of the law for Canadian society.

Becoming Canadian

Some Canadians immigrate from places where they have experienced warfare or conflict. Such experiences do not justify bringing to Canada violent, extreme or hateful prejudices. In becoming Canadian, newcomers are expected to embrace democratic principles such as the rule of law. (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2009,12)

We can see from this quote that becoming a Canadian citizen means to embrace the laws of the land. Also the placement of this statement is found in the section of the guide called "Who We Are". Canadians are, according to the guide, law-abiding citizens. The message can be seen as

emphasised just by its placement in the 2009 citizenship study guide. Also, what is being reinforced is not only the Canadian observance of the rule of law, but also it demonstrates that Canadian laws do not tolerate violence or hateful prejudices. There is over eight pages of the 2009 study guide that can be considered dedicated to law, from "How Canadian Govern Themselves" on page 28 to the "Justice System" on page 36. All those sections deal with a type of law or another that all citizens are subjected too; how Canadians govern their nation is based on their law; federal elections are codified by law and the justice system is an all encompassing rule of law for the nation. The importance of the law is emphasised by the guide; the way it is portrayed within the study guide corresponds to the category of the modern nation described by Andreas Wimmer(2002).

Politics

The political dimension as defined by Wimmer consists of the notion that the citizens of a nation choose their leaders from amongst themselves. The idea of the political system is that citizens share a common political identity, which, in the case of a nation, is a democratic ideal. The reason for this democratic belief as part of the modern nation is derived from history. When France had its revolution, it was unique in the sense that it was the first time that a rebellion broke completely with the existing model. The absolutism of monarchy was destroyed during the 1789 rebellion and it also signalled the end of the monarchy as the dominant ruling system. The new political system wanted itself to be equal or even egalitarian, with no one individual having supremacy. The nation wants to be, as Wimmer says, a complete social entity, meaning that all political, economic, culture and identity revolve around the nation. In order to demonstrate this political dimension, in this section, I will be focusing on the governance of the nation and the selection of leaders. The modern nation as defined by Wimmer needs to place the nation first and

not one single individual above all others. As with all other dimensions of nationhood discussed here, I now present some of the references that were coded to show how the political dimension is presented in the study guide.

Canada is clearly a democratic nation if measured by the material found in the new 2009 study guide "Discover Canada: Rights and Responsibilities of Citizenship". At various points in the study guide, we are reminded of the fact that the political ideology of Canada is democratic. I will present a few of the most important quotes at various points in the guide that demonstrate the importance of democratic principles in Canada.

The Beginnings of Democracy

Democratic institutions developed gradually and peacefully. The first representative assembly was elected in Halifax, Nova Scotia, in 1758. Prince Edward Island followed in 1773, New Brunswick in 1785. The Constitutional Act of 1791 divided the Province of Quebec into Upper Canada (later Ontario), which was mainly Loyalist, Protestant and English-speaking, and Lower Canada (later Quebec), heavily Catholic and French-speaking.

The Act also granted to the Canadas, for the first time, legislative assemblies elected by the people. The name Canada also became official at this time and has been used ever since. The Atlantic colonies and the two Canadas were known collectively as British North America (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2009,16).

This particular quote was taken from the section called "Canada's History". It establishes that Canada is a democratic nation, and by placing it within the historical account of Canada, it establishes that this is not just a passing trend but a fundamental part of the nation. Now, the notion of peaceful evolution of the democratic process is a rather interesting notion, since this process has hardly ever been a peaceful one. Nevertheless, it speaks to the uniqueness of Canada. This second quote taken much further in the guide in the section "Modern Canada" again demonstrates the political view of Canada:

Canada welcomed thousands of refugees from Communist oppression, including about 37,000 who escaped Soviet tyranny in Hungary in 1956. With the Communist victory in the Vietnam War in 1975, many Vietnamese fled, including over 50,000 who sought refuge in Canada.(Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2009,25).

The underlying message of this quote on page 25 demonstrates what Canada is not, both in values and political beliefs. In placing Canada in opposition to 'Communist oppression', the message that is conveyed presents Canada as democratic and tolerant. For a more obvious source of Canada's democratic establishment, we need to look no further than page 28 "How Canadians Govern Themselves".

PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY

In Canada's parliamentary democracy, the people elect members to the House of Commons in Ottawa and to the provincial and territorial legislatures. These representatives are responsible for passing laws, approving and monitoring expenditures, and keeping the government accountable. Cabinet ministers are responsible to the elected representatives, which means they must retain the "confidence of the House" and have to resign if they are defeated in a non-confidence vote (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2009,28).

This reference exemplifies that Canada is indeed a democracy and that no single individual is above the nation. In this respect, Canada can be complicated, since Canada is a constitutional monarchy. This means that technically the head of the state is the Queen of England, however the power remains with the democratically elected members of the House of Commons. The argument could be made that this notion of constitutional monarchy interferes with the principle of the modern nation. Technically the Queen is a foreign ruler yet, she has no real power over Canada. Therefore, Canada, in spite of having a symbolic sovereign, is still a modern nation as can be attested by the examples that have been supplied.

