How multicultural is Canada really? An investigation of the inclusion and exclusion of culturally diverse groups in English Canadians' representations of Canadian nationhood and identity

By

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This is dedicated to

Dorothy Mae Mimms

(1910 – 1998)

My paternal grandmother who continues to inspire me to see the world, love all

cultures, and connect deeply with those around me

and

Harley Havelock Walker

(1919 – 2005)

My maternal grandfather whose passion for history

must have found its way into my bones

ABSTRACT

The current thesis aimed to contribute to a national psychology for Canada by examining majority group (i.e., English Canadians) representations of nationhood and national identity as they relate to the cultural diversity comprising the nation. This dissertation took a macro-level approach to examine the content of English Canadians' representations, situating the research within a theoretical framework consisting of two families of existing social psychological theories of social representations (i.e., Social Representations Theory; Moscovici, 1961; and Social Representations of History; Liu & Hilton, 2005) and social identity (i.e., Social Identity Theory; Tajfel & Turner, 1979; and Self-Categorization Theory; Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987). A multi-method approach using a mix of qualitative and quantitative techniques was employed to examine societal- and individual-level representations of Canadian nationhood and identity. The thesis had three major goals: 1) To determine the content of Canadian nationhood and identity; 2) To investigate if minority groups (i.e., French Canadians, Aboriginal peoples, and newer immigrants and their descendants) are included in and/or excluded from English Canadians' representations of Canadian nationhood and identity; and 3) To examine whether individuals' representations reflected government and mass media representations. The dissertation begins by reviewing existing literature on the content of Canadian nationhood, identity and diversity, providing an interpretive analysis using the guiding social psychological theories. Three empirical studies follow, which examined different aspects of representations of nationhood and identity. Study 1 used Critical Discourse Analysis (van Dijk, 1993) to investigate English Canadian print media representations of nationhood and identity by analysing the media response to two events concerned with the integration and accommodation of religious and cultural minorities, and immigrants. Study 2 examined ordinary citizens' representations of Canadian history through the use of survey methods. Study 3 examined implicit and explicit associations between ethnicity and Canadian nationhood. The findings revealed that governmental, media and individuals' representations of nationhood and identity were highly similar to one another, allowing us to advance a model of the content of Canadian identity. It was found that cultural groups are incorporated in English Canadians' representations of nationhood and identity in different ways from each other, depending on the context. It was shown that French Canadians represent a non-negligible component of nationhood and identity, but that they are sometimes reluctantly included in representations when they make demands on the majority. Aboriginal peoples are symbolically represented in English Canadians' representations of Canadian history, but are almost entirely absent from discussions of present day society and diversity. Newer immigrants and their descendants are sometimes included in present day representations of Canadian nationhood and identity, but are absent from historical representations. The Enlightenment Values of equality, freedom, democracy and reason (Michael, 2000)

emerged as a crucial component of Canadian nationhood and identity, and this research suggests that they may represent why French Canadians are included in representations, as well as the key that newer immigrants and their descendants need to use to achieve inclusion (or conversely, warrant exclusion if they violate these values). Over all it was found that multiculturalism is not in itself a Canadian value, as has previously been suggested (Adams, 2007; Kymlicka, 2003), but it is instead a respect for the Enlightenment Values and an accommodation of diversity within these values that English Canadians treasure. Potential limitations and suggestions for future research are discussed. The thesis concludes with a consideration of how the results can be applied to increase the inclusion of minority groups in the majority group's conceptions of nationhood and identity. This work should serve as a launching point for discussions between the cultural groups about inclusion and exclusion.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

A poem I write is not just about me; it is about national identity, not just regional but national, the history of people in relation to other people. I reach for these outward stories to make sense of my own life, and how my story intersects with a larger public history.

Natasha Trethewey

This thesis was a long time in the making. I was 18 when I decided I wanted to pursue a PhD in psychology to try to help others. The journey to reach this goal was long and windy. Throughout my undergraduate degree in Canada it became clearer to me that I wanted to understand the prejudice I could see directed at others based on their cultures, ethnicities and races. Dr. John Barresi at Dalhousie University in Halifax inspired me to study prejudice from the perspective of historical social representations, and I owe him a great deal of gratitude for setting me down this path.

When I found out that not many North American researchers studied prejudice and social cognition using social representations theory, I decided to pursue my PhD farther afield. I discovered the work of Prof James Liu, which led me here to Victoria University of Wellington in New Zealand. It was through discussions with Prof Liu that I realised that I specifically wanted to study the processes of minority ethnic group inclusion and exclusion in Canada; it was the culturally diverse environment I grew up in that I truly wished to understand more deeply.

The PhD journey was long—at times arduous, at times fun—and I couldn't have done it without the help from many, many people. My supervisor, Jim Liu, always exuded enthusiasm and insight and shaped my thinking in ways I can't convey, and I wish to thank him for guiding me through the PhD. I also need to thank my secondary supervisor, Prof Colleen Ward, for coming in at the eleventh hour and providing me with kindness and encouragement (and expert advice on how to write a good introduction!) when my motivation and stamina waned. To my wonderful group of fellow postgrad students, who like me, came to this little windy city at the bottom of the earth: we've shared laughter, tears, amazing travel experiences, and beer. Those who finished their theses before me inspired me to continue and gave me hope that I would one day get here too. Those who have still to finish, you will get here soon! Try to enjoy yourself in the process. I particularly wish to thank Alexis Garland for her daily pep talks, virtual shoulder to cry on, and her wise words. Thanks also to Ágnes Szabó, Carmen Leong and Laina Isler, for accompanying me to write in the

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION AND LITERATURE REVIEW

There has been a rapid increase in international migration and globalisation in the last century, particularly since the end of WWII in 1945. This has led to levels of cultural, ethnic, racial and religious diversity within highly developed nations that has far surpassed that seen in any other time in world history (Castles & Miller, 2009). The concept of the nation state is itself a relatively recent phenomenon, which can be dated to the French revolution in the late 18th-early 19th centuries (Anderson, 1991). Most modern nation states were comprised of cultural diversity prior to the onset of immigration and this has led each nation to respond in different ways to new arrivals. Four models for the management of immigrants at the level of the nation state have been proposed: total exclusion, differential exclusion, assimilation and pluralism (Castles, 1995; see Bourhis, Moise, Perreault, & Senecal, 1997, for a parallel theory of state based integration policies and their underlying ideologies). Regardless of the model governments have chosen to adopt, it is clear that every nation characterised by high levels of immigration has had to adopt a strategy and/or policy for diversity management; relating at once to the host society (whether it be monocultural or culturally diverse) and to newer immigrants. The particular way that nations respond to immigration carries with it major implications for conceptions of nationhood, national identity and cultural diversity within a nation.

Multiculturalism as a national policy has recently been given a lot of attention in the international media with a number of European heads of state boldly proclaiming that multiculturalism had failed in their countries ("Nicolas Sarkozy joins David Cameron and Angela Merkel view that multiculturalism has failed," 2011). In Canada, on the other hand, multiculturalism is celebrated for its success (Banting & Kymlicka, 2010). How can multiculturalism emerge a failure in certain nations but seemingly thrive in another, such as Canada? Berry (2011) argues that multiculturalism has never failed in these European nations since it has never been tried, pointing to a lack of consistency in how the concept is defined and whether or not a specific policy of multiculturalism was actually adopted. In essence it can be argued that the European heads of state conflate the terms *cultural pluralism* and *multiculturalism* (Berry, 2011), ultimately implying that the integration or assimilation of new migrants has failed, rather than a specific policy of

1

multiculturalism designed to manage it. In contrast, Canadian multiculturalism was adopted as a national policy in 1971 and was enacted as law in 1988 with the Multiculturalism Act (Government of Canada, 1988). The policy clearly promotes what Castles (1995) refers to as the pluralism model, and what Berry (1974) described as integration/democratic pluralism, with an explicit focus on cultural diversity *and* equity. The policy and Act officially recognise and celebrate the cultural diversity that characterises the country, and furthermore, states that *all* individuals and communities in Canada should be able to participate equally in shaping and contributing to the nation without any barriers preventing them from doing so on the basis of culture, ethnicity, race or religion (Berry, 2011, 2012; Bourhis et al., 1997; Government of Canada, 1988).

In addition to promoting the rights of minority cultures in Canada, the multiculturalism policy and Act have actually entered the Canadian psyche as a fundamental Canadian value, which is seen as a cornerstone of Canadian national identity (Adams, 2007; Kymlicka, 2003). A study conducted by polling company Environics found that 85% of Canadians outside of Quebec felt that multiculturalism was either somewhat important or very important in defining Canadian identity (Environics, 2006). A second large-scale survey of the Canadian population regarding the experiences of Canadian Aboriginal peoples living in urban centres asked non-Aboriginal Canadians what makes Canada unique in an open-ended question, and multiculturalism emerged as the most common answer by a large margin (42% vs the second answer of 'land and geography' which was nominated by 12% of the sample; Environics, 2010). This is remarkable given the sheer level of cultural diversity comprising the nation, beginning first with a diverse population of Aboriginal peoples, followed by French and then British settlers, and later several large waves of immigration (the majority hailing most recently from Asian nations; Day, 2000). Canada's particular brand of multiculturalism, it should be noted, is actually "multiculturalism within a bilingual framework," which explicitly prioritises the two official languages of Canada (pointing to the Official Languages Act [1969] that legally sanctioned English and French as Canada's two official languages; Canada, 1985), but implicitly, by extension, English Canadian and French Canadian values and cultures (Karim, 1993). This is based on an historical and contractual relationship

between the two settler societies who together formed the nation of Canada in 1867 (Mackey, 2002).

However, this rose-coloured picture of Canadian multiculturalism diminishes the challenges that minority groups in Canada continue to confront. Critics have argued that Canadian multiculturalism leads to fragmentation and segregation (Bissoondath, 1994; Sugunasiri, 1999), or else to the marginalisation of particular minority groups (Bannerji, 2000). There is ample evidence to show that Aboriginal peoples and certain visible minority groups (i.e., the official Canadian term to describe peoples of non-Aboriginal, non-European descent; Johnes, 2000) still face discrimination and inequalities related to employment, earnings and access to housing (Dion, 2001; Fleras & Elliott, 2002; Lamb, 2013; Pendakur & Pendakur, 2011). It is also now widely recognised that Aboriginal peoples in Canada have faced and continue to face an alarming rate of human rights violations at the hands of the Canadian government and society (Amnesty International, 2004; Bombay, Matheson, & Anisman, 2013; Harper, 2006; Joffe, 2010; Kirmayer, Simpson, & Cargo, 2003). This directly contradicts Canada's image as a paragon of social cohesion and tolerance. Furthermore, the only officially unilingual French province, Quebec, poses a significant challenge to national unity, positioning itself as a nation within the nation, at once a part of greater Canadian society and separate from it, with its own language, culture and rules for governance (Burgess, 1996; Parekh, 1994; Seymour, 2004). A strong example of this relationship is evidenced by the fact that the Quebec government has never signed the Canadian Constitution as it is felt that Quebec's particular needs are not met by it, and the federal Canadian government has made provisions for Quebec to remain in Canada with no obligation to sign the Constitution (Dunsmuir & O'Neal, 1992).

Canada is characterised by a tension between these competing elements. What influence does this tension have on English Canadians' (i.e., the majority group's) conceptions of Canada, with so many groups and individuals asserting their rights of belongingness to the nation (and separateness from it)? Parekh (1994) has argued that Canada has achieved a balance between these competing forces with a unique form of liberalism that promotes individual rights (as articulated by the Multiculturalism Act and Charter of Rights and Freedoms) while at the same time allowing certain groups (especially the Québécois—French Canadians in Quebec—but also Aboriginal

peoples) to assert their collective rights. It can perhaps be seen as remarkable that the majority group has facilitated this to happen, and as astonishing that multiculturalism and bilingualism have entered into the Canadian psyche as fundamental Canadian values (Adams, 2007; Kymlicka, 2003).

Several psychological theories can provide lenses through which to understand English Canadians' conceptions of the nation. The first is social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). A significant part of an individual's social identity (i.e., the groups an individual is a member of or identifies as belonging to) is his/her nationality and/or ethnicity. National identity is a relatively recent phenomenon that individuals feel bound to; the nation is one of few ideological institutions that individuals are still willing to die for (Smith, 1988). Since it is not possible to know everyone in one's national or ethnic group, ethnicities and nationalities can be viewed as imagined communities (Anderson, 1991) or social imaginaries (Taylor, 2002, 2004). Nationalities are created by national governments through political discourse and achieved through mass media, as expressed in the vernacular language (Anderson, 1991). National identity can be seen as comprising conceptions of the origins of the nation, a consensual history of where the nation came from and where it is going, and what values it represents (Liu & Hilton, 2005). Liu and Hilton (2005) articulated a theory that weaves together social identity theory and social representations theory (Moscovici, 1961) related to the social representations of history for a nation. They argue that history serves as a narrative that forms a set of social representations of the national category and national identity that are shared between people in a nation.

What happens when there are competing national narratives owing to multiple groups staking their claims on the nation? In New Zealand, a nation similar to Canada in that it is characterised by the British colonisation of indigenous peoples and more recent large scale immigration, there are two narratives of the nation (a bicultural narrative and a liberal democratic one), which at times work together in harmony and other times conflict (Liu, 2005). The bicultural narrative represents the relationship between the indigenous peoples and the British colonisers/settlers who together formed the nation of New Zealand with the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. The liberal democratic narrative represents the values of equality, freedom and democracy that originated on the European continent during the Enlightenment period in the 18th century and now forms the basis of Western political ideology in most modern

4

democratic nations. The liberal democratic perspective purports that all individuals have the right to equality no matter what group they identify with (be it on the basis of gender, race, ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation, etc.) and that they should not face discrimination or exclusion from society (Ball, Dagger, & O'Neill, 2013; Fukuyama, 2006). This dissertation will examine whether a similar pattern will emerge for representations and narratives of Canadian nationhood and identity for the English Canadian majority group.

Research into the social representations of Canada and its history have not been previously examined, but would contribute greatly to a deeper understanding of Canadian identity and nationhood for the English Canadian majority group, as the group setting the tone for race relations and inclusion in the nation. Kymlicka (2003) has argued that a strong element of Canadian identity is the accommodation of diversity, which aligns with the liberal democratic narrative seen in New Zealand. A potentially conflicting narrative arises due to the groups that have separate claims to nationhood (such as the Québécois and Aboriginal peoples). Since the 1960s the Canadian federal government has pushed for a pan-Canadian identity that everyone living in the nation can share (including French Canadians, Aboriginal peoples and newer immigrants; Mackey, 2002), but questions remain as to whether this has been achieved. Therefore, does the majority group have multiple representations of Canadian nationhood, such as one emphasising liberal democracy, as well as a bicultural (English and French Canadian) or multicultural one (e.g., that also includes Aboriginal peoples and newer immigrants)? Furthermore, how do these representations of nationhood relate to Canadian national identity?

AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

This dissertation has several aims. First and foremost it seeks to contribute to a national psychology of and for Canada with particular focus on the English Canadian majority group. It is important to determine what majority group conceptions of diversity are since it is the majority group that sets the tone for relations with minority groups through the use of discursive strategies and rhetoric that prescribe their positions in society (Liu & Hilton, 2005; van Dijk, 2000, 2013; Wodak, 1989). In particular, the thesis will aim to develop a deeper understanding of English Canadian national psychology by examining representations of Canadian nationhood, identity, history and diversity using a range of qualitative and quantitative methods. Much has

been written on Canadian identity and how it relates to and incorporates cultural diversity, but this has primarily been done in other disciplines within the social sciences and the humanities (see Mackey, 2002 in anthropology; Winter, 2011 in sociology; and Taylor, 1994 or Kymlicka, 2003 in political philosophy); whereas the particular content of Canadian identity for the majority group has been of less concern to the field of psychology. This thesis will contribute a new angle to the discussions surrounding the content of Canadian identity by examining it from within a social psychological framework.

To begin, this introductory chapter will describe the Canadian context of cultural diversity by providing demographic information of each of the cultural groupings in Canada (i.e., English Canadians, French Canadians, Aboriginal peoples and newer immigrants and their descendants)[1]. It will then provide a theoretical analysis of previous literature and research on the majority group's representations of Canadian nationhood and identity, with specific focus on how they relate to cultural diversity, by examining and reviewing political discourse, media representations and attitudinal survey research of the general public. Chapters 2, 3 and 4 will report on three different research endeavours that were designed to examine different aspects of English Canadian representations of Canadian nationhood and identity that have not been previously researched. The study outlined in Chapter 2 investigated societal level representations of Canada through a discourse analysis of the English Canadian print media in how it reported on two events related to diversity and diversity management. We focused on media representations as they are seen to work together with governmental representations to highly influence individual level conceptions of nationhood and national identity (Anderson, 1991). Chapter 3 then describes a survey that assessed individual level representations of Canadian history and nationhood in a general sample of English Canadians, and how these representations related to support for the accommodation of cultural diversity. Chapter 4 reports on three experiments that were conducted with English Canadian undergraduate students to examine implicit and explicit associations between Canadian nationhood and ethnicity in

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[1] The term 'grouping' is explicitly used to denote and recognise how heterogeneous and diverse each of these groups are. The term 'newer immigrants and their descendants' is used to indicate that English and French Canadians were at one time immigrants themselves and refers to anyone who does not fit into the other three categories.

present day. Chapter 5 concludes with a general discussion of all of the findings presented in the thesis and what they tell us about majority group conceptions of Canadian nationhood and identity, as it relates to and incorporates cultural diversity. Berry (1993) argued for the development of an indigenous psychology[2] of Canada and this thesis will take a modest step towards that goal, following his pioneering footsteps.

CANADIAN DEMOGRAPHICS

Before understanding majority group conceptions of Canadian nationhood and identity, and if or how cultural diversity has been incorporated into them, a brief description of the incredible diversity within the nation must first be provided. Canada has always been comprised of a diverse set of cultures, but current levels of diversity far surpass that in any other time in history. The country is marked by a considerable amount of linguistic, ethnic, racial and religious diversity. The following sections will provide demographic statistics on each of these forms of diversity.

Linguistic Diversity

There are more than 200 languages spoken in Canada as either a home language or mother tongue. The majority of the Canadian population list either English (56.9%) or French (21.3%) as their mother tongue, with nearly a fifth of the population (19.8%) listing a non-official language as their first language and 2% listing more than one language as their mother tongue. While 56.9% of the population list English as their mother tongue, 64.8% of the population in fact speak English at home. Although more than a fifth of the Canadian demographic speak French as a first language, French is mostly confined to the officially unilingual French province of Quebec, with 86.5% of Francophones residing there, making up 80% of the population of the province (Statistics Canada, 2011).

Ethnic and Religious Diversity

In the 2011 Canadian census, approximately one third of Canadians (31.6%) self-reported their ethnicity as "Canadian," either on its own or in conjunction with other ethnicities. Approximately one in five of those living in Canada (19.4%)

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[2] Indigenous psychology is a discipline which argues for the creation of a psychology of and in a nation. It can also refer to a psychology of indigenous peoples. Given that Canada is home to a rich set of indigenous cultures and peoples, the term national psychology is employed instead as our focus here is on majority group conceptions of the Canadian nation.

identified their ethnic origins as English, 15.1% as French, 14.1% as Scottish, 13.6% as Irish, and 9.6% as German. In total, 13 ethnic groups comprised more than one million of the population (each representing a substantial 3% or more of the total population). As well as the groups previously mentioned, these groups were: Italian, Chinese, First Nations, Ukrainian, Indian, Dutch and Polish. Aboriginal peoples (First Nations, Métis and Inuit) represent 4.3% of the population (Statistics Canada, 2013).

Approximately two-thirds of the Canadian population report being affiliated with the Christian religion (58% of which are Catholic). A significant number of Canadian identify with non-Christian religious; 3.2% of the population is Muslim, 1.5% is Hindu, 1.4% is Sikh, 1.1% is Buddhist and 1.0% is Jewish. One quarter of the population has no religious affiliation (Statistics Canada, 2013).

Racial Diversity and Immigration Status

The 2011 census also reported that one in five Canadians can be identified as visible minorities. Visible minorities are defined as any non-white, non-Aboriginal peoples, and most commonly identify as belonging to the following ethnic groups: South Asian, Chinese, Black, Filipino, Latin American, Arab, Southeast Asian, West Asian, Korean and Japanese. The majority of visible minorities (61.3%) belong to one of three broad groups: South Asian (e.g., Indian, Pakistani, Sri Lankan), Chinese or Black (e.g., Jamaican, Haitian). Nearly two thirds (65.1%) of visible minorities were born outside of Canada, while the remainder were born in Canada (30.9%) or were non-permanent residents (4%) (Statistics Canada, 2013).

A little more than a fifth of the total Canadian population (20.6%) are foreign born, leading the nation to have one of the highest foreign born populations in the world (OECD, 2013). The majority of new immigrants come from Asia (56.9% of those who arrived between 2006 and 2011), followed by Europe (13.7%), Africa (12.5%), and the Caribbean, Central and South America (12.3%). Since 1971 there has been a major shift in the regions of origin of the immigrant population, owing to a change to a more inclusive immigration policy. Prior to 1971, more than three quarters (78.3%) of the immigrant population came from Europe and only 8.5% originated in (Statistics Canada, 2013).

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS

Four complementary social psychological theories will be used to guide this research: social representations theory, social identity theory, self-categorization theory and social representations of history.

Social Representations Theory

Social representations theory (SRT; Moscovici, 1961) postulates that groups have shared beliefs about the world that they take for granted, called social representations. These social representations are historically created subjectivities that run parallel to more objective information (e.g., scientific knowledge) that people have of the world. SRT is concerned with the particular content of everyday thinking (Wagner & Hayes, 2005). To this end, social representations help individuals understand their social worlds as well as explain new information by connecting it to pre-existing representations. According to Moscovici (1988), there are three types of social representations: 1) *hegemonic*, pervasive and shared between everyone in a society; 2) *emancipated*, different but complementary representations between different groups of a society; and 3) *polemical*, opposing and contested representations in a society. SRT is concerned with lay people's representations of society, theorising about the societal-level factors influencing them. The study of social representations can include an examination of narratives, discourses, and implicit and explicit attitudes at the both the societal-level and individual-level, and researchers of this tradition employ a wide range of quantitative and qualitative methods to understand the production and reproduction of shared knowledge (Flick & Foster, 2007). This thesis will examine socially shared representations of nationhood and identity for the English Canadian majority group, from political representations, to media representations, and ending with ordinary citizens' representations. Of particular interest to this dissertation is whether the content of these representations will be similar across all three levels.

Social Identity Theory

A key factor in understanding Canadian conceptions of diversity and nationhood is identity. Social identity theory (SIT; Tajfel & Turner, 1979) posits that individuals are motivated to have a positive self-concept which is derived from their membership in particular groups. Social identity theorists argue that people compare

9

the status of their ingroups to that of other groups to establish positive social identities by positively distinguishing themselves from any outgroups. Comparisons are made possible through established systems of power and hierarchy within a society. SIT will provide an interpretive frame for understanding the particular content of Canadian national identity, specifically which groups are included in or excluded from its conceptions.

Self-Categorization Theory

A related theory that arose from SIT is self-categorization theory (SCT; Turner et al., 1987). SCT postulates that social identities are dynamic and depend on context. In other words, people place themselves in categories that are contextually salient for a given moment. Of particular concern of SCT is the concept of *prototypicality*, which argues that a group is represented by the most normative position within the group, referring to the position that is most different from the group it is being compared with and is most similar to other members of the group (Oakes, Haslam, & Turner, 1998). While the theory takes into account the influence that context has on group *prototypicality*, it assumes that groups are relatively homogeneous and contain a single prototype for a given situation. This is problematic for Canada as an officially multicultural and bilingual country. Since research has shown that multiculturalism and bilingualism are strong components of Canadians' national identity (Adams, 2007), it leads to the question of whether a multicultural Canadian identity can exist and if so, if it is formed based on one prototype or many. This will be examined in Chapters 3 and 4, where we will investigate English Canadians' individual-level representations of nationhood and identity, to determine if or how they incorporate cultural diversity.

Social Representations of History

History plays an important role in shaping individuals' conceptions of their world and their resulting social identities. Liu and Hilton (2005) developed a framework for examining representations of history that brings together the theories of SRT, SIT and SCT outlined above. They argue that people have shared representations of history that shape present and future actions, as well as their social identities, and that they justify/establish dominance hierarchies within a society. They argue that social representations of history provide people with myths about their origins that become what are called *charters* (Malinowski, 1926); these

representations are widely held by members of a society and legitimise the positions of the different groups within it. In fact, Liu and Hilton (2005) postulate that these *charters* prescribe power positions and particular rights to different groups. For instance in the Canadian context, English Canadians dominate and therefore dictate and define the legitimacy of other cultural groups. Although the multicultural policy was established to formally recognise everyone in Canada as equal, the English Canadian values of liberal democracy and their Anglo-Saxon heritage predominate as guiding norms (Fukuyama, 2006). As for the case of the French Canadian national minority, it could be argued that they have been warranted a special place in society through a shared history of struggle between English and French Canadians and a mutual respect for democracy and liberal philosophy (Molinaro, 2011). Even though the dominance of these two groups over other cultural minorities violates the inherent principles of liberal democracy (Ball et al., 2013; Fukuyama, 2006), the *charter* prescribes and legitimises these positions (Liu & Hilton, 2005; Malinowski, 1926).

HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL REPRESENTATIONS OF NATIONHOOD AND IDENTITY

It has been argued that nationalities (e.g., conceptions of nationhood and national identity) are created by governments through political discourse. This political discourse is then propagated by mass media (sometimes by critically reconstructing it) and together these influences help shape ordinary citizens' representations of nationhood and their national identity (Anderson, 1991). The primary goal of the research presented in this dissertation is to examine the Canadian majority group's representations of nationhood and national identity, first as constructed by the media and second, as conceived by ordinary English Canadians. Since representations of the nation are arguably created first by governments, it is important that we provide a theoretical analysis of Canadian governmental representations (specifically narratives and discourses) of Canadian nationhood and identity to help inform our understanding of both media and individual representations of Canada. Since it has been argued that history plays a crucial role in shaping nationhood and national identity (Liu & Hilton, 2005), the following sections will examine governmental discourses and narratives through an historical lens.

The first section will provide a general overview of governmental discourse on Canadian nationhood and identity. This will be followed by a separate theoretical

analysis of the governmental discourse surrounding each of Canada's four major cultural groupings (English Canadians, French Canadians, Aboriginal peoples and newer immigrants and their descendants) using our four guiding theories (SRT, SIT, SCT and Social Representations of History). A separate analysis will be made of each cultural grouping since they have each received, and continue to receive, differential treatment from the state (Kymlicka, 2003).

A History of Defining Canadian Nationhood and Identity through Diversity

It has been said that Canada has been preoccupied with how to define itself since it officially became a nation in 1867 with Confederation (Korte, 1998; Mackey, 2002). Since Canada has always been comprised of a heterogeneous population, the government has long attempted to construct a Canadian national identity that would unify Canada's diverse population in order to set it apart from other nations. A persistent narrative of Canadian nationhood is to present it as different from, and as better than, the United States, its omnipresent and highly influential neighbour to the south (Mackey, 2002). This is in line with Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), which explains that individuals are motivated to construct social identities that are positive, so that they can feel better about the groups to which they belong, and by extension, themselves. From this perspective it can be argued that the relationship between English and French Canadians was constructed by the government as amicable, and that this positive relationship between them became a point of difference between Canada and the US. The Canadian government thus arguably framed French Canadians as crucial partners in defining the Canadian nation and national identity as better than the American outgroup that threatened to engulf it.

Despite the inclusion of French Canadians in the Canadian rhetoric, Canadian identity was historically closely tied to Great Britain and Canada's British heritage (Mackey, 2002). After World War II this began to change (Brodie, 2002). The Canadian government pushed for Canada to become an independent nation (rather than a colony of Britain) and began to argue in official documents that Canadians felt that Britain was contributing less and less to their identity (Breton, 1984). Britain thus became another outgroup from which Canadian politicians aimed to positively distinguish Canada (Mackey, 2002). The Canadian government began to increase immigration with the goal of greater national prosperity. They initially sought immigrants from Britain and Western and Northern Europe, but when those numbers

began to decline, they expanded recruitment attempts to Southern and Eastern Europe (Harney, 1989). Now the majority of immigrants hail from Asian countries (Statistics Canada, 2013).

The 1960s saw a major push for a distinctly Canadian identity. Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson introduced a Canadian flag that did not include the British ensign (one that would explicitly appeal to English *and* French Canadians) and a new national anthem which was originally a French Canadian song (Brodie, 2002; Kymlicka, 2003; Mackey, 2002). This was no doubt done to appease nationalist and separatist sentiment in Quebec which had been growing, by strengthening the notion of Canada as being founded on a partnership between English and French Canadians. Canada's first large world exposition also took place in 1967 which was the government's first opportunity to present Canada's new image and identity to the world. The image was one of cultural diversity and inclusivity, showcasing English and French Canadians, Aboriginal peoples and their cultures, and cultural performances and costumes of newer immigrant groups. Cultural pluralism thus became a defining feature of Canada, and one that again positively distinguished Canada from other nations, as promoted by political elites (Mackey, 2002).

Many inquiries into Canada's culture and identity were also commissioned in the 1960s, including the Bilingualism and Biculturalism Commission (herein referred to as the Bi and Bi Commission; Government of Canada, 1967) which was mandated to "inquire into and report upon the existing state of bilingualism and biculturalism in Canada and to recommend what steps should be taken to develop the Canadian Confederation on the basis of an equal partnership between the two founding races, taking into account the contribution made by the other ethnic groups to the cultural enrichment of Canada and the measures that should be taken to safeguard that contribution" (pp. xxi-xxii). While the commission explicitly focused on the state of English and French Canadian language and culture (the discourse of the "two founding races" should be noted), reference was made to other ethnic groups with a specific focus on their contributions to the country. However, Aboriginal peoples were explicitly left out of the commission, the commissioners stating that it was a complex issue that was too big for the scope of the commission (Government of Canada, 1967). It can be argued that historically, the issue of French-English relations has taken place in one public space, that around "other" ethnic groups (and

immigrants) has been discussed separately, and Aboriginal issues and rights have taken place in a third space. The Bi and Bi Commission successfully brought together the issues of French-English bilingualism/biculturalism and immigration into the same dialogue or narrative, but it would seem almost deliberately cast a distance between the two issues and Aboriginal peoples.

The commission was significant in that it highlighted the inequalities and structural discrimination that French Canadians faced, but its recommendations have created lasting change to the Canadian fabric. Official bilingualism and multiculturalism were both borne out of the recommendations set out in the report (Mackey, 2002). The policy of official multiculturalism was introduced by Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau in 1971. The intended aim of the policy was to recognise all of the diversity that was present in the nation (i.e., not just English and French biculturalism) and to ensure that every Canadian citizen be treated equally (Government of Canada, 1988). The multiculturalism policy also essentially gave power and control back to English Canadians, at a time when French Canadians had begun to have their requests for equality and recognition met. Through the policy of multiculturalism the government was able to redefine the limits of inclusion, and manage the changes to Canadian nationhood and identity in their own terms, which allowed them to continue to maintain British hegemony (Mackey, 2002). However, the policy was officially one of "multiculturalism within a bilingual framework" (Dewing, 2012), which recognised the partnership between English and French Canadians, while at the same time symbolically reduced French Canadian cultural differences to a question of language. Still, it has been argued that political conceptions in fact equate bilingualism with biculturalism (Karim, 1993), subtly favouring English and French Canadian values as well as their languages.

It can be argued that the Canadian government has been able to both recognise Quebec and French Canadians' special role in defining the nation and national identity, while simultaneously promoting an overarching policy of multiculturalism that prioritises individual rights over collective rights, since English and French Canadians share the same core values of liberal democracy (Molinaro, 2011). This ensures that their partnership and visions for society are founded on the same principles, even if they do not always agree on particular policy implementations. Liu and Hilton (2005) would argue that it is their historical relationship that has elevated

the two groups to their *charter* status (Malinowski, 1926), according them both with a special set of rights, status and power not extended to other groups.

The next sections will first describe the four cultural groupings (English Canadians, French Canadians, Aboriginal peoples, and newer immigrants and their descendants) in detail, and then will provide a more detailed interpretative analysis of how they are each framed by political discourse as contributing to the nation and national identity, using the four guiding theories.

The Majority Group: English Canadians

As this thesis is devoted to representations of the Canadian nation and diversity by the English Canadian majority group, a definition of who the English Canadian group is should be provided. As has been previously posited, English Canadians represent one of the *charter* groups of Canada in that they hold a position of power relative to other groups, with an associated set of rights as the dominant group (Liu & Hilton, 2005). As the majority group they set the rules about what constitutes Canadian identity and nationhood, including which groups are incorporated in its conceptions, and how. Some social scientists (e.g., Howard-Hassmann, 1999; Roy, 1995) define English Canadians as any non-indigenous person who speaks English as a first language, or uses English in public, regardless of their ethnicity or race. This definition is too liberal for the purposes of this thesis. Many ethnic and racial minorities continue to experience inequalities, discrimination and prejudice that those of white European ancestry do not (Dion, 2001; Fleras & Elliott, 2002; Lamb, 2013; Pendakur & Pendakur, 2011), and so they cannot be considered members of the majority group. Therefore, in this dissertation English Canadians will be defined as those who speak English as a first language (or use English in public), are racially white and have European ancestry. That means that someone of Ukrainian or German descent who was born in Canada or grew up there, and who speaks English at home and/or in public, is an English Canadian. The term 'British Canadian' will sometimes be used in this thesis to refer to those English Canadians who specifically originated from Great Britain (i.e., England, Ireland, Scotland or Wales)[3].

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[3] This thesis will focus primarily on English Canadians in the province of Ontario, to reduce regional variations. Ontario was chosen since it is the province with the largest population, the greatest level of cultural diversity, and a long history of partnership and struggle with the province of Quebec. English Canadians within the province of Quebec also have a different status as a minority group within the

As the majority group, English Canadians are more likely to identify as Canadian than with a regional or ethnic identity (Statistics Canada, 2013). Given the diversity that characterises the Canadian nation, this dissertation aims to determine if the English Canadian majority group views this category ('Canadian') as incorporating any of that diversity or whether being Canadian simply conjures up an image of someone of white European descent. Therefore, this thesis will assess whether an ethnic prototype exists for 'Canadian' (Oakes et al., 1998; Turner et al., 1987), and whether different representations of 'Canadianness' emerge according to context.

The National Minority: French Canadians

As asserted earlier, French Canadians may represent the second *charter* group in that they hold a privileged position in Canada with an associated set of rights (Liu & Hilton, 2005), owing to a shared history and partnership with the English Canadian majority group (Mackey, 2002). Together they formed the nation of Canada in 1867 through Canadian Confederation. Because of this, English and French Canadians have often been referred to in official discourse as the "two founding races" of Canada (N.B. this discourse has more recently become one of "three founding peoples," which now includes Aboriginal peoples as well as the two colonial groups; Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2012). More than a fifth (21.3%) of the Canadian population speaks French as a first language (Statistics Canada, 2011). The vast majority of French Canadians live in the province of Quebec (Statistics Canada, 2006). French Canadians in Quebec (typically referred to as *Québécois*) are in a unique position, compared to those living outside of the province, in that they are at once a majority group with control over their own affairs as well as being a strong and influential minority group within the wider nation. They also set the tone within the province for ethnic and cultural relations, enacting policies related to preserving the French language and managing the province's increasing ethnic diversity (Juteau, 2002).