Competence

The competence dimension was created in order to codify what are some of the characteristics that new citizens should demonstrate according to the new 2009 study guide. There is no official segment of the 2009 study guide in which the desired characteristics are displayed. However, the desired competences of new Canadian citizens are fairly evident in the new 2009 guide "Discover Canada: Rights and Responsibilities of Citizenship". Therefore this section provides some of the most relevant quotes that suggest which characteristics new citizens should display:

The guide does not say in any obvious fashion: those are the characteristics that we seek in applicants, yet the section of "Citizenship Responsibilities" does provide quite obvious clues (2009,9). There are six responsibilities included in this section and one provides a very obvious example of the type of individual that is being sought after:

- Taking responsibility for oneself and one's family — Getting a job, taking care of one's family and working hard in keeping with one's abilities are important Canadian values. Work contributes to personal dignity and self-respect, and to Canada's prosperity. (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2009,9).

We can deduce from this quote that what Canada is looking for in their citizens are independent, capable individuals that will not be a strain on Canada's resources. There is also the mention of working hard, and that work is good for not only yourself but for Canada as well. Those are all characteristics that are essentially part and parcel of the Canadian "designer citizen" according to the 2009 study guide. Another characteristic of the desired citizen is his or her respect of the law; this is cited as also being part of citizens' responsibility. This means that being law abiding is also a quality associated with Canadian citizenship. The bulk of the information on these

characteristics is found in the section "Canada's History"(2009,14).

Generations of pioneers and builders of British origins, as well as other groups, invested and endured hardship in laying the foundations of our country(Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2009,12).

Again the theme of hard work and entrepreneurial spirit is reflected in this quote. The most often recognisable characteristic of Canadian citizenship is hard work and an entrepreneurial spirit, which does give credence to the work of Janine Brodie (2009). Brodie shows that, specifically in recent years, the entrepreneurial citizen is what the government is promoting as the ideal Canadian. Another example of the entrepreneurial spirit is the following quote:

The prosperity and diversity of our country depend on all Canadians working together to face challenges of the future. In seeking to become a citizen, you are joining a country that, with your active participation, will continue to grow and thrive(Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2009,27).

The quote above, once again, makes the point that hard work is so very important for the Canadian citizen. Specifically, the last three lines of the paragraph are noteworthy. Here is stated that Canadian citizens believe in ordered liberty, enterprise, hard work and fair pay(2009,10). This informs new aspiring citizen that he or she better be hard working and have an enterprising spirit. While those desired characteristics may not be openly stated, the wording and the placement of the statement within the section called "Who We Are" send a very strong message as to which Canadians are wanted, and what their beliefs about work should be.

Canada is known around the world as a strong and free country. Canadians are proud of their unique identity. We have inherited the oldest continuous constitutional tradition in the world. We are the only constitutional monarchy in North America. Our institutions uphold a commitment to Peace, Order and Good Government, a key phrase in Canada's original constitutional document in 1867, the British North America Act. A belief in ordered liberty, enterprise, hard work and fair play has enabled Canadians to build a prosperous society in a rugged environment from our Atlantic shores to the Pacific Ocean and to the Arctic Circle—so much so that poets and songwriters have hailed Canada as the "Great Dominion(Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2009,10)

Other great examples of the citizenship characteristics that are being sought after by the Canadian government are found in the section called "Modern Canada". In this section educational achievement is seen as a very desirable trait, as will be demonstrated by a few of the most relevant quotes:

As social values changed over more than 50 years, Canada became a more flexible and open society. Many took advantage of expanding secondary and postsecondary educational opportunities and a growing number of women entered the professional work force(Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2009,25)

As this quote reveals, in the past fifty years, Canada has started focusing more on educational achievement, with post secondary education. This demonstrates the importance of education to Canada, even more obvious is the section called "Great Canadian Discoveries and Inventions" which put on display Canada's scientific achievements.

GREAT CANADIAN DISCOVERIES AND INVENTIONS

Canadians have made various discoveries and inventions. Some of the most famous are listed below.

- Alexander Graham Bell — hit on the idea of the telephone at his summer house in Canada.
- Joseph-Armand Bombardier — invented the snowmobile, a light-weight winter vehicle.
- Sir Sandford Fleming — invented the worldwide system of standard time zones.
- Matthew Evans and Henry Woodward — together invented the first electric light bulb and later sold the patent to Thomas Edison who, more famously, commercialized the light bulb.
- Reginald Fessenden — contributed to the invention of radio, sending the first wireless voice message in the world.
- Dr. Wilder Penfield — was a pioneering brain surgeon at McGill University in Montreal, and was known as “the greatest living Canadian.”
- Dr. John A. Hopps — invented the first cardiac pacemaker, used today to save the lives of people with heart disorders.

- SPAR Aerospace / National Research Council — invented the Canadarm, a robotic arm used in outer space.
- Mike Lazaridis and Jim Balsillie — of Research in Motion (RIM) — a wireless communications company known for its most famous invention: the BlackBerry. (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2009,27).

If education was not being promoted as being an important characteristic sought after in citizens, why would the government bother with a such a blatant display of scientific achievements?

Throughout the entire 2009 study guide, there are hints as to what makes a good Canadian citizen, which further illustrates my argument that the guide is indeed a tool for nation building.

Military

The military is an important dimension of modern nationhood, as explained by Wimmer. Within the modern nation, the composition of military personnel shifted quite significantly from mercenaries to nationals. According to Wimmer, the monarchies of Europe and elsewhere could call upon any individual to fight for them since the loyalty of individuals was centered around the person for which you fought. A king did not need the people of his kingdom to defend himself as long as he could have mercenaries that he would pay to defend himself and his kingdom. However, with the modern nation the accepted practice of hiring mercenary armies ends. The modern nation wants the military to be loyal to the nation, and in the spirit of having an army to defend the nation, it became important to recruit from the citizens of the nation. Therefore, the military becomes, according to Wimmer, an integral part of the modern nation. In order to prove the importance of the military, every instance where the military is presented has been coded. As such, the example that I will be presenting will illustrate the importance of the military in the general context of the study guide. I will also demonstrate how the military dimension is part of the modern nation in the new 2009 study guide.

The military plays an important role in the new 2009 study guide. It is mainly dealt with in the sections "Who We Are" and "Canada's History". It is important to note that the military aspect that is presented does not condone warfare, but it is presented as being part of Canada's past and present. In the section of "Rights and Responsibilities of Citizenship" on page 8, we find the first reference to the military.

Defending Canada

There is no compulsory military service in Canada. However, serving in the regular Canadian Forces (navy, army and air force) is a noble way to contribute to Canada and an excellent career choice (www.forces.ca). You can serve in your local part-time navy, militia and air reserves and gain valuable experience, skills and contacts. Young people can learn discipline, responsibility and skills by getting involved in the cadets (www.cadets.ca).

You may also serve in the Coast Guard or emergency services in your community such as a police force or fire department. By helping to protect your community, you follow in the footsteps of Canadians before you who made sacrifices in the service of our country.(Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2009,9).

The importance of this quote comes from the fact that it is in the "Citizenship Responsibilities" section in the new 2009 study guide. It is important to note that Canada does not have a compulsory military service however, it does leave the applicant with the notion that once he or she has Canadian citizenship then, he or she may consider applying to join the Canadian military. This quote also demonstrates that Wimmer's discussion of the role of the military in the modern nation is valid here, since only a citizen of Canada may join the military. It shows that this career choice is one that is highly regarded by Canada or more specifically the current Canadian federal government. The message is very clear that only Canadian citizens are allowed in the Canadian army.

Social Security

Social security is defined by Wimmer as being the result of the labour movements which spread the idea of passing life's risk on to everyone. Essentially what Wimmer is describing is the concept of the imagined community becoming a reality with social security, since the nation decides to provide to all its citizens a relief system against the vagaries of life such as illness or unemployment. Therefore, the imagined community of Anderson stops being imaginary since the risks of life are shared by all members of the nation. According to Wimmer, most social security benefits are meant to be for the citizens of the nation, who by being citizens have demonstrated their loyalty and therefore deserve a social security net. In section we will demonstrate that social security is indeed present in the citizenship study guide, although its relevance is clearly not a strong one.

Social security is part of Wimmer's concept of the modern-nation. However, in the context of the new 2009 study guide for citizenship, it is clear that social security is not the most important element. As tabled at the beginning of the analysis chapter, the social security dimension is by far the least coded. Very few passages of the entire guide could have been coded as being part of the social security dimension. One of the coded social security reference states that at some point Canadians did have a social security net, but this reference was coded in the historical section of the guide which is interesting for its implications. In placing social security in the historical section it could be taken as sign that it is meant to stay in the pass. When considering the amount of emphasis placed on social security, it is very plausible that it reflects a trend of diminishing social security.

The “Roaring Twenties” were boom times, with prosperity for businesses and low unemployment. The stock market crash of 1929, however, led to the Great Depression or the “Dirty Thirties.” Unemployment reached 27% in 1933 and many

businesses were wiped out. Farmers in Western Canada were hit hardest by low grain prices and a terrible drought.

There was growing demand for the government to create a social safety net with minimum wages, a standard work week and programs such as unemployment insurance. The Bank of Canada, a central bank to manage the money supply and bring stability to the financial system, was created in 1934. Immigration dropped and many refugees were turned away, including Jews trying to flee Nazi Germany in 1939 (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2009,22).

The quote above states that Canada had issues with the 1930's market crash and that we set up social security in order to protect Canadian citizens. This quote is one of five references found in the guide. It demonstrates a clear lack of interest on behalf of the Canadian government in emphasizing the social security aspect in the study guide. Even more intriguing is that one of the most relevant quotes informing on Canada's point of view of social security can be found in the section "Modern Canada"(2009,24). This again just demonstrates that social security is part of the Canadian nation, but is not as important as other dimensions.

As prosperity grew, so did the ability to support social assistance programs. The Canada Health Act ensures common elements and a basic standard of coverage. Unemployment insurance (now called "employment insurance") was introduced by the federal government in 1940. Old Age Security was devised as early as 1927, and the Canada and Quebec Pension Plans in 1965. Publicly funded education is provided by the provinces and territories(Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2009,24).

Most of the quotes that refer to Canadian social security are listed as statements of fact; there seems to be no pride in demonstrating Canada's achievements concerning national health care. Yet, we can see that most of the social security measures were implemented in Canada between the 1930's and 1970's. The advantages of citizenship which would translate into social security and other rights seem to be overlooked by the 2009 study guide. We can therefore conclude that although social security is important for the modern nation, it is by far the less represented in the current study guide. The lack of emphasis on social security could be a result of the Canadian

government not wanting individuals to choose to become citizens because of the social security that they shall gain. It could be a case of not wanting to attract so-called “citizens of convenience”. It can also be a demonstration of (conservative) political ideology.