Specific events in history led French Canadians to maintain a special status (relative to other minority groups) and to assert their rights as a nationally recognised

province, while still maintaining a majority status in the rest of the country. Due to their distinct status, English Canadians in Quebec will not be studied in this research.

minority group which has achieved special rights as a collective group. At an early point in Canadian history, English Canadians needed to strategically align themselves with French Canadians in order to protect themselves from the American threat to the south (Mackey, 2002). As argued previously, they have also used the French Canadian minority as a way to promote positive distinctiveness for the Canadian ingroup (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), again in relation to the American outgroup (Mackey, 2002).

The following section provides a brief history of how the partnership developed between English and French Canadians.

History of French-English Relations in Canada

The French arrived to the now Canadian territory and began settling there in the early 17th century, one century before the British. For the most part they settled different territory than the British, who were further south. Many battles ensued between the British and French over trade and territory, which saw the two colonial groups ally with separate groups of Aboriginal peoples for military support. This ultimately led to the defining battle for Canada in 1759 (Battle of the Plains of Abraham) which ended in victory for the British over the French (Day, 2000). The British thus claimed their status as the dominant group over both French and Aboriginal peoples, laying out the rules and restrictions for the minority groups' participation in society (Mackey, 2002).

From the outset, the British allowed the French to continue to occupy their territory in Quebec, and in order to ensure their support against a potential American invasion during the American Revolution they signed a treaty of sorts called the Quebec Act, which gave the French the right to maintain their language, culture, religion and law (Dickinson & Young, 2008). This event set the tone for relations between the two groups from that point forward. Confederation in 1867, when Canada officially became a country separate from Great Britain, was built on a partnership between British and French Canadians (Mackey, 2002). Many disagreements and conflicts have taken place between the groups throughout history, but they have learned to live together relatively peacefully and respectfully (Kymlicka, 2003).

Quebec has always remained distinctly different and somewhat separate from the rest of Canada[4] (Dickinson & Young, 2008).

Quebec's Distinct Status

Throughout its history, Quebec has established and maintained a distinct status within Canada. This has been ensured by the system of federalism enacted by Confederation which sees the federal government preside over certain matters (e.g., defence), with other matters mandated separately by each provincial government (e.g., education; LaSelva, 1996). A substantial negotiation took place between the Government of Quebec and the Government of Canada in 1959, which granted the provinces the right to opt out of federal programmes and constitutional amendments should they so choose. This has led Quebec to opt out of many federal programmes (e.g., hospital insurance and social assistance) and attain a level of autonomy not sought by the other provinces (Béland & Lecours, 2006). In fact, a trend began following World War II to establish a more centralised Canadian government, which gained support from all provinces except for Quebec (Banting, 1987). In 1982, the federal government ratified the Canadian Constitution and Quebec was the only province not to sign it since Quebecers felt that their rights were being ignored and reversed (Simeon, 1988).

Of course, Quebec has sought such control over its own affairs to ensure that the French language and Québécois culture are not lost and furthermore, to maintain a sense of cultural *and* national identity (Handler, 1988). What seems most noteworthy is that the federal government and the other provincial governments have allowed Quebec to successfully negotiate this autonomy. As can be seen, these provisions were set in place first with the Quebec Act (which, again, was to safeguard the British

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[4] This thesis focuses almost exclusively on French Canadians in Quebec, since they hold a different status relative to French Canadians in the rest of Canada, who can be referred to as *double minorities* (i.e., not holding majority status in their regions such as the Québécois in Quebec). French Canadians outside of Quebec have had historically different experiences than those in Quebec. For instance, the Acadian people in the Maritime Provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island were exiled from the Canadian territory by the British in 1755, with many accounts of the British using violence leading to the murder of many Acadian peoples who refused to leave the territory (Barnes, 1988). French Canadians in Quebec were also subjected to discrimination and inequality by English Canadians/Anglo Quebecers, particularly with income and employment, and it was through a long fight for recognition and equality that have led the Québécois to hold the relative positions of power in the province that they now hold (Morris & Lanphier, 1977).

from American invasion; Dickinson & Young, 2008) and later with the system of federalism established with Confederation and the British North America Act (LaSelva, 1996). The special status afforded to Quebec and French Canadians (within Quebec especially) has major implications for conceptions of Canadian nationhood and identity. As the majority group, English Canadians have the power to refuse Quebec its requests, but many of these requests are approved (Béland & Lecours, 2006). It seems likely that Canada's liberal democratic values (Fukuyama, 2006) contribute to an English Canadian notion that French Canadians be treated equally, fairly, democratically and under the rule of law. This is coupled with the argument just made that the English Canadian political elite allowed French Canadians to assert their rights *within reason* in order to create a Canadian identity that positively distinguishes them from Americans (Mackey, 2002), by focusing on the amicable relationship they have succeeded in forging. It was as though they were saying, French Canadians are different and should be accorded with rights to protect this difference, but they are one of us.

However, there is an alternative stance taken by the general public. Ordinary English Canadians generally believe that Quebec should be treated as any of the ten provinces and therefore not receive any special treatment (McRoberts, 1991). This also arguably stems from the liberal democratic values that favour individual rights over collective rights, with the majority group often perceiving any special rights given to one group over another as a threat to equality (Fukuyama, 2006; Sanders, 1991), regardless of whether the 'special treatment' exists to overcome inequalities between the groups (Sibley, Liu, Duckitt, & Khan, 2008). To this end, the Québécois maintain that Quebec is a distinct nation within Canada that should be accorded with a different set of laws and policies (Guibernau, 2006; Handler, 1988; Parekh, 1994; Seymour, 2004). The Quebec government has not always felt that the notion of Quebec as distinct and different from the rest of Canada has been properly recognised by the Canadian government and has responded with two provincial referenda on the question of whether Quebec should separate from Canada (Guibernau, 2006). The second in 1995 was only narrowly defeated (50.6% against and 49.4% for separation; McRoberts, 1997).

According to social representations theory, the difference in opinion about Quebec and Canada provides an example of an *emancipated* representation

(Moscovici, 1988), pointing to two opposing but complementary social representations of the Canadian nation by English and French Canadians. In 2006, the Canadian government officially recognised Quebec as a distinct nation within Canada (Blad & Couton, 2009), and while as previously mentioned, the public generally disagrees that Quebec should be treated differently, they do not appear to be vehemently opposed to it (McRoberts, 1991). This may point to a case of benign neglect where English Canadians ignore the special treatment that Quebec receives in order to keep them within the country as they are crucial partners in the Canadian nation and national identity (Mackey, 2002), and therefore only oppose it once explicitly confronted by it. Following from the argument that French and English Canadians are *charter* groups (Malinowski, 1926), this thesis will examine whether the content of Canadian nationhood and identity for English Canadians is bicultural and incorporates French Canadians.

Aboriginal Peoples: First Nations, Inuit and Métis

Like French Canadians, Aboriginal peoples also represent a (broad) group that receives differential treatment from the state (Kymlicka, 2003). Aboriginal peoples are recognised as the first peoples of the land, and many treaties have been signed among various groups of Aboriginal people and the Canadian government at different times (Cairns, 2011). Aboriginal peoples also form a crucial part of Canadian identity as represented by the official government discourse on Canadian nationhood (Mackey, 2002). However, neither the policy of multiculturalism nor bilingualism (i.e., the guiding policies of Canadian diversity) explicitly represents Aboriginal peoples or the unique position they occupy in the Canadian psyche. While the multiculturalism policy technically does encompass Aboriginal peoples (in that it promotes equal participation and recognition of everyone living in Canada), multiculturalism is almost entirely discussed as a question of how to integrate immigrants and their descendants, even by prominent social science researchers (Adams, 2007; Berry, 2012).

What purpose could this serve? Aboriginal peoples may represent a threat to the notion of Canada and Canadians as kind and accommodating. The United Nations recently raised concerns over Canada's treatment of its Aboriginal peoples (United Nations General Assembly, 2014), which drew the attention of the international media ("U.N. says Canada in crisis over treatment of aboriginals," 2014). There is ample

evidence for the many atrocities that have been inflicted upon Aboriginal peoples, and they continue to occupy a marginalised position within society (Amnesty International, 2004; Bombay et al., 2013; Cairns, 2011; Harper, 2006; Joffe, 2010; Kirmayer et al., 2003). Symbolically, Aboriginal people have been positioned as a central part of the Canadian nation when presenting Canada to the world; for instance, the national museums have prominent sections on Aboriginal histories and cultures, and recently, the symbol used for the 2010 Winter Olympics in Vancouver was of Aboriginal origin (Mackey, 2002). However, Aboriginal peoples represent a problem for Canada, and although there is a frequent public dialogue about righting the wrongs of the past towards Aboriginal peoples (Cairns, 2011), discussions surrounding them never seem to appear in the same public space as other discussions of diversity and diversity management.

According to social representations theory (Moscovici, 1961, 1988), Aboriginal peoples and English Canadians thus have *polemical* representations of Canadian nationhood, and of how Aboriginal people fit into the nation. English Canadians seem to view them on the one hand as contributing to the positive distinctiveness of Canada (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), again historically positioning themselves as superior to Americans by perceiving the Canadian relationship with Aboriginal people as benevolent (Mackey, 2002). On the other hand, Aboriginal discourse on the Canadian nation is one of struggle and a quest for recognition of their rights and past wrongdoings committed against them by European Canadians (Cairns, 2011; King & Highway, 2010), which contests the narrative of Canada as accepting and accommodating of difference (Kymlicka, 2003).

Aboriginal-European History

When Aboriginal peoples first came into contact with European people, the contact was often cooperative (e.g., the establishment of trading relationships, or learning different skills from one another). At times the contact was fraught, but this usually took the form of military alliances between British peoples and certain Aboriginal tribes (Iroquois Six Nations, Cherokee) who fought against the alliances between French peoples and other Aboriginal tribes (Huron, Mississauga, Ojibwa, Winnebago, and Potawatomi). Until the 1800s, even though Europeans outnumbered Aboriginal peoples, they largely tolerated Aboriginal cultural practices. By the 1800s large numbers of Aboriginal peoples died of unfamiliar diseases brought by the

Europeans. The fur trade began to dwindle, and once the British had conquered the French and gained control of the territory, they had no realistic need for military allies among the Aboriginal tribes. They thus began to forcefully assimilate Aboriginal peoples (Cairns, 2011).

In 1867, the newly elected first prime minister of Canada, Sir John A. MacDonald, stated that one of his goals was to "do away with the tribal system, and assimilate the Indian people in all respects with the inhabitants of the Dominion" (as cited by Cairns, 2011, p. 17). Many attempts were made to eliminate Aboriginal culture, language, spirituality, customs and practices. Aboriginal peoples were confined to land reservations, and policies were implemented that made it hard for them to leave or to enter areas built up by Europeans, essentially assimilating them or banishing them altogether (Cairns, 2011). A residential school system was instated in the 1840s, whereby Aboriginal children were forcibly removed from their homes and families, and they were made to attend boarding schools that ensured that they would lose their cultures and languages. There have been many reports of these children experiencing countless instances of sexual, psychological and physical abuse, and neglect. The last residential school did not close its doors until 1996 (Cairns, 2011; Regan, 2010). A Truth and Reconciliation Commission was established in 2008 to address the lasting impact that the residential schools had on former students, their children and their families. Also in 2008, Prime Minister Stephen Harper, along with the other political party leaders, publicly apologised on behalf of the Canadian government for the role it played in the administration of residential schools (Cairns, 2011; Regan, 2010). Many Aboriginal communities have also in recent years declared states of emergency due to lack of clean water or shelter (Murdocca, 2010), which has led the international community to question the Canadian government's present day treatment of Aboriginal peoples ("Canada faces 'crisis' on indigenous living conditions," 2014).

Aboriginal peoples have a special status in Canada as evidenced by the policies governing them. They officially have the right to self-government (Cairns, 2011). Many Aboriginal peoples are also known as Registered Indians, which carries with it an associated set of rights such as uninsured health benefits (Peters, 2003). As was argued earlier, Aboriginal peoples are at times represented as important members of society contributing to notions of Canadian nationhood and identity (Mackey,

2002), and others are positioned as posing a significant problem and challenge (Cairns, 2011). This dissertation will aim to assess if Aboriginal peoples are included in both media and individual representations of Canadian nationhood and identity or whether they are absent altogether.

New Immigrants and their Descendants

For the last century or so, the Canadian government has sought immigrants as a way of populating the large and sparse territory. This began in the early 20th century in an attempt to expand the nation west. For many years the Canadian government attempted to assimilate immigrants into the majority group (Harney, 1989). This changed substantially in 1963 when the government launched the Bi and Bi Commission (Government of Canada, 1967; Mackey, 2002). Extensive interviews were carried out with Canadians across the country which determined that there were other cultural voices that needed and wanted to be heard (Government of Canada, 1967). Ukrainian Canadians in particular vocalised their discontent with Canadian biculturalism since they did not feel it gave them space to be represented as citizens contributing to the nation (Mackey, 2002). In their final report, the commissioners recommended that a policy of multiculturalism be adopted to reflect the cultural diversity within Canada, beyond English-French biculturalism/bilingualism (alongside many other policy recommendations related to English and French Canadian equality; Government of Canada, 1967). In 1971, Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau responded to the recommendation by instating an official policy of multiculturalism (three years after enacting official bilingualism; Government of Canada, 1988).

Trudeau's position on multiculturalism was clearly to promote liberal democratic values, and he viewed diversity as a fact of Canadian nationhood and identity that should be recognised. This can be evidenced in the speech he made to the House of Commons when he officially instated multiculturalism. He said:

> "It was the view of the royal commission, shared by the government and, I am sure, by all Canadians, that there cannot be one cultural policy for Canadians of British and French origin, another for the original peoples and yet a third for all others. For although there are two official languages, there is no official culture, nor does any ethnic group take precedence over any other. No citizen or group of citizens is other than Canadian, and all should be treated fairly."
> (Pierre Trudeau, October 8, 1971)

Although the stated goal of national multiculturalism was to ensure equality for all Canadian citizens, many in Quebec argued that multiculturalism was established to undermine Quebec's quest for greater recognition and autonomy (Dickinson & Young, 2008; Handler, 1988). Pierre Trudeau himself was a bicultural (French and English) Québécois Canadian who gained widespread praise by English Canadians and much resistance from French Canadians (Dufour, 2002). The idea of multiculturalism arguably appealed to English Canadians as it spoke to their liberal democratic values while at the same time supplanted biculturalism which allowed them to regain their position as the dominant group spelling out the rules of citizenship. The multiculturalism policy was seen by many French Canadians as yet another attempt made by the federal government to ignore their requests for recognition (Dufour, 2002).

Despite Trudeau's intended wish to create a cultural policy for Canada that represented the colonial groups, Aboriginal peoples and newer immigrants and their descendants, multiculturalism is often synonymous with immigration for the Canadian public. The policy lives on in the minds of Canadians and even in the writings of multiculturalism scholars, as a policy for the management, recognition and incorporation of immigrants (Adams, 2007; Berry, 2012). This is shown through the following quotes. In his review of multiculturalism for the Canadian federal government, Berry (2012) states that "multiculturalism and immigration are usually connected in public perceptions and attitudes". Secondly, in the book *Unlikely Utopia: The Surprising Triumph of Canadian Multiculturalism,* author Michael Adams argues in a footnote that "multiculturalism is this country's mode of relating to immigrant populations, not to the people who occupied the place before Europeans colonized it" (Adams, 2007, p. 224). Given that multiculturalism is often cited as a strong Canadian value and a part of Canada's unique identity (Adams, 2007; Kymlicka, 2003), does this conflation of multiculturalism with immigration mean that the majority group values immigration and the cultural diversity brought by it, or instead is it more broadly the liberal democratic values that official multiculturalism represents, namely the rights and freedoms of the individual? This thesis aims to provide an answer to this question.

In order to begin to delineate what official multiculturalism represents for English Canadians, the next section will examine the dominance of liberal democratic values in political discourse.

Liberal Democratic Values

There is ample evidence to suggest that narratives of Canadian nationhood and identity are liberal democratic in nature (Ball et al., 2013; Fukuyama, 2006). Again, according to social identity theory, these values may serve the function of bolstering the ingroups' positive distinctiveness (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Canadian multiculturalism embodies these values, and by incorporating the policy of multiculturalism as a key value defining the Canadian nation and peoples, English Canadians are able to feel good about the Canadian ingroup by appearing open, kind, generous and inclusive (Mackey, 2002). Ironically, this also allows them to exclude any outgroups from the ingroup if they do not also adhere to these values. Not adhering to the values can take the form of a group (e.g., Aboriginal peoples) asserting collective rights over individual rights (Taylor, 1998). It was articulated above that French Canadians frequently violate the principles of individual liberalism, and by extension Canadian multiculturalism, by asserting their collective rights (Ball et al., 2013; Fukuyama, 2006; Sanders, 1991), but English Canadians appear to ignore or neglect this fact unless they are explicitly confronted by it. This may be due to the *charter* (Malinowski, 1926) that has elevated English and French Canadians to their privileged positions in Canadian society based on their shared history. Furthermore, this may be coupled with a mutual understanding between the groups based on a strong adherence to the liberal democratic values (Fukuyama, 2006; Molinaro, 2011). Therefore, French Canadians can at certain times be incorporated easily into the Canadian ingroup, and other times be excluded from it (e.g., when they are lobbying for special recognition). This suggests that the Canadian government may have two opposing yet complementary narratives of the nation, one of liberal democracy and one of English-French biculturalism. This dissertation aims to assess whether the same narratives will emerge in media and individual level representations of the nationhood. Further to this, we will examine where the rest of Canada's cultural diversity fits into the national psyche, as represented by the omnipresent policy of multiculturalism.

Canadian multiculturalism is arguably exclusionary in its inclusivity (Karim, 1993). Although it explicitly aims to promote cultural diversity by stating that anyone can be Canadian and contribute to the Canadian nation regardless of their cultural background and heritage (Dewing, 2012), those who are not of British and French origin will perhaps always be outsiders unless they also adopt the values of liberal democracy. This may lead English Canadians to hold the assumption that anyone not of European and Christian descent are automatically trying to seek special recognition and rights for the subgroup to which they belong (e.g., Muslims requesting a prayer room in a university), causing them to violate the principles of liberal democracy and ultimately be excluded from the ingroup. The crucial question then becomes whether conceptions of Canadian nationhood and identity for the English Canadian majority are actually multicultural or whether these conceptions are more likely to be defined by the accommodation of *others*. This thesis will endeavour to provide an answer to this question.

Summary

To summarise, the governmental representations of Canadian nationhood and identity are subtly constructed narratives and discourses with liberal democratic values at the core, promoting equality, freedom and democracy for individual members within the nation (Fukuyama, 2006; Molinaro, 2011), as well as historically warranted exceptionalism for both French Canadians and Aboriginal peoples. Both French Canadians and Aboriginal peoples have been incorporated throughout history into governmental constructions of Canadian identity since they contribute to the positive distinctiveness of the nation (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), most often in reference to the American outgroup (Mackey, 2002). However, although they are a minority group, French Canadians have arguably achieved *charter* status (Malinowski, 1926) and have been allocated with a unique set of resources that other groups do not receive (Béland & Lecours, 2006). They are therefore recognised as equal partners with English Canadians both realistically (through resource allocation) and symbolically (e.g., Official Languages Act and the federal government declaration that Quebec is a nation within the nation; Dickinson & Young, 2008; Mackey, 2002). This is arguably done since the groups have similar origins as European colonial peoples, and they have a shared respect for liberal democratic values (Fukuyama, 2006; Molinaro, 2011). Aboriginal peoples on the other hand continue to be silenced

26

and marginalised, likely since they pose a threat to conceptions of Canada as a kind, generous and fair country (Cairns, 2011; Mackey, 2002). Finally, while multiculturalism has been articulated as a fundamental Canadian value (Adams, 2007; Kymlicka, 2003), the theoretical analysis provided here suggests that this value is not one of cultural diversity *per se,* but actually a marker of underlying liberal democratic values. This supports Kymlicka's (2003) assertion that Canadian identity relates to the accommodation of diversity, and as is argued here, not to diversity itself.

MEDIA REPRESENTATIONS OF NATIONHOOD, IDENTITY AND DIVERSITY

The media play an important intermediary role between governmental discourse and individuals in a society in propagating governmental discourses of nationhood and identity and shaping individuals' representations of the nation and society (Anderson, 1991; van Dijk, 1987, 1989, 1995). The research on media discourses of nationhood and national identity, and their incorporation of diversity, has been under studied. Study 1 of this dissertation (see Chapter 2) will specifically analyse the language used to construct discourses of nationhood as they emerged in the print media coverage of two political announcements of government-led events related to diversity, diversity management and the accommodation of minority groups. To date, research on media representations of diversity in Canada has primarily focused on how specific minority ethnic groups (e.g., Aboriginal peoples, Harding, 2006; Muslims, Bullock & Jafri, 2000) or diversity policies (e.g., multiculturalism or immigration) are framed (Bauder, 2008; Karim, 2002). The research on minority ethnic groups has revealed these groups to be underrepresented by the media or else negatively stereotyped or misrepresented (Fleras & Kunz, 2001; Fleras, 2011; Henry & Tator, 2002). Other media analyses have revealed that both the multiculturalism and immigration policies are portrayed negatively, the former primarily for fostering national divisiveness (Karim, 2002), and the latter has most frequently been associated with danger (Bauder, 2008).

To our knowledge, two scholars have so far examined how the media frames Canadian nationhood and identity with respect to cultural diversity in general. Karim (1993) discussed the way dominant public discourses (including media discourses) framed "Canadianism," by specifically considering which groups were included in or

excluded from its conceptions. He argued that the English Canadian media portrayed both British and French Canadians as "true" Canadians, while Aboriginal peoples and other minority groups were framed as "others" (Karim, 1993). While this account of media discourses of nationhood, identity and diversity was revealing, it did not provide a detailed analysis of media discourses. Winter (2011) more recently conducted a systematic analysis of English-language print media discourses to investigate how a "multicultural we" was constructed in Canada. This analysis revealed that: 1) a multicultural Canadian identity was framed positively in contrast to less accommodating societies in the USA or Quebec; 2) discussions of Quebec nationalism worked together with those of immigration and other cultural diversity by clarifying the limits of Canadian multiculturalism; and 3) discourses of the "multicultural we" were based in individual liberalism which emphasised individual rights and rejected the notion of special group rights. These results begin to answer some of the questions already posed earlier in this thesis; however a limitation of Winter's (2011) study was that the analysis was underpinned by the assumption that Canadian national identity was multicultural, and explicitly did not focus on *if* it was. We argue that it is still crucial to examine whether or not the content of Canadian nationhood and identity is in fact multicultural, as this has never been examined empirically. The study described in Chapter 2 therefore aims to address this by focusing on if and how cultural diversity is incorporated into media representations of Canadian nationhood and identity, with particular focus on how the different cultural groupings are included in or excluded from these representations.

LAY REPRESENTATIONS OF CANADIAN NATIONHOOD, IDENTITY AND DIVERSITY

This final section will focus on individual representations of Canadian nationhood and identity. As has been stated, it has been theorised that individuals' social representations of their nation and national identity are shaped by media representations of governmental discourses about nationhood (Anderson, 1991). Once we have examined media representations of nationhood and identity (Chapter 2), we will report on two studies investigating lay representations of Canadian history, nationhood and identity (Chapter 3), and implicit and explicit associations between Canadian nationhood and ethnicity in present day (Chapter 4). It will specifically

attempt to determine how similar individuals' representations of nationhood and identity are to both media and governmental discourses.

Although individual-level representations of nationhood and implicit conceptions of national identity have not been previously examined in Canada, a lot of research has been devoted to majority group members' attitudes towards diversity policies and to various ethnic groups. This literature can help to guide our research by providing insight into how English Canadians understand and relate to the diversity within their society, as the majority group setting the tone for ethnic relations in their everyday dealings with minority groups (Liu & Hilton, 2005).

Attitudes towards Diversity Policies

This section will review the literature on ordinary Canadians' attitudes towards the diversity policies of multiculturalism, bilingualism, the special status of Aboriginal peoples and immigration.

Multiculturalism

As described earlier, multiculturalism and immigration are often synonymous in Canadians' public perceptions (Adams, 2007; Berry, 2012). This is despite the fact that multiculturalism is aimed at *everyone* living in Canada regardless of ethnicity, religion or cultural background (Berry, 2012; Dewing, 2012). Regardless of this, multiculturalism is viewed favourably by the general public and as already stated, it has become a fundamental feature in defining what it means to be Canadian (Adams, 2007; Kymlicka, 2003). Berry, Kalin and Taylor (1977) examined the construct of multicultural ideology, defined as the belief that cultural diversity is positive for a society and that this diversity should be celebrated and promoted. In their large national survey, 63.9% of respondents endorsed a multicultural ideology. By 1991, this support had grown, with 69.3% endorsement in a second national survey (Berry & Kalin, 1995). The perceived consequences of multiculturalism were also examined by both national surveys, and results indicated that 61% of respondents to the first survey felt that there would be positive consequences of the policy (Berry et al., 1977), rising to 79% in the second survey (Berry & Kalin, 1995). In a more recent national survey about Canadian identity and society, it was found that 82% of Canadians believed that multiculturalism is a source of pride for Canadians (CHPOR, 2006, as cited by Berry, 2012). This research demonstrates how public support for Canadian multiculturalism has grown since its instatement, and furthermore, how

deeply Canadians feel that multiculturalism is a positive fact of Canadian society that should be promoted.

Bilingualism

The federal government department of Canadian Heritage has been assessing public opinion of the two official languages and policies related to bilingualism. They found that while French Canadians were far more likely than English Canadians to promote the use of French and the policies directed at bilingualism, English Canadians were still generally in support of the promotion of the French language and bilingualism. For instance, 59% of English Canadians believed that high school graduates should have a working knowledge of both English and French, and 66% felt that the federal government should continue to invest in school-based language exchange programmes for young people to interact with the other official language communities. In total, 73% of the sample felt that speaking both languages improved Canadians' chances of finding employment, and 83% of English Canadians felt that it is important for everyone to have access to federal government services in the official language of their choice. In relation to the contribution of bilingualism to Canadian identity, it was found that 57% of English Canadians believed that having two official languages in Canada is an important part of being Canadian; 65% felt that bilingualism was a source of cultural enrichment; and 70% felt that bilingualism was a defining feature of the country (Canadian Heritage, 2008). This research reveals that English Canadians see official bilingualism as an important component of Canadian identity.

Special Status of Aboriginal Peoples

With respect to the special status of Aboriginal peoples, it has been found that non-Aboriginal Canadians believe that Aboriginal people face discrimination in Canadian society today, with 52% of participants in a national survey (Environics, 2010) agreeing that the problems facing the Aboriginal community were caused by the attitudes of non-Aboriginal Canadians and government policies. However, a subsample of the study (24%) reported that Aboriginal people were responsible for causing their own problems, with a further 17% believing that all three factors (i.e., attitudes of non-Aboriginal Canadians, government policies and Aboriginal people causing their own problems) were equally responsible. The perception of what those problems were was assessed using an open ended question and the most common

responses were: equality/discrimination, threat to culture/traditions/self-identity, social issues/isolation/inability to integrate, unemployment/lack of job opportunities, poverty/homelessness, alcohol/drug abuse/addiction, and lack of education/dropping out of school. In line with liberal democratic principles favouring individual rights over special group rights, when non-Aboriginal Canadians were asked for their opinions about whether Aboriginal people should have a separate justice system, more than half of the sample (54%) disagreed. The majority of those participants (80%) stated that they were not in favour of a separate justice system for Aboriginal people because they should be treated the same as everyone else to avoid discrimination. Even still, non-Aboriginal Canadians appear to hold mixed opinions about this policy change as a smaller proportion of non-Aboriginal Canadians (34%) felt that it was a good idea for Aboriginal people to have their own justice system, the most common reason cited was that Aboriginal culture/history is different (than non-Aboriginal Canadian culture and history) and that they should be judged within their own value system or by their peers (Environics, 2010).

It has also been found that non-Aboriginal Canadians hold negative views towards Aboriginal self-government, which again is in line with the conception that English Canadians value individual equality and freedom and view the allocation of special rights to collectivities as threatening these values. Wells and Berry (1992) found that by providing information to participants on Aboriginal self-government that they were able to increase positive attitudes towards it. They posited that Aboriginal self-government received negative and inaccurate coverage in the media leading Canadians to have negative attitudes towards it, thus strengthening the argument being made in this dissertation of the influence of media discourses on the Canadian public's conceptions of nationhood and identity, as it relates to diversity.

Immigration

Each year Citizenship and Immigration Canada conducts an Annual Tracking Survey to assess Canadians' attitudes toward immigration. In 2012-2013, a representative sample of 3,022 Canadians responded to a telephone survey assessing their attitudes (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2013). When asked for their opinions about the number of immigrants in Canada, 53% of respondents stated that it was about right as it was, and 11% said there were too few immigrants. Just over a quarter of the sample (27%) stated that there were too many immigrants in Canada.

Following this, respondents were told that Canada has admitted close to 250,000 immigrants in the past few years and again were asked for their opinions on the numbers of immigrants being let into the country. This time, 37% of respondents said there were too many immigrants, 10% continued to say too few, and 48% still stated that the rate was about right. Participants were also asked to state whether they agreed with the statement that immigration was necessary to sustain Canada's economic growth and 78% either strongly agreed or somewhat agreed with the statement (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2013). It should again be noted that multiculturalism and immigration tend to be synonymous in the minds of Canadians (Adams, 2007; Berry, 2012), and supporting immigration may be seen as a Canadian value, as the policy of multiculturalism is.

Attitudes towards Specific Ethnic Groups

Research has also been conducted on Canadians' attitudes towards various groups in society. This provides further information in constructing an analysis of the majority group's conceptions of nationhood and national identity as the three broad cultural groupings in Canada (i.e., French Canadians, Aboriginal peoples and newer immigrants and their descendants) relate to it.

Attitudes toward French Canadians

It was found that 57% of English Canadians felt that relations between Anglophones and Francophones had improved in the last 10 years (Heritage Canada, 2012; as cited in Berry, 2012). However, only half of the English Canadian sample expressed a desire in learning more about Francophone communities (both inside and outside of Quebec). This finding could possibly be explained by regionalism rather than linguistic prejudice/disinterest since only 50% of the sample expressed any interest in learning more about the Anglophone community in Quebec, whereas on the other hand 78% expressed an interest in learning more about Anglophone communities outside of Quebec. In Berry and Kalin's (1995) national survey conducted in 1991, comfort levels towards different ethnic groups were assessed, providing evidence for a hierarchy with British origin Canadians at the top, followed by similar positive ratings for French Canadians, other European Canadians and Aboriginal peoples, with other minority groups rated lower. This research does not provide any conclusive evidence about English Canadians' attitudes toward French Canadians.

Attitudes toward Aboriginal Peoples

A study conducted by polling company Environics in 2009 about non-Aboriginal peoples' experiences in Canada also assessed non-Aboriginal Canadians views and perceptions of Aboriginal people. A total of 2501 non-Aboriginal people across Canada were interviewed by telephone. The sample was representative of the Canadian population and 18.2% of the sample was born outside of Canada. Demographics on ethnicity or race were not presented, and so it is not possible to determine if there were differences in the attitudes of the English Canadian majority group and those representing different minority groups such as French Canadians, racial minorities and/or second generation Canadians. However, the results of the survey were telling. Symbolically, Aboriginal people were felt to contribute a great deal to non-Aboriginal people's conceptions of Canada, a large proportion of which felt that Aboriginal history and culture were important in defining Canada and that Aboriginal people contributed a great deal to Canadian art, culture and identity. Furthermore, an overwhelming number of non-Aboriginal Canadians (93%) felt that Canadians should understand Aboriginal history and culture, and 63% of the sample felt that Canadian schools did a poor or only fair job in teaching Aboriginal topics. Half of the sample (51%) instead stated that they received most of their information about Aboriginal people from the news or media and only 39% said they received their information from school (Environics, 2010). As with French Canadians, it appears that English Canadians' explicit attitudes toward Aboriginal peoples are positive, and it is also felt that Aboriginal peoples contribute to Canadian nationhood and identity.

Attitudes toward Immigrants and Cultural Minorities

The research on attitudes towards immigrants and cultural minority groups have pointed to an ethnic hierarchy, with those of Western and Northern European descent at the top, followed by Eastern and Southern Europeans, who are then followed by those of non-European descent (Berry et al., 1977; Berry & Kalin, 1995). Furthermore, all ethnic groups were viewed less favourably when it was specified they were immigrants instead of non-immigrants.

Summary

This section reviewed attitudinal survey research of general populations of Canadians. The research did not always focus specifically on English Canadians, but

as the majority group they made up the majority of these representative samples. Wherever possible, this literature review attempted to isolate English Canadians' attitudes towards diversity policies and specific ethnic groups. Taken together, the research indicates that Canadians are greatly in favour of multiculturalism and endorse a multicultural ideology, which views cultural diversity as good for society. The picture becomes more complex when we examine attitudes towards policies aimed at specific groups, and attitudes towards specific ethnic groups themselves. The majority of those sampled about their attitudes towards official bilingualism agreed that bilingualism led to better job opportunities, and most participants felt that the policy contributed symbolically to their conceptions of Canadian nationhood and identity. Research on attitudes towards Aboriginal policies and peoples revealed that non-Aboriginal Canadians believe that Aboriginal peoples face discrimination and inequality, with no firm consensus over the factors contributing to this. Overall, participants generally did not believe that Aboriginal peoples should have separate policies than the rest of Canadians (e.g., Aboriginal self-government) which, as already posited earlier in this thesis, may reflect an adherence to the liberal democratic values and individual liberalism that favour individual rights over collective rights (Ball et al., 2013; Fukuyama, 2006). Finally, attitudes toward immigration are generally favourable; however a hierarchy has emerged in previous research indicating that Canadians may feel that some immigrants are more favourable than others. The research reviewed revealed that Canadians hold nuanced attitudes towards diversity and diversity management. This dissertation will extend previous research on lay people's attitudes towards diversity by examining which groups are included in or excluded from representations of Canadian nationhood and national identity.