Discussion

Canadians tend to assume that nationalism and citizenship are both sides of the same coin. This, however, was proven to not always have been the case according to Andreas Wimmer(2002) who points out that historically citizenship and nationalism were in fact separate from each other. Citizenship and nationalism only became synonymous with each other in the late 19th century and early 20th century(Wimmer 2002,43). Now that nationalism and citizenship have become intertwined, we may be in a better position to understand the nationalistic overtones of the citizenship guide, and the reasons why some aspects of the 2009 guide have received greater attention than others. Nevertheless, in a first step, I set out to demonstrate that indeed the new 2009 study guide "Discover Canada : The Rights and Responsibilities of Citizenship" is a nation building tool. In order to determine this, I used five dimensions that Andreas Wimmer identified as being vital for the modern nation. In the process of analysing the 2009 study guide, I added two more dimensions that I found were key in explaining Canada as a modern nation. Therefore, the first section of this chapter will examine the dimensions that were emphasised, how they can prove that the 2009 study guide is indeed a nation building tool, and how these dimensions were discussed in the guide. In the second section of this chapter, I will then contrast my findings with the positions and results of three academic researchers who have written about the new 2009 study guide and citizenship in general.

The guide that builds

The new 2009 citizenship study guide "Discover Canada: The Rights and Responsibilities of Citizenship" serves as a nation building tool. All five critical dimensions were identified and encountered in the guide during the analysis. The five dimensions again were: culture and identity, military, law, politic and social security. During the analysis of the guide, two new dimensions were identified which I believe are key in demonstrating that the new 2009 study guide is indeed a nation building tool. The fact that all dimensions of Wimmer's modern nation concept could be found and identified demonstrates rather clearly that the guide is promoting the modern nation and therefore could be understood as being an ideologically-informed nation building tool as well. If the objective of the guide would have been to be "neutral" in its conception of Canada, all that we would have found in the study guide would have been a list of official rights and freedom and various responsibilities new citizens would need to know in order to enjoy their newly acquired citizenship. However, what was found in the guide was a large emphasis on the culture and identity of Canada. The culture and identity section accounts for 20,09% of the total coding which clearly demonstrates that the guide is fostering not only an understanding of Canada but exemplifying what it expects of citizens; this presumably would have a direct impact on how the next generation of citizens helps shape the nation in the future.

The new 2009 study guide fosters a specific citizenship, which focuses on personal responsibility, rule of law, hard work and courage. This led me to introduce an additional theme, entitled the "competence" dimension, which is not part of Wimmer's original five dimensions of the modern nation. Rather, this additional theme constitutes a dimension that emerged from the empirical material and that I believe to be essential to a modern nation. The competence dimension arises from the government's wish to have a basic level of desired competences

amongst new citizens. This could suggest a discriminatory implication on the part of the Canadian government; nevertheless, the competences and characteristics identified in the 2009 study guide are not unique to any ethnic group as such. According to Joppke (2005), the power to foster certain competences amongst new citizens and the restriction of applicants are among the few ways in which a modern democratic nation state can control its societal composition without resorting to the racist discrimination of the past. If we consider the modern nation as understood by Wimmer, then the modern nation wants to be the total social center of its citizens. Therefore, it would be understandable that a nation would seek to maintain a certain homogeneity of attitude and values amongst its citizens. We must also remember that a modern nation by its original conception cannot be an absolutist state, otherwise it does not qualify as a modern nation (Wimmer 2005). Thus, a certain amount of characteristics ought to be fostered directly or indirectly. The characteristics that should be fostered would have to be liberal in nature, to allow for debate and exchange of ideas which are crucial for a thriving democracy. All through the guide, we find open and obvious examples of what is sought after in aspiring citizens, such as the respect for the rule of law and for Canada as a democratic nation. Yet, we also find the less obvious characteristics such as courage, for example:

Canadians take pride in their identity and have made sacrifices to defend their way of life. By coming to Canada and taking this important step toward Canadian citizenship, you are helping to write the continuing story of Canada (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2009, 3).

Our institutions uphold a commitment to Peace, Order and Good Government, a key phrase in Canada's original constitutional document in 1867, the British North America Act. A belief in ordered liberty, enterprise, hard work and fair play has enabled Canadians to build a prosperous society in a rugged environment from our Atlantic shores to the Pacific Ocean and to the Arctic Circle—so much so that poets and songwriters have hailed Canada as the “Great Dominion” (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2009, 10).

As can be observed in both quotes, there is a definite desire for aspiring citizens to conform to certain ideals or characteristics that are seen as being part of Canada. These characteristics are sacrifices, courage and hard work, notions which resonate through both quotes. The concept of desired "citizenship competences" in the case of immigration and citizenship process is not a new phenomenon in Canada. A point system, as Walsh explains in his paper "Quantifying Citizens: Neoliberal Restructuring and Immigrant Selection in Canada and Australia"(2011), was introduced in order to replace the old racial exclusion policies of the past to a more "universal" approach. In the new point system, much of the focus is placed on the skills the individual brings with him or her.