Following from this review and analysis of the literature, we have formulated a number of questions to guide our research on media and individual-level representations of Canadian nationhood and identity, with specific focus on how cultural diversity has been incorporated into them. These research questions will be outlined next, followed by a presentation of the methodology to be employed to answer these questions.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. How are the different cultural groupings included in or excluded from representations of Canadian nationhood and identity? Are English Canadian representations of Canadian nationhood and identity monocultural (i.e., British), bicultural (i.e., British and French) or multicultural (e.g., also incorporating Aboriginal peoples and/or newer immigrants and their descendants)? (Chapters 2-4)

2. Do ordinary English Canadians have one ethnic prototype for Canadian nationhood and identity (Oakes et al., 1998; Turner et al., 1987), or are there several that emerge based on a change in context? (Chapters 3-4)

3. Does the Canadian value of multiculturalism represent the inclusion of cultural pluralism in representations of nationhood and self-identity, or does it represent instead the liberal democratic values of equality, freedom and democracy, and the accommodation of *others*? (Chapters 2-4)

4. Do individual representations of nationhood and identity align with governmental and media discourses? (Chapter 5)

METHODOLOGY

This dissertation takes a multi-method approach in order to appropriately answer the previously stated research questions. Study 1 employed critical discourse analysis (CDA; van Dijk, 1993), a qualitative technique aimed at critically examining the language used by dominant groups to frame societal issues related to minority groups. This technique allows the analyst to specifically examine dominance hierarchies within a society and the language that is used to perpetuate power and dominance. CDA will be employed here to examine media representations of nationhood and identity specifically as it relates to diversity, with a particular focus on how power and dominance is constructed. Study 2 used a mix of quantitative and qualitative survey methods to examine English Canadian representations of Canadian history in a general sample. Two questions were included to generate open-ended responses in a freely recalled manner in order to get a deeper understanding of participants' representations of Canadian nationhood and history that was unrestrained by the typical Likert-scale. Study 3 used an experimental paradigm known as the Implicit Association Task (Greenwald, McGhee, & Schwartz, 1998) to examine the implicit content of Canadian identity. This study was informed by the results from Studies 1 and 2 and included a priming component to determine whether

it was possible to influence which groups were included and excluded from Canadian identity.

Epistemology: Critical Realism

At this point, a note should be made on the epistemology underlying the research presented in this dissertation. The methods used in this thesis are diverse. Although some may argue that each method's underlying epistemological assumptions conflict with the others, we would argue that they are in fact complimentary. For instance, Study 1 uses discourse analysis, a method and theory that has traditionally been underpinned by the epistemology of social constructionism. Social constructionism assumes that knowledge and discourse are socially constructed and therefore "reality" does not exist (Burr, 1998; Parker, 1998), and that it is possible to read and interpret texts in multiple ways that are all legitimate (White, 2004). Study 3 in turn uses an experimental paradigm commonly used in social psychology that is underpinned by the mainstream psychology epistemology of positivism. Positivism assumes that by using the scientific method of controlling and measuring variables that an objective reality can be determined (Baker, 1992). This dissertation instead takes a critical realist approach (Bhaskar, 1975), which has room for discourse analysis, experimentation, and survey methodology. It does not take a radical social constructionist stance, nor a strictly positivist one. Critical realism presumes that human knowledge is underpinned by an external reality, but that what is uncovered about this reality is highly dependent on context. Therefore, pure objectivity is impossible to achieve (on the part of researchers or participants), since we each carry a set of beliefs and assumptions about the world that have been formed and shaped by our environments and colour the way we interpret and understand the world, and by extension research it. It is in this way that the methods used in this dissertation can sit together and inform one another. The interpretations that will be made throughout will be situated in a specific socio-historic context.

The next three chapters will describe and report on the three empirical studies that form the basis of this dissertation. We will begin in Chapter 2 by examining media representations of Canadian nationhood, identity and the incorporation of diversity.

NEWS MEDIA DISCOURSES OF NATIONHOOD AND DIVERSITY

According to Social Representations Theory (SRT; Moscovici, 1961), individuals within a society have a shared set of beliefs about the world. One way this is achieved is through the media. The media play an important role in shaping everyday citizens' representations of their nation, as well as their national identity (Anderson, 1991). Informed by political discourse and critical of it (van Dijk, 1989), the media provide a frame for individuals to understand the society they live in by reinforcing values and norms (van Dijk, 1995). This thesis aims to construct a comprehensive study of the Canadian psyche by analysing the majority group's representations of nationhood, with particular focus on the inclusion of cultural diversity. A crucial first step is to critically examine how narratives of nationhood and diversity emerge in the English-language news print media.

Billig (1995) coined the term 'banal nationalism' to describe the constant reminders that individuals are publicly given about their nation and their identity as nationals. It is banal in that it is not overtly patriotic, but rather, subtle references that are made through images, text and talk about what the nation is and is not. In line with SRT, Billig theorises that these reminders are pervasive yet subtle, and are so familiar that they are not consciously registered (Billig, 1995). The media are a source of these reminders, providing subtle cues about what and who comprises the nation (Frosh & Wolfsfeld, 2007). One way the media construct and perpetuate narratives of nationhood and national identity is in how they portray ethnicity and minority groups by framing the ingroup in contrast to outgroups (van Dijk, 1992). In this way, nuanced language is used to frame minority groups favourably or unfavourably, as well as to include or exclude them from the national category.

Previous research has focused on identifying the discourses that are used by the media around the world to portray minority cultural groups as outsiders (e.g., Hongladarom, 2002; Moewaka Barnes et al., 2012; Quayle & Sonn, 2009; van Dijk, 2000; Wodak & Matouschek, 1993). The majority of this work has focused on the language that the media use to negatively discuss or report on minority groups, with a focus on analysing the linguistic techniques the media employ to subtly conceal racism or prejudice (for review see Augoustinos & Every, 2007). In Canada, it has

been shown that racial and cultural minority groups are either misrepresented or underrepresented by the media, thus perpetuating stereotypes and negative attitudes about these groups (see Fleras & Kunz, 2001; Fleras, 2011; or Henry & Tator, 2002, for reviews of the Canadian literature). Less attention has been devoted to the media construction of Canadian nationhood, identity and diversity, with two notable exceptions (i.e., Karim, 1993; Winter, 2011). The next section will begin with a discussion of these two undertakings, followed by a brief review of the literature on the discourses framing particular ethnic groups in the English Canadian media.

Representations of Nationhood, National Identity and Diversity in Canada

To the best of our knowledge, only two scholars have focused explicitly on English Canadian media representations of Canadian nationhood and identity, as they relate to the cultural diversity comprising the nation (Karim, 1993; Winter, 2011). Both analyses examined how a pluralist or multicultural Canada or Canadian identity was constructed by the media. Karim (1993) provided a critical review of the literature on dominant discourses, including an investigation of media representations of Canadian nationhood and identity. He concluded that although formulations of the different cultural groups were complex, invariably both British and French Canadians were included in conceptions of nationhood and identity, whereas Aboriginal peoples and newer immigrants and their descendants were not. Winter (2011) on the other hand conducted a systemic analysis of media discourses and premised her investigation on the contention that a multicultural "we" existed, seeking to determine how it was constructed by the media. Her work highlighted the complexities of a multicultural Canada and how the different groups are or are not included in representations of national identity. It was concluded that minority group inclusion was highly contextualised, where different minority groups are weighted against one another, leading to conditional inclusion of some groups over others. For instance, it was found that in many cases, when contrasted with Quebec or Québécois nationalism, English Canada was framed as multicultural. However, it was also shown that French Canadians contributed to Canadian nationhood and identity as long as Quebec nationalism remained secondary to the acknowledged primacy or dominance of English Canada, and Quebec separatism was never incorporated into representations of Canadian nationhood (Winter, 2011).

While these pieces of work highlight the nuances and complexities of the inclusion (and exclusion) of minority groups in Canadian nationhood and identity, a large body of research focusing on the representation of cultural minorities in the media has instead identified that minority cultural groups are almost always negatively misrepresented or underrepresented (e.g., Bauder, 2008; Bullock & Jafri, 2000; Dion, 2001; Fleras & Kunz, 2001; Fleras, 2011; Harding, 2005; Henry & Tator, 2002; Karim, 2002; Mahtani, 2001; Ojo, 2009; Potvin, 1999, 2000). Aboriginal peoples are highly absent from the media, but the reports that do appear tend to represent them as primitive, drunken and creating social problems (Fleras & Kunz, 2001; Harding, 2005; Henry & Tator, 2002). Newer immigrants and their descendants such as Black Canadians and South Asians have often been depicted in the media as dangerous perpetrators of crime (Henry & Tator, 2002; Mahtani, 2001; Ojo, 2009). French Canadians are often framed as threatening Canadian identity, and Quebec and the Québécois are portrayed by the English-language media as racist towards ethnic minorities for requiring new immigrants to speak French (Potvin, 1999, 2000).

Previous studies have identified several discourses that are employed by the Canadian media to portray minority groups negatively, while at the same time appearing open and tolerant (e.g., Henry & Tator, 2002; Mirchandani & Tastsoglou, 2000). Two discourses that are particularly salient for this thesis are the discourse of tolerance and the discourse of liberal values. The discourse of tolerance frames ethnicity in terms of tolerance, accommodation, sensitivity, harmony and diversity. Framing ethnicity in this way automatically highlights minority ethnic groups as different and as having cultural values and practices that the dominant group has to tolerate (Henry & Tator, 2002). To this end, Mirchandani and Tastsoglou (2000) have argued that 'tolerance' is a negative term that insinuates someone that one should or will put up with, which excludes the individual or the group from belonging to the ingroup. This allows the majority group to maintain its position of dominance as the "guardians of the social order," creating rules and conditions about which cultural differences are allowed and acceptable (Henry & Tator, 2002). On the other hand, the discourse of liberal values emphasises freedom, rights, equality and individualism. This discourse can be used to frame calls for collective group rights and recognition as violating the principles of liberalism and liberal values which tend to focus on individual sameness and equality. Henry and Tator (2002) contended that journalists

and editors employing the discourse of liberal values imply that there is only one interpretation of social reality, which does not leave room for minority differences or perspectives.

Although the research just reviewed offers a pessimistic account of the English Canadian media, the literature on media discourses of Canadian nationhood and diversity suggest that inclusion and exclusion of minority cultural groups in representations of nationhood and identity are not that straightforward. While there are many instances of minority group exclusion, inclusion of minority cultural groups into Canadian nationhood and identity has also been found (Karim, 1993; Winter, 2011). Winter (2011) identified that the divergence in findings between these bodies of literature may in part be due to the methodology that discourse analysts employ. The best available tool for examining media discourses of the exclusion of minority groups is critical discourse analysis (van Dijk, 1993), which takes a political stance in aiming to identify the language that is used by dominant groups to perpetuate power imbalances and inequalities. This technique focuses primarily on ingroup/outgroup formulations including making a distinction between "us" and "them" (van Dijk, 1993; Winter, 2011). CDA has also been criticised for focusing solely on how groups are negatively represented in prejudiced and racist ways, without also focusing on social change, acceptance, inclusion and anti-racist discourse (Hier, 2008, 2010). While a point has been made that doing so might negate the racism and prejudice that still exists in the Canadian media and society (Mahtani, 2009), we argue that positive and inclusive discourses should not be seen as mutually exclusive of negative and exclusionary language. Focusing on both exclusionary and inclusive discourses is a necessary step forward.

The research presented in this chapter will explicitly examine how both positive and negative discourses are used by the English-language print media to frame the inclusion and exclusion of Canada's minority groups in Canadian nationhood and identity. Further to this, rather than focusing on "us" and "them" dichotomies by singling out a particular minority group, this research will examine the complexities of minority group inclusion and exclusion by investigating how all of Canada's minority cultural groupings (i.e., French Canadians, Aboriginal peoples, and newer immigrants and their descendants) are portrayed in the media response to events dealing with the accommodation of cultural diversity.

We used critical discourse analysis (van Dijk, 1993) to examine how Canadian nationhood and identity were represented in the media when they reported on two current events that specifically discussed the management of cultural diversity in Canadian society: the Reasonable Accommodation debate and the government release of the Citizenship Guide. Reasonable Accommodation was a large-scale, public debate that took place in the province of Quebec about the reasonable (and unreasonable) accommodation of cultural and religious differences and practices in the public domain. The release of the Citizenship Guide was a national event that concerned a government release of an updated guide to be issued to all Canadian immigrants awarded Canadian citizenship. The next sections will describe the events in greater detail.

Reasonable Accommodation (February-December 2007)

The Reasonable Accommodation debate was a high profile public discussion surrounding the accommodation of cultural and religious differences in Quebec public life. The event was selected since it provided an opportunity to examine the English-language discourses surrounding the place of cultural minorities in the Canadian nation, as well as those about Quebec as distinct and different from the rest of (English) Canada. The Québécois are often concerned with how to retain Quebec's special status, especially in how to preserve the French language and culture (Handler, 1988; Seymour, 2004), and so the integration and accommodation of minority groups in the province carries with it a unique set of concerns from the rest of the country (Juteau, 2002). The Reasonable Accommodation debate therefore highlighted the Québécois' potential violation of underlying Canadian liberal democratic norms (Fukuyama, 2006) by articulating their difference, as well as many instances of minority group members verbalising that their cultural and religious practices should be accommodated.

Although Quebec is distinctly French-Canadian/Francophone, the province is also home to a significant English-Canadian/Anglophone population, Aboriginal peoples, and more recent immigrant groups representing a diverse range of cultures, ethnicities and religions (Statistics Canada, 2009). During the Reasonable Accommodation debate, intense public discussion centred around how already established systems and practices should (and should not) be adjusted in order to be more inclusive of cultural and religious differences (e.g., creating a prayer space in a

university for Muslim students; Bouchard & Taylor, 2008). In February 2007, Quebec Premier Jean Charest responded to the debate by announcing the establishment of a government commission in order to ascertain public opinion on the matter that many perceived had reached a crisis point. The commission was established following the declaration by the mayor of Hérouxville (a small francophone town in Quebec) that they would be issuing a code of conduct which stated, among other things, that "we consider that killing women in public beatings, or burning them alive are not part of our standards of life" (La municipalité de Hérouxville, 2007). This declaration garnered negative national and international media attention ("No stoning, Canada migrants told," 2007), particularly since the town has very few immigrants and so the statement was deemed racist and xenophobic (Mahoney, 2007). There were also many other incidents reported in the news throughout 2006 about the accommodation of religious practices which had come under scrutiny and to which many objected. Premier Charest appointed two prominent Quebec scholars to head the commission—Charles Taylor and Gerard Bouchard—each of whom had expertise on different aspects of the subjects of Canadian multiculturalism and Quebec identity. The commissioners held public hearings around the province to gauge opinions from September-December 2007 and consulted with other scholars and experts on the topics of intercultural and cross-cultural communication and relations. They issued their final report in May 2008, primarily stating that they found no evidence of a crisis, arguing that the media had exaggerated the situation (Bouchard & Taylor, 2008). Potvin (2010) confirmed the report's conclusions with her analysis of French-language media discourses surrounding the debate, and found that the media racialised minority religious groups.

The Citizenship Guide (November 2009)

In November 2009, the Canadian Government published and released an updated guide to Canadian citizenship, which was immediately issued to all immigrants approved for Canadian citizenship (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2012). The version was changed substantially from the previous one released in 1997, garnering some media response. The guide describes Canadian history, society, norms and customs and includes a section on the responsibility of citizenship. There was an explicit attempt in the guide to represent the bilingual and multicultural nature of Canadian history and society, with large sections of the guide providing the history of

42

Aboriginal, British and French peoples, as well as more recent immigrant groups. The event was selected since it specifically showcased both the government's portrayal of what the Canadian nation is and who belongs to it, and the media response to that portrayal. The Guide outlined the criteria immigrants needed to meet in order to be Canadian. It also included a brief history of the Canadian nation, constructing a historical narrative of Canadian nationhood. This analysis therefore examined the media response to the official government discourse of Canadian nationhood and national identity.

Critical Discourse Analysis: Theory and Methodology

This study employs the technique of critical discourse analysis (CDA; van Dijk, 1993), which closely examines the language used to construct power positions and relations in a society. CDA explicitly focuses on inequalities between groups, as well as prejudice exhibited towards minority groups, and the exclusion of certain groups by the majority. The focus of CDA has aimed to uncover the language used to perpetuate social inequalities by identifying the particular techniques that majority group members use to seamlessly maintain their dominant and powerful positions (Fairclough, 2013; van Dijk, 1993; Wodak & Meyer, 2009b). Researchers and theorists of this tradition have made clear that their primary goal for conducting this research is to expose the prejudice and racism that, in particular, powerful elites such as politicians and the media propagate (Fairclough, Mulderrig, & Wodak, 2011; van Dijk, 1993, 2013; Wodak & Meyer, 2009a). Following from this, we will use this technique to critically examine how the minority cultural groupings are negatively portrayed and excluded from belonging to the Canadian nation, specifically focusing on the use of any negatively valenced language. Additionally, we will identify any instances where the cultural groupings are positively portrayed and included in representations of nationhood and identity, specifically focusing on the use of positively valenced language, as it has been identified that this has been an area of oversight (Hier, 2008, 2010).

The following questions will guide the analysis: 1) How are the cultural groupings (i.e., French Canadians, Aboriginal peoples, and newer immigrants and their descendants) framed or represented by the media as contributing to the Canadian nation? 2) In what context and under what circumstances are minority groups included in or excluded from belonging to Canadian nationhood and identity? 3) Are

the cultural groupings framed in different ways from each other in relation to Canadian nationhood and identity?

METHOD

Newspaper and Article Selection

Articles were selected from four popular, high-circulation daily newspapers, so chosen because they each represented a unique position and standpoint. The newspapers selected were: *The Toronto Star, the Globe and Mail, the National Post and the Montreal Gazette.* The *Toronto Star, the Globe and Mail* and *the National Post* are all Toronto-based newspapers that have a wide reach nationally. The *Montreal Gazette* is the most widely circulated English-language newspaper in Montreal and served as a comparison to the three Ontario newspapers to receive a perspective from within the province of Quebec. *The Toronto Star* is Canada's highest circulation daily and has a very liberal political leaning; the *Globe and Mail* is Toronto's second most widely circulated daily newspaper and has a centrist political leaning, depending on the issues and the political parties in power. The *National Post* is a high circulation conservative leaning newspaper with an explicit aim to represent the conservative perspective that was deemed to be absent from Canada's leading newspapers. *The Montreal Gazette* is the only major English-language daily newspaper in Montreal and has a centrist political leaning (Dyck, 2011). The Canadian Newsstand database was used to obtain the newspaper articles. For Reasonable Accommodation, all news articles, editorials and opinion pieces from the three Ontario newspapers from February 8, 2007 to December 31, 2007 (i.e., from the first announcement of the establishment of the commission until the public hearings and consultations were completed) were selected, using the search terms "reasonable accommodation" and "Bouchard-Taylor" (i.e., the commissioners' last names). Further parameters were placed on the articles from the Montreal Gazette since its coverage of the event was extensive and disproportionate to the others. All articles related specifically covering the initial government announcement and the public hearings in Montreal were selected. In total, 75 articles were obtained for Reasonable Accommodation. As the release of the Citizenship Guide was a static, one-day event, rather than a lengthy period of time like Reasonable Accommodation, there was much less media coverage of the release of the Guide. Nevertheless, the event was chosen as it represented a national event that received a wide response with varied reactions.

The search terms "Citizenship Guide" and "Jason Kenney" (i.e., Minister of Citizenship, Immigration and Multiculturalism who announced the release of the new guide) yielded a total of 15 articles from November 2009. A list of the articles is provided in Appendix A.

Analysis

Critical discourse analysis was used to conduct an in-depth analysis of the specific language used to describe the two events. CDA is concerned with both language use and the linguistic techniques employed to construct a whole news piece, sentences or paragraphs, above and beyond specific words (van Dijk, 1993). We closely examined the data by identifying any emotionally-laden (both positive and negative) language used to frame minority groups in relation to Canadian nationhood. We systematically analysed the articles separately for each of the cultural groupings (i.e., French Canadians, Aboriginal peoples, and newer immigrants and their descendants) and identified whether any particular and recurrent linguistic techniques were used for the different groups, and whether they were used in different ways. This was done by examining every instance that an ethnic group was mentioned, identifying how the group was described, the context of the discussion, and how they were framed in relation to other minority groups. We also identified whether certain groups were underrepresented or absent from the news coverage. The next section will describe the results of this analysis, by using excerpts from the news articles to illustrate the linguistic techniques identified, as well as a detailed interpretation of the discourses found.

RESULTS

The discourse analysis that we conducted revealed a mixture of exclusionary and inclusive discourses. Strong inclusive discourses were used in relation to the integration of minority groups, which is in stark contrast to previous analyses that revealed minority groups to be represented by the media in prejudiced and racist ways (Bauder, 2008; Bullock & Jafri, 2000; Dion, 2001; Fleras & Kunz, 2001; Fleras, 2011; Harding, 2005; Henry & Tator, 2002; Karim, 2002; Mahtani, 2001; Ojo, 2009; Potvin, 1999, 2000). The inclusive discourses were revealed in particular when the articles discussed immigrants, and cultural and religious minorities, but changed depending on context, as has been previously suggested (Winter, 2011). The discourses framing French Canadians in the Reasonable Accommodation debate were

more complex, and often included a balanced *thesis-antithesis* formulation that saw the integration of both negatively- and positively-valenced discourses to explain the authors' arguments. Both events also revealed a strong exclusionary discourse that expressed Canadians' limits to citizenship and inclusion. The next section will first provide a detailed interpretation of the Reasonable Accommodation debate, followed by an analysis of the coverage of The Citizenship Guide.

Reasonable Accommodation

The Reasonable Accommodation debate revealed the English-language Canadian news to surprisingly represent immigrants, and cultural and religious minorities in an overwhelmingly positive way. At times minorities were presented as being included in the Canadian national category, and other times they were framed as being subject to discrimination and racism by the French Canadian majority in Quebec. Our analysis revealed that contrary to the majority of the literature on Canadian media representations, exclusionary discourses to frame newer immigrants and other religious minorities was infrequent. This is in line with Winter's (2011) findings which showed that English Canada was presented as proudly multicultural when contrasted with Quebec. To this end, the positive representation of ethnic and religious minorities was achieved with articles focusing on the discriminatory climate of Quebec; authors often portrayed those in the province as objecting to the integration of immigrants and other minorities. Despite this, the language used to portray Quebec was nuanced and at once positioned the province as being different from the rest of the country while still being a part of it, supporting previous work which has shown French Canadians to be included in media representations of nationhood (Karim, 1993). The following sections will use selected quotations taken from the articles to illustrate how the various groups were framed in relation to Canadian nationhood and identity.

French Canadians and Quebec

The articles consistently framed Quebec as a francophone society whose residents were reacting unreasonably to the integration of minorities by objecting to the public accommodation of their practices. At the same time the authors often exhibited sympathy and understanding for Quebec's unique position as the only Francophone province, as well as the challenges that that presented for integrating minority groups into the society. This is illustrated with the following quote:

Excerpt 1. "*Quebec has a particular challenge, or rather chooses to think it has a particular challenge. Immigrants to Quebec – to Montreal, for all intents and purposes – seldom speak French as their native language. So they have to be integrated, or so the majority francophone population insists, into the French majority. Hence the issue becomes one of "collective identity," the fear being that these newcomers will gravitate to English and somehow dilute the French character of Quebec. In fairness, both provinces face variations on this "identity" challenge, but Ontario does it in an anglo/common law way, while Quebec does it in a Cartesian/civil law fashion.*" (Globe & Mail, November 28, 2007)

The author used many qualified statements in Excerpt 1 to express understanding for Quebec's unique challenges as the sole francophone province, and at the same time questions whether the challenges are real. This was done several times with statements such as "or rather chooses to think," "or so the majority insists," and "somehow dilute the French character". The author pits Quebec against Ontario, signifying that they are both provinces of Canada, but essentially highlights their differences, as has previously been shown (Winter, 2011). Excerpt 1 framed Quebec in a nuanced but mostly negative way, as each positive and seemingly understanding statement (e.g., "Quebec has a particular challenge") was followed by a negative and doubtful one (e.g., "or rather chooses to think it has a particular challenge"). Excerpt 2, which appeared in the same article four paragraphs later, further illustrates the intricate language used to frame Quebec and French Quebecers in simultaneously negative and positive ways.

Excerpt 2. "*[T]he Quebec government, preferring existential debates (or at least not knowing how to prevent them), created a two-person commission to define "reasonable accommodation". Every wacko (and lots of good-hearted people) parades to the open microphone. Everyone mud-wrestles with the "big issues," hoping for universal guidance from the two commissioners, including renowned philosopher Charles Taylor. It is very French. Not wrong; in fact, rather inspired. Just French. Whereas Ontario, anglophone in its instincts, wants to work these things out common-law style: case by case, incrementally, pragmatically, preferring to avoid philosophy and its high-minded existential clashes wherever possible.*" (Globe & Mail, November 28, 2007)

Where in Excerpt 1 the author qualified positive statements with negative ones, in Excerpt 2 the opposite was done (e.g., "and lots of good-hearted people"). The quote finishes with the author explicitly articulating how Quebec is different to Ontario, positioning it as inferior. At the same time some allowance is given for this

difference (e.g., "It is very French. Not wrong; in fact, rather inspired"), leaving the reader with the impression that Quebec and French Quebecers belong to Canada regardless of this difference.

The nuanced formulations of Quebec and French Canadians were evident throughout the corpus. A persistent technique was used to achieve this which we refer to as *thesis-antithesis.* This technique begins with an author presenting a negative formulation (the *thesis*) of French Canadians, and then immediately offers a more positive or understanding counter position (the *antithesis*). This construction is shown with the following quote:

Excerpt 3. "*The ADQ's[5] striking success when the votes were counted Monday night suggests Mr. Dumont [ADQ leader] was more in tune with voters than his opponents on the issue [of religious accommodation], although in the rest of Canada, rather sanctimoniously, it has unleashed suspicions that Quebec's bad old intolerant past of religious bigotry has popped up its head again [*thesis*]. While it's a valid question why the kirpan [Sikh ceremonial dagger] should sink so quietly from sight in Ontario, but, 16 years later, cause an uproar in Quebec, any allegations of simple intolerance reflect a flawed understanding of contemporary Quebec society. In any event, the rest of Canada, ensconced in a glass house, has no call to throw stones [*antithesis*]."*
(Globe & Mail, March 31, 2007)

In Excerpt 3, Quebec is first framed as having a history of bigotry and intolerance that is resurfacing. This is followed with some understanding for Quebec's particular situation, and ends by turning inward and reprimanding Ontarians for not exhibiting enough reason or understanding for Quebec. The quote ends with a saying that was used to warn Ontarians not to be hypocritical, again exhibiting openness for Quebec, even though the province is depicted first in negative terms.

The excerpt references "Quebec's bad old intolerant past," which leads into another discourse that appeared throughout the corpus. There were very few instances where groups were represented unfavourably, with the exception being any person who made discriminatory or prejudiced remarks towards cultural and religious minority groups. This discourse mirrored the 'discourse of tolerance' previously found in the Canadian media, which has the effect of making the authors appear open and inclusive of cultural and religious minority groups, while also presenting them as

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[5] Action démocratique du Québec, a right-wing provincial political party.

'others' (Henry & Tator, 2002; Mirchandani & Tastsoglou, 2000). The discourse simultaneously portrayed a segment of the French Canadian population negatively, as old fashioned, backwards and quaintly intolerant.

The journalists sometimes displayed a reluctance to put a face or voice to the comments and opinions they were labelling as racist or xenophobic. They often singled out those who were not openly accommodating minorities by labelling their sentiments as "racist", "bigoted" and "xenophobic," rather than blaming any individuals or groups. Furthermore, when these labels were used, they were often put in quotation marks, a technique the authors used to display a reluctance to use such strong terminology themselves. The result was one of Quebec being portrayed as unreasonably taking issue with immigrants and other minority groups. This is shown in the following quote:

Excerpt 4. *"Though difficult to generalize, he[6] said some newcomers to Quebec are very worried about the "unacceptable" and "racist" opinions at times being expressed about reasonable accommodation. Fo Niemi, executive director of the Centre for Race-Action on Race Relations, said the mood among ethnic minorities is grim. "They feel the same kind of despair or pessimism that anglophones felt when the PQ[7] came to power in the '70s, they feel that the situation won't get better," he said. "They're a little bit spooked by what they hear at the hearings – the open, unchallenged intolerance, the explicit racism and they just put two and two together."* (National Post, Oct 29, 2007)

In this excerpt, immigrants ("newcomers") are positioned against an unmarked, "racist" other. They are compared to anglophones, implying that those expressing racism and intolerance are French Quebecers. The author also used a passive sentence construction to describe the racism and intolerance, in effect exhibiting a reluctance to name and blame by not attributing any agency to it. However, the article leaves the reader with the impression that Quebec society is not open or welcoming to immigrants, as previous research has shown (Potvin, 1999, 2000; Winter, 2011).

In those instances where the racist and intolerant people were named, they tended to be portrayed as those French Quebecers living in the smaller, more remote

[6] Stephan Reichhold, director of a coalition of groups that offer services to immigrants and refugees in Quebec.

[7] Parti Québécois, a provincial-level political party known for its separatist policies.

and almost exclusively Francophone areas of the province. They were framed as being out-dated, old-fashioned and ignorant. The term most often used was "old stock Quebecers," or they were often described as being from the "outlying regions." Whenever this group was discussed, it was done to explain where the xenophobic and racist sentiments about reasonable accommodation arose, which framed the rural and therefore less progressive Francophone population as impeding the province from advancing to become an inclusive multicultural environment, such as that found in the rest of Canada. The following quotes illustrate this formulation:

Excerpt 5. *"Last week, Mr. Bouchard offered a surprisingly sunny account of what the commission has heard in Quebec's outlying regions."* (National Post, Nov 23, 2007)

Excerpt 6. *"Because Quebec is a nationalist society, and because the oxygen of nationalism is suspicion of the Other, this sort of thing plays well, especially in the old-stock communities outside Montreal."*[8] (Globe & Mail, March 27, 2007)

These quotes identify the 'outlying regions' or 'old-stock communities' to suggest that it is the residents of these areas who are unreasonably objecting to the accommodation of cultural and religious minorities. Excerpt 5 was taken from an article whose headline was "Debates opening wounds; 'At the extremes, there was racism, anti-Semitism'." Following the selected excerpt, the author quoted four Muslim immigrants who described the racism and Islamophobia they experienced in Quebec, with one individual stating that some of his friends had responded by moving to other parts of Canada, again giving the impression that Quebec is less welcoming than the rest of Canada. The article further reinforced the message that it is the older, rural Francophone Quebecers who are creating the malaise in the province by sticking to their old ways and not accepting other cultures or religions, by quoting a young French Canadian man from Montreal who expressed concern about the sentiments articulated by his "fellow citizens" that threaten the "open, welcoming, freedom-loving culture". Excerpt 6 was taken from an article whose headline was "Of

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[8] This followed a quote from Action Démocratique du Québec party leader Mario Dumont, who publicly stated that "Quebec society has gone too far in placating the demands of immigrants, who should adapt to Quebec culture rather than expect Quebeckers to adapt to them".

rednecks and the rural-urban solitudes," which explicitly denigrates Quebec and those living in the rural and Francophone regions of the province for taking issue with minority groups, by expecting them to assimilate. The author blames this on their nationalist sentiments and for holding the perspective that Quebec is a nation. However, as was shown earlier, this excerpt was followed by another (Excerpt 7, below) which compared Quebec to the rest of Canada, highlighting its difference but also its similarities with other parts of the country. The passage did this by using strong negative language to point the finger at people in English Canada, describing anti-immigrant sentiment as "bilge," a slang term to mean nonsense. This demonstrated that the author takes issue with anyone who expresses prejudice towards immigrants, no matter where they live in the country.

Excerpt 7. *"But English Canada is not immune to this bilge. In the very best salons of Toronto and Vancouver, as well as on main-street Saskatchewan, anti-immigrant diatribes are increasingly common."* (Globe & Mail, March 27, 2007)

The excerpt illustrates that while there were instances of exclusionary and negative discourses to frame those people who were objecting to the accommodation of minority differences, there was still a reluctance to single people out, as shown by: 1) the use of the passive voice (Nordlund, 2003) as seen above in Excerpt 4; 2) showing that French Quebec's negative aspects could also be found in other parts of Canada; and 3) explicitly portraying French Quebecers as one of "us" (Winter, 2011). Excerpt 8 below shows that sometimes even when the authors targeted people as being unreasonable, the group was labelled as "us". At the same time this author managed to portray French Quebec as a whiny family member who needs to reflect on his/her bad behaviour.

Excerpt 8. *"The Quebecois nation needs to take a deep breath and reflect on why so many of us are so upset about a simple scarf. Our reputation as a welcoming society, not to mention our respect for the human rights we hold so dear, hang in the balance."* (Montreal Gazette, April 19, 2007)

This technique was used in conjunction with the message that human rights were values that should not be compromised (this will be further explored below in the section on Enlightenment Values), and the use of the diminutive "simple" in

reference to the headscarf was a technique seemingly used to convey to Quebecers (or Canadians) that they should use reason to understand that accommodating religious difference did not threaten Quebec/Canadian values. The author also referred to the province as the "Quebecois nation" to perhaps distance herself from the francophone group, as the article appeared in the *Montreal Gazette*, the English-language newspaper in Quebec.

As has been shown, the group that was most often portrayed in negative terms were those people who did not respect or accommodate cultural or religious practices that differed from those of the majority group. At times they were labelled as racist, bigoted and xenophobic, and were often framed as older French Quebecers from rural regions of the province, who were thus old-fashioned and set in their ways. Even still, there was often a nuanced inclusion of this group into the national category of Canadian, subtly suggesting that people holding these views are still Canadian, albeit a minority group within the nation with poor attitudes and who are exhibiting bad behaviour.