This brings us to another very important aspect of the new 2009 study guide, the economic dimension. Once again, this particular dimension was not part of Andreas Wimmer's original dimension for defining a modern nation; however, there are two reasons that motivated the creation of this dimension. The first motivation comes from the fact that Canada as a modern nation is based on a capitalist system. The second motivation stems from the works of Ernest Gellner and Benedict Anderson on nationalism. Both works on nationalism make the point that industrial development was a key factor in the creation and fostering of nationalism. Industrialism would not have occurred if it was not for the advent of the capitalist system. The reason for Gellner's and Anderson's argument that industrialism and by extension capitalism was a key factor in nationalism, is based on the creation of the modern press and the standardization of education. The modern press as Gellner describes permitted the wide and cheaply manufactured distribution of information, especially the ancient Greek and Roman philosophers who first discussed the concept of citizenship (2005). This in turn started an incremental process of greater education in the average individuals which led to revolutions; this was the case of

France who created the first total societal change from monarchy to a democracy (Gellner 2005, Fougeyrollas 1987). It is for those reasons that the economic dimension should not be overlooked. In the case of the new 2009 study guide, the economic dimension was by far the second most important code in the guide. The importance of the economic dimension is further bolstered by two researchers who have written on the immigration testing process and the concept of citizenship in Canada. The first of these researchers is Janine Brodie who wrote "From Social Security to Public Safety: Security Discourses and Canadian Citizenship" in which she makes the argument that the Canadian citizenship is now more than ever focused on the entrepreneurial citizen(2009, 702). The second researcher is James P. Walsh who analyses the reform of the immigration tests in Canada and Australia. He clearly makes the link between neo-liberalism economic strategies and the new point system which was introduced to further streamline the quest for the more competent and skilled immigrants(2011). The fact that the citizenship guide focuses heavily on the economic dimension does seem to suggest it is an important part of the national entity. We must also consider the possibility that what is sought after for new citizens are people who can financially contribute to Canada's economy and who will not become fiscal burdens to the state. Admittedly, that is not the whole purpose of the guide since the guide stipulates "Adult applicants 55 years of age and over do not need to write the citizenship test" (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2009: 6). In the end, the guide places a very important emphasis on the economic dimension, which underlines the prevalence of capitalism worldwide.

In the 2009 study guide, all of Wimmer's five dimensions for the modern nation were present. However, the social security aspect of the modern nation was evidently the least important for the new 2009 study guide. The social security aspect was only coded five

times. This can be attributed to the general tone given to the guide, in which the emphasis is very much placed on being personally self-reliant. In the historical section of the guide, many references are made to Canada's colonial past as a settler society. Being self-reliant is a much emphasised element of the historical narrative. Also very telling, one of the very first things one reads in the new 2009 study guide is a section that emphasizes that as a new citizen of Canada, one will be joining a proud tradition of pioneers:

Welcome! It took courage to move to a new country. Your decision to apply for citizenship is another big step. You are becoming part of a great tradition that was built by generations of pioneers before you. Once you have met all the legal requirements, we hope to welcome you as a new citizen with all the rights and responsibilities of citizenship (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2009: 3).

As can be observed by the quote, the concept of the pioneer is put forward almost immediately in the guide. Reliance and community spirit are inseparable in the pioneering imagination. With a strong emphasis on self-reliance, is it any wonder that social security would be mitigated in the new 2009 study guide? Furthermore, if we follow the economic logic according to which the government does not want burdensome individuals to become citizens unless absolutely necessary (e.g. in the case of refugees and family reunification), it sort of makes sense not to advertise the social security policies that Canadian citizens may call upon. Once again, I come back to the "citizenship competence" dimension, which shows how the guide strives to create and/or encourage the strong, hard working individual who is not fiscally problematic. As a reminder, let us return to empirical data and cite one specific passage;

Taking responsibility for oneself and one's family — Getting a job, taking care of one's family and working hard in keeping with one's abilities are important Canadian values. Work contributes to personal dignity and self-respect, and to Canada's prosperity (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2009: 9).

With all of Wimmer's dimensions present and the two more added as a result of the discursive analysis, it is clear that the new 2009 study guide "Discover Canada: The Rights and Responsibilities of Citizenship" is an ideologically-informed nation building tool. It clearly demonstrates its intent in fostering specific values that are presented as being a part of the good Canadian citizen. Citizens make Canada the nation that it is today, and new citizens are also the electorate of tomorrow. Therefore, the propagation of specific values and competences in new citizens is in the interest of the Canadian nation as well as in the interest of the government of the day. As such, the new citizenship study guide is used as a very specific nation building tool.

Yet the question remains, what sort of nation is being fostered in Canada? What dimensions are being emphasised and to what end? As the analysis revealed, much of the guide is focused on culture and identity, and quickly followed by the economic dimensions and law. The strong emphasis on culture and identity and economics emphasises a more utilitarian perception of Canada which does little to foster loyalty to Canada as such. The message that is being given to aspiring citizens does seem to reflect more a business contract, in the sense that aspiring citizens are being warned constantly that by becoming Canadian they are entering a long tradition of hardworking, law abiding people based on self reliance. The new 2009 study guide clearly re-enforces Janine Brodie findings in her research "From Social Security to Public Safety: Security Discourses and Canadian Citizenship" (2009). Her analysis of the speeches from the throne revealed that Canadian citizenship is increasingly more focused on neo-liberal ideology (Brodie 2009). This consequently means a "leaner and meaner" version of Canada, where economic contribution is placed above all else (Brodie 2009). The lack of emphasis on social security would seem to further strengthen this position. The guide does try to mitigate this by placing community service as part of the responsibility of citizenship. This however can be