Immigrants and Religious Minorities

Where French Canadians were discussed in an intricate balance of positive and negative terms, immigrants and cultural and religious minorities were presented as being on the receiving end of unnecessary and unreasonable prejudice and exclusion. This created the impression that minority groups were welcome members of Canadian society, and at times, they were included in the national category. The authors achieved this by using inclusive terminology such as "new Canadians" or "newcomers" to refer to immigrants, and the term "other Canadians" was often used when comparing religious and cultural minorities to the dominant group(s). However, the terms "newcomers," "immigrants," and "minorities" were conflated, oftentimes portraying immigrants and religious minorities as one group, even though the focus of some of the discussion was actually the reasonable accommodation of the Hassidic Jewish community, which has called Quebec home for more than two centuries (Robinson & Butovsky, 1995). This had the effect of excluding them from the national category. The groups were also positioned against Quebecers, which was a triangular construction where one outgroup is more easily incorporated in representations of the ingroup when contrasted against a second outgroup (Winter, 2011). Although the groups were not always included in the national category, the

articles as a whole gave the impression that immigrants and cultural and religious minorities contributed positively to Canada and that multiculturalism and diversity were positive features of the nation. This is shown in the following quotes:

Excerpt 9. *"Instead of questioning multiculturalism, we should affirm the inclusiveness and tolerance that has made modern Canada a success. Our diversity is a source of strength, not weakness. Millions of new Canadians have settled successfully in Canada over the last 100 years. They and their children are proof that multiculturalism works."* (Toronto Star, October 15, 2007)

Excerpt 10. *"The suspicion of immigrants voiced by the Herouxville delegation was challenged by a community group from nearby Shawinigan that helps welcome immigrants. Simon Charlebois, executive director of a Shawinigan economic development agency, said the Herouxville episode has damaged efforts to attract immigration, badly needed in a region with Quebec's highest proportion of residents over 65 and one of the lowest birth rates. The focus on the reasonable accommodation issue, with its subtext that immigrants are upsetting Quebec's social peace, "creates prejudices in people who have not even had direct contact with immigrants," he said."* (National Post, Oct 25, 2007)

Excerpt 9 mirrors the Canadian narrative presented in Chapter 1 that multiculturalism, inclusiveness, tolerance and diversity are fundamental characteristics of the nation and national identity (Adams, 2007; Kymlicka, 2003). As shown in Excerpt 10, immigration was also portrayed as being necessary to populate the province, particularly small towns, due to an ageing populace. The articles frequently reported on statements from those in small town, francophone regions of Quebec who openly objected to immigrants, and Muslims specifically. These sentiments were reprinted in the news articles, but were quickly criticised, presenting the opinions and those holding them as unreasonable and ignorant. This had the effect of the authors rallying with immigrants and religious minorities against Quebec's prejudiced small town residents, who were presented as tiresome. The following quote illustrates this:

Excerpt 11. *"At one hearing, Herouxville councillor André Drouin - an author of that town's infamous "code of conduct," which helped kick-start the provincewide debate on "reasonable accommodation" of minority groups - suggested that global warming would soon cause his mostly immigrant-free town to be overrun with Muslims. Elsewhere, it has been said that minorities will soon become Quebec's majority, that immigrants should be forced to settle outside Montreal, and that Islam is a "retrograde religion." No wonder commissioners Gerard Bouchard and Charles Taylor have occasionally grown testy."* (Globe & Mail, November 3, 2007).

The authors consistently constructed their arguments of support for minority groups, and opposition to any prejudice directed towards them, calling on Enlightenment values of equality, freedom, democracy and reason (Michael, 2000).

Enlightenment Values

A persistent discourse throughout the corpus saw the authors deploy what we are labelling Enlightenment Values to construct their arguments. While similar to the discourse of liberal values that emphasises the individual over the collective (Henry & Tator, 2002), Enlightenment Values go further to also promote reason, rationality and intellect (Michael, 2000). The discourses identified in this analysis especially argued for the readers to use reason to understand that the accommodation of cultural or religious differences was the fair and right thing to do. The journalists specifically praised those who used reason to argue for the equality and inclusion of minority groups in Quebec and deplored those who did not. Furthermore, Enlightenment Values were often referenced to ask Canadians to use their sense to understand that accommodating religious minorities did not threaten the fundamental Canadian value of equality, as shown in the following quote.

Excerpt 12. *"What possible threat to equality do Jewish men in yarmulkes, Sikhs in turbans or Muslim women in hijabs – the inoffensive head scarves that cover neither face nor body – pose to equality?"* (Globe and Mail, October 10, 2007)

By asking "what possible threat," the author suggests that those who believe these religious clothing items to be a threat are not using their sense or reason to understand that the matter is obviously of no threat at all. To describe *hijabs*, the author writes "the inoffensive head scarves" using the positively worded adjective *inoffensive* to convey both a sense of inclusiveness for religious minorities and to again beg Canadians to use reason to understand that head scarves could not possibly threaten equality.

Appeal to Reason. A strong discourse appealed to Canadians' and the reader's reason in thinking about the accommodation of religious minorities, expressing that they should not react emotionally or illogically to the matter. The following excerpts were selected to illustrate this:

Excerpt 13. *"My concerns lie elsewhere – in the emotionalism and double standards that have characterized recent debates on Muslims. A democratic society is in trouble when it allows prejudice or fear to drive its discourse toward incoherence and irrationality."* (Toronto Star, March 8, 2007)

Excerpt 14. *"With Mr. Taylor and Gerard Bouchard at the helm, two of Quebec's sharpest minds, the commission has injected reason into a debate that for the better part of a year had been fuelled too often by ignorance and emotion."* (National Post, Dec 15, 2007)

A discourse associated with *Appeal to Reason* was an inherent respect for academics and intellectuals, as shown in Excerpt 14. The authors made repeated mention of the academic credentials of the commissioners, calling on them to be the authority on the question of reasonable accommodation of minorities. The commissioners and other academics were highly revered for their knowledge and expertise of the issue.

Equality and Freedom. The Enlightenment Values of equality and freedom were also frequently cited as something that should not be compromised. Gender equality was listed as one of Quebec's fundamental values (cited by Quebec Premier Jean Charest as one of three fundamental values, along with the separation of state and religion, and the primacy of the French language; Bouchard & Taylor, 2008). Some articles debated whether accommodating religious practices would encourage gender inequality. Examples were cited in the articles of religious practices that threatened gender inequality, such as Hassidic Jewish men requesting that they be seen by male doctors, or Muslim women wearing a *niqab* or *burqa* (full face covering). Journalists referred to these examples, but argued again for their readers to use reason to understand that gender equality and religious freedom did not clash. This is illustrated with the following quote:

Excerpt 15. *"Nowhere in Canada is the separation of church and state more highly valued than in Quebec. But a new proposal by the Quebec Council on the Status of Women, a provincially appointed body that advises the government on issues related to women, would take this separation to absurd levels. If adopted, it would result in a gross curtailment of religious freedoms that, in most cases, have no bearing on gender equality whatsoever."* (Globe & Mail, October 10, 2007)

Quebec is once more presented as belonging to Canada, but also as different and unreasonable. This is shown through the use of the word "absurd" and the strong

statement that religious freedoms "have no bearing...whatsoever" on gender equality. Unsurprisingly, equality and freedom were also described as fundamental aspects of Canadian identity and nationhood, and in some cases this was explicitly stated, as seen in the following quote:

Excerpt 16. *"Canadian idealism has a spine. It is made of our laws, our Charter of Rights and Freedoms, an unwavering commitment to gender equality, and a belief that under conditions of fairness, dialogue and – yes – accommodation, people who are different from each other in some ways can share a harmonious, prosperous society."* (Montreal Gazette, November 21, 2007)

Aboriginal Peoples

Aboriginal peoples only appeared in one instance of the Reasonable Accommodation debate and so were almost completely absent. This is despite the fact that there is a strong Aboriginal presence in the province of Quebec (Gouvernement du Québec, 1991). This finding highlights the invisibility of Aboriginal peoples in discussions of diversity management and the accommodation of minority cultural practices in Canada. While the reader was given many perspectives on the debate, including a variety of English Canadian, French Canadian and immigrant and religious minority voices and arguments, Aboriginal peoples were not consulted by the media and were essentially never mentioned in the coverage. A further exploration of the function this serves will be made in the discussion at the end of the chapter.

Summary

Our analysis of the Reasonable Accommodation debate revealed the use of both exclusionary and inclusive discourses framing the cultural groupings. By repeatedly citing the Enlightenment Values of reason, equality and freedom in particular, immigrants and cultural and religious minorities were portrayed as receiving unfair treatment by the majority group in Quebec. This meant that the authors frequently positioned these minority groups against French Quebecers. Since the articles came from English-language newspapers from Ontario and Quebec, French Quebecers became the referenced outgroup (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Winter, 2011). Journalists often rallied behind and stood up for immigrants and cultural and religious minorities, which depicted the groups as welcome members of society, and sometimes as Canadian (through the use of the term "new Canadians"). Other times

they were portrayed as groups in need of accommodation by the majority, which had the effect of implying they did not belong to the national category, but were welcome nonetheless. Quebec on the other hand was complexly portrayed as a part of Canada, and French Quebecers as Canadians, but at the same time they were represented negatively as different and troublesome, and oftentimes as racist and discriminatory. Ontario and English Canada were positioned as superior to Quebec, although the authors displayed sympathy and understanding for Quebec's unique situation as the sole French province in Canada. Aboriginal peoples were ultimately invisible in the coverage of the debate.

The Reasonable Accommodation debate offered a perspective on intercultural relations in Quebec, which gave insights into how English Canadians discuss minority groups (both French Canadians and newer immigrants and their descendants) when they are outsiders looking in. The second event we chose was the nationwide release of a new citizenship guide that included sections on Canadian history and values, and outlined the rights and responsibilities of citizenship (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2012). This event allowed us to analyse how English Canadians viewed themselves as Canadians and how minority groups contributed to their conceptions of Canadian nationhood and identity.

Citizenship Guide

As with Reasonable Accommodation, our analysis of the Citizenship Guide revealed a complex mixture of inclusive and exclusionary discourses to frame the cultural groupings. The articles reacted to how the Guide presented Canadian history and values by focusing on what messages were given to immigrants about what it meant to be, or become, Canadian. The following analysis will focus first on how immigrants were positioned in relation to the Canadian nation, since this group was represented most often, followed by French Canadians and Aboriginal peoples.

Immigrants and Religious Minorities

The language used to describe immigrants was in many instances throughout the corpus extremely inclusive, which again differed from previous media analyses in Canada (Fleras & Kunz, 2001; Fleras, 2011; Mahtani, 2001; Ojo, 2009). As in Reasonable Accommodation, immigrants were often referred to as "new Canadians" or "newcomers," as well as "new citizens". On the other hand, the analysis revealed a strong exclusionary discourse expressing the limits of Canadian citizenship and

tolerance. This was again framed using Enlightenment Values, the authors articulating that any cultural practices that threatened gender equality would not be tolerated in Canada. The following quote provides an example of an inclusive discourse:

Excerpt 17. *"Unlike the old guide, which felt like homework and landed with a thud of a bureaucratic public-service announcement, the new guide shows how the country is special, and does so with vigour. In telling Canada's stories, and the conflict, characters and challenges therein, it will enhance new Canadians' attachment to their country."* (Globe & Mail, November 12, 2009)

The authors persistently framed the new guide as superior to its predecessor. As can be seen in Excerpt 17, this author articulated that its superiority was marked by the inclusion of a more detailed history that showcased conflicts that occurred between the different cultural groups. The author follows this argument by including immigrants in his representations of Canadian nationhood by describing that by making immigrants aware of these historical moments and controversies they would feel more strongly connected to Canada, or in his words "it will enhance new Canadians' attachment to their country." By referring to new citizens as "new Canadians" and to Canada as "their country," the reader is given the impression that immigrants are welcome in Canada, and furthermore, that they actually belong to the nation.

As previously stated, immigrants were not only framed in positive and inclusive ways. The authors used nuanced language for immigrants similar to that found in Reasonable Accommodation for French Canadians, with an intricate mix of positive and negative, inclusive and exclusionary discourses. The following quote illustrates this formulation:

Excerpt 18. *"We are particularly pleased with the way the new guide seeks to balance lessons on entitlement with gentle reminders of obligation. New Canadians are not merely taught about their rights and their access to social programs; they are encouraged to find jobs or open businesses and to give back to the greater community, and not just their own ethnic organizations. Of course, immigrants, left to their own devices, would not need such reminders... Still, over the years, the old citizenship guides and the overall attitude of successive federal governments have sent subtle messages to new Canadians that they need not give up their traditions and practices of their homelands. Canada will adapt to them and, when they cannot provide for themselves, Canada will supply subsidies and welfare."* (National Post, November 16, 2009)

This quote captures the nuances of the discourses framing immigrants in the Citizenship Guide. At times the author positions new citizens as being separate from the Canadian nation, for instance by referring to how the guide encourages *them* to "find jobs or open businesses and to give back to the greater community, and *not just their own ethnic organizations*" (emphasis added). This alludes to a typical discourse which argues multiculturalism is a failure because it promotes ethnic segregation (Bissoondath, 1994; Sugunasiri, 1999). Following this excerpt the author states that previous governments have suggested immigrants "need not give up their traditions and practices of their homelands." By describing that this sentiment had been articulated through "subtle messages," the author seems to suggest that these were negative features of previous guides, implying that immigrants should give up their traditions and practices. As was the case with the discourses framing French Canadians in Reasonable Accommodation, the author interlaces negative and positive formulations of the cultural grouping. He uses a positive articulation to state that immigrants are hardworking and successful, but then follows the statement with "still," to portray previous governments as wrongfully telling immigrants that they can hold onto their traditions and practices. Taken together, the excerpt gives the impression that immigrants are welcome in Canada but that they must meet certain obligations if they want to become Canadian.

Many of the articles in the Citizenship Guide coverage referred to a passage in the guide which stated that "barbaric cultural practices" would not be tolerated in Canada. Some of the articles reprinted the passage without any indication of the author's opinion of it, and in other instances the authors again offered a mixed formulation of the statement. The following quote provides an illustration of an instance when an author reprinted the statement without articulating a clear position or stance of their own about the message:

Excerpt 19. *"For the first time, a federal government spells out limits to Canada's cultural tolerance and uses uncharacteristically strong language to do so. The booklet warns that "barbaric cultural practices that tolerate spousal abuse, 'honour killings,' female genital mutilation, or other gender-based violence" are punishable crimes in this country. In the more innocent Canada of 1995, such an admonition would have been unthinkable."* (Toronto Star, Nov 16, 2009)

The author of Excerpt 19 highlights that the government used "uncharacteristically strong language" "for the first time" and also that in the "more innocent Canada of 1995, such an admonition would be unthinkable," which suggests that the author takes issue with the statement, particularly through the use of the words "admonition" and "unthinkable". However, it is unclear whether the author feels this "admonition" would have been "unthinkable" because the statement is discriminatory or because Canada has always been polite and welcoming to immigrants and would not dare say something so explicitly negative, even if it was warranted. By not explicitly objecting to the statement, readers are given the option to interpret the statement as they wish. The following quote is an example of a more nuanced reaction to the statement, but again with no clear stance.

Excerpt 20. *"Canada's revamped citizenship guide warns newcomers that "barbaric cultural practices" such as honour killings will not be tolerated, marking a stronger tone against importing beliefs that clash with Canadian values. While honour killings remain relatively rare in Canada, several high-profile cases have drawn attention to the issue. Even the use of the term "honour killings" has stirred debate, as critics of the wording saying it implies the practice is accepted by certain religions when, in fact, it is not."* (National Post, November 13, 2009)

The author describes that the statement about "barbaric" practices is a polemical one by articulating that some people take issue with the term "honour killings." The author describes that the inclusion of the statement in the guide marked "a stronger tone against importing beliefs that clash with Canadian values," a similar sentiment to that found in Excerpt 19 to suggest that the Canadian government would not normally officially make such a strong and negative statement about immigrants or their cultures. Different to Excerpt 19, however, the author of Excerpt 20 provides some of his own interpretation of the statement, stating that the government was "against importing beliefs that clash with Canadian values." Although not explicitly articulated, we can assume that the author was equating Canadian values with Enlightenment Values or liberal democratic values (Fukuyama, 2006), in this case gender equality. Although he implies that certain beliefs are not welcome in Canada, the author does not single out any cultural or religious groups for holding these beliefs, by stating that there are no religions that accept honour killings as a practice. Following this excerpt, the author quotes two Muslims' reactions to the statement in

the guide. In both cases the individuals were in support of the inclusion of the statement, which allowed the author to imply that there was nothing wrong with the passage by constructing the argument that it did not single any religious groups out, and so it was not discriminatory. The article gives the impression that honour killings are not condoned by Islam, but are condoned by certain cultures, without stating what those cultures are. The following quote illustrates this:

Excerpt 21. *"But Farzana Hassan, spokeswoman for the Muslim Canadian Congress, said there is nothing controversial about the statement in the new guide, adding that it is a long-overdue step toward tackling a cultural practice that does not jibe with Canadian values."* (National Post, November 13, 2009)

Over all, the articles portrayed immigrants and new citizens as contributing positively to Canadian society, and furthermore, presented them as belonging to the Canadian national category. However, the formulation was complex and nuanced, by also articulating the limits of Canadian tolerance and what and was not acceptable. As in Reasonable Accommodation, the authors exhibited a reluctance to single out any groups as engaging in unacceptable behaviours. This created the impression that most immigrants were welcome in and belonged to Canada.

French Canadians

The language used to frame French Canadians was different to that of immigrants. Instead, the articles discussed French Canadians in terms of how they were represented in the Guide as long-standing members of Canadian society. At times they were formulated as holding different opinions to those of English Canadians about what should be included in a study guide of Canadian history and values, but ultimately they were included as Canadians contributing to definitions of nationhood, supporting previous literature (Karim, 1993).

Excerpt 22. *"The new Citizenship Guide makes a serious effort to address many of the shortcomings of the previous version. Off the top, it introduces the concept of three founding people: aboriginal, French and British. For the first time, Metis leader Louis Riel, the 1960 Quebec Quiet Revolution and the two referendums on sovereignty are introduced to new Canadians. The booklet connects some, if not all, of the dots between the rise of Quebec nationalism and the subsequent advent of the Official Languages Act. It describes Quebec's quest for autonomy as a live element of the Canadian debate. The House of Commons' 2006 nation resolution is mentioned."* (Toronto Star, November 16, 2009)

The author of Excerpt 22 explains that the new guide attempts to "address many of the shortcomings of the previous version." He does this by listing several Quebec-specific historical events that were included in the newly released Guide and articulates that the guide "describes Quebec's quest for autonomy as a live element of the Canadian debate". This language frames Quebec and French Canadians as fundamental parts of the Canadian nation, but by referring to Quebec autonomy and the "Canadian debate" the author suggests that French Canadians have different opinions about the nation and their place in it. These differences in opinion and perspective between the groups are framed as positive elements of Canadian nationhood by describing that the Guide makes a "serious effort" to improve upon the earlier version by including information on these Quebec-specific events. The author also re-affirms the current day governmental narrative that Canada has three founding peoples: Aboriginal, French and British. Other articles discussed how some French Canadians take issue with this statement, identifying a polemical discourse of Canadian nationhood, as shown with the following quote:

Excerpt 23. *"The Bloc Quebecois believes the new citizenship guide marginalizes Quebec's status as a nation, and the role of French Canadians as one of the two founding groups of Confederation and the British North American Act in 1867. The new guide describes Canada's three founding peoples as aboriginal, French and British – while historically it's generally been only the latter two."* (Montreal Gazette, November 13, 2009)

The article references the Bloc Québécois, the political party which arguably acts as a representative of Quebec's French Canadian sentiments within the province (Dyck, 2011). The author therefore presents a vocal faction of French Quebecers as taking issue with the "three founding peoples" discourse, since it "marginalizes Quebec's status as a nation and the role of French Canadians as one of the two founding groups." This has the effect of pitting Quebec against Aboriginal peoples, in effect by removing the latter group from the discourse. The author offers no stance of her own, so the reader is left to wonder whether the Bloc Québécois is being unreasonable, or whether the Canadian government has erroneously included Aboriginal people in the national discourse. The inclusion of British peoples in the discourse is not disputed, marking Canadian nationhood as securely British, with

some debate about which other groups should be included. At the same time the author never implies that French or Aboriginal peoples should be excluded from it. French Canadians were thus presented throughout the corpus as being crucial to the Canadian nation, as well as sometimes holding different opinions about what Canada is and should be. Their polemical views and their conflicts with the rest of Canada throughout history were framed as crucially contributing to Canadian nationhood.

Aboriginal Peoples

One way that the media coverage of the Citizenship Guide differed from that of Reasonable Accommodation was that Aboriginal peoples were actually mentioned. In the Citizenship Guide coverage, the articles briefly mentioned Aboriginal peoples, but never offered insights into Aboriginal perspectives on Canadian history, values and diversity, and never described how they related to the nation. This left the impression that they were given symbolic or cursory mention, but otherwise again they were essentially silent members in Canadian history, as previous research has shown (see Fleras & Kunz, 2001).

Excerpt 24. *"The guide looks back to the role of aboriginals, the Vikings and early explorers and the "struggle to build our country," the senior official said."* (National Post, November 12, 2009)

In Excerpt 24, the author mentions Aboriginal peoples alongside Vikings and early explorers, subtly suggesting that Aboriginal peoples were actors in early Canadian history, making no mention of the role of Aboriginal peoples in present day. By including them with the Vikings—who had little bearing on the Canadian nation— and early explorers, the author minimises Aboriginal cultures and their experiences of subjugation and hardship (Cairns, 2011; King & Highway, 2010). Furthermore, by not capitalising the term Aboriginal (in contrast to Vikings), the author again implies that Aboriginal peoples are not bona fide ethnic groups currently contributing to Canadian society.

A strong discourse that emerged throughout the corpus was that discussing controversial events in Canadian history was a positive thing. The authors praised the new Guide for including controversial historical events in its pages, and in so doing explicitly named some of those events. Of those, Aboriginal residential schools

(Cairns, 2011; Regan, 2010) were sometimes named, but again no description was given for them.

Excerpt 25. *"Difficult or controversial moments in our national history – the residential-schools legacy, the struggle for women's enfranchisement, the Quiet Revolution – finally get a mention."* (Globe & Mail, November 12, 2009)

The author implies the Guide should be praised for discussing events that are "difficult or controversial moments in our national history" by stating that they "*finally* get a mention" (emphasis added). However, in this particular excerpt Aboriginal peoples are not even named, which could leave the reader wondering what the "residential-schools legacy" was. This event refers to the Canadian government forcibly removing Aboriginal children from their families to attend residential schools far from home in order to stop them from speaking their own languages and practicing their cultures. The last residential school did not shut until 1996 (Cairns, 2011; Regan, 2010). In fact, it has been found that a large proportion of the Canadian public do not know what the residential schools were (Environics, 2010). Again by not naming Aboriginal peoples in reference to the "residential-schools legacy," they are rendered invisible.

Aboriginal peoples were given some attention in the Citizenship Guide, rather than being absent from the discussions of Canadian society and the integration of minority groups as they were in Reasonable Accommodation. However, as has been shown, Aboriginal peoples were only given a cursory mention when authors discussed Canadian history, leaving the impression that they somehow contributed to nation-building in the past, but not to current Canadian society. They were never given a voice to represent their perspectives on the integration of immigrants or to discuss their place in the Canadian nation, which in effect excluded them from the national category.

Summary

The analysis of the media response to the release of the Citizenship Guide again revealed a mix of inclusive and exclusionary discourses. The articles highlighted the information the Canadian government was providing to new citizens about what it meant to be Canadian, including Canada's history and values, and what was required of immigrants in order to become Canadian. For this reason, the

discourses mostly focused on immigrants, and overall immigrants were framed positively and were included in the national category of Canadian, referring to them often as "new Canadians" and to Canada as "their country." There were a few instances of exclusionary discourses, particularly in reference to a passage in the Guide about "barbaric cultural practices" that would not be tolerated in Canada. The discourses framing immigrants were therefore a complex mix of positive and negative, inclusive and exclusionary.

French Canadians on the other hand were framed as long standing members of Canadian society. The authors referred to controversial Quebec-specific events and articulated that these events have made Canadian history and identity what it is. They identified that French Canadians have different (contesting) opinions about Canada and their position in the nation, but framed these disagreements positively as contributing to Canadian nationhood. Finally, while Aboriginal peoples were mentioned in the articles, they were for all intents and purposes invisible and excluded from the national category.

DISCUSSION

The aim of this study was to examine media discourses of Canadian nationhood and national identity as they pertained to cultural diversity. We used critical discourse analysis (van Dijk, 1993) to examine how the English-language print media framed the minority cultural groupings in relation to the Canadian nation, with a specific focus on which groups were included in the national category, those who were excluded from it, and the circumstances under which the groups were included or excluded. It has been argued that the media plays a strong intermediary role between national governments and ordinary citizens in creating and shaping individuals' representations of nationhood and national identity (Anderson, 1991; van Dijk, 1987, 1989, 1995). It was therefore important to examine how the media framed issues of nationhood and diversity to better understand how they might contribute to shaping ordinary citizens' representations. Since the media has been shown to propagate governmental representations of nationhood, we chose to analyse the media response to two government-led current events (Reasonable Accommodation and Citizenship Guide) related to the integration of minority cultural groups in Canadian society.

This analysis also aimed to advance critical discourse analysis methodology and theory (Fairclough et al., 2011; van Dijk, 1993; Wodak & Meyer, 2009a). First, we focused not only on negative discourses framing minority ethnic groups in the media, but also on positive discourses. Hier (Hier, 2008, 2010) argued that critical discourse analysis should shift from focusing solely on racism, prejudice and the perpetuation of inequalities, to also identifying instances of social change and acceptance. To this end, our findings revealed a mix of exclusionary and inclusive discourses, for both the French Canadian group and newer immigrants and their descendants (whereas Aboriginal peoples were essentially ignored). Second, we examined how all of the minority cultural groupings were framed, rather than focusing on one particular minority group. Winter (2011) illustrated how some minority groups are often weighted against one another, highlighting how certain groups are included in the national category when others are excluded, in a highly contextualised manner. Our findings supported this, providing evidence for a different set of discourses framing each minority cultural grouping depending on the context, as well as which other groups were simultaneously represented in nationhood and national identity, and in which way.

The following sections will synthesise the analysis of both events and provide a general interpretation of how the cultural groupings were framed and represented in the English Canadian media as relating to Canadian nationhood and identity.

French Canadians

Our analysis of the media coverage of both Reasonable Accommodation and the Citizenship Guide revealed French Canadians to be included, on the whole, in the national category, supporting previous work (Karim, 1993). French Canadians were framed in a nuanced way, through the use of both positive and negative discourses. The articles frequently highlighted an emancipated social representation (Moscovici, 1988), illustrating that French Canadians have a different relationship with the Canadian nation than English Canadians. At the same time, the narrative that the English language news constructed of Canadian nationhood included this emancipated French Canadian discourse as a crucial aspect of the Canadian nation.

The discourses framing French Canadians in relation to the nation differed across the two events. In Reasonable Accommodation, French Canadians were framed as tiresome and even prejudiced towards cultural and religious minority groups (as

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shown elsewhere; Potvin, 2010), positioning them as being bothersome members of the nation, but belonging to it nonetheless. In the Citizenship Guide, French Canadians were framed as longstanding members of the Canadian nation who hold some differences in opinion about what the Canadian nation is, but this was left uncontested. As Winter (2011) suggested, the differences in the discourses framing French Canadians between the two events can be attributed to a difference in context. Reasonable Accommodation concerned the accommodation of religious and cultural differences solely in the province of Quebec, whereas the Citizenship Guide focused on the integration of new citizens within the nation as a whole. This meant that the English-language news articles in Reasonable Accommodation often positioned the rest of Canada or Ontario (representing English Canada) against Quebec (representing French Canada). Because of this, English Canadians as the majority group outside of Quebec were able to increase their positive distinctiveness (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) by portraying themselves as more open-minded and inclusive towards immigrants and cultural and religious minorities than French Canadians in Quebec. On the other hand, in the Citizenship Guide the frame of reference changed, with the articles instead focusing inward on Canadian society as a whole. In this way, French Canadians were no longer positioned as the outgroup, but were instead showcased as longstanding partners (Mackey, 2002). However, even in Reasonable Accommodation, the authors of the articles exhibited a reluctance to single out French Canadians as a group in negative terms and tended to reserve blame for a smaller faction of francophone Quebec society. What emerged in these instances was an Enlightenment discourse of Canadians, as equal, fair and reasonable.

While the Enlightenment discourse was evident throughout the media coverage of both events, it was much stronger in the Reasonable Accommodation discussion than in reactions to the Citizenship Guide. The authors frequently used Enlightenment Values to distinguish English Canada in a positive way from Quebec. In this way, French Canadians were sometimes framed as threatening Enlightenment Values. For example, any French Canadians who were deemed not to comply with Enlightenment Values were singled out and portrayed negatively, almost as troublesome family members that one simply has to put up with because they are family. These French Canadians were portrayed as unreasonable for feeling that the French language and Québécois culture were threatened by newer cultural and

religious groups and their practices. Whereas on the other hand, those French Canadians who themselves argued for people to use reason to understand that minority groups did not threaten their culture were included easily in the national category. Therefore, it can be argued that when French Canadians challenge Canada's liberal ideals and appear to demand special treatment as a collective group (Fukuyama, 2006; Sanders, 1991), that they are excluded from, or rather reluctantly included in, the national category. However, even when those people were singled out, the authors used a highly nuanced set of discourses in order that they did not appear prejudiced, even towards those they were portraying as prejudiced.

In the Citizenship Guide, French Canadians were framed as unequivocally belonging to Canada. The articles largely focused on the integration of immigrants as new citizens and focused only on French Canadians when discussing Canadian history. The articles often referred to controversial events in Canada's past that were rightly included in the Guide for appropriately painting a more accurate picture of Canada than the previous guide. Many of these events were Quebec-specific, highlighting Quebec's unique position in the country. In this context, French Canadians were not framed as challenging Enlightenment Values, and therefore the special treatment they arguably receive (Béland & Lecours, 2006) was brushed over allowing for an easier inclusion into Canadian nationhood and identity. It is undoubtedly the shared history between British and French Canadians (Mackey, 2002), coupled with a shared respect for liberal democratic or Enlightenment Values (Fukuyama, 2006; Molinaro, 2011) that leads the English Canadian print media to downplay the special position that Quebec has achieved in the nation.

Newer Immigrants and their Descendants

Our analysis of the print media coverage of the two events revealed separate set of complex discourses to frame newer immigrants and their descendants. The category of newer immigrants encompasses many minority groups, including current immigrants and new citizens (i.e., those born outside of the country) and cultural and religious communities that have been in Canada for generations. In Reasonable Accommodation the focus was on the accommodation of cultural and religious practices, which largely discussed religious practices or values that needed to be accommodated in public spaces. Even though the articles related most often to religious differences, the authors portrayed religious minorities as immigrants, which

had the effect of excluding them from the national category of Canadian. The Citizenship Guide focused more on new citizens and immigrants by discussing the rights and responsibilities of Canadian citizenship, as well as describing Canadian history, values and identity to them. In the Citizenship Guide, immigrants and new citizens were largely framed as belonging to the national category.

As was seen with French Canadians, newer immigrants were framed differently between the two events, which again can arguably be attributed to the difference in context surrounding them (Winter, 2011). As was described previously, in Reasonable Accommodation the authors often positioned newer immigrants against French Canadians, often portraying newer immigrants as receiving unfair and unreasonable treatment at the hands of some French Canadians in Quebec. The articles further implied that immigrants and cultural and religious minorities needed to be protected from the prejudice and discrimination in Quebec, which allowed the authors to portray Quebec unfavourably in comparison to the rest of (English) Canada, and by extension appear tolerant and inclusive of these minority groups themselves. However, as stated, while the articles were welcoming of immigrants and other minorities on the whole, and accommodating of their different religious practices, they were subtly portrayed as "others." The groups were framed as contributing positively to Canadian society, and multiculturalism was touted a success, supporting the discourse of liberal values found in previous research (Henry & Tator, 2002). These elements taken together implied that the Canadian nation was a kind, generous, welcoming place based on equality, freedom, reason and democracy, but those most easily incorporated into representations of Canadian nationhood were those of European descent who promoted Enlightenment Values.

A different but similar pattern was found for the Citizenship Guide. Immigrants and new citizens were frequently included in representations of nationhood and identity. The difference arguably being that in Reasonable Accommodation, the debate was occurring somewhere "else". Since Quebec was framed as separate and positioned against Ontario or the rest of the country, the authors might have been viewing cultural minorities living in Quebec as also separate from the rest of the country. This meant that they wrote about how Quebec was treating its immigrants, rather than viewing them as Canadians. In the Citizenship Guide on the other hand, the context of the coverage was the Canadian nation as a

whole. New citizens were often portrayed as being included in representations of nationhood and identity, but the limits to this inclusion were explicitly expressed. A section of the Guide itself highlighted that "barbaric cultural practices," such as "honour killings" and "female genital mutilation," would not be tolerated, which depicted certain minority cultures as threatening gender equality. In this way, the authors implied that immigrants could become Canadian if they abided by Enlightenment Values, but if they challenged them they were excluded from being Canadian, revealing a sort of conditional inclusion. Nationhood and national history were portrayed as bicultural (French-English); however, present day society was framed as both accommodating of diversity and multicultural (Kymlicka, 2003), where newer immigrants could become Canadian.

Aboriginal Peoples

Aboriginal peoples were overwhelmingly absent from the discussions surrounding diversity and nationhood in the English print media. Significantly, they did not appear at all in the coverage of Reasonable Accommodation, even though there is a significant Aboriginal presence in Quebec (Gouvernement du Québec, 1991). Furthermore, while Aboriginal peoples did appear in the media coverage of the Citizenship Guide, they appeared to receive a cursory mention only. They were not given a voice to express their perspectives on the Guide, react to how they were portrayed in it, or provide any statements on the integration of immigrants in the Canadian nation. Instead they were portrayed as contributing to early Canadian history to some capacity. That said, their role in national history was listed alongside that of the Vikings who had little bearing on the Canadian nation, giving the impression that the Vikings were just as crucial to building the nation as were Aboriginal peoples. Furthermore, the term Aboriginal was never capitalised, which removed their credence as important ethnic groups living in and contributing to present day Canada. In these ways, Aboriginal peoples were rendered invisible, as previously shown (Fleras & Kunz, 2001), and excluded from representations of Canadian nationhood and identity.

It can be argued that Aboriginal peoples did not appear in discussions of diversity and diversity management because they threaten Canada's liberalism principles and Enlightenment Values (Fukuyama, 2006; Sanders, 1991). As previously discussed, French Canadians and newer immigrant groups were framed

negatively when they were deemed not to abide by Enlightenment Values. In this way, the English-language media managed to use this defiance to frame Canadians as accommodating, tolerant, fair and reasonable by positioning themselves against anyone who expressed prejudice towards newer immigrants, or anyone who violated the Canadian value of gender equality through unfavourable cultural practices. However, if the authors were to discuss Aboriginal peoples or gave them a voice to express their current positions in Canadian society, they would have to articulate a polemical discourse, which would highlight the unfair and discriminatory treatment that Aboriginal peoples feel and continue to experience at the hands of the majority group. This would have the effect of portraying Canadians as violating the Enlightenment Values that they profess are the basis of Canadian nationhood and identity. Silencing Aboriginal peoples ensures that English Canadians do not have to reconcile this conflict in their minds, allowing them to maintain their positive social identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) as nice, kind and accommodating (Kymlicka, 2003).

Future Research Directions

Overall, the English-language print media positively portrayed minority groups and included them in representations of nationhood and identity, as long as they did not threaten Enlightenment Values of equality, freedom, reason and democracy (Michael, 2000). A crucial next step is to examine ordinary English Canadians' representations of diversity, nationhood and national identity to determine if they reflect what has been found for both governmental and mainstream media representations. Chapter 3 will report on a survey that was conducted with English Canadians that examined representations of Canadian history, nationhood and identity, as it relates to diversity. Beyond this dissertation, future research could examine how the French Canadian mainstream media portrays Canadian nationhood and identity in the context of diversity, to determine whether any emancipated or polemical discourses appear.

**ENGLISH CANADIANS' HISTORICAL REPRESENTATIONS OF
NATIONHOOD AND DIVERSITY**

The goal of this dissertation is to gain a comprehensive understanding of
Canadian national psychology by examining the majority group's (English
Canadians') representations of nationhood and identity as they relate to the
longstanding cultural diversity comprising the nation. Chapters 1 and 2 provided an
analysis of the public discourses of nationhood and identity, with an explicit focus on
how the three broad cultural minority groupings (i.e., French Canadians, Aboriginal
peoples, and newer immigrants and their descendants) are portrayed and incorporated.
Chapter 1 examined governmental discourse from a historical perspective in order for
us to begin constructing a theory about the origins of English Canadians' present day
social representations of nationhood and identity. Government discourses of
nationhood and national identity importantly influence ordinary citizens'
representations of what and who belongs (and does not belong) to the nation
(Anderson, 1991). Chapter 2 followed by analysing English Canadian print media
discourses of nationhood and identity as they emerged in public discussions of
Canadian diversity and the integration of minority groups in the nation. It has been
argued that the media play an intermediary role between national governments and
ordinary citizens by using subtle language to propagate governmental representations
of nationhood, identity and diversity, and provide ordinary citizens with a frame to
make sense of their nation and identity as nationals (Anderson, 1991; van Dijk, 1987,
1989, 1995). In this chapter we aim to determine the content of ordinary English
Canadians' conceptions of nationhood and identity by examining their representations
of Canadian history, with specific focus on which cultural groups are included in
these representations. This chapter seeks to answer the following question: Do
individual representations of nationhood and national identity mirror those found in
political and media discourses?

Governmental narratives and discourses about nationhood, identity and
diversity are based in the history of social and ethnic relations among the groups
living in a nation, primarily as evidenced by historical power dynamics established
among groups (Liu & Hilton, 2005). Liu, Wilson, McClure and Higgins (1999)

argued that "history is the story of the making of an ingroup," where a narrative informs the group about where it came from and where it should be going. Political narratives of nationhood and national identity should also be mirrored by media and lay people's representations of nationhood and identity, to together point to a socially shared narrative of the ingroup (Anderson, 1991). A group's representations of national history can have strong implications for national identity, by providing a lens through which individuals come to understand their nation, including the role of the dominant group and the place of other (less dominant) groups (Liu & Hilton, 2005).

Liu and Hilton's (2005) theory of social representations of history and identity weaves together social representations theory (Moscovici, 1961), social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) and self-categorization theory (Turner et al., 1987) to specifically highlight the importance of individuals' representations of their nation's history in understanding and influencing their national identity. They theorise that socially shared representations of history prescribe the societal positions of the groups occupying a nation and justify the actions that dominant groups take in both national and international affairs. With respect to cultural diversity, the majority group's representations of national history can inform us about how dominant groups conceptualise and approach diversity within the nation, including how they treat minority cultural groups, and whether or not these groups are included in and/or excluded from the nation (Liu & Hilton, 2005). In this way, representations of history can provide legitimizing myths or narratives that explain and justify which groups are included in or excluded from belonging to the national category, and carry implications for national policies the government might adopt (e.g., diversity management policies), as well as collective actions the group may take in response to events that arise (Liu et al., 1999).

Liu and Hilton (2005) have argued that history can be used to construct a *charter* (Malinowski, 1926) that privileges certain group interests over others, and gives those groups power to determine who belongs in the nation and who does not. In Canada, it can be said that English and French Canadians represent the *charter* groups, where both groups occupy privileged positions in the nation not accorded to other groups. Governmental representations of Canadian nationhood and national identity seamlessly privilege English and French Canadians (Karim, 1993), while at the same time appearing to be inclusive of everyone living in the nation (Dewing,

2012). As was shown in the previous chapter, Enlightenment Values of equality, freedom, democracy and reason (Michael, 2000) are frequently mobilised in governmental and media discourses to both include and exclude groups from belonging. Enlightenment Values represent a shared set of civilisation values that both English and French Canadians promote as being the fundamental tenets of society, having emerged out of the Enlightenment Period in 18th century Europe (and Great Britain and France in particular; Michael, 2000). Although conflicts between English and French Canadians have abounded throughout Canadian history (Mackey, 2002), the commonalities between the groups (Fukuyama, 2006; i.e., a strong adherence to Enlightenment and liberal democratic values; Molinaro, 2011) transcend the division between them. To illustrate this, the Charter of Rights and Freedoms was enacted in 1981, and formed a significant part of the Canadian Constitution, which was passed in 1982 (Government of Canada, 1982). The Charter outlined that every Canadian be treated equally and fairly, regardless of race, ethnicity, gender and physical disability. Upon signing the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau stated that:

> "We must now establish the basic principles, the basic values and beliefs which hold us together as Canadians so that beyond our regional loyalties there is a way of life and a system of values which make us proud of the country that has given us such freedom and such immeasurable joy."
>
> (Pierre Trudeau, 1981)

While Enlightenment Values by nature aim to promote equality and inclusivity, they in fact represent a set of cultural values that emerged out of a particular time and place in history (i.e., 18th century Europe), and now form the basic values and ideologies of modern liberal democracies (Ball et al., 2013; Fukuyama, 2006; Michael, 2000). Through their shared history and the promotion and adherence to Enlightenment Values (Fukuyama, 2006; Molinaro, 2011), English and French Canadians together determine what the nation is and is not. At the same time, both groups are afforded a certain flexibility to push the limits and bend the rules that other groups do not receive, since they together set those rules and limits. For instance, the mostly French Canadian province of Quebec is able to maintain a position within Canada that is simultaneously united with and separate from the rest of the nation

(Dickinson & Young, 2008; Seymour, 2004)[9]. As was shown in the previous chapters, the federal government and mainstream English Canadian media mobilise social representations of Canadian history to portray French Canadians as having a "special place" in Canada as one of the two *charter* groups whose historical relationship (both cooperative and conflictual) built the nation of Canada (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2012). In this way, the government and mass media have created and propagated a narrative for Canada that justifies the dominant and powerful position of not only the majority group (English Canadians), but also the special position of a national minority group (French Canadians).

Several studies have examined social representations of history on both a national (e.g., New Zealand; Liu et al., 1999) and world scale (e.g., Liu et al., 2005). Liu et al. (1999) developed a method for studying social representations of history which asks individuals to freely recall the most important events and people in history. A historical narrative can be inferred by extrapolating a system of meaning or story that "grasps together" (see László, 2008; Wertsch, 2002) the list of the most frequently cited events and people. This list of historical events and figures provides information about the content of ordinary citizens' representations of national history, and by extension nationhood, where participants implicitly articulate where the nation came from and what it represents in a narrative fashion. Therefore, one can look at a list of the ten most commonly cited historical events and people, and both quantitatively and qualitatively assess the type of events and people listed (e.g., political, humanitarian), as well as how much cultural diversity is present in the story that is inferred from these nominations. What results is an empirical account of nationhood, which also informs on the content of national identity by providing some insight into who participants agree are the most prototypical members of the group (Turner et al., 1987), and what schematic narratives (Wertsch, 2002) tell the story of the making of the nation.

This study will investigate the content of majority group representations of Canadian history by extrapolating a narrative of Canadian history from freely recalled

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[9] As an example, Quebec did not ratify the Canadian Constitution (Dunsmuir & O'Neal, 1992), an event which provides supporting evidence for the privileges accorded to French Canadians, as represented by the province. However, it should be noted that the complexities of this event are too large for this thesis and would be better dealt with elsewhere.

historical events and figures generated by a general sample of English Canadians. We will first determine whether or not this narrative reflects what has so far emerged in this thesis for political and media representations of nationhood and identity. Second, the study will aim to examine how the different cultural groupings (i.e., French Canadians, Aboriginal peoples, and newer immigrants and their descendants) are or are not incorporated into historical representations of Canadian nationhood. Third, the study will seek to determine if the content of English Canadians' representations of history is associated with other factors, such as ideological support for diversity policies (e.g., multiculturalism) and political orientation.

We expect individual-level representations to reflect public representations of nationhood and identity. Therefore, the historical narrative that we extrapolate should be characterised by a British Canadian core, as evidenced by a predominance of British/Canadian events and figures in the freely recalled responses. In addition, the British Canadian predominance should be accompanied by a less dominant, but nonetheless evident, inclusion of French Canadians and French-English biculturalism, with no widespread inclusion of Aboriginal peoples or newer immigrants and their descendants. A third element of the historical narrative should be an adherence to Enlightenment Values (Michael, 2000).

To determine whether English Canadians' representations of history are culturally diverse, the freely recalled influential Canadians will be coded by their ethnicity. We expect the majority of listed influential people to be British or of British descent (i.e., English, Irish, Scottish or Welsh) and a consistent minority to be of French descent. While we predict some of the figures listed will belong to the other cultural groupings, we do not expect that Aboriginal peoples or newer immigrants and their descendants will emerge frequently or consistently. To measure Enlightenment Values, we will code the historical events for whether they represent the values of equality and freedom[10], specifically (e.g., universal health care, women's liberation, same sex marriage). We expect a significant proportion of the events named to represent Enlightenment Values.

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[10] The events were not coded for other Enlightenment Values such as reason or democracy since the events could not be as clearly coded according to these values.

Finally, we expect the content of historical representations to be associated with a set of other factors, since representations of history should be able to inform us about how a group will respond to particular political events and be associated with particular political attitudes (Liu & Hilton, 2005). Therefore, this study will examine whether the events coded for Enlightenment Values are associated with support for diversity policies and/or political orientation. According to Liu and Hilton (2005), the historical narrative told by a group about where the group came from and what it represents has clear implications for the types of policies the group will support and the particular action the group will take both within and outside of the group's boundaries. We hypothesise that the number of Enlightenment events listed by participants will be positively correlated with support for the Canadian policies of multiculturalism, bilingualism and religious accommodation. We also hypothesise that the number of Enlightenment events listed will be positively correlated with greater liberal, left-wing political orientation.

METHOD

Participants

Participants were sought from the general population to complete an online survey. Participants were recruited through online media websites (e.g., Facebook and Reddit), online classified advertisements (e.g, Craigslist and Kijiji), and through the researcher's personal networks. The survey took participants approximately 30 minutes to complete. Participation was anonymous and confidential and was approved by the School of Psychology Research Ethics Board at Victoria University of Wellington. As compensation for their time, participants elected to enter a draw to win a $150 supermarket voucher. Their names and addresses were recorded in a separate spreadsheet that could not be linked to their data.

In total, 125 English Canadians took part. Participants were included in the study if they: were over the age of 18; were born in Canada or else moved to the country by 5 years of age (to ensure their schooling took place in Canada); were of European ancestry; spoke English as a first language; and lived in the province of Ontario[11] for at least 10 years throughout the course of their lives.

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[11] As regional variations were expected in participants' responses, we chose to limit the scope of this research to the province of Ontario.

The sample consisted of 80 females (64%) and 44 males (one undisclosed), with a mean age of 36 years (SD=13.64, Range: 18-78). Six participants were born outside of Canada: three were born in the United Kingdom and immigrated to Canada when they were six months, and three and five years old, another was born in the USA and moved to Canada at 3 months of age, the fifth was born in Holland and immigrated to Canada at 1 year of age, and the sixth was born in Germany and moved to Canada at 9 months. Of the Canadian born participants, 108 were born in the province of Ontario, while the remaining participants were born in the provinces of Nova Scotia (5), Quebec (4), British Columbia (2) and Manitoba (1). The sample was highly educated, with the majority holding an undergraduate (42.3%) or graduate level degree (26.8%). Many participants held a post-secondary certificate, diploma or trade certificate (16.3%), whereas the remainder (14.6%) held a secondary school qualification.

A large proportion of the sample indicated that they had attended a French immersion school (19.5%) or a more intensive French language school for children with at least one parent whose mother tongue is French (3.3%). This was a gross overrepresentation as only 6% of school aged children under 15 years are enrolled in French immersion schools in Ontario (Statistics Canada, 2008). Following from this, 20% of the sample indicated that they had good to excellent spoken French (with 35.2% fair and 44.8% poor, respectively) and 19.2% felt they had good to excellent command of written French (with 28.8% fair and 52% poor, respectively).

The political orientation of participants was highly left leaning, with the majority of participants supporting the New Democratic Party (NDP; 42.2%). This was not representative of the general population, as 44.4% of Ontarians voted for the Conservative party in the last federal election, and only 25.6% voted for the NDP (Elections Canada, 2011).

Materials

All participants completed an online survey comprised of a battery of scales assessing representations of Canadian history, support for diversity policies (i.e., multiculturalism, bilingualism and religious accommodation), and a broad set of demographics questions. These measures were included as part of a larger survey (see

Appendix B for the complete survey). A description of the measures used in the study will be given next.

Representations of Canadian History

Following Liu et al. (1999) and Liu et al.'s (2005) research on representations of history and identity, participants were asked to freely generate what they felt were the seven (7) most important events and seven (7) most influential people in Canadian history. They were then asked to rate how positive or negative they believed each event or person to be on a 7-point Likert scale, with -3 being *extremely negative*, 0 *neutral*, and 3 being *extremely positive.* After this, participants were asked to rate how much a variety of ethnic groups (British, French, Aboriginal, other European, Asian and African) contributed to Canadian history as an indicator of whether the different groups were included in representations of Canadian history. This was rated on a 7-point Likert scale, ranging from 1 - *Did Not Contribute At All* to 7 - *Contributed Greatly.*

Coding Scheme. The historical events and people were first compiled to generate lists of the most commonly reported events and figures. Following this, two independent raters coded the events by 'type' and for whether or not they represented Enlightenment Values. The figures were also coded by type and ethnicity. The coding schemes for type for both the events and people were data-driven, and loosely based on the coding scheme employed by Liu et al. (2005). For events, the following categories emerged for type: 1) Constitution/Parliamentary, 2) Wars, 3) Sports, 4) Quebec Separatism, 5) Early European Settlements, 6) Aboriginal, 7) Inventions/Scientific Discovery, 8) Political/Elections, 9) Canadian National Symbols, 10) World Expositions, 11) Epidemics/Disasters, 12) Economics, 13) Immigration, 14) Inspirational, 15) Human Rights and 16) Industrialisation. For people, the categories that emerged for type were: 1) Prime Ministers, 2) Other Political Figures, 3) Sports Figures, 4) Scientists/Inventors/Medical (herein referred to as Scientists), 5) Musicians/Authors/Artists/Actors/Directors, 6) Activists, 7) Colonists/Explorers, 8) War Figures/Military, 9) Broadcasters/News People and 10) Business People/Entrepreneurs.

We further chose to code all historical figures by their ethnicity, in order to determine the amount of cultural diversity in participants' representations of Canadian history. Coding this type of data by ethnicity has not previously been tried, and we

decided to limit the coding of ethnicity to historical figures rather than events as the cultural origins of the events could be interpreted in diverse ways. The following categories for ethnicity emerged: 1) British/Canadian, 2) French/Canadian, 3) Bicultural (British Canadian-French Canadian), 4) Other European/Canadian, 5) Asian/Canadian, 6) African/Canadian, 7) First Nations, 8) Métis, and 9) Jewish/Canadian.

Enlightenment Values (EVs). The events were also coded for whether or not they represented the Enlightenment Values of equality and freedom. Events were deemed as representing the values of equality and freedom if they referred to equal rights and/or liberties. Examples of such events were: women's suffrage, gay marriage, the abolition of slavery, workers' rights, and universal healthcare (where everyone in Canada was granted the right to free healthcare). Any disagreements between the raters were discussed until they reached a consensus over whether the event represented Enlightenment Values. If a consensus could not be reached, the event was not coded for EVs.

Support for Diversity Policies

A battery of questionnaires was designed by the researcher to assess support for Canada's diversity policies: Multiculturalism, Bilingualism and Religious Accommodation.

Multiculturalism. Ten items were created to assess support for multiculturalism, based directly on the official Canadian multiculturalism policy (Government of Canada, 1988). Two example items are "*Cultural minorities in Canada should not be encouraged to preserve their cultural heritage*" and "*Cultural minorities of all origins should participate fully in the shaping of all aspects of Canadian society*". Participants were asked to rate whether they agreed or disagreed with each statement on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 5 (Strongly Agree). Half of the items were reverse coded. The alpha coefficient for the multiculturalism scale was good at 0.82.

Bilingualism. Ten items were similarly created to assess support for French-English bilingualism, this time based directly on the Official Languages Act (Government of Canada, 1985). Two example items are "*It is important that Canadians have the right to receive services from federal departments in both official languages (i.e., French and English)*" and "*It should be mandatory for Parliament to*

adopt laws in both English and French". Participants were again asked to rate whether they agreed or disagreed with each statement on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 5 (Strongly Agree). Half of the items were reverse coded. The alpha coefficient for the bilingualism scale was good at 0.84.

Religious Accommodation. Five items were created to assess support for the accommodation of religious diversity, following from the discourse analysis carried out in Chapter 2. Participants were asked to read hypothetical scenarios related to the accommodation of Muslim, Sikh and Hassidic Jewish peoples, based on real cases that received media attention during the Reasonable Accommodation debate in Quebec (Bouchard & Taylor, 2008). The items were rated on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 5 (Strongly Agree). Two example items are: "*Muslims who practice their religion pray five times a day, in designated prayer rooms. There should therefore be a designated prayer space in every Canadian university that has Muslim students*" and "*In the Hassidic Jewish faith, men and women must remain separate in public places. Hassidic Jewish men should therefore have the right to deny a public service from a woman (e.g., a driving test) and ask to instead be served by a man*". Two of the items were reverse coded. The alpha coefficient for the religious accommodation scale was acceptable at 0.78.

Demographics

In order to capture a fuller picture of the sample characteristics, we asked participants to state not only their age, gender, race, ethnicity and education levels, but also their political orientation, whether they were enrolled in French immersion schooling as children, and their French language abilities.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Most Important Events in Canadian History

Top Ten Events

The top ten events that participants named as the most important in Canadian history are presented in Table 1. In total, 134 different events were named, providing evidence for consensus among the sample of 125 participants, but also highlighting some diversity in responses. Not all participants freely recalled all seven events, with only 817 events named of a possible 875. Twelve events appear in the top ten since three of them were named by an equal number of participants. Unsurprisingly, Canadian Confederation (i.e., when Canada officially became an independent nation

separate from the United Kingdom) emerged as the most named event, cited by 77.6% of the sample. The next three top events were all wars—World War II, War of 1812 and World War I—which were each named by at least 40% of the sample. Four of the events in the top ten were Wars, another four were Constitution/Parliamentary, two related to Quebec Separatism and the final two were coded as Industrialisation and Human Rights, respectively.

Table 1. *Top Ten Events in Canadian History by Percentage Nominated, Valence and Type.*

	Important Event	%	Mean	SD	Type
1	Confederation	77.6	2.47	0.93	Constitution/Parliamentary
2	WWII	41.6	0.68	1.80	Wars
3	War of 1812	40.8	1.57	1.32	Wars
4	WWI	40.0	0.90	1.94	Wars
5	FLQ/October Crisis	27.2	-1.77	1.37	Quebec Separatism
6	Canadian Pacific Railway	25.6	2.06	1.34	Industrialisation
7	Quebec Referendum 1995	20.8	-0.28	2.05	Quebec Separatism
8	Charter of Rights and Freedoms*	18.4	2.61	0.72	Constitution/Parliamentary
8	Constitution/Repatriation	18.4	2.39	0.72	Constitution/Parliamentary
8	Women's Suffrage*	18.4	3.00	0.00	Human Rights
9	Universal Health Care*	17.6	2.71	0.72	Constitution/Parliamentary
10	Battle of the Plains of Abraham	15.2	0.79	1.27	Wars

* Events representing the Enlightenment Values of equality and freedom.

Although it was not possible to code the events by ethnicity, it can also be seen from the Top 10 that there was some cultural diversity in the responses. The majority of the events represented government policies or initiatives, including those that were national in scope, such as the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway and the adoption of Universal Healthcare. Others were international, and arguably represent Canada coming of age, by participating in the World Wars as a nation separate from Britain. The Top 10 events could be seen to mostly represent Canada becoming an independent nation, albeit a nation created and governed by British

Canadians, thus supporting the hypothesis that the Canadian historical narrative would have a British core. Also in line with our hypothesis was evidence for the inclusion of French Canadians and French-English biculturalism. Three of the events in the Top 10 refer to instances of struggle between British and French Canadians (i.e., FLQ/October Crisis, Quebec Referendum and Battle of the Plains of Abraham). Finally, three of the events in the Top 10 represented Enlightenment Values (i.e., Charter of Rights and Freedoms, Women's Suffrage and Universal Healthcare), also in line with our prediction that Enlightenment Values would feature in the nominations.

Participants also rated how positive or negative they felt each event was on a scale ranging from -3 (Extremely Negative) to 3 (Extremely Positive). Six of the events (Confederation, Canadian Pacific Railway, Charter of Rights and Freedoms, Constitution/Repatriation, Women's Suffrage and Universal Health Care) were rated very positively, receiving ratings greater than 2 (with Women's Suffrage unanimously receiving the highest rating of 3). It should be noted that all three events coded for Enlightenment Values were given ratings of more than 2.60, providing support for the assertion that these are values that English Canadians strongly adhere to. The War of 1812 was also rated quite positively ($M = 1.57$, $SD = 1.32$), which should most likely be attributed to most participants viewing this war as the seminal moment that the Canadian territory (then known as British North America) retained its independence from the USA (Heidler & Heidler, 2002). The other three wars (WWII, WWI and the Battle of the Plains of Abraham) all received ratings close to the neutral midpoint, although still remaining on the positive side, which could perhaps be attributed to participants' viewing war negatively, but the outcome of the wars as positive for Canada (including the British victory over the French in the Battle of the Plains of Abraham). Interestingly, the only two events that received negative ratings were those relating to Quebec Separatism, although the separation referendum itself had a mean rating close to the midpoint ($M = -0.28$) with substantial variability in how it was rated ($SD = 2.05$). Furthermore, the FLQ/October Crisis is a controversial historical event where a French Canadian separatist group (often labelled as a terrorist group)

kidnapped two political figures subsequently killing one of them[12], leading to the only time where a prime minister (Pierre Trudeau) invoked the War Measures Act and Martial law (Tetley, 2006). The negative rating may reflect that this was a time of fear and uncertainty, due to the actions of the FLQ and the government response (Dickinson & Young, 2008). It may also represent a challenge or threat to Canadian unity. Overall, the fact that these events appear in the Top 10 suggests that disagreements and conflict between English and French Canadians are crucial to participants' representations of Canadian nationhood.

In support of our predictions, the narrative that we can extrapolate from this list of most commonly cited events was primarily British Canadian, with a more minor but noteworthy inclusion of French-English biculturalism, as well as a promotion of Enlightenment Values of equality and freedom. Importantly, the French-English bicultural events represented instances of struggle or dissent between the two groups, and were the only two events that received negative mean ratings. This highlights the complexity of French Canadian inclusion, illustrating again that French-English bicultural events are non-negligible components of Canadian history, but are nevertheless viewed negatively. This mirrors the findings from the media analysis presented in Chapter 2 of reluctant inclusion of French Canadians in Canadian nationhood, and is in accord with hypotheses.

Enlightenment Values

All events were coded for whether or not they specifically represented Enlightenment Values of equality and freedom. A total of 40 unique events (of 134) were coded as representing EVs. In total, 72.8% of the sample named at least one event representing these values. Of those who named an event representing EVs, the mean number of EV events named was 1.80 (SD=0.99; Range: 1-5). A fifth of all events named (n =164) represented these values. Of these, the three most common types of events classified as EVs were Human Rights (40.9%; e.g., Women's Suffrage), Constitution/Parliamentary (35.4%; e.g., Charter of Rights and Freedoms), and Aboriginal (14%; e.g., the unfair treatment of Aboriginal peoples, such as their

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[12] The political figures kidnapped were James Cross, British Trade Commissioner, and Pierre Laporte, Deputy Premier and Minister of Labour of the Province of Quebec. Laporte was killed on October 17, 1970.

forced assimilation through the residential school system). These results indicate that EVs are an important component of English Canadians' representations of history, as predicted.

Most Influential People in Canadian History

Top Ten Figures

The top ten people that participants named as the most influential in Canadian history are presented in Table 2. A total of 146 people were named, again demonstrating both consensus and diversity, as with the important events. Likewise, participants did not all nominate seven people, with a total of 801 influential figures named out of a possible 875. Former Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau emerged as the most influential person in Canadian history, with 82.4% of the sample nominating him. Trudeau was responsible for introducing official bilingualism, official multiculturalism, and the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, and is seen as the person who unified the country across previous linguistic and cultural divides (Graham, 2011). Of the influential people named, four were Prime Ministers, two others were influential political figures, two were Activists (Terry Fox raised awareness for cancer research and the disabled, Coupland, 2005; David Suzuki is a prominent environmental activist, Gazlay, 2009), two others were Scientists, and there was one Sports figure. The influential figures were coded by ethnicity, and it was demonstrated that while there was some ethnic diversity present, the majority (7) were of British Canadian origin. Two people with mixed French heritage were named: Pierre Trudeau, who was bicultural French and British, and Louis Riel, who was Métis (i.e., Aboriginal and French). David Suzuki, the environmental activist, is of Japanese descent and Wayne Gretzky, the hockey player, is of mixed Eastern European descent. The narrative that could be extrapolated from the list of Top 10 influential Canadians converged with that shown for important Canadian events, indicating that English Canadians' representations of history are dominated by British Canadian actors, with some important exceptions, both representing French-English biculturalism (i.e., Pierre Trudeau who was most agreed upon), and a struggle for rights and freedoms (e.g., Louis Riel).

Table 2. *Top Ten People in Canadian History by Percentage Nominated, Valence, Type and Ethnicity.*

	Influential Person	%	Mean	SD	Type	Ethnicity
1	Pierre Trudeau	82.4%	1.89	1.21	Prime Minister	Bicultural (E-F)
2	John A MacDonald	56.0%	1.99	1.11	Prime Minister	British Canadian
3	Terry Fox	39.2%	2.73	0.86	Activist	British Canadian
3	Tommy Douglas	39.2%	2.74	0.57	Political Figure	British Canadian
4	Lester B Pearson	25.6%	2.41	0.67	Prime Minister	British Canadian
5	David Suzuki	24.8%	2.74	0.45	Activist	Asian Canadian
6	Louis Riel	20.8%	1.50	1.36	Political Figure	Métis
7	Wayne Gretzky	20.0%	2.20	1.04	Sports	Other European
8	Frederick Banting (and Best)	18.4%	2.87	0.34	Scientists	British Canadian
9	Alexander Graham Bell	17.6%	2.50	0.67	Scientists	British Canadian
10	William Lyon Mackenzie King	16.0%	1.26	1.45	Prime Minister	British Canadian

As with the events, participants rated how positive or negative they felt each nominated figure was on a scale ranging from -3 (Extremely Negative) to 3 (Extremely Positive). All those who reached the Top 10 were rated positively, with former Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King (who was regarded as an unlikeable person but politically successful; Stacey, 1981) emerging with the lowest rating (M=1.26) and highest variance (SD=1.45). Mackenzie King was followed by Louis Riel (M=1.5; SD=1.36), who is a contentious figure in Canadian history, regarded as a traitor by some (mostly English Canadians) and a hero by others (mostly Aboriginal peoples and French Canadians, since he fought for minority rights; Braz, 2003). Given that this is a sample of English Canadians, it is notable that Louis Riel was viewed with the same mixed opinion. Although it was not possible to code the figures for whether or not they represented Enlightenment Values, it could be argued that Trudeau, Fox, Douglas and Riel were all influential for championing equal rights (i.e., Trudeau argued for equal recognition of all those living in Canada regardless of race, culture, ethnicity and language; and Douglas introduced universal healthcare to

all Canadians) or fighting for minority rights (i.e., Fox stood for equal access for those living with physical disabilities; and Riel pushed for equal status and recognition of the Métis).

The entire list of influential people was also coded for ethnicity, which will be elaborated on in the next section.

Ethnicity

The majority of influential people nominated were of British Canadian descent (61%), with a total of 89 different British Canadians named out of a total of 146. The results are presented in Table 3. The second most common ethnicity was Bicultural British-French, which is somewhat misleading as Pierre Trudeau represented 92% of those named, with only eight Bicultural British-French Canadians named in total. However, 21.5% of nominees were of either bicultural British-French or unicultural French Canadian descent, which is greater than any other minority group, thus supporting hypotheses that French Canadians would have a notable presence in the historical narrative. To this end, while only 7.5% of nominees were French Canadian, a total of 18 different French Canadians were named, demonstrating that participants more readily nominated a variety of influential French Canadian figures than those representing other minority cultures. For example, only five Aboriginal figures were named (one Métis and four First Nations, representing a mere 4.6% of nominations). Similarly, five Asian Canadians were named (again representing 4.6% of nominations), five African Canadians (representing only 1.0% of nominations), and seven Jewish Canadians (again only representing 1.0% of overall nominations). Interestingly, nine different influential figures of other European descent were named (representing 6.2% of nominations), which is greater than other groups, pointing perhaps to the ambiguous nature of the English Canadian majority group. However, far fewer Other Europeans were named than British Canadians, ultimately suggesting that while the English Canadian group typically refers to anyone who is a native English speaker of any European descent (other than French), representations of Canadian history tend to be British, and French, rather than pan-European.

Table 3. *Nominated people (N=801) organised by ethnicity.*

	Ethnicity	%	Number of people named
1	British Canadian	61.0	89
2	Bicultural British-French	14.0	8
3	French Canadian	7.5	18
4	Other European	6.2	9
5	Asian	4.6	5
6	Métis	3.2	1
7	First Nations	1.4	4
8	African	1.0	5
9	Jewish	1.0	7

Overall, these results reinforce the narrative that we extrapolated from the list of Top 10 most commonly cited events as predicted, indicating that English Canadians' representations of historical figures are primarily British Canadian, with a French Canadian (or bicultural) component. The results also point to a less consistent inclusion of Aboriginal peoples in the Canadian narrative of nationhood and national identity (with the notable exception of Louis Riel) and newer immigrants and their descendants (again, with the exception of David Suzuki)[13].

Ethnic Groups' Contributions to Canadian History

As another marker of the inclusion (or exclusion) of different cultural groups in representations of Canadian history, participants were asked to rate how much they felt that different ethnic groups (i.e., British, French, Aboriginal, Other European, African and Asian peoples) contributed to Canadian history on a scale of 1 (Did not contribute at all) to 7 (Contributed greatly). The results are presented in Figure 1. All groups received ratings greater than the midpoint; however, a clear hierarchy emerged. A repeated measures ANOVA was conducted and revealed that groups were

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[13] It should be noted that no women emerged in the Top 10 influential people. Overall, 105 men and 41 women were named. However, there was much greater consensus over influential male figures, with a total of 12 men nominated by at least 10% of the sample. This was in contrast to only one woman being nominated by more than 10% of the sample (i.e., Nellie McClung, an activist for the women's suffrage movement, who was named by 15.2% of the sample).

rated significantly differently from one another overall, $F(3.06, 367.66) = 96.38$, $p<.001$, partial $n^2 = 0.45$. Mauchly's test indicated that the assumption of sphericity had been violated ($\chi2(14) = 192.36$, $p < .001$), therefore degrees of freedom were corrected using Greenhouse-Geisser estimates of sphericity ($\varepsilon = 0.61$).

Figure 1. *Participants' ratings of how greatly they felt different ethnic groups contributed to Canadian history.*
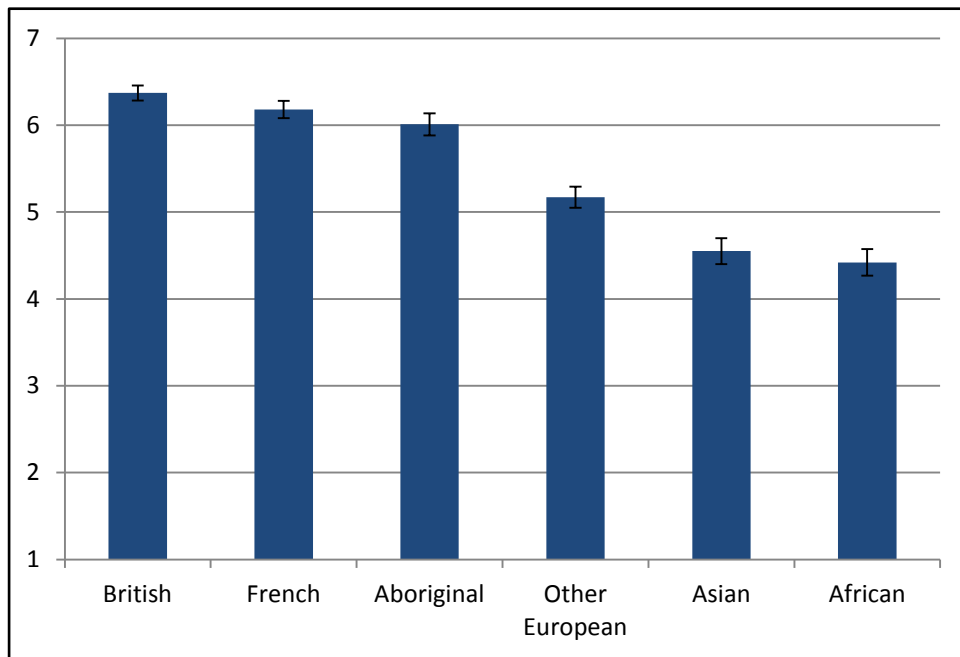
Post-hoc analyses revealed that British people were rated as contributing the most to Canadian history, differing significantly in their ratings from all other groups, lending further support to our predictions. French and Aboriginal peoples also received very high ratings, both receiving mean scores above 6. They did not differ from one another, $t(123)=1.61$, $p=0.11$, but did differ significantly from all other groups. Next, Other Europeans were rated as contributing significantly more to Canadian history than Asian and African peoples, who came in with the lowest ratings and did not differ from one another, $t(121)=1.62$, $p=0.11$.

These results both converged and diverged from the freely recalled events and figures discussed in the previous section. For instance, British Canadians were most strongly associated with Canadian history, and French Canadians were ranked second. An interesting point of divergence was for Aboriginal peoples who were explicitly rated as contributing equally to Canadian history as French Canadians, although they

did not appear as strongly in the participants' implicit representations of Canadian history (as represented by the influential people who were freely recalled). This suggests that when explicitly brought to English Canadians' attention, Aboriginal peoples are symbolically included in their representations of Canadian history, but they do not feature as strongly on the implicit level. As another point of convergence, newer immigrants and their descendants (as represented by Asian and African peoples) were ranked as contributing least to Canadian history, with Europeans of non-British and non-French descent appearing somewhere between the "three founding peoples" (as labelled by official government discourse; Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2012) and visible minority groups.

Relationships among Representations of History, Support for Diversity and Political Orientation

A secondary aim of this study was to assess whether participants' representations of history were associated with other factors, such as support for diversity policies and political orientation. We first evaluated the level of support for various policies of diversity management (e.g., multiculturalism, bilingualism and religious accommodation). The mean ratings are presented in Figure 2. As expected, both bilingualism and multiculturalism were rated positively, with mean scores slightly above and slightly below 4, respectively. On the other hand, support for religious accommodation was mixed, with the mean score falling just above the midpoint. These findings again align with the strong support for Enlightenment Values which we have so far shown. The items for all three measures focused explicitly on equality. While multiculturalism focused on everyone in Canada receiving equal treatment, bilingualism focused solely on the equal status of the French and English languages. As argued, French and English Canadians are regarded as the *charter* groups (Liu & Hilton, 2005; Malinowski, 1926), and this is shown by a strong promotion of equality between their respective languages. As for religious accommodation, participants arguably support the accommodation of religious practices less when religious differences are deemed to conflict with gender equality, as some of the measure's items imply.