problematic since community service covers a wide range of activities and it is also framed as a personal initiative on the part of the citizen. This conception of community service is problematic, if we consider the nature of citizenship as a contract between citizens and state. To clarify, community service is not a problem and should be encouraged; what is problematic is the seeming lack of reciprocity on the part of the nation. This reciprocity in the past has taken the form of social security, and yet when we analysed the new 2009 study guide, there was a striking absence of social security. The emphasis on personal responsibility could potentially weaken nationalism in Canada instead of strengthening it. If individuals are self reliant to the point where they feel they have achieved everything by their own merit then why would the nation matter to them? By eroding the nature of citizenship, it erodes nationalism as well. If we follow in the logic of neo-liberalism where the responsibility lays with the individual, why would they agree to community service? Why work for free in an increasingly demanding economic situation? It would seem that the guide while promoting a very strong independent conception of citizenship it would seem to also weaken Canadian nationalism. The importance of personal achievements is strongly emphasised in the section "Modern Canada" especially on page 27, "Great Canadian Discovery and Invention" in which individuals are singled out for their personal achievements. The way in which the discoveries are presented could lead individuals to believe that their achievements are all the results of personal strength and perseverance. Unfortunately, individuals seldom achieve greatness by themselves; they may receive the accolades, but their achievements are usually the results of multiple factors. If the objective was to foster a greater nationalism in Canada, the guide could have emphasised the role of the nation in providing the appropriate collective climate for individuals to thrive. The emphasis the guide places on each dimension has

one overarching theme which is that of personal responsibility, whether it be for your political participation or economic endeavours.

Contrasting Views

In this section, the objective is to compare the findings of my research with those of three researchers who have written on the citizenship guide in Canada and citizenship in general. The first two researchers that I will be contrasting my research with are Johns and Perry who wrote "People's Citizenship Guide: A Response to Conservative Canada"(2013), followed by the work of Adam Chapnick "A 'Conservative' National Story? The Evolution of Citizenship and Immigration Canada's Discover Canada"(2011) and finally the work of Christian Joppke "Citizenship and Immigration"(2010). The goal here is to situate the thematic analysis that has been done in this research within the work of other scholars and see how it contributes to the discussion of citizenship in Canada.

Johns and Perry created their own version of what the new citizenship guide of Canada could have been. They pointed out that the federal government's version of events presented in the new 2009 guide is one version of many other possible narratives. Nevertheless, their criticism levelled against the guide includes the emphasis on military history, which is seen as problematic. Based on my analysis of the military dimension in the guide, I judge that the emphasis placed on the military is, in a sense, unavoidable if we wish to give an accurate portrait of Canada rather than falsely portraying it as a "peaceful nation", which is also ideologically biased. As was mentioned in the context section, Canada was neither born peacefully, nor was its creation the direct result of one specific "grand conflict", as in the United States. The emphasis on the military in a democratic modern nation is by no means out of place in a citizenship guide. If we consider that only citizens may be called upon to serve and protect the nation, it makes

sense to present this reality and possibility to the future citizens. In order to understand Canada, it is vital to present its history; this history is unfortunately marked by military conflict as is that of many other nations. While it is certainly possible to tone down this element, my analysis clearly contradicts Johns' and Perry's view that the guide offers a militaristic view. Rather, what is presented in the guide are key military conflicts that have shaped Canada as a nation and consequently its current citizenship as well. The guide does not glorify war and barely goes into any significant details.

However, one must keep in mind that the guide is a nation building tool and as such, it is ideologically informed and constructed to emphasise certain values and qualities that are deemed desirable. Implemented by a Conservative government, the values highlighted in the new study guide, are clearly ideologically closer to this government's political platform than to that of any other Canadian political party. To be precise, the new 2009 study guide does not read as simply a manual on what you need to know to become a citizen. If it did, it would have been simply a list of responsibilities, duties and rights, how to participate in the political life and nothing more. However, the new 2009 study guide for citizenship reads more as a "how to" guide to being a good Canadian citizen in the eyes of the Canadian state, and presumably those of the governing party. As the analysis of the guide revealed, military participation is encouraged but not rendered mandatory. The guide emphasizes that it is a honourable profession to join the military and a "privilege" that is reserved only to citizens of Canada. A criticism that could be levelled at the guide is the brevity of the information delivered; for example, the section of the First World War is short, full of numbers on how many served and died. What it does not say is that the First World War was a pivotal moment for Canadian independence. Let us also not forget that,

historically, citizenship has always included the responsibility of defending either the city-state or the nation.

Perry and Jones say that the guide is very conservative in its views of Canada. They argue that the new 2009 citizenship study guide does not incorporate the many social struggles that have occurred. Yet, it is important to note that the new 2009 citizenship study guide is already twenty pages longer than its predecessor. More importantly, one could make the argument that the goal of the guide cannot be to offer an in-depth historical analysis of Canada. At best, any historical description will have to be limited in its scope; focusing on military conflicts does demonstrate a reality of Canada's past but is not the only historical element presented in the guide. Certain important struggles are mentioned, such as women gaining the right to vote. It is important to note that the presentation of all historical aspects is limited by the length of the guide. Although history is important, the guide cannot focus all of its sixty-eight pages on the subject. The objective of the historical section is to give a sense of who and what shaped Canada. Here, certain decisions were made. To what extent they can be called "Conservative" (with a capital C as to refer to the platform of the Conservative Party of Canada) goes beyond the scope of this major research paper. Johns and Perry offer an alternative vision to the official guide, but this is also not void of ideological bias. Furthermore, they dismiss the practical purpose of the guide, which is above all to inform citizens on the rights, responsibilities and the key procedures necessary in insuring the participation of aspiring citizens to the political and social life of Canada.