Figure 2. *Mean scores showing agreement and disagreement with Canadian diversity policies.*
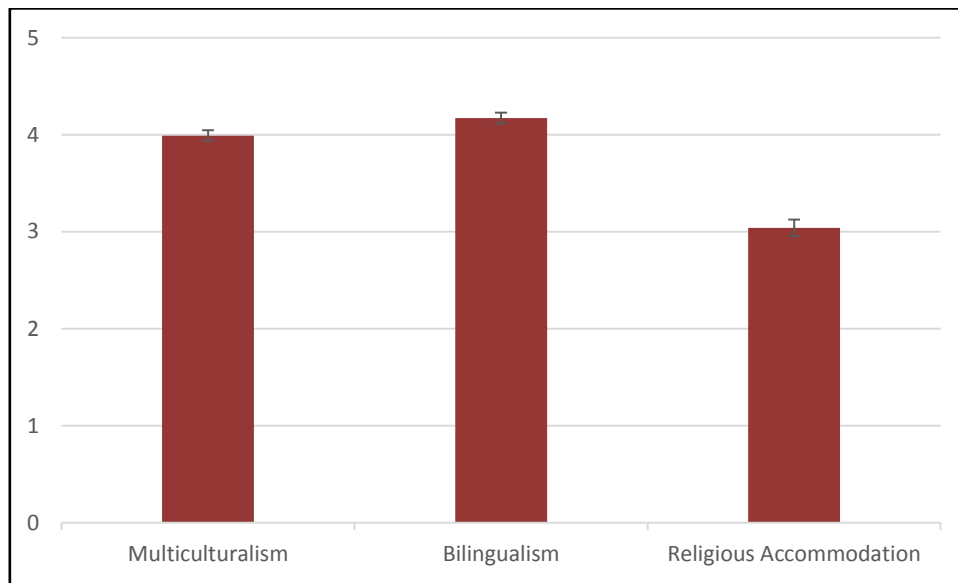
Next we ran a correlational analysis to determine if the historical events freely generated by participants were related to the diversity policies, as well as two questions measuring political orientation (i.e, liberal-conservative and left-wing-right-wing). Specifically, we correlated the events representing Enlightenment Values with the other measures. Significant positive correlations were found between the total number of Enlightenment events generated and support for the three diversity policies, as expected. Also as predicted, the total number of Enlightenment events was negatively correlated with the items measuring political orientation, indicating that the more events generated representing Enlightenment Values of freedom and equality, the less conservative and right-wing participants were. The correlation matrix is presented in Table 4. These findings reinforce our contention that representations of history are related to present day policy support and political ideology.

Table 4. *Correlations between participants' freely generated historical events representing Enlightenment Values and support for diversity policies and political orientation.*

	Multiculturalism	Bilingualism	Religious Accommodation	Conservatism	Right-Wing Politics
Enlightenment Value	.305**	.193*	.181*	-.322**	-.275**
Multiculturalism	-	.414**	.547**	-.563**	-.513**
Bilingualism	-	-	.292**	-.272**	-.291**
Religious Accommodation	-	-	-	-.505**	-.339**
Conservatism	-	-	-	-	.629**

 * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$ (two-tailed)

CONCLUDING COMMENTS

This study sought to determine the content of ordinary English Canadians' representations of Canadian nationhood by asking participants to freely recall what they believed were the most important events and most influential people in Canadian history. By compiling a list of Top 10 events and Top 10 people, we were able to extrapolate a narrative of Canadian nationhood and national identity. As predicted, the narrative mirrored that which has previously been shown in this dissertation for governmental and media representations of nationhood and identity, and was consistent between the historical events and figures. The narrative was shown to be British at its core, with events and figures being predominantly British Canadian. It also featured the inclusion of French Canadians, with a focus on the struggle between British and French Canadians, as well as the inclusion of events representing equal rights and freedoms (i.e., Enlightenment Values). While other ethnic groups did feature in the freely generated influential figures, this was done less consistently and less frequently than both British and French Canadians. It was also found that historical representations of Canadian history (i.e., Enlightenment Values within

social representations of history) were related to support for present day diversity policies and political orientation, lending support to the utility of the construct. Specifically, the number of events that participants generated that we subsequently coded as representing Enlightenment Values, was significantly positively related to support for multiculturalism, bilingualism and religious accommodation, and significantly negatively related to how conservative and politically right-wing participants self-rated as being.

This study gives us an insight into how ordinary English Canadians' view their nation, and how the different cultural groups fit into their representations of nationhood. Social representations of history provide a unique perspective on representations of nationhood and identity in that participants implicitly articulate a narrative of their nation's history that can inform on where they believe the nation came from, where it is now, and where it is going in the future (Liu & Hilton, 2005; Liu et al., 1999). For English Canadians, Canada is viewed as being primarily a product of Britain, or the story of a nation who gained independence and autonomy from Great Britain, principally governed by individuals of British origin. It is also a nation characterised by a struggle between its two *charter* groups (i.e., English and French Canadians); two groups who despite their differences share a strong adherence to and promotion of Enlightenment and liberal democratic values (Fukuyama, 2006; Molinaro, 2011). Canadian history is therefore characterised by the nation's participation in wars to ensure its independence from Great Britain, France and the United States (sometimes symbolic, as with the World Wars), combined with a struggle between English and French Canadians to share the country, as well as events which ensured that minority groups are treated equally and fairly. Additionally, those who articulated a strong Enlightenment narrative of Canadian history tended to more strongly support the policies of multiculturalism, bilingualism and religious accommodation, and leaned more towards the liberal and left-wing end of the political spectrum. Despite promoting Enlightenment events and generally being in favour of diversity management policies, participants did not include Aboriginal peoples and newer immigrants and their descendants consistently in their implicit narrative of Canadian history (although Aboriginal peoples were included in explicit representations of Canadian history).

Limitations

This study had several limitations. Firstly, the sample was not representative, which may have skewed the results. Participants were highly educated, were left-leaning politically, and a large proportion of the sample attended a French immersion school as a child. The strong support for bilingualism and the emergence of a bicultural element to the narrative could partly be attributed to this. In future it would be important to determine whether the same narrative could be found in a more representative sample. Future research should also assess minority groups' historical representations of Canadian history and identity to determine whether the narrative found in this study is hegemonic, or whether emancipated or polemical narratives for Canada also exist (Moscovici, 1988).

This study primarily focused on representations of Canadian history and nationhood, with less focus on Canadian identity. It is therefore still crucial to examine both implicit and explicit associations between Canadian nationhood and ethnicity to examine present day inclusion and exclusion.

CHAPTER 4: STUDY 3

ENGLISH CANADIANS' PRESENT DAY ASSOCIATIONS BETWEEN ETHNICITY AND NATIONHOOD

The previous three chapters attempted to construct a comprehensive account of majority group representations of Canadian nationhood and identity by examining societal level (i.e., government and media) and individual level (i.e., ordinary citizens) representations. It has been previously argued that individuals' conceptions of their own identity as members of a nation or ethnic group are influenced and shaped by the media, through its use of subtle language that reinforces who belongs to the group and who does not (Anderson, 1991; van Dijk, 1987, 1989, 1995). Furthermore, it has been posited that the media are influenced by governmental narratives of nationhood and national identity, which are the result of a deep and complex history of ethnic relations and belongingness to the nation. The media shape ordinary citizens' representations of their own national identity by perpetuating and propagating governmental narratives of nationhood (Anderson, 1991). In line with this contention, this thesis has so far shown that English Canadians' representations of Canadian nationhood and identity mirror media discourses, which are consistent with governmental narratives about what the country is and is not. What has emerged is a narrative for Canada that is fundamentally British at its core, with the inclusion of English-French Canadian biculturalism, and an adherence to Enlightenment Values (Michael, 2000).

The survey research presented in Chapter 3 examined ordinary citizens' representations of Canadian nationhood through their free recall of important events and people in Canada history. While we were able to construct a historical narrative of Canadian nationhood and identity, we have not yet examined the content of present day Canadian identity. This chapter will therefore investigate which ethnic groups English Canadians' implicitly perceive to be prototypically Canadian. According to self-categorization theory (SCT; Turner et al., 1987), social groups are represented by a prototype, which is the most normative position within the group (e.g., the position that is most similar to other ingroup members and most dissimilar from outgroup members). The prototype is influenced by who the group is being compared to and for

which purpose, and so a group can have multiple prototypes depending on the context (Oakes et al., 1998).

The findings presented so far in this dissertation have indicated that Canada's minority cultural groupings (i.e., French Canadians, Aboriginal peoples, and newer immigrants and their descendants) are all variously incorporated into representations of Canadian nationhood and identity, according to context. For example, Aboriginal peoples have been included by the majority group in their representations of Canadian history to a certain extent, but they have been almost entirely absent when the context has been diversity management in present day Canadian society. Conversely, British Canadians have been shown to always be incorporated in representations of Canadian nationhood no matter the context, and therefore arguably represent the most common ethnic prototype of 'Canadian'. A question remains as to whether the other ethnic groups are or can also be viewed as prototypically Canadian. Based on our previous findings, we expect that French Canadians will be viewed as more prototypically Canadian than other minority groups, as they have been shown to be non-negligible members of the nation, but less so than British Canadians. This study will assess both implicit and explicit associations between Canadian nationhood and the different ethnic groups.

It has been firmly established that individuals' explicitly stated beliefs or attitudes are not always a reflection of an individuals' implicit beliefs or attitudes, particularly about sensitive topics such as attitudes towards race and ethnicity (see Fisher, 1993, for a review of the literature on social desirability effects). Implicit associations between two categories represent automatic associations that may or may not align with what the individual explicitly or consciously believes. Individuals might choose to disguise their implicit beliefs or attitudes for social desirability reasons, and not be entirely truthful about them when asked directly. Alternatively, an individual may have an automatically activated negative association with a specific ethnic group based on patterns of information the individual has long been exposed to (e.g., 'Black people are criminals'), but his/her conscious and explicit feelings about that ethnic group may not match these automatic associations (Gawronski & Bodenhausen, 2006). Because of the discrepancy between implicit and explicit attitudes and associations, many experimental techniques have been designed to assess associations without having to directly ask participants. The most widely

researched implicit measurement technique is the Implicit Association Test (IAT; Fazio & Olson, 2003; Greenwald et al., 1998). The IAT is a computerised categorisation task designed to tap into individuals' automatic associations between two concepts (e.g., Black vs White Americans) and two attributes (e.g., good vs bad). The premise underlying the task is that participants will be slower to respond when they are asked to associate a concept and attribute that *are not* automatically related to each other on the implicit level (e.g., Black American + good) and conversely that they will be quicker to respond when the categories *are* implicitly associated (e.g., White American + good). This paradigm has more recently been used to test for implicit associations between ethnicity and nationhood (e.g., Devos & Banaji, 2005; Sibley & Barlow, 2009; Sibley & Liu, 2007), but this has not been previously examined in Canada.

The first study using the IAT to examine implicit associations between ethnicity and nationhood was conducted in the United States (Devos & Banaji, 2005). This study found that the concept of America or American-ness was associated only with White people, and not Black or Asian people. This finding was somewhat surprising, given that some of the strongest values promoted in the U.S. are those of egalitarianism and equality. Additionally, Black Americans have a symbolically significant place in U.S. society due to the history between the groups (e.g., the calamitous Civil War and the civil rights movement; Blight, 2011), which has been shown to translate into explicit measures examining associations between Black Americans and American identity, but not in implicit associations (Devos & Banaji, 2005). Other studies have since been conducted in the U.S. on the implicit associations between American nationhood and ethnicity, all of which have reinforced the effect that the ethnic prototype of an American is White/Caucasian (Devos, Gavin, & Quintana, 2010; Devos & Ma, 2008).

Implicit associations between ethnicity and nationhood have been further examined in two settler societies characterised by high levels of diversity similar to Canada: New Zealand (Sibley, Liu, & Khan, 2008; Sibley & Liu, 2007) and Australia (Sibley & Barlow, 2009). While the Australian experiment replicated the findings shown in the U.S. that the White majority group was the only group associated with Australian nationhood and identity (and not Aboriginal peoples), a different pattern emerged in New Zealand. Several experiments in NZ have demonstrated that NZ

nationhood and identity are implicitly bicultural, with the White/European majority group being equally associated with the concept of 'NZ' and 'New Zealand-ness' as the Māori/indigenous population, and not Asian (Chinese) people. This pattern held true for both NZ European and Māori participants. The finding illustrated that NZ nationhood has two ethnic prototypes. To explain this result, Sibley and Liu (2007) argued that Māori hold a symbolically and historically significant position in New Zealand that New Zealanders have come to internalise at the implicit level.

Based on the narratives that have emerged so far throughout this thesis, we expect a similar pattern of results to emerge in Canada for British and French Canadians. However, we expect that British Canadians will be more strongly associated with Canadian nationhood than French Canadians, since our previous research has demonstrated that representations of Canadian nationhood and identity are predominantly British with French Canadians incorporated to a lesser extent. We therefore predict that English Canadian participants will more greatly associate British Canadians with nationhood than French Canadians, and that they will associate French Canadians with nationhood more strongly than another minority group (i.e., Chinese people)[14]. Racially, we expect White/Caucasian people (representing both English and French Canadians) to be more implicitly associated with Canadian nationhood than all non-White/Caucasian groups.

This study will also assess explicit associations between Canadian nationhood and ethnicity. It is predicted that explicit associations will differ from implicit associations and that all groups will be explicitly associated with nationhood to the same extent. This prediction is based on previous literature indicating that multiculturalism is a strongly held Canadian value (Adams, 2007; Kymlicka, 2003)

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[14] This chapter uses the terms 'English Canadian' and 'British Canadian'. 'English Canadian' refers to the participants who took part in the experiments of this study and 'British Canadian' will be used when discussing the stimuli used in two of the experiments. As described in Chapter 1, 'English Canadian' is the wider category, referring to anyone living in Canada who speaks English as a first language and is of any European descent (e.g., British, German or Ukrainian). Although English Canadians represent the majority group, the previous chapters have illustrated that their representations of Canadian nationhood and identity are fundamentally British, rather than pan-European. In this chapter we will therefore specifically examine English Canadians' implicit associations between British Canadians and Canadian nationhood and identity, compared to a variety of other ethnic groups.

and to this end, participants should consciously and overtly associate all ethnic groups with nationhood equally.

A third aim of this study will be to examine whether the associations between ethnicity and nationhood (both implicit and explicit) are related to Enlightenment Values (EVs; Michael, 2000). EVs have consistently emerged throughout this thesis as a strong component of Canadian nationhood and identity, particularly in that they appear to bind English and French Canadians together and set forth the conditions through which minority cultural groups are included and/or excluded from belonging. Specifically, we will assess whether associative responses can be influenced by measures designed to implicitly prime EVs or a threat to EVs (compared to a control condition). Research has shown that both implicit and explicit associations can be influenced through the use of priming techniques (for review, see Gawronski & Bodenhausen, 2006). It was previously believed that implicit associations and attitudes were robust and stable, and therefore not easily influenced, but in recent years, research using the IAT has shown implicit associations to be malleable (Blair, Ma, & Lenton, 2001; Dasgupta & Asgari, 2004; Rudman & Phelan, 2010), sometimes even more so than explicit associations (Gawronski & Bodenhausen, 2006). A recent study by Yogeeswaran, Dasgupta and Gomez (2012) in the U.S. primed participants with particular prototypes of 'American' by having them read biographies of individuals from different ethnic groups, and were able to influence how strongly American nationhood was associated with different ethnicities, as measured by the IAT. It was found that participants primed with a prototype of the U.S. as Anglo-European implicitly associated both Asian and Hispanic Americans less easily with American nationhood; whereas those primed with the U.S. prototype of civic responsibility more easily associated the minority groups with American nationhood. Another study by Zogmaister and colleagues (2008) used an implicit priming technique to influence nation-level ingroup and outgroup favouritism, again measured by the IAT. Participants were asked to unscramble a series of scrambled sentences using a frequently used implicit priming technique called the Scrambled Sentence Task (Costin, 1969; Srull & Wyer, 1979). They were primed with the constructs of loyalty or equality prior to the completion of an IAT measuring ingroup (Italian) and outgroup (German) favouritism. Those primed with loyalty had an increased level of

ingroup favouritism and those primed with equality had a decreased level of ingroup favouritism (Zogmaister et al., 2008).

The present study will examine the influence of priming participants with Enlightenment Values to determine if this will influence how strongly the different ethnic groups are associated with Canadian nationhood. We will use the Scrambled Sentence Task to prime Enlightenment Values as well as a threat to Enlightenment Values, as compared to a third control condition. We predict that participants primed with EVs will exhibit greater implicit associations between nationhood and minority ethnic groups (compared to the other two conditions), and those primed with a threat to EVs will exhibit lesser implicit associations between nationhood and minority ethnic groups (compared to the other two conditions). We will also test whether the priming tasks will influence the measures assessing explicit associations between nationhood and ethnicity. Since we expect the strength of explicit associations will not differ between the three ethnic groups and Canadian nationhood, we predict that the priming tasks will not exert an effect on explicit associations. Finally, we will examine whether the priming tasks will influence support for the diversity policies of multiculturalism and bilingualism. In Chapter 3 it was found that representations of history representing Enlightenment Values were related to support for diversity policies. Following from this, we expect that support for the multiculturalism and bilingualism policies will increase when primed with EVs, as compared to the other two conditions.

Three experiments will be used to test the study's hypotheses. Experiment 1 will examine implicit and explicit associations between British, French and Chinese Canadians and Canadian nationhood. Experiment 2 will examine implicit and explicit associations between Caucasian, First Nations and East Asian Canadians and Canadian nationhood. Experiment 3 will assess whether priming participants with a set of values will make associations between minority ethnic groups (i.e., French and Chinese Canadians) and Canadian nationhood stronger (i.e., EVs condition) or weaker (i.e., threat to EVs condition). We will also examine whether priming these values will affect support ratings for diversity policies.

EXPERIMENT 1

Method

In Experiment 1 we adapted the ethnic-national Implicit Association Test (IAT; Devos & Banaji, 2005) to examine implicit associations between Canadian nationhood and ethnicity. Canadian nationhood was measured using Canadian national symbols, and ethnicity was measured using common ethnic surnames representing three groups: British, French and Chinese peoples. This study replicated the design used by Devos and Banaji (2005), which examined the associations between ethnicity and American nationhood using faces to represent the different ethnic groups. For the current experiment we chose instead to use common ethnic surnames since British and French Canadians cannot be distinguished by facial appearance alone. Previous research has used names in IAT-attribute (Rudman & Ashmore, 2007; Rudman, Greenwald, Mellott, Schwartz, & Hall, 1999) and IAT-stereotype (Rudman & Ashmore, 2007) protocols to represent different ethnic groups.

Participants

A total of 28 English Canadian undergraduate Psychology students from the University of Western Ontario in London, Ontario, Canada participated in the study and received partial course credit for their participation. Participants (14 female and 14 male) ranged in age from 18-24 years (M=19.36, SD=1.55)[15].

Materials

Three versions of Devos and Banaji's (2005) ethnic-national IAT were used, each of which assessed the implicit association between a pair of ethnic groups (British vs. French; British vs. Chinese; and French vs. Chinese) and a set of national Canadian symbols (relative to foreign symbols). Six full colour symbols were used to represent Canada: the Canadian flag, green and grey maps of Canada, images of a Canadian 10 cent coin, a beaver and the Arms of Canada. To represent the concept 'foreign', we used four of the symbols developed by Devos and Banaji (2005): a modified version of the Kiribati flag, the Flemish lion, and two 90° rotated maps of

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[15] All three experiments were conducted in the Social Psychology Laboratory under the guidance of Dr. Victoria Esses with assistance from members of her research team. The research was granted ethics approval by the University of Western Ontario Psychology Department Research Ethics Board.

Luxembourg (coloured green and grey). Two other images developed by Sibley and Liu (2007) were also used: a silhouette of a fish and bird on a black and white background, and a picture of a small boat surrounded by a yellow circle on a blue background. Symbols ranged from 62mm wide-82mm high to 64mm wide-44mm wide in size[16].

Six common surnames were used to represent Canadians from each ethnic group and were presented on the computer screen in standard text. The names were selected from a list of the most common surnames in Canada released online by the Canadian Broadcast Corporation[17]. The British Canadian surnames selected were: Johnson, Smith, Brown, Morris, Wilson and Clark. The French Canadian surnames selected were: Gagnon, Bouchard, Gauthier, Lavoie, Leblanc and Pelletier. The Chinese Canadian surnames selected were: Li, Chan, Wong, Leung, Huang and Nguyen[18].

The stimuli and measures used in all three experiments can be found in Appendix C.

Measures

Participants completed a set of demographic questions prior to the administration of the IATs. Once participants completed the IATs they were asked to complete a series of measures assessing explicit associations between ethnicity and nationhood.

Explicit associations between ethnicity and nationhood. We adapted measures used by Devos and Banaji (2005) to assess participants' explicit associations between ethnicity and nationhood, for the same three target ethnicities measured by the IATs (i.e., British, French and Chinese). Four items were administered for each of the three ethnic groups and were rated on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*Strongly Disagree)* to 5 (*Strongly Agree). An* example item is: "*British/French/Chinese people*

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[16] Dr. Chris Sibley, University of Auckland, programmed the experiments and processed the raw data reported in this chapter.

[17] These can be retrieved online at: http://www.cbc.ca/news/background/name-change/common-surnames.html.

[18] The name Nguyen is in fact a common Vietnamese surname that was erroneously included as a Chinese surname. It is believed that this did not have an impact on the results.

born in this country are just as entitled to call themselves Canadians as anyone else who was born here." The alpha coefficients were acceptable for the French and Chinese scales, with 0.78 and 0.72, respectively. The British scale had an alpha coefficient of 0.68 which was lower than the recommended threshold of 0.70; however, inter-item correlations are a more appropriate measure of internal consistency for scales with a small number of items, which fell in the acceptable range (Briggs & Cheek, 1986).

Demographics. Participants completed a set of demographic questions assessing their age, gender, primary language, ethnicity, and whether or not they attended a French immersion school.

Procedure

The experiment was administered on computers in a laboratory with either two or four computers. An English Canadian female experimenter conducted each session and one to four participants completed the experiment at once. Participants began by completing a set of demographic questions. Next they completed three IATs in counterbalanced orders: one IAT assessed the implicit association between Canadian symbols (relative to foreign symbols), and British and French surnames; a second IAT assessed the implicit association between Canadian symbols (relative to foreign symbols) and British and Chinese surnames; and a third IAT assessed the implicit association between Canadian symbols (relative to foreign symbols) and French and Chinese surnames.

Prior to each IAT, participants were shown copies of the symbols and surnames and were asked to place them into categories (i.e., "Canadian," "Foreign," "British Canadian," "French Canadian," and "Chinese Canadian"). They were told that the study would examine how quickly people could categorise the different symbols and names.

Each IAT consisted of seven blocks. The stimuli contained in each block were presented in a random order and were displayed in the middle of the computer screen. If participants pressed the wrong response key (e.g., categorising a foreign symbol as Canadian) a red 'X' was displayed, and the participant was required to press the correct key to complete the trial. Response times were recorded from the onset of when the stimulus was displayed until it was correctly classified using the appropriate response key. Each trial was separated by a 400-ms inter-trial interval.

The first block consisted of 25 practice trials during which participants used separate response keys ('e' and 'i') to sort surnames from two ethnic groups (e.g., British Canadian and French Canadian) into their respective categories. The second block consisted of a second set of practice trials, where participants were asked to use the same response keys to categorise Canadian and foreign symbols into their categories as quickly as possible using the same keys. The third and fourth blocks alternately presented national symbols and surnames. Participants used one response key to categorise surnames belonging to one ethnic group (e.g., British Canadian) or Canadian symbols, and one response key to categorise surnames belonging to the other ethnic group (e.g., French Canadian) or foreign symbols. These two blocks consisted of 25 and 40 trials, respectively. The fifth block then re-trained participants to use the alternate response keys when categorising the surnames, and consisted of 60 trials.

The sixth and seventh blocks reversed the pairing of the stimuli administered in blocks three and four, so that in the current example, French surnames were categorised using the same response key as Canadian symbols, and British surnames were categorised using the same response key as foreign symbols. These last two blocks consisted of 25 and 40 trials, respectively. The order of the pairings presented in blocks 3 and 4, and blocks 6 and 7 were counterbalanced within each IAT, and randomised across IATs. The same procedure was repeated for the other two IATs (i.e., British Canadian vs. Chinese Canadian and French Canadian vs. Chinese Canadian).

Once they completed the three IATs, participants responded to the measures assessing explicit associations between ethnicity (i.e., British Canadian, French Canadian and Chinese Canadian) and Canadian nationhood. After completing the measures, the experimenter debriefed participants on the full nature of the study.

Results

Implicit Associations between Ethnicity and Nationhood

IAT reaction-time data were analysed following the recommendations outlined by Greenwald, Nosek, and Banaji (2003). All trials with latencies above 10,000 milliseconds were deleted. An index of effect size (IAT D) was created by first calculating the differences between blocks 6 and 3, and blocks 7 and 4, and then dividing these two difference scores by their pooled standard deviation, and averaging

these two scores. Therefore, IAT D provides an estimate of the relative difference between the two pairing conditions (e.g., British surnames + Canadian symbols and French surnames + Canadian symbols) adjusting for differences in the underlying variability of responses across conditions (see Greenwald et al., 2003, for further details). An effect size score of zero indicates that the response times to the pairings did not differ from one another.

Consistent with Devos and Banaji (2005) and Sibley and Liu (2007), the IAT D effect was scored so that a larger positive value represented a stronger implicit association between British Canadians (relative to French Canadians), British Canadians (relative to Chinese Canadians), and French Canadians (relative to Chinese Canadians).

British Canadian-French Canadian Comparison. Participants were quicker to respond to the pairing of British surnames + Canadian symbols (M=617.78 ms, SD=79.47) than they were to French surnames + Canadian symbols (M=778.96 ms, SD=124.14). A one sample t-test revealed that the IAT D effect (M=0.613, SD=0.218) differed significantly from zero, $t(27)$=14.88, p<0.001, supporting the prediction that British Canadians would be more strongly associated with nationhood than French Canadians at the implicit level.

British Canadian-Chinese Canadian Comparison. Participants were quicker to respond to the pairing of British surnames + Canadian symbols (M=636.32 ms, SD=80.58) than they were to Chinese surnames + Canadian symbols (M=807.44 ms, SD=134.71). A one sample t-test again revealed that the IAT D effect (M=0.741, SD=0.295) differed significantly from zero, $t(27)$=13.27, p<0.001. This supports the hypothesis that British Canadians would be more strongly associated with Canadian nationhood than Chinese Canadians at the implicit level.

French Canadian-Chinese Canadian Comparison. Participants were quicker to respond to the pairing of French surnames + Canadian symbols (M=651.63 ms, SD=81.82) than they were to Chinese surnames + Canadian symbols (M=867.31 ms, SD=158.62). A one sample t-test revealed that the IAT D effect (M=1.030, SD=0.538) differed significantly from zero, $t(27)$=10.13, p<0.001. This indicates that French Canadians are more strongly associated with Canadian nationhood than Chinese Canadians at the implicit level, as expected.

Relative differences in implicit associations. A repeated measures ANOVA indicated that the three IAT-D scores were significantly different in size from one another, $F(1.87, 36.8) = 14.75$, $p<.001$, partial $n^2 = 0.35$. This is illustrated in Figure 3. Mauchly's test indicated that the assumption of sphericity had been violated ($\chi2(2) = 16.3$, $p < .001$), therefore degrees of freedom were corrected using Greenhouse-Geisser estimates of sphericity ($\varepsilon = 0.68$).

Figure 3. *Strength of implicit associations with Canada (IAT D) and pairs of ethnic groups in Experiment 1.*
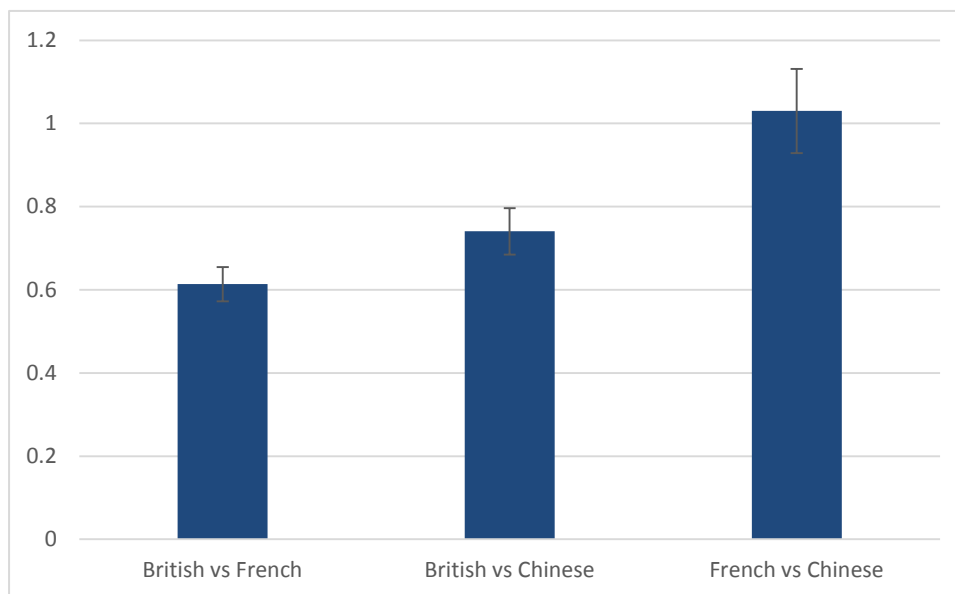
A score of 0 indicates no difference in the associations between the two groups being compared.

A paired samples *t*-test next revealed that the relative difference of British versus Chinese surnames and their associations with Canadian symbols, was significantly greater than the relative difference of British versus French surnames and their associations with Canadian symbols, $t(27)=2.82$, $p<0.01$. This indicates that participants were slower to associate Chinese Canadians with Canadian nationhood than they were to associate French Canadians (when compared to British Canadians). Interestingly, the relative difference in implicit association was greater between French and Chinese surnames and Canadian symbols than the relative difference between British and Chinese surnames, $t(27)=3.32$, $p<0.01$. This reveals that participants were slower to associate Chinese Canadians with Canadian nationhood relative to French Canadians, than they were relative to British Canadians. Finally, the

relative difference between pairings was greatest between French and Chinese surnames and Canadian symbols when compared to British and French surnames and Canadian symbols, $t(27)=4.41$, $p<0.001$. Taken together, these results reveal that French Canadians are most strongly associated with Canadian nationhood when compared with Chinese Canadians, and the difference in implicit associations between pairings is smallest when British Canadians are categorised in comparison to French Canadians. These findings support our predictions and are consistent with the results found throughout this thesis that representations of Canadian nationhood and identity are primarily British, but also include a minority French Canadian component.

Explicit Associations between Ethnicity and Nationhood

A repeated-measures ANOVA was conducted to test for differences in the explicit associations between the same three ethnic groups and Canada, indicating that there were no differences as expected, $F(2, 54) = 0.08$, $p = .93$, partial $n^2 = .003$. When asked directly, participants rated each of the three ethnic groups as being highly associated with Canadian nationhood. The mean scores (out of 5) for each ethnic group were: British ($M = 4.36$, $SD = 0.54$), French ($M = 4.33$, $SD = 0.54$) and Chinese ($M = 4.21$, $SD = 0.61$), as shown in Figure 4.

Figure 4. *Explicit associations between British, French and Chinese peoples with Canadian nationhood in Experiment 1.*
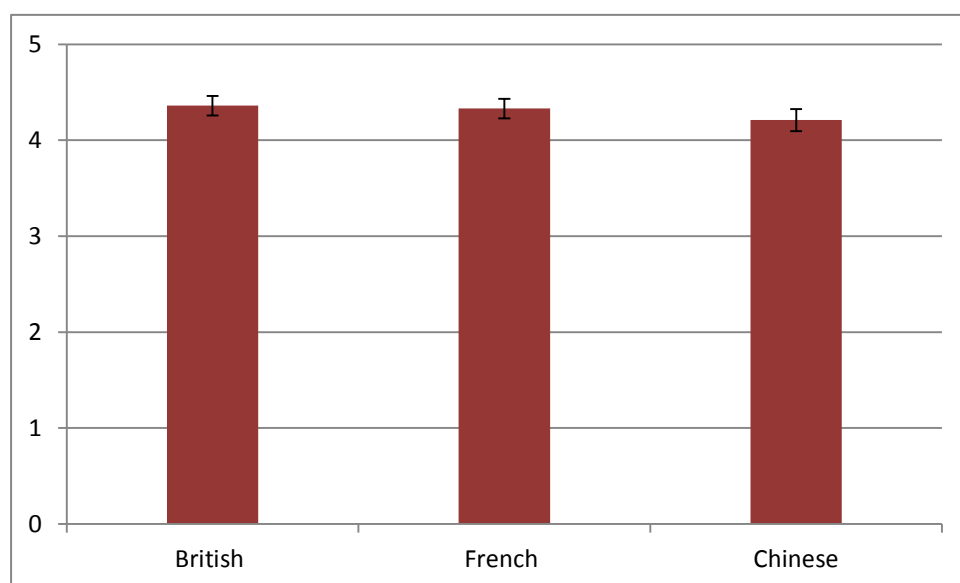
Summary

Explicitly, British, French and Chinese Canadians were all equally associated with Canadian nationhood by a university age sample of English Canadians, but implicitly, British Canadians were more quickly associated with the nation than were French and Chinese Canadians. In support of the study's hypotheses, a hierarchy was found where British Canadians were more strongly associated with the nation than both French and Chinese Canadians, but French Canadians were most strongly associated with Canada when compared to Chinese Canadians. This could indicate that participants more quickly associate Chinese people with Canadian nationhood when they are compared with British people rather than with French people.

EXPERIMENT 2

Method

Experiment 2 used a nearly identical procedure to Experiment 1, with a different set of ethnicities as the target groups. In this experiment we examined both implicit and explicit associations between Canadian nationhood and White/Caucasian, First Nations and East Asian peoples. Since the three ethnic groups look visibly different from one another we were able to use facial stimuli to represent them in this experiment.

Participants

A total of 22 English Canadian undergraduate Psychology students from the University of Western Ontario in London, Ontario, Canada participated in the study and received partial course credit for their participation. Participants (18 female and 4 male) ranged in age from 17-19 years (M=17.91, SD=0.61).

Materials

Three versions of Devos and Banaji's (2005) ethnic-national IAT were again used, each of which assessed the implicit association between a pair of ethnic groups (Caucasian vs. First Nations, Caucasian vs. East Asian, First Nations vs. East Asian) and a set of national Canadian symbols (relative to foreign symbols). The same Canadian symbols and foreign symbols that were used in Experiment 1 were presented again in Experiment 2.

Six black-and-white head-and-shoulder photos (three men and three women) were used to represent Canadians from each ethnic group. The Caucasian and East Asian facial stimuli were taken from the Sibley and Liu (2007) study of implicit

associations between New Zealand nationhood and ethnicity. The First Nations faces were obtained from two separate sources. The male faces were provided by the authors of a study examining the cross-race effect using photos of male First Nations and Caucasian faces (Jackiw, Arbuthnott, Pfeifer, Marcon, & Meissner, 2008). For the female faces, First Nations student volunteers were recruited through Indigenous Services at the University of Western Ontario and were photographed for the experiment. Ethics approval to photograph the students was granted by the University of Western Ontario Psychology Department Research Ethics Board. An independent group of English Canadian participants rated the First Nations faces in terms of how prototypical they were of the First Nations ethnic group, and the six most prototypical photos were selected for the experiment. Participants also rated the faces as displaying neutral facial expressions and as being of mid-to-late twenties in age. All faces were 52mm wide and 68mm high.

Measures

We adapted the measures used in Experiment 1 to assess explicit associations between the three ethnic groups in this experiment (i.e., Caucasian, First Nations and Asian) and Canadian nationhood. The Caucasian and First Nations scales had good internal consistency with alpha coefficients of 0.88 and 0.84, respectively. The coefficient for the Asian scale was 0.59 and thus below the acceptable threshold, but the inter-item correlations were all within the acceptable range (Briggs & Cheek, 1986). Participant demographics were also assessed.

Procedure

The procedure used in Experiment 2 was identical to the procedure for Experiment 1, with the use of facial stimuli to represent the three ethnic groups instead of surnames. Participants were first administered a set of demographics questions and then completed three IATs in counterbalanced orders: one IAT assessed the implicit association between Canadian symbols (relative to foreign symbols) and photos of Caucasian and First Nations faces; a second IAT assessed the implicit association between Canadian symbols (relative to foreign symbols) and photos of Caucasian and East Asian faces; and a third IAT assessed the implicit association between Canadian symbols (relative to foreign symbols) and photos of First Nations and East Asian faces (refer to Experiment 1 for details on how the IATs were

administered). The category labels for the faces were 'Caucasian', 'First Nations' and 'East Asian'.

After completing the IATs, participants completed a set of measures assessing explicit associations between Canadian nationhood and the same three ethnic groups. Once participants completed the measures, they were debriefed on the full nature of the experiment.

Results

As in Experiment 1, an IAT D effect was scored so that a larger positive value represented a stronger implicit association between Caucasian people (relative to First Nations peoples), Caucasian people (relative to East Asian people), and First Nations peoples (relative to East Asian people).

Caucasian-First Nations Comparison. As expected, participants were quicker to respond to the pairing of Caucasian faces + Canadian symbols (M=661.32 ms, SD=112.66) than they were to First Nations faces + Canadian symbols (M=827.89 ms, SD=176.67). A one sample t-test revealed that the IAT D effect (M=0.463, SD=0.379) differed significantly from zero, $t(21)$=5.73, $p<0.001$.

Caucasian-East Asian Comparison. Participants were also quicker to respond to the pairing of Caucasian faces + Canadian symbols (M=653.87 ms, SD=100.12) than they were to East Asian faces + Canadian symbols (M=787.08 ms, SD=187.06). Again, a one sample t-test revealed that the IAT D effect (M=0.423, SD=0.565) differed significantly from zero, $t(21)$=3.51, p=0.002. This finding supports the hypothesis that Caucasian people would be more strongly associated with Canadian nationhood than East Asian people at the implicit level.

First Nations-East Asian Comparison. Participants were equally as quick to respond to the pairing of First Nations faces + Canadian symbols (M=724.38 ms, SD=130.70) as they were to East Asian faces + Canadian symbols (M=730.25 ms, SD=122.26). A one sample t-test revealed that the IAT D effect (M=0.023, SD=0.101) did not differ significantly from zero, $t(27)$=0.22, p=0.83. This result indicates that there was no difference between First Nations and East Asian people in how strongly they are associated with Canadian nationhood.

Relative differences in implicit associations. A repeated measures ANOVA indicated that the relative differences between the three IAT-D scores were significantly different in size from one another, $F(2, 42) = 5.53$, $p=.007$, partial $n^2 =$

0.21. This is illustrated in Figure 5. A paired samples *t*-test revealed that the relative difference of Caucasian versus First Nations faces and their associations with Canadian symbols, did not differ significantly from the relative difference of Caucasian vs East Asian faces and their association with Canadian symbols, $t(21)=0.30$, $p=0.77$. On the other hand, the relative difference in the association between Caucasian and First Nations faces and Canadian symbols, was significantly greater than the relative difference in the association between First Nations and East Asian faces and Canadian symbols, $t(21)=3.58$, $p<0.01$. Similarly, the relative difference in the association between Caucasian and East Asian faces and Canadian symbols, was significantly greater than the relative difference between First Nations and East Asian faces and Canadian symbols, $t(21)=2.28$, $p=0.03$. These results reveal that participants were significantly quicker to associate Caucasian people with Canadian nationhood than they were with both First Nations and East Asian people, as hypothesised. First Nations and East Asian peoples were equally less likely to be implicitly associated with Canadian nationhood, by an English Canadian sample.

Figure 5. *Strength of implicit associations with Canada (IAT D) and pairs of ethnic groups in Experiment 2.*
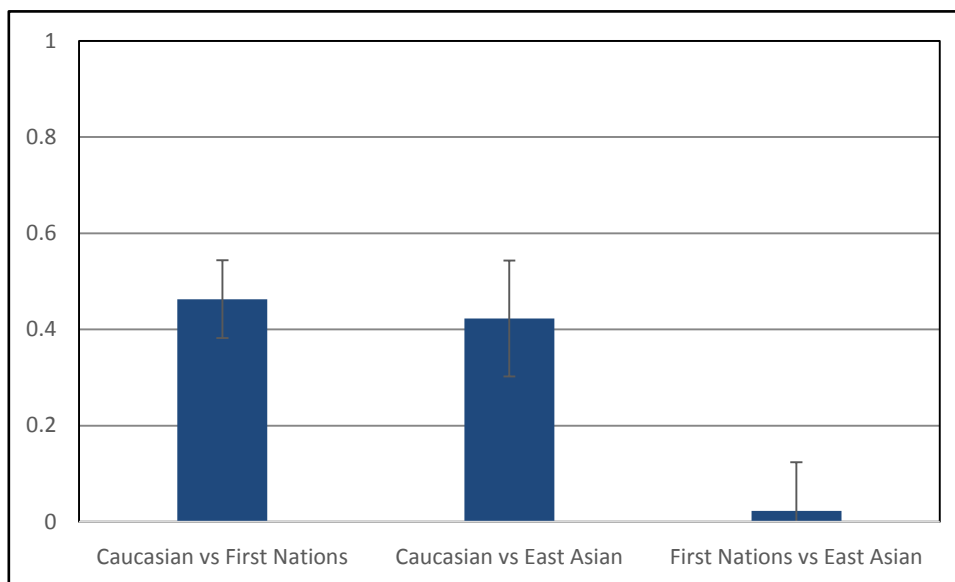
A score of 0 indicates no difference in the associations between the two groups being compared.

Explicit Associations between Ethnicity and Nationhood

A repeated-measures ANOVA was conducted to test for differences in explicit associations between each of the three ethnic groups and Canadian nationhood, indicating that there were differences in the strength of the associations, $F(2, 42) = 3.79$, $p = .03$, partial $n^2 = 0.153$, contrary to hypotheses. To further determine where the difference was, a paired samples *t*-test was conducted and revealed that Caucasian people were more strongly explicitly associated with Canadian nationhood ($M = 4.55$, $SD = 0.56$) than were Asian people ($M = 4.28$, $SD = 0.58$), $t(21)=2.78$, $p=0.01$. However, both groups were highly associated at the explicit level, with both groups receiving scores higher than 4 on a 5 point scale. The magnitude of the explicit association between First Nations peoples and Canadian nationhood ($M = 4.42$, $SD = 0.64$) did not differ significantly from the association between Caucasian people and Canadian, $t(21)=1.22$, $p=0.22$. Likewise, First Nations peoples were equally explicitly associated with Canadian nationhood as were Asian people, $t(21)=1.55$, $p=0.14$. These results indicate that at the explicit level, English Canadians more greatly associated Caucasian people with the Canadian nation than Asian people, but First Nations peoples were equally associated with the nation as Caucasian people. These results are illustrated in Figure 6.

Figure 6. *Explicit associations between Caucasian, First Nations and Asian peoples with Canadian nationhood in Experiment 2.*
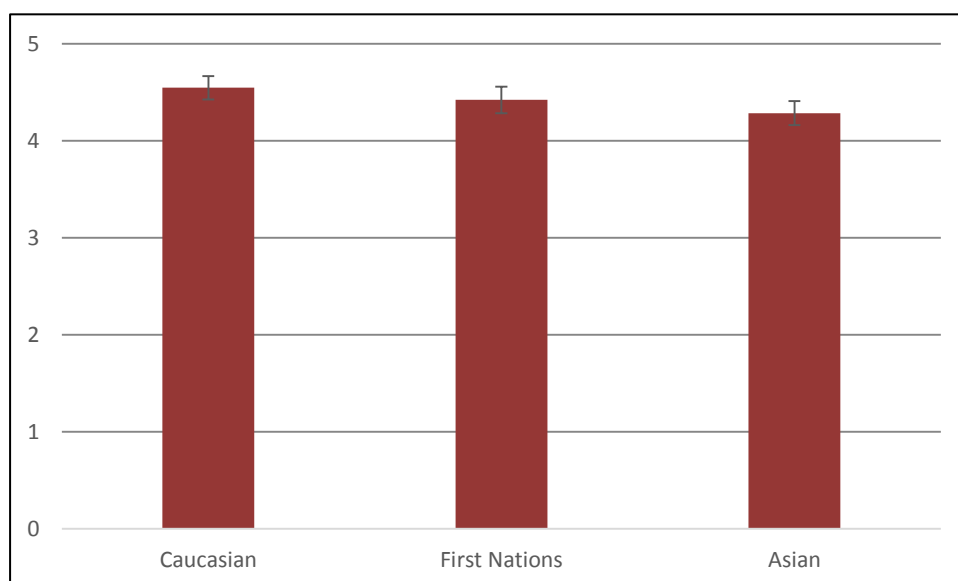
Summary

As predicted, the results for Experiment 2 differed from those found in Experiment 1, revealing that Caucasian people were the ethnic group most strongly associated with Canadian nationhood at the implicit level. Neither First Nations nor East Asian peoples were as implicitly associated with Canadian nationhood. Explicitly, however, First Nations peoples were associated with nationhood to the same extent as Caucasian people, again indicating that Aboriginal peoples are at least somewhat symbolically included in representations of Canadian nationhood and identity. On the other hand, Asian people were less explicitly associated with Canadian nationhood than both Caucasian and First Nations peoples, contrary to hypotheses. On the implicit level, this experiment revealed that Canadian=White for a sample of English Canadians in Ontario.

EXPERIMENT 3

Method

Experiment 3 sought to test whether or not we could influence the magnitude of association between Canadian nationhood and ethnicity. The three Names IATs from Experiment 1 were again administered to participants, but in Experiment 3 participants were first primed with a set of values (compared to a control condition) using an implicit priming technique. Participants were randomly assigned to one of three priming conditions: 1) Enlightenment Values, 2) Threat to Enlightenment Values, and 3) Neutral (Control).

Participants

A total of 69 English Canadian undergraduate Psychology students from the University of Western Ontario in London, Ontario, Canada participated in the study and received partial course credit for their participation. Participants (38 female and 31 male) ranged in age from 18-32 years (M=18.94, SD=1.81). In total, 23 participants (13 female and 10 male) were assigned to the *Enlightenment Values* priming condition; 25 participants (15 female and 10 male) were assigned to the *Threat to Enlightenment Values* priming condition; and 21 (10 female and 11 male) were assigned to the *Neutral* control condition.

Materials

The Scrambled Sentence Task (Costin, 1969; Srull & Wyer, 1979) was used to prime specific values. Participants were presented with a set of 15 scrambled

sentences consisting of five words and asked to unscramble them to create grammatically correct sentences, using only four of the five words. A target word representing the value to be primed was embedded in each sentence. The sentences for each condition were created for the experiment. The following target words were used to represent *Enlightenment Values*: equal, freedom, reason, rules, right, democracy, choice, fairly, justice, rationally, truth, liberty, sensibly and enlightenment. An example sentence was "equal / be / coin / should / people," which unscrambled would read "people should be equal". The following target words were used to represent *Threat to Enlightenment Values*: preference, privileges, special, handouts, favoured, advantaged, concessions, unfair, exception, unmerited, claim, taking, unreasonable, unjust, unwarranted. An example sentence was "privileges / house / have / let / them," which unscrambled would read "let them have privileges". The following target words were used to represent the *Neutral* condition: here, tasty, together, silly, fine, crossed, interesting, car, happy, sing, shoes, throw, shine, tight, silence. An example sentence was "now / are / presence / here / we," which unscrambled would read "now we are here".

The three Names IATs used in Experiment 1 were administered to participants again for Experiment 3, preceded by the same demographics questions and followed by the same measures assessing explicit associations between the ethnic groups (i.e., British Canadians, French Canadians and Chinese Canadians). The scales' alpha coefficients were all in good range, with values of 0.79 (British), 0.81 (French) and 0.83 (Chinese).

Support for Diversity Policies. Support for multiculturalism and bilingualism were assessed using the measures that were designed for the survey described in Chapter 3. Participants were asked to rate their support for the policies on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*Strongly Disagree*) to 5 (*Strong Agree*). The multiculturalism and bilingualism scales each contained 10-items derived from the Multiculturalism Act (1988; Government of Canada, 1988) and Official Languages Act (1969; Government of Canada, 1985), respectively. The alpha coefficients for the multiculturalism and bilingualism scales were acceptable at 0.76 and 0.77.

Procedure

Participants were randomly assigned to one of three priming conditions and were first asked to complete the Sentence Completion Task. They were told that they

would be completing two separate cognitive tasks; the first a sentence unscrambling task, and the second a categorisation task. Participants were debriefed about the true nature of the experiment once they had completed all of the measures.

As in Experiments 1 and 2, participants were run through the experiment in a computer laboratory equipped with two or four computers, and between one and four individuals participated at one time. They were first presented with a sheet of paper with 15 scrambled sentences of five words and were asked to unscramble the words using a pen to create grammatically correct sentences of four words in length. They were instructed to do this as quickly as possible without over thinking the task. The task took no more than 5 minutes to complete. After completing the Sentence Completion Task, participants followed the same procedure outlined in Experiment 1.

Results

We hypothesised that participants assigned to the Enlightenment Values priming condition would more strongly associate the minority ethnic groups with Canadian nationhood (i.e., lower IAT-D scores), and that those assigned to the Threat to Enlightenment Values condition would exhibit significantly weaker associations between the minority ethnic groups and Canadian nationhood (i.e., higher IAT-D scores). To test these hypotheses, a MANOVA was performed with condition as the independent variable and the three IAT-D scores as the dependent variables. The results were non-significant, contrary to hypotheses, $F(6, 128) = .97$, $p = .45$, partial $n^2 = 0.04$.

Following this a repeated measures ANOVA was conducted to assess whether we could replicate the results from Experiment 1, indicating that the three IAT-D scores were significantly different in size from one another, $F(1.73, 117.30) = 5.05$, $p = .01$, partial $n^2 = 0.07$. Mauchly's test indicated that the assumption of sphericity had been violated ($\chi2(2) = 11.6$, p = .003), therefore degrees of freedom were corrected using Greenhouse-Geisser estimates of sphericity ($\varepsilon = 0.86$). To analyse where the differences were between the IAT-D scores, paired samples t-tests were used. The findings replicated two of the results from Experiment 1, with the smallest relative difference between British and French Canadians, and their associations with Canadian nationhood, and the largest difference between French and Chinese Canadians, and their associations with Canadian nationhood, $t(68)=2.71$, $p < 0.01$. Also, the relative difference between French and Chinese Canadians, in the magnitude

of their associations with Canadian nationhood, was significantly greater than the relative difference between the associations of British and Chinese Canadians with nationhood, $t(68)=2.14$, $p = 0.04$. This demonstrates that the greatest relative difference in associations was again found between French and Chinese Canadians, revealing that participants found it easier to associate French Canadians with Canadian nationhood when compared with Chinese Canadians. Conversely, diverging from Experiment 1, the relative difference in the magnitude of associations between British and French Canadians and Canadian nationhood did not differ significantly from that between British and Chinese Canadians, $t(68)=1.05$, $p = 0.30$. This indicates that in Experiment 3 the ease with which English Canadian participants associated French Canadians with nationhood was the same as for Chinese Canadians, when compared with British Canadians. This finding did not support our hypotheses. The findings are depicted in Figure 7.

Figure 7. *Strength of implicit associations with Canada (IAT D) and pairs of ethnic groups in Experiment 3.*
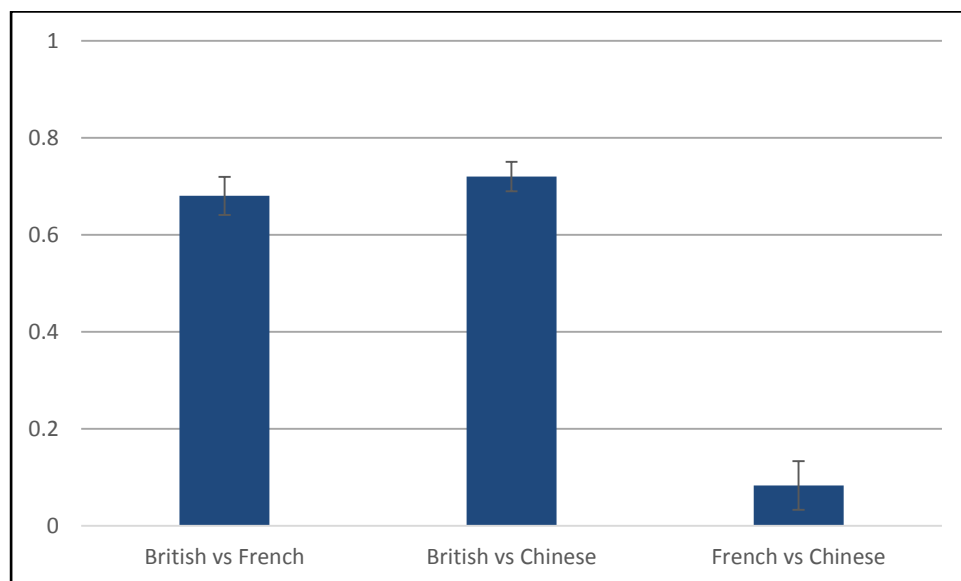
A score of 0 indicates no difference in the associations between the two groups being compared.

Explicit Associations between Ethnicity and Nationhood

We conducted a MANOVA to assess whether priming Enlightenment Values and a threat to EVs had an effect on explicit associations between Canadian nationhood and ethnicity. The results were again non-significant revealing that, as

hypothesised, the priming tasks did not influence explicit associations, $F(6, 128) = 1.06$, $p = .39$, partial $n^2 = 0.05$.

Following this a repeated measures ANOVA was conducted to assess whether we could replicate the results from Experiment 1. The analysis was marginally significant, contrary to the results from Experiment 1 and the study's hypotheses, $F(1.75, 119.37) = 3.01$, $p = .06$, partial $n^2 = 0.04$. Mauchly's test indicated that the assumption of sphericity had been violated ($\chi 2(2) = 10.1$, $p = .007$), therefore degrees of freedom were corrected using Greenhouse-Geisser estimates of sphericity ($\varepsilon = 0.88$). Follow up paired-samples t-tests revealed that British people were more strongly associated with Canadian nationhood than French people, $t(68)=2.07$, $p = 0.04$, and Chinese people, $t(68)=2.18$, $p = 0.03$, who did not differ from one another, $t(68)=.70$, $p = 0.49$. It should be noted that again all groups were rated as being highly associated with Canada at the explicit level, with all three mean scores above 4: British ($M=4.21$, $SD=0.70$); French ($M=4.11$, $SD=0.77$); and Chinese ($M=4.06$, $SD=0.82$). This is illustrated in Figure 8.

Figure 8. *Explicit associations between Caucasian, First Nations and Asian peoples with Canadian nationhood in Experiment 3.*
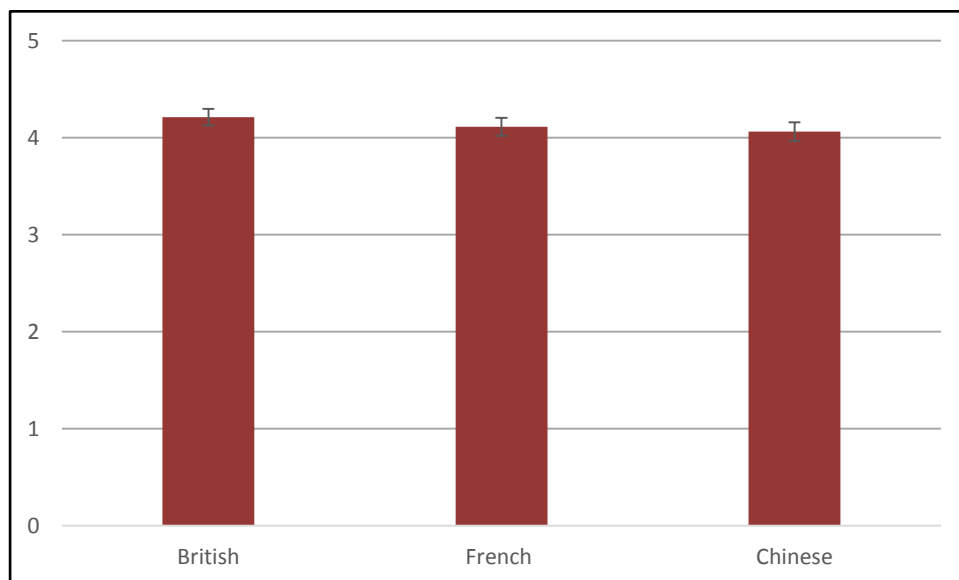
Support for Diversity

A series of one-way ANCOVAs was conducted to examine whether the priming tasks influenced support for diversity policies (multiculturalism and

bilingualism), controlling for the effects of demographic variables (age, gender and French immersion school attendance). A significant effect was found of condition on support for multiculturalism, $F(2, 63) = 3.06$, $p = .05$. Planned contrasts revealed that participants in the EVs condition exhibited significantly stronger support for multiculturalism than those in the Threat to EVs condition, $p = .03$, 95% CI [-0.64, -0.03]. This result illustrates that the priming tasks did exert an influence on participants' responses, in line with our hypothesis. The covariate, French immersion school attendance, was significantly related to support for multiculturalism, $F(1, 63) = 4.34$, $p = .04$. Conversely, there was no effect of condition on support for bilingualism, $F(2, 63) = 1.06$, $p = .35$, contrary to expectations.

Summary

In Experiment 3 we attempted to influence the magnitude of the associations between Canadian nationhood and three ethnic groups (British, French and Chinese Canadians), using an implicit priming technique. It was hypothesised that participants primed with Enlightenment Values would exhibit significantly smaller differences between the three ethnic groups and their implicit associations with Canadian nationhood. This hypothesis was not supported. It was also predicted that participants primed with a Threat to Enlightenment Values would exhibit significantly larger relative differences between British Canadians and the other two ethnic groups, and their implicit associations with Canadian nationhood, but again this was not supported. The priming tasks did not influence explicit associations, according to our predictions. Unexpectedly, there was a marginal difference in the explicit associations between the three ethnic groups and Canadian nationhood, with British Canadians more strongly associated with nationhood than French and Chinese Canadians, at the explicit level. However, all three groups were rated as being strongly associated with nationhood. While the priming tasks did not exert the expected influence on IAT-D scores, they did influence explicit support for multiculturalism. It was shown that participants primed with EVs exhibited significantly stronger support for multiculturalism than those primed with a Threat to the EVs (but not relative to the control condition).

The results in Experiment 3 for implicit and explicit associations between nationhood and ethnicity irrespective of priming condition both converged and diverged from those found in Experiment 1. Again, the smallest relative difference in

implicit pairings was that between British and French Canadians, and the largest was that between French and Chinese Canadians. However, a point of divergence between the two experiments was that the relative difference between British and French Canadians (and nationhood) did not differ significantly from that between British and Chinese Canadians (and nationhood). The hierarchy that emerged in Experiment 1 was that British Canadians are most implicitly associated with nationhood, followed by French Canadians, and then Chinese Canadians. While this hierarchy did emerge in Experiment 3, French and Chinese Canadians were implicitly associated with nationhood to the same extent, when compared against British Canadians. These results are less definitive than the results that emerged in Experiment 1, but support for the hierarchy was still found, since participants also found it easier to associate French Canadians with nationhood than Chinese Canadians.

DISCUSSION

This study examined the present day content of Canadian nationhood and national identity for the English Canadian majority group, through a series of three experiments. The Implicit Association Test (IAT; Greenwald et al., 1998) was used to measure how associated a variety of ethnic groups were with Canadian nationhood. This study aimed to determine which ethnic groups were the most prototypically Canadian according to English Canadian participants. We expected the results of this study to mirror the findings which have previously emerged in this thesis regarding the content of representations of Canadian nationhood and identity. That is, at the implicit level we expected British Canadians to be most strongly associated with Canadian nationhood, followed by French Canadians, with the smallest associations emerging between nationhood and the other minority cultural groupings (i.e., Aboriginal peoples and newer immigrants and their descendants). Conversely, at the explicit level we expected that participants would consciously and overtly associate all ethnic groups equally with Canadian nationhood, given how important multiculturalism is to Canadians (Adams, 2007; Kymlicka, 2003). We also predicted that Enlightenment Values would again emerge as an important component of minority group inclusion (or exclusion) in Canadian nationhood and identity.

The majority of the study's hypotheses were supported. It was found that British Canadians were most strongly associated with Canadian nationhood at the implicit level, followed by French Canadians who were more quickly associated than

Chinese Canadians. Furthermore, Caucasian people were more strongly associated with Canadian nationhood than were First Nations and East Asian peoples. These findings empirically demonstrated that at the implicit level, present day Canadian nationhood and identity is predominantly British, but when French Canadians are compared to a newer immigrant group they are more easily associated with Canada. This finding provides evidence for the inclusion of French Canadians in present day representations of nationhood and identity, within context. However, overall these results demonstrate that the ethnic prototype of 'Canadian' is British and white, for university age English Canadians in Ontario.

Explicit associations between Canadian nationhood and the various ethnic groups both converged with and diverged from implicit associations, partially in support of hypotheses. In Experiment 1 all three ethnic groups (British, French and Chinese Canadians) were equally associated with Canadian nationhood, as expected. But in Experiments 2 and 3, a hierarchy again emerged. In Experiment 2, Caucasian and First Nations peoples were explicitly associated with nationhood to the same extent, but Asian people were less associated than Caucasian people. This finding replicated results reported in Chapter 2, which together illustrate that when participants are directly asked about Aboriginal peoples' contributions to nationhood they are rated as highly as French Canadians, just after British Canadians, although they are not strongly associated on the implicit level (N.B. since we refer to Caucasian people in Experiment 2, we cannot make the differentiation between British and French peoples). In Experiment 3, British people were more explicitly associated with nationhood than were French and Chinese Canadians, diverging from Experiment 1 results. The inconsistency in these findings may be a result of small sample sizes, and so further investigations are needed.

The experiments also provided a further examination of the role that Enlightenment Values (Michael, 2000) play in minority group inclusion in representations of Canadian nationhood. In the third experiment, we specifically attempted to prime participants with Enlightenment Values or a Threat to Enlightenment Values (compared to a control condition) to determine if we could influence the magnitude of the associations between nationhood and minority ethnic groups, in both directions (i.e., increasing and decreasing the relative difference between pairings in their associations). Although it was once believed that implicit

beliefs and attitudes were stable and robust, it has now been shown that implicit associations are sometimes malleable and can be influenced with implicit priming techniques (Blair et al., 2001; Dasgupta & Asgari, 2004; Rudman & Phelan, 2010; Yogeeswaran et al., 2012; Zogmaister et al., 2008). Yogeeswaran et al. (2012) demonstrated that participants could be primed to associate minority ethnic groups more or less strongly with nationhood, as measured by the IAT. The hypotheses were not supported in our investigation, indicating that the priming techniques we used did not influence the magnitude of implicit associations between nationhood and ethnicity. While this again may point to the modest sample sizes, these findings may indicate that abstractly priming a set of values alone will not influence the broadening or narrowing of the national category. Future research should instead prime participants with measures that include an ethnic component. For example, a future study could adapt the priming task used by Yogeeswaran et al. (2012) and have participants read more explicit information about individuals from different ethnic backgrounds, describing how they either abide by Enlightenment Values or threaten them.

Although the priming tasks did not have the predicted effect on implicit associations, priming Enlightenment Values did exert another important effect. It was shown that participants in the EV condition demonstrated significantly greater support for the policy of multiculturalism than those in the Threat to EV condition. This finding is unsurprising given that the policy itself is founded on Enlightenment principles, but does indicate that the priming tasks did effectively prime participants with the intended values. The multiculturalism scale may have served as an unintended manipulation check of the priming tasks. This supports the argument made at the outset in Chapter 1, that the policy of multiculturalism may represent Enlightenment Values more than cultural diversity. This finding also carries important implications for the nature of implicit and explicit associations. Previous research on the adaptability of implicit and explicit beliefs and attitudes remains inconclusive, with some research demonstrating that implicit attitudes are malleable, but not explicit associations (Gawronski & Strack, 2004), and other studies revealing that explicit associations are easier to change than implicit associations (Dasgupta & Greenwald, 2001; Olson & Fazio, 2004). This study revealed implicit associations to be unchanging, while explicit attitudes regarding diversity management policies could be

influenced. This research does not provide conclusive evidence, but does contribute to an understanding of implicit and explicit attitude change.

Taken together, the results from this research mostly reflect the findings reported previously in this thesis for both societal-level (governmental and media) and individual-level (ordinary citizens') representations of Canadian nationhood and identity. That is, the content of English Canadians' representations of nationhood and identity are predominantly British, with a less pronounced but significant inclusion of French Canadians, as well as an Enlightenment component. We argue that Canadians internalise the subtle messages that they receive through governmental and media discourses about what the nation is and is not, leading them to unconsciously carry the same attitudes and associations at the implicit level.

Limitations

This study had two obvious limitations. First, the sample sizes for each experiment were small, which may have contributed to the inconsistency in the results. Second, we did not include a manipulation check for the priming technique, and so we cannot be certain that the implicit associations remained unchanged because they are not easily influenced, or whether the values were not primed strongly enough to have the intended effect. Future research should therefore replicate these experiments using larger sample sizes, and any further experiments using priming techniques (of any kind) should ensure that the manipulation worked as intended. However, despite these limitations, the results of our experiments were largely in support of our predictions, and reflected what has already emerged in this thesis to be the content of English Canadians' representations of Canadian nationhood and identity.

The next chapter will conclude this dissertation by providing a general discussion and interpretation of the findings presented throughout.

CHAPTER 5: GENERAL DISCUSSION

The overall aim of this dissertation has been to develop a national psychology for Canada by examining the majority group's representations and conceptions of Canadian nationhood and identity as they relate to the cultural diversity comprising the nation. The nation of Canada has always been home to multiple ethnic groups and has been characterised by a complex set of ethnic relations, resulting in many national government policies designed to manage this diversity (Adams, 2007; Banting & Kymlicka, 2010; Kymlicka, 2003; Mackey, 2002). Perhaps the most fundamental policies for the national psyche are official multiculturalism (enacted by the Multiculturalism Act; Government of Canada, 1988) and official bilingualism (enacted by the Official Languages Act; Government of Canada, 1985). These policies represent more to Canadians than diversity management strategies, since it has been shown that both of the policies are seen as fundamental Canadian values or aspects of what it means to be Canadian, even for the English Canadian majority group (Adams, 2007; Canadian Heritage, 2008; Kymlicka, 2003).

It is important to examine majority group representations of nationhood and identity because it is the majority group that sets the tone for ethnic relations in the nation, including determining who does and does not belong (Liu & Hilton, 2005; van Dijk, 2000, 2013; Wodak, 1989). On the surface, Canadians have a reputation for being friendly, generous, welcoming, and accommodating of diversity (Kymlicka, 2003; Mackey, 2002). Canadian multiculturalism is internationally heralded a success (Banting & Kymlicka, 2010; Kymlicka, 2003), contradicting more recent perceptions in other nations that multiculturalism is a failure (Berry, 2011). Under the surface, however, we see a more complex picture of Canadian diversity, as evidenced by the inequalities and discrimination that minority ethnic groups continue to face ((Amnesty International, 2004; Bombay et al., 2013; Dion, 2001; Fleras & Elliott, 2002; Harper, 2006; Henry & Tator, 2002; Joffe, 2010; Karim, 2002; Kirmayer et al., 2003; Lamb, 2013; Mahtani, 2001; Pendakur & Pendakur, 2011). For instance, racial minorities are systemically discriminated against in finding employment or housing, and receive less pay than white Canadians (Dion, 2001; Fleras & Elliott, 2002; Lamb, 2013; Pendakur & Pendakur, 2011). Furthermore, Canada has increasingly been in the international news for its poor treatment of Aboriginal peoples (e.g., "U.N. says Canada in crisis

over treatment of aboriginals," 2014), with the United Nations declaring that many Canadian Aboriginal peoples live in sub-standard conditions (United Nations General Assembly, 2014). This thesis sought to determine how English Canadians manage this tension, by examining the content of Canadian nationhood and identity, with particular focus on determining which groups are or are not included in their representations of the nation and national category, and how.

This thesis examined both societal-level and individual-level representations of Canadian nationhood and identity. Situated within a psychological framework of social representations (Liu & Hilton, 2005; Moscovici, 1961) and social identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Turner et al., 1987), this thesis operated on the contention that socially shared representations of nation are produced by national governments and then propagated by the media to influence individual citizens' conceptions of their society and nation (Anderson, 1991). Following from this premise, this thesis used a multi-method approach across three studies to investigate first, to what extent media representations reflected representations of nationhood and identity promulgated by the government and next, whether ordinary English Canadians' representations of nationhood and identity reflected what was found for government and mass media representations.