Adam Chapnick examined the new 2009 study guide "Discover Canada: Rights and Responsibilities" and essentially found that the guide's ideology was not that different from prior versions of the guide, specifically those under the Pierre Elliot Trudeau's Liberal government.

Chapnick's article is motivated in part at what he perceives as undue criticism of the guide as being "Conservative". Throughout his article, Chapnick makes a careful comparison with the previous guide "A Look At Canada" which was first implemented as a citizenship study guide in 1995 under Jean Chrétien's Liberal government. The citizenship study guide "A Look At Canada" underwent a revision in 2002 and, according to Chapnick, the guide was becoming more conservative despite being revised under a Liberal government(2011,30). The revision even had a more important focus on values that, according to Chapnick, would be in line with Conservative beliefs(2011,30). Although my own research did not specifically look at traces of political ideology within the guide, it did not detect very strong traces of any particular political party's ideology. If anything, the new 2009 guide can be accused of, is trying to distance itself from its predecessors (Chapnick 2011). In this respect, as Chapnick notes, the "Discover Canada: Rights and Responsibility of Citizenship" is more honest about Canada's history than its predecessor, which hardly said anything about Canadian history. In the final analysis that Chapnick makes between the "A Look At Canada" and the new 2009 "Discover Canada: Rights and Responsibility of Citizenship", he points that despite the remarkable factual difference between both guides (lengths, topics, organization), there is not much difference in tone and the values demonstrated by successive Liberal governments, Progressive Conservatives and the currently governing Conservatives.

What is interesting however, is that Chapnick also provides more information on the concept of the "citizenship competence" dimension that was mentioned earlier in this chapter. The advanced language used in the new 2009 study guide would suggest another attempt at controlling the quality of applicants without being overly discriminatory in practice. In the end, the research that was performed in this major research paper echoes much of what Adam

Chapnick discovered. The new study guide "Discover Canada: Rights and Responsibilities of Citizenship" is not primarily fostering a Conservative ideology. Rather both Chapnick's and my own work here demonstrate the guide's usage and usefulness as a tool for Canadian nation building, rather than any specific political party agenda. In other words, throughout my own analysis, the guide did not struck me as promoting any particular Conservative idea that would be entirely unacceptable to Liberal voters. The concepts of hard work and personal responsibility, for example, have been promoted by both the Liberals and the Conservatives, and they may arguably count as widely accepted (although maybe not much liked) "Canadian" values.

Finally, Christian Joppke who has written extensively on immigration and citizenship can help us understand why the new 2009 study guide does not promote any specific political allegiances and why the identity dimension figures so prominently within the guide. In his book "Citizenship and Immigration", Joppke divides the concept of citizenship into three major categories: status, rights and identity. Joppke finds that permanent residence and the rights that are associated with this status are just as good if not better than that of citizens. This shift is primarily caused according to Joppke due to the Second World War and the extermination of the Jewish people, which led to human rights proclamations. In return, Western democracies are no longer capable to discriminate based on race or ethnicity. This shift in policy in the case of Canada occurs in 1977, when the point system becomes law.

What is even more interesting is Joppke's take on identity in the context of citizenship. He argues that in the Western world, a democracy such as Germany has attempted to present in their own citizenship testing fundamentally liberal ideals as being a part of their identity and culture (Joppke 2010,142). This would seem to explain why the new 2009 citizenship study

guide of Canada does not particularly favour any specific political party but rather caters to liberal principles, such as freedom of speech and association. Joppke points out that liberal states adopt an increasingly neutral stance in regards to the lives their citizens lead (2010,112). This sentiment of neutrality is well expressed in the guide, since all that is really demanded of aspiring citizens remains very general. A great example of this neutrality from the new 2009 study guide is to respect the rule of law. This is a neutral statement in the sense, it would not matter which nation you became a citizen of (or even which nation you visited as a tourist), you must always respect and obey the law. It is also neutral if you consider that not one political party can solely claim that they are the only one who support respect for the rule of law. Yet, as Joppke demonstrates, liberalism sometimes contradicts itself in its application. The example he uses are Muslims and their treatment in France where the government has banned the wearing of the face-veil in public. While the French state deems wearing the face-veil as an expression of religious belief, which should be banned from public space and institutions, one can also argue, as Joppke does, that the ban curtails the personal freedoms of the women who freely choose to wear the face-veil (Joppke 2012,138-139). In the Canadian study guide, we also find this kind of contradiction. The following quote is a great example:

The Equality of Women and Men

In Canada, men and women are equal under the law. Canada's openness and generosity do not extend to barbaric cultural practices that tolerate spousal abuse, "honour killings," female genital mutilation, forced marriage or other gender-based violence. Those guilty of these crimes are severely punished under Canada's criminal laws (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2009: 9).

On the one hand, aspiring citizens are encouraged to bring their cultures and to preserve them, which is a great example of freedom of expression. On the other hand, this freedom has limits which start when other individuals are negatively affected by other people's behaviour, thus two

liberal ideals that contradict themselves. Finding examples of Joppke's contradiction in liberal ideals within the citizenship guide demonstrates and validates Joppke's analysis of citizenship in liberal states. In addition, the analysis conducted for this major research paper confirms Joppke's premise of close links between citizenship, nationalism and identity. The citizenship guide reflects the goal of the nation to perpetuate itself continuously.

Conclusion

The new citizenship guide of 2009 "Discover Canada: The Rights and Responsibilities of Citizenship" was heavily criticised for promoting mainly Conservative ideology. Much of the criticism and worry around the new 2009 guide was based on the fear that the guide would foster more conservative citizenry (Jones and Perry 2013, Chapnick 2011). Yet, the question that needed to be answered first and foremost was: Is the new 2009 study guide "Discover Canada: The Rights and Responsibilities of Citizenship" a nation building tool? And if the answer was yes, which dimensions of modern nationalism are the most prominent within the guide. In order to understand if and to what extent a citizenship guide could be a nation building tool, what was needed was a deeper understanding of citizenship and nationalism in Canada. As the literature review revealed, citizenship is a vast complex field of study, but the literature can be categorized according to four dimensions: exclusion/inclusion, politics, economy and education. There are certainly more dimensions to citizenship but those were the main four that the literature review identified. The economic dimension is a crucial aspect of Canadian citizenship as the thematic analysis of the new 2009 guide revealed. Nationalism was the second focus of the literature review, since this aspect was crucial to our understanding and determined if the citizenship guide could be a nation building tool. In this respect, the literature review of nationalism yielded three dimensions: culture, education, and modernity. Nationalism as understood by Ernest Gellner

underlines that education, industrialisation permitted the creation and conception for citizenship to appear in society(2005). This information is critical when one takes into account that citizenship and nationalism were originally separate. However, citizenship quickly became linked to nationhood in the early 18th and the late 19th century, as Wimmer explains in his work "Nationalist Exclusion and Ethnic Conflict: Shadows of Modernity" (2002). This understanding of the link between nationalism and citizenship helped us to hypothesize that if both are now linked, then consequently one affects the other. In order to see if the guide was indeed a nation building tool, a theoretical frame and methodology were devised in order to answer the research questions formulated above. Working with the concept of the modern nation by Wimmer gave me five dimensions that are crucial to identify the characteristic traits of the modern nation. If I could prove that the guide had indeed all five dimensions of the modern nation, as well as which of those dimensions were being emphasised in the new 2009 study guide, then I could establish a connection between nation building and citizenship. Hence, I proceeded with a qualitative approach known as a thematic content analysis. By examining how the five dimensions were emphasised in the guide, I could further determine how the guide was used as a nation building tool. The thematic analysis of the new 2009 study guide confirmed the presence of the aforementioned five dimensions of the modern nationhood. Adam Chapnick wrote in his paper on the new 2009 study guide, that a key factor in the conceptualisation of a new 2009 study guide was based on the fact that its 2008 predecessor omitted too many aspects of Canadian history. This suggests that the guide was indeed meant to be more than just an "objective" practical study guide for a citizenship test.

In addition, through my textual analysis, I identified two more dimensions. The two additional dimensions are economy and competence. The dimension "culture and identity" focuses heavily

on Canadian history of conflict and achievements and how Canadians' personal strength, hard work and respect for the rule of law built the country. The political dimension focuses on Canadian tradition as being the only constitutional monarchy and Canadians' long standing adherence to the democratic principles. The law dimension demonstrated that Canadian citizens follow and respect the rule of law and that other's cultural practices will not be a defence against the laws of the nation. Military dimension highlights two important aspects: Canada will always defend itself and military service is a privilege for its citizens and a honourable profession. Yet, the social security dimension has so little presence in the guide that it suggests that new citizens should not be counting on social security, but rather trust in their own ability and willingness to work and sacrifice for their successes. The heavy focus on the economic dimension echoed the idea of the nation building tool, in the sense that citizens are encouraged to work and to contribute to the development of the nation. This again would not be necessary to mention if the government merely wanted people to understand the rights and very basic responsibilities of their citizenship.

In my opinion, much of the criticism of the new citizenship guide is unfounded since the guide does not favour any political party within Canada, but rather favours liberal ideals more broadly (Joppke 2010). This consequently seems to prove that the guide is politically less tainted by party politics than claimed by some of its critics. However, the guide is clearly not neutral as a nation-building tool, and the privileged values perpetuate a neoliberal (economic) agenda that is espoused by both major Canadian parties (Liberals and Conservatives).

This research has clearly certain limitations in regard to its scope. By analysing only the new 2009 "Discover Canada: The Rights and Responsibilities of Citizenship", I cannot compare it with any other guide in any meaningful way. The thematic analysis itself is limited in what

could be observed within the guide. To determine the influence the guide exerts on individuals would require fieldwork and interviews. Furthermore, the abundance of images used in the guide could easily make the focus of another research project which would focus on identity since the pictures in the guide were largely symbolic representations of the country, of Canada and its citizens. Another avenue of research inspired by the research would be to look more at the economic dimension of citizenship and nationalism. Much of the Canadian literature on citizenship seems to have overlooked the economic dimension, which seems to play a rather important part in policies concerning immigration and citizenship.

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