Summary of Research Findings

The first study in this thesis, presented in Chapter 2, investigated media representations of nationhood and identity as they related to diversity, by examining how the different cultural groupings (i.e., French Canadians, Aboriginal peoples, and newer immigrants and their descendants) were framed in relation to the nation. We used the technique of Critical Discourse Analysis (van Dijk, 1993) to examine the language used in the English-language print media to discuss two current events related to Canadian-wide cultural diversity, as well as to uncover the subtle messages used to represent diversity and the specific cultural groupings. The following questions guided the analysis: Which ethnic groups are or are not included in representations of nationhood? Under what circumstances are groups included in or excluded from belonging to Canada? The results were complex, ultimately pointing to the importance of the Enlightenment Values (EVs; Michael, 2000) of equality, freedom, democracy and reason to representations of nationhood, suggesting that EVs are a crucial component of belongingness to the nation and the national category. This

study revealed that media discourses of nationhood and diversity did mostly reflect political discourses of nationhood and diversity produced by different arms of government.

The second study, presented in Chapter 3, investigated individual-level representations of Canadian nationhood and identity by examining English Canadians' socially shared representations of Canadian history, using a survey method. Narratives of a group's history have important implications for representations of nationhood and identity, by articulating where the group came from and where it is going (Liu & Hilton, 2005). Historical narratives also provide evidence for which groups implicitly belong to representations of the nation's history (Liu et al., 1999). Study 2 revealed that the cultural groupings were incorporated into historical representations in similar ways to that found in both governmental and media representations of Canadian nationhood. Enlightenment Values were also again revealed to be an important component of nationhood.

The third study, presented in Chapter 4, sought to determine which ethnic groups were implicitly and explicitly associated with Canadian nationhood in present day, using an experimental technique (Greenwald et al., 1998). Like Study 2, this study focused on individual-level representations of nationhood, identity and diversity, but investigated the ethnic prototype(s) of Canadian-ness (Oakes et al., 1998). The results again converged with that found for societal-level representations, as well as individual-level historical representations, but also differed in important ways.

Taken together, the results revealed a complex picture of inclusion and exclusion, with each broad minority cultural grouping variously included and excluded from belonging to the nation under different circumstances. Importantly, Enlightenment Values emerged throughout the dissertation as fundamental to understanding the complexities of when and how the different groups are included and/or excluded. To begin to understand the complexities of inclusion and exclusion, the next sections will draw on the theoretical framework forming the basis of this thesis (social representations of history, Liu & Hilton, 2005; social representations theory, Moscovici, 1961; social identity theory, Tajfel & Turner, 1979; self-categorization theory, Turner et al., 1987) to interpret the results found for each cultural grouping separately. This will be followed by a discussion of the importance

125

of Enlightenment Values (Michael, 2000) to conceptions of nationhood, identity and diversity, before an attempt to integrate the findings to reveal what we argue is the content of Canadian nationhood and identity for the majority group, as it relates to cultural diversity.

French Canadians, Quebec and Biculturalism

Liu and Hilton (2005) have argued that narratives of national history become *charters* (Malinowski, 1926) that prescribe power and privilege to some groups over others in a nation. This dissertation revealed English and French Canadians to be the *charter* groups of Canada, at all levels of investigation (i.e., by the federal government, the mainstream media and by ordinary English Canadians). Politically, this is evidenced by the particular set of rights and dominant status that both English and French Canadians hold, with both groups in the position of setting the tone for ethnic relations within Canada, including how other minority groups are able to fit into the nation (Juteau, 2002; Mackey, 2002). French Canadians were historically in a disadvantaged position marked by discrimination and inequality (Dickinson & Young, 2008), but the minority group has in the last half century fought to have their *charter* status and rights recognised (Béland & Lecours, 2006; Handler, 1988). The present day governmental narrative of Canada states that the nation was founded by British and French peoples (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2012). In realistic terms, official bilingualism was adopted to ensure that both the English and French languages can legally be used for official matters across the nation (Dickinson & Young, 2008), and the province of Quebec (representing French Canadians as the only officially unilingual French province, and home to 90% of French Canadians; Statistics Canada, 2011) has reached a relative state of autonomy with the ability to influence national relations on the federal level (Dickinson & Young, 2008; Guibernau, 2006; Handler, 1988; Mackey, 2002; McRoberts, 1991; Parekh, 1994; Seymour, 2004). In symbolic terms, the federal government declared that Quebec was a nation within Canada in 2006, explicitly acknowledging French Canadian autonomy (at least within the province; Dickinson & Young, 2008). Their status as equal partners with English Canadians over other minority cultural groups was also implicitly asserted with the adoption of the policy of official multiculturalism (Government of Canada, 1988). Although it was explicitly established to recognise everyone of every cultural background in Canada, the official policy was one of

multiculturalism "within a bilingual framework," (Dewing, 2012) elevating the English and French languages above all others, and implicitly giving precedence to English and French Canadian values and cultures (Karim, 1993).

Although media representations of French Canadians and Quebec were similar to governmental representations, the discourse analysis reported in Chapter 2 of this dissertation revealed a less straightforward picture. A different formulation of French Canadians emerged in the two events analysed, highlighting the importance of context to representations of nationhood and national identity, as has been previously argued (Winter, 2011). The Reasonable Accommodation debate was set in the province of Quebec and concerned ethnic relations and the integration of ethnic minorities in the province (Bouchard & Taylor, 2008). In this context, the English print media outside of Quebec was arguably looking on Quebec as outsiders (or as 'others' in the case of the Montreal Gazette, the only major English-language newspaper within the province) viewing the province as a separate society or part of the country where "they" do things differently from "us" (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Winter, 2011). Ultimately, the news articles positively distinguished themselves (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) as English Canadians (or Ontarians) from French Canadians, who were presented as troublesome family members; French Canadians were at once portrayed as having unreasonable objections to cultural and religious minorities, as well as being shown sympathy and understanding for having a different set of concerns about immigration and integration to the rest of the country based on their history. Older French Canadians were admonished for being racist, backwards and xenophobic, and younger French Canadians were framed as enlightened and more like "us". However, regardless of how negatively French Canadians were portrayed, the discourses framing them were balanced using a "thesis-antithesis" technique that resulted in a reluctant but inclusive incorporation of French Canadians in representations of Canadian nationhood and identity.

The media coverage of the release of the Citizenship Guide (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2012) for new Canadian citizens offered a different context to discussions of cultural diversity and ethnic relations in that it was nationwide, and thus was not marked by a distinction between English and French Canada. The discussion was also framed more explicitly by Canadian history, which more strongly mirrored the governmental representations of nationhood and identity presented in

Chapter 1. French Canadians were therefore again framed as founding partners of the nation. Relations between English and French Canadians were portrayed as historically fraught, and the struggles between the two *charter* groups (Liu & Hilton, 2005; Malinowski, 1926) were framed as necessary and important components of Canadian history, nationhood and identity. The narrative of Canada that was presented was one where Canadians acknowledged their (French-English) differences to produce a more authentic relationship among all groups that was equal and fair, and in the end, united.

Studies 2 and 3 examined individual representations of Canadian nationhood and identity, focusing on historical and present day inclusion/exclusion, respectively. In Study 2, French Canadians and English-French biculturalism again emerged as a non-negligible component of Canadian nationhood and identity for English Canadians. Although the historical narrative that was extrapolated from the list of important events and figures was British Canadian at its core, French Canadians (and the struggle between British and French Canadians) did also feature in the narrative inferred from nominations. Study 3 in turn examined which ethnic groups were implicitly and explicitly associated with Canadian nationhood and identity for the majority group. On the explicit level, French Canadians were equally associated with Canada as were British and Chinese Canadians in the first experiment, but again came second to British Canadians in the third experiment (and were associated with nationhood to the same extent as Chinese Canadians). On the implicit level, English Canadian participants were significantly less likely to associate French Canadians than British Canadians with nationhood. However, again what emerged was not simply straightforward exclusion, because when French Canadians were compared with Chinese Canadians, participants much more quickly associated French Canadians with Canada than Chinese Canadians.

While the findings from the three studies revealed a complex pattern of French Canadian inclusion in representations of Canadian nationhood and identity, taken together we argue that French Canadians and French-English biculturalism represent necessary components of Canadian nationhood and identity for the English Canadian majority group. The complex history between the two groups, marked by the French Canadian struggle for equal rights and status (Béland & Lecours, 2006; Dickinson & Young, 2008; Guibernau, 2006; Handler, 1988), has resulted in their inclusion in the

national category that is sometimes easy and sometimes reluctant. Another key feature of Canadian nationhood and identity to emerge throughout this dissertation can perhaps be called on to better understand this tension: the Enlightenment Values of equality, freedom, democracy and reason (Michael, 2000).

The research presented throughout the thesis revealed that English Canadians demonstrate a strong adherence to EVs. This is in line with previous literature that Canada is founded on liberal democratic principles (Fukuyama, 2006; Parekh, 1994; Taylor, 1994). Enlightenment Values are a wider categorisation than liberal democratic values since they explicitly emphasise reason, rationality and intellect (Michael, 2000). With respect to French Canadians and Quebec, this adherence emerges as an explicit recognition of French Canadians' rights and status as *charter* members of the Canadian nation. On the other hand, French Canadians and Quebec represent a challenge or threat to EVs in a multicultural Canada, by explicitly seeking recognition of their collective rights (Fukuyama, 2006; Sanders, 1991), and thus violating the principles of individual liberalism that form the basis of EVs (Michael, 2000). Once again context and history are important to understanding French Canadian inclusion in the face of this challenge. For instance, in New Zealand two narratives of nationhood and identity exist and compete with one another, namely a liberal democratic narrative that echoes the Enlightenment narrative in Canada, and a bicultural narrative recognising the *charter* status of the two dominant groups (i.e., New Zealand Europeans and Māori; Liu, 2005). The evidence revealed in this thesis indicates that in the Canadian context, the two narratives do not compete. We argue that this can be attributed to the historical significance of the EVs for French Canadians, with this group also exhibiting a strong promotion of liberal democratic values (Molinaro, 2011). English and French Canadian cultures are thus based on the common shared values of equality, freedom, democracy and reason, and so even when relations are fraught and the two groups do not agree on social matters, they still share the same core values, forming a foundation of mutual understanding that binds the two groups together.

Aboriginal Peoples

Aboriginal peoples were simultaneously included and excluded from representations of Canadian nationhood and identity, and a similar pattern emerged for all levels of analysis (i.e., governmental, media and individual-level

representations). The governmental narrative of Canadian nationhood refers to Aboriginal peoples as one of the founding peoples of the nation (alongside British and French peoples; Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2012; Mackey, 2002), but the research conducted in this dissertation revealed that Aboriginal peoples are not one of the *charter* groups, since they do not hold positions of power to set the tone for social relations and rules for governance in the nation, and instead are marginalised and silenced (Fleras & Elliott, 2002). At the governmental level, Aboriginal peoples were incorporated in historical representations of nationhood. This was mirrored in the media analysis of the Citizenship Guide, when the context was again that of Canadian history, as well as the government's portrayal of Canadian history and nationhood. When examining individual-level representations, Aboriginal peoples were explicitly incorporated into ordinary English Canadians' representations of nationhood and identity, as shown in the second and third studies. In Study 2 (presented in Chapter 3), English Canadian participants rated Aboriginal peoples as contributing to Canadian history to the same extent as French Canadians, but as contributing to it significantly more than newer immigrants, and significantly less than British Canadians. In Study 3, First Nations peoples were explicitly associated with Canada to the same extent as Caucasian peoples.

Despite the inclusion of Aboriginal peoples in English Canadians' explicit representations of Canadian history, nationhood and identity, Aboriginal peoples were less associated with nationhood than Caucasian people at the implicit level. They were also excluded from representations of Canada when the context was not that of Canadian history. Significantly, Aboriginal peoples were completely absent from the media response to the Reasonable Accommodation debate in Quebec. The debate was framed as concerning the accommodation of religious and cultural differences, and although the specific instances of accommodation presented in the news articles were not only about the integration of new immigrants, religious and cultural minorities were often portrayed as new immigrants. The debate was also framed within a Quebec context, highlighting French Canadian and English Canadian differences, making 'English Canada' and 'French Canada' salient categories in the news coverage. While all the other cultural groupings were represented in the coverage, Aboriginal peoples were absent and invisible. This was shown again in the media representations of Aboriginal peoples in the analysis of the Citizenship Guide coverage.

While they did feature in the historical narrative of Canada, both in governmental and media representations, Aboriginal peoples were not included in discussions of present day Canadian society and diversity. Although English Canadians did nominate some Aboriginal peoples and events in their free recall of important historical events and figures, those named were mostly diffuse with little consensus over which events and peoples were important to Canadian history (with the notable exception of Métis politician, Louis Riel). We therefore argue that although Aboriginal peoples were not entirely absent from ordinary English Canadians' representations of Canadian history, they also did not form a crucial component of their historical narrative. Finally, the experiment conducted in Study 3 revealed that Aboriginal peoples were less associated with Canadian nationhood, at the implicit level, and were equally associated with Canada as were East Asian people.

Taken together, Aboriginal peoples were portrayed as being important members of Canadian history, but they were essentially invisible in present day discussions of Canadian diversity and society, as well as in current representations of Canadian nationhood and identity. Here we can draw on social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) to explain their exclusion and absence in present day representations. Aboriginal peoples represent a threat to Canada and Canadians' image as kind, generous, accommodating and inclusive (Kymlicka, 2003). Most social indicators reveal Aboriginal peoples to be worse off than other Canadians; Aboriginal peoples have a greater likelihood than other groups of being incarcerated, homeless, living under conditions of poverty, of having addictions and other mental health issues, and perhaps most concerning, a high incidence of suicide among Aboriginal youth (Amnesty International, 2004; Bombay et al., 2013; Cairns, 2011; Harper, 2006; Joffe, 2010; Kirmayer et al., 2003; Murdocca, 2010; United Nations General Assembly, 2014). Several Aboriginal chiefs in recent years have declared states of emergency in their communities due to poor housing conditions as well as contaminated water supplies (Murdocca, 2010). The United Nations has accused Canada of failing its Aboriginal peoples for letting them live in sub-standard conditions (United Nations General Assembly, 2014). This likely represents a substantial threat to Canadian social identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), which has perhaps led to neglect in realistic terms (such as that just described), but also in

131

symbolic terms. By ignoring or neglecting the contributions that Aboriginal peoples make to current Canadian society, the majority group does not have to reconcile the contradiction between its positive social identity as an inclusive multicultural society, with the many negative conditions Aboriginal peoples continue to experience (Branscombe, Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje, 1999).

Aboriginal peoples also pose a threat to Enlightenment Values, by challenging and falsifying Enlightenment accounts of Canadian history, and by fighting for separate rights and recognition (Fukuyama, 2006; Michael, 2000; Parekh, 1994; Sanders, 1991). They seek reparations for historical injustices, through such channels as treaty settlements for land claims, and many Aboriginal peoples are seeking to establish Aboriginal self-government (Cairns, 2011). Perhaps as with French Canadians, the acknowledgment that Aboriginal peoples are historically important and different from other minority groups, due to their status as the first peoples of the land, means that the government can justify the policies established uniquely for Aboriginal peoples, even though they challenge the principles of individual liberalism (Ball et al., 2013; Fukuyama, 2006; Sanders, 1991). At the same time, the conditions and treatment Aboriginal peoples continue to face are at times abhorrent, something the majority group may not be able to reconcile and accept. This arguably leads English Canadians to put Aboriginal peoples out of their minds entirely, when thinking about present day Canadian society and diversity.

Newer Immigrants and their Descendants

Newer immigrants and their descendants are perhaps the broadest cultural grouping, defined throughout this dissertation as anyone not of European or Aboriginal descent. Due to the extremely heterogeneous nature of this group and their cultural origins, specific minority ethnic groups were represented in different but similar ways to one another. The policy of multiculturalism is often used synonymously with the integration of immigrants (Adams, 2007; Berry, 2012), and multiculturalism is often heralded as one of the most important Canadian values (Adams, 2007; Kymlicka, 2003). Because of this, the incorporation of immigrants into representations of Canadian nationhood and identity was marked by its own set of complexities. At the governmental level, newer immigrants and their descendants were positioned as important members of a multicultural Canada whose rights should be recognised (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2012). At the same time, they

did not feature prominently in the historical narrative of Canadian nationhood. When they did, they were presented as people that Canadians have either helped (e.g., African slaves from the United States) or treated poorly (e.g., Chinese railway workers) in the past. In effect, this formulated newer immigrants and their descendants as being separate from Canadians, marking a distinction between "us" and "them" (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). A similar construction was evident in media representations of diversity and nationhood. In the Reasonable Accommodation debate, religious and cultural minorities were framed as being treated unfairly by French Canadians in Quebec, implying that they would be accommodated fairly in English Canada. This finding aligned with previous research which showed that English Canada was portrayed by the media as positively multicultural when contrasted with Quebec (Winter, 2011). In the coverage of Citizenship Guide, newer immigrants were labelled as "new Canadians," but were portrayed as members of the nation who should be taught about Canadian history and the rules for becoming citizens. Teaching and being a good student who can be taught are important components of the Enlightenment narrative (Michael, 2000). To this end, the strongest lessons journalists taught to newer immigrants were that Enlightenment Values of equality, freedom and democracy ruled above all and should be adhered to if they wanted to become Canadian. Newer immigrants were at times treated with suspicion, in that they were sometimes portrayed as not abiding by EVs, and some groups were singled out for blatantly threatening the values (i.e., the discourse of "barbaric cultural practices").

At the individual-level, newer immigrants were not included in representations of nationhood and identity to the same degree as the other groups, with one exception being the explicit associations between ethnicity and Canadian nationhood, reported in Chapter 4. In the first experiment, it was found that English Canadians explicitly associated Chinese Canadians with Canadian nationhood to the same extent as British and French Canadians, and in the second, Asian Canadians and First Nations Canadians were equally associated with Canadian nationhood, albeit to a lesser extent than Caucasian Canadians. Conversely, in Chapter 3 it was shown that African and Asian peoples' contributions to Canadian history were rated lower than the contributions of all of the other groups. Implicitly, newer immigrants and their descendants did not feature prominently in the historical narrative extrapolated from

133

historical events and figures generated by ordinary English Canadians, as shown in Chapter 3. As with Aboriginal peoples, a diffuse set of non-European and non-Aboriginal events and people were freely recalled without much consensus over specific events or people (with the notable exception of Japanese-Canadian environmental activist, David Suzuki). In Chapter 4, it was revealed that Chinese Canadians were less quickly associated with Canadian nationhood at the implicit level than British and French Canadians, and Asian Canadians were less quickly associated with Canadian nationhood than Caucasian people (but to the same extent as First Nations peoples). It can therefore be said that, on the whole, newer immigrants and their descendants were not incorporated in historical representations of Canadian nationhood, nor were they consistently included in present day representations of nationhood and identity.

The findings presented throughout this dissertation reveal a potential contradiction where multiculturalism is arguably a fundamental Canadian value (Adams, 2007), representing immigration and immigrants, while newer immigrants and their descendants are not consistently incorporated in societal-level or individual-level representations of nationhood and identity. Enlightenment Values might again be the key to understanding this contradiction. The evidence revealed in this thesis suggests that the policy of multiculturalism may not in fact represent cultural diversity and immigration, but may instead represent Enlightenment Values.

Enlightenment Values

Enlightenment Values emerged throughout this thesis as a crucial component of Canadian nationhood and identity for the English Canadian majority group. It is generally understood that the Enlightenment period in 18th century Europe led to the creation of modern day democracies and liberal democratic politics (Ball et al., 2013; Fukuyama, 2006; Michael, 2000). For this reason we expected a liberal democratic narrative to emerge for Canada, but we did not expect EVs to be as important or pervasive for discussions and representations of cultural diversity, and its incorporation in nationhood and identity, as they were. Since Enlightenment Values grew out of the Enlightenment period in both Great Britain and France (Michael, 2000), we argue that they are important foundational values for both *charter* groups (i.e., English and French Canadians). These values are underpinned by the principles of individual liberalism, which assert that all individuals be treated equally and fairly

regardless of the groups to which they belong (e.g., race, ethnicity, religion, gender, sexual orientation). They differ from liberal democratic values in that they explicitly emphasise reason, rationality, intellect and the ability to learn (Michael, 2000). Since Enlightenment Values are founded on the notion of individual liberalism, we expected the Enlightenment narrative to compete with a bicultural (English-French) narrative, since the former emphasises individual rights and the latter promotes two cultures above the rest. Interestingly, an Enlightenment narrative and a bicultural narrative did emerge, but they appeared to complement one another, arguably because both groups promote the values as fundamental to society (Fukuyama, 2006; Molinaro, 2011).

It has previously been argued that liberal democratic values are used by the media as a way to maintain dominance over minority groups while appearing tolerant and fair (Augoustinos & Every, 2007; Henry & Tator, 2002). Those who promote the values tend to emphasise that all individuals should be treated equally and fairly, and that achievements are a result of individual merit. They also articulate that all individuals should be given the same opportunities, but at the same time, they deny the historical circumstances that led some groups to hold certain privileges while others have been denied opportunities (Sibley, Liu, Duckitt, et al., 2008). While it has been found in previous research that liberal democratic values are mobilised in this way by the Canadian media (Henry & Tator, 2002), this dissertation revealed an intricate pattern of minority group inclusion and exclusion, where Enlightenment Values were used to include minority groups in or exclude them from Canadian nationhood and identity. The media discourses that emerged in the Reasonable Accommodation debate analysed in Chapter 2 were constantly formulated using Enlightenment arguments. Certain individuals (e.g., older French Canadians) were reprimanded for being racist and xenophobic for objecting to the accommodation of (some) cultural and religious minority practices. Authors frequently appealed to the reader's reason to understand that accommodating minority cultural and religious practices was the fair and equal thing to do. On the other hand, the discourses that emerged in the Citizenship Guide coverage singled out certain minority groups for engaging in cultural and religious practices that were 'barbaric', since they violated gender equality. Therefore, it can be said that individuals promoting EVs were more easily incorporated in representations of Canadian nationhood and identity, whereas those who were deemed to challenge EVs faced automatic exclusion, or in the case of

French Canadians—as one of the undeniable *charter* groups of Canada—reluctant inclusion.

The findings suggest that Enlightenment Values may act as an access pass or key that newer immigrants and their descendants can use to gain inclusion in the nation. From the media analysis presented in Chapter 2, it was found that when immigrants were deemed to be treated unequally, unfairly and unreasonably, they were often framed by inclusive language, which emphasised that they belonged to the nation of Canada and had every right to. However, when their cultural or religious practices were portrayed as threatening EVs (e.g., gender equality), they were excluded from belonging. These findings support previous literature asserting that Enlightenment Values promote both tolerance and intolerance. The values themselves promote inclusion and a tolerance of difference, but this necessitates a counter point of intolerance of anyone who does not promote these values (Bèodeker, Donato, & Reill, 2009).

This raises the question of whether it is possible for members of minority groups (i.e., newer immigrants and their descendants) to achieve inclusion by endorsing Enlightenment Values while at the same time maintaining their cultural practices, given that particular cultural practices are represented by the government and the media as threatening equality. Even though Canadians pride themselves on accommodating all forms of diversity (Kymlicka, 2003), it may be that particular types of diversity will never be welcome or accommodated. This may offer a dire perspective of Canadian multiculturalism that challenges the notion of integration (i.e., where individuals can choose which aspects of both cultures they wish to adopt or maintain; Berry, 1974). However, it is not clear whether it is feasible for individuals to maintain those aspects of their cultures that are deemed to directly oppose the fundamental values of Canada, if they wish to achieve inclusion.

A cynical interpretation of these results need not be over-emphasised. Previous research has demonstrated that Canadians exhibit strong support for a multicultural ideology (e.g., Berry, 2012), which has also emerged here. This indicates that they feel that cultural diversity is a good thing for Canadian society, and that everyone should be offered the same opportunities regardless of their cultural, ethnic, religious or linguistic backgrounds, and that everyone should be encouraged to participate in Canadian society. Rather than multiculturalism emerging as a

fundamental Canadian value, as has been previously argued (Adams, 2007), the findings revealed in this dissertation indicate that it is Enlightenment Values underpinning the policy of multiculturalism that English Canadians value most. While the policy of multiculturalism promotes an accommodation of cultural diversity and cultural practices, the value is not that of cultural diversity itself. This was evidenced by the findings that minority cultural groupings were often excluded from representations of Canadian nationhood and identity, but also that the events and people promoting human rights consistently emerged in representations of Canadian history presented in Chapter 3 (e.g., the inclusion of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, Women's Suffrage and Universal Healthcare in the list of Top 10 events). Therefore, it can be said that English Canadians place great importance on equality, freedom, democracy and reason, which includes a strong component of believing in and promoting the accommodation of diversity (Kymlicka, 2003), arguably due to the longstanding history of cultural diversity in the nation.

Integrated Content of Canadian Nationhood and Identity

The results of the three studies presented in this thesis can be integrated to offer a comprehensive portrayal of the content of Canadian nationhood and identity for the English Canadian majority group. This dissertation specifically investigated how the three broad cultural groupings (French Canadians, Aboriginal peoples, and newer immigrants and their descendants) were incorporated in representations of Canadian nationhood and identity, and for the most part, individual-level representations mirrored those found in the media, which greatly reflected governmental representations. This thesis identified that the cultural groupings were each incorporated in representations in different ways, under different circumstances. A model of the content of Canadian nationhood and identity is presented in Figure 9. This model illustrates that English Canadians' representations of Canadian history are mostly British, with a smaller but non-negligible component of French and bicultural (British-French) representations, as well as a very small incorporation of Aboriginal peoples in the historical narrative. English Canadians' representations of Canadian nationhood and identity in the present day differed from historical representations. The model depicts that both English and French Canadians are included in present day representations for the majority group, and that Aboriginal peoples are entirely absent. It also illustrates that newer immigrants and their descendants can gain entry

137

to the 'house' of Canada (i.e., into representations of nationhood and identity) if they abide by Enlightenment Values of equality, freedom, democracy and reason, but if they do not, they are excluded from being Canadian. Finally, the model identifies that the overarching Canadian values are of the Enlightenment and a promotion of the accommodation of diversity. We suggest that regardless of whether newer immigrants abide by Enlightenment Values, that English Canadians will support the accommodation of their cultural differences in Canada, but unless they adhere to and promote EVs, they will always be viewed as "others" and will not gain inclusion to the national category of "Canadian" (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Winter, 2011).

Figure 9. *An integrated model of representations of Canadian nationhood and identity for the majority group (i.e., English Canadians).*
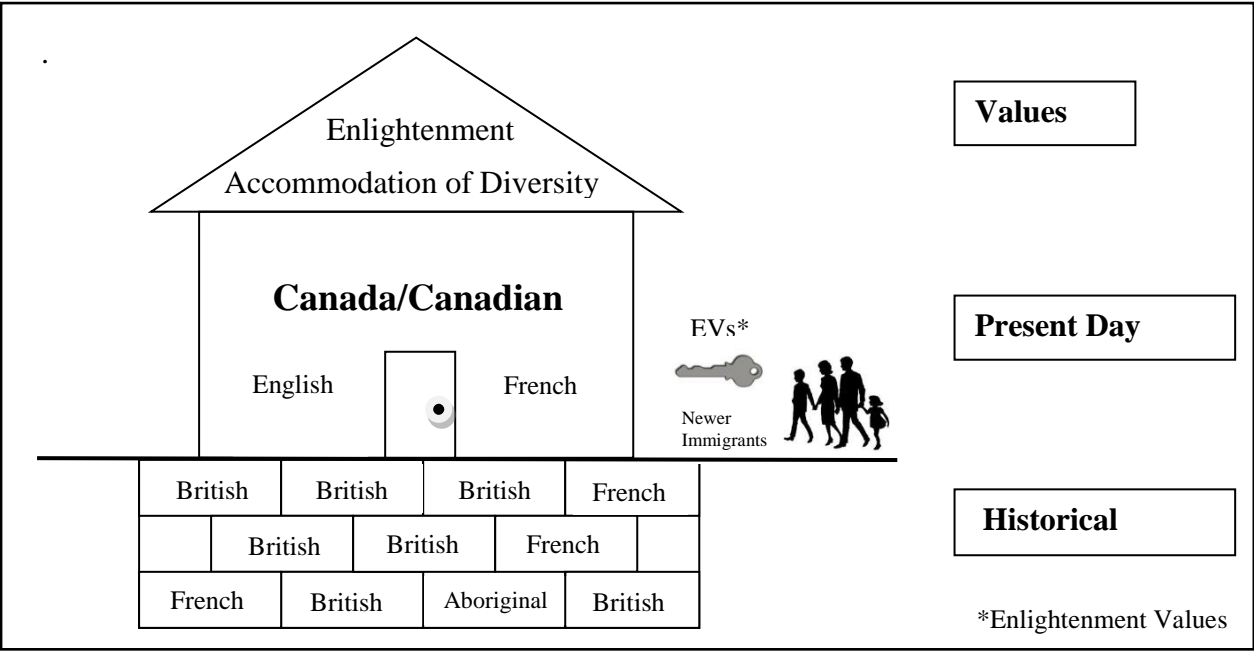
Contributions to Methodology

This thesis employed a multi-method approach to studying representations of nationhood and identity. We used Critical Discourse Analysis (van Dijk, 1993) to examine media representations; survey methods to investigate individual-level representations of history (Liu et al., 1999); and experimental methods to identify individual-level representations of present day Canada (Greenwald et al., 1998). This thesis contributed to these established methodologies in several ways, which will be considered next.

Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis is a methodology and discipline which is explicitly concerned with identifying the subtle language used in the media and elsewhere, to perpetuate inequality between groups in a given society (Fairclough et al., 2011; van Dijk, 1993; Wodak & Meyer, 2009a). In so doing, it focuses on uncovering the negative language used to describe and represent members of minority groups, and does not focus on the potentially positive ways that groups are being framed and positioned (Hier, 2008, 2010). Chapter 2 of this thesis expanded CDA methods by highlighting negative, positive and mixed formulations to gain a more comprehensive understanding of the discourses of both exclusion *and* inclusion. By incorporating positive and mixed discourses into our investigation we were able to better identify and understand the nuanced ways that the cultural groupings were included in or excluded from representations of Canadian nationhood and identity. By focusing solely on negative formulations we would have missed many of the crucial aspects to the discourses surrounding nationhood and cultural diversity in Canada. We therefore recommend in future that discourse analysts expand their focus to include positive and mixed formulations of minority groups, when analysing discourses in nations such as Canada that pride themselves on being accepting and inclusive of diversity.

History and Identity Survey Methods

Chapter 3 of this dissertation employed a survey method established to examine social representations of history and identity. This method has been used in several countries to both examine representations of particular national histories (e.g., Liu et al., 1999) as well as representations of world history (Liu et al., 2005). The survey method is primarily employed to extrapolate an historical narrative from a generated list of the most important events and figures in history. Previous research employing this method has coded open-ended responses by 'type,' and an historical narrative is extrapolated from a generated list of the most important events and figures in history. For the purposes of this thesis, we expanded on the method by coding the open-ended responses not only by type, but also by ethnicity and the underlying values the events represented. Coding for ethnicity and Enlightenment Values added further meaning to the analysis and also provided a better illustration of how representations of history related to support for diversity policies, ideologies and political orientation. We therefore recommend that researchers using this survey

method in future can gain further information about the importance of historical representations by identifying meaningful ways to code the responses, in a contextually relevant manner.

Implicit Association Test

Chapter 4 of this thesis used the Implicit Association Test (Greenwald et al., 1998), which is an established experimental method in social psychology to examine implicit associations between two categories. There is some debate in the literature about whether implicit attitudes are robust or whether they are malleable (see Gawronski & Bodenhausen, 2006). In this dissertation, we introduced an implicit priming task designed to determine if it was possible to influence participants' associations between ethnicity and Canadian nationhood, by treating the IAT as a dependent measure. We did not successfully influence implicit associations but did influence explicit responses regarding support for multiculturalism, which suggested that implicit associations and attitudes are less easily manipulated than explicit ones. It has argued that implicit associations are internalised patterns which become automatically activated when confronted with a target, and that this is based on subtle messages about the target that the individual has long been exposed to (Gawronski & Bodenhausen, 2006; Gawronski & Strack, 2004). However, previous research has shown that responses to the IAT can be influenced by priming techniques (Blair et al., 2001; Dasgupta & Asgari, 2004; Rudman & Phelan, 2010; Yogeeswaran et al., 2012; Zogmaister et al., 2008), and therefore more research is needed regarding the causal nature of implicit and explicit associations.

Contributions to Theory

This research was conceived of and conducted within a theoretical framework comprised of four existing social psychological theories. The topics of nationhood and national identity are typically studied within other social science disciplines such as sociology, anthropology, political science and philosophy, to name a few. This dissertation illustrates that it is possible to use existing theories of social representations and social identity to understand a nation's psychology more broadly, from the perspective of the majority group, and that psychology can offer a new perspective to understand nationhood and national identity. Social representations theory (Moscovici, 1961) is concerned with individuals' shared representations of society, by taking societal- and individual-level influences into consideration. To

contribute to this formulation of social cognition, this dissertation examined how similar representations were in both societal-level and individual-level data. Our findings lend support to this broad conceptualisation of social cognition, since individual-level representations closely reflected both political and media representations. We contend that individuals' implicitly held beliefs, associations and understandings of their world are fundamentally shaped by the subtle messages they receive every day in public discourses and by other members of their group (Anderson, 1991). We also argue for the importance of history and context in understanding the content of any ingroup's identity, specifically national identity. Furthermore, we demonstrated that the content of nationhood and national identity is context dependent as has been previously shown (Winter, 2011), and patterns were identified that could be used in future to predict minority group inclusion or exclusion from the national category. For example, Enlightenment Values may represent the particular conditions that need to be met for minority groups to achieve inclusion. Fundamentally, this dissertation highlighted the importance of taking broader societal and historical information into account when examining individuals' cognition, attitudes and identity.

Limitations and Future Research

This thesis contributed to a greater understanding of Canadian nationhood and identity using social psychological theories and methods, situated within a socio-historic context. As psychological research is not typically conducted in the broad manner employed by this thesis, we argue that this thesis generated novel conceptualisations of nationhood and identity not previously tested empirically. Further research is therefore needed to expand on the findings presented here. This research was also marked by several limitations that deserve attention in future research, discussed next.

This dissertation focused exclusively on the majority group's representations of nationhood, identity and diversity. However, the research was restricted to English Canadians in the province of Ontario to control for regional variations. Therefore, caution should be made not to generalise the findings presented here to all English Canadians. Future research should assess whether a similar pattern of results would be found in areas of the nation that are less culturally diverse or have a greater proportion of Aboriginal inhabitants. Comparisons should also be made between majority and

141

minority groups' representations of nationhood and identity. This would allow us to determine if social representations of Canada are *hegemonic*, *emancipated* or *polemic* (i.e., if they complement or conflict with one another; Moscovici, 1988).

In an effort to simplify some of the complex information contained in this thesis, cultural diversity was conceptualised using broad "cultural groupings" (i.e., English Canadians, French Canadians, Aboriginal peoples, and newer immigrants and their descendants). These groupings are extremely heterogeneous and therefore different ethnic groups within a particular cultural grouping may be incorporated into nationhood and identity differently than other members of the same cultural grouping. English Canadians were conceptualised as anyone with European heritage who speaks English as a first language. While this may be the way the majority group is conceived or represented in present day Canada, this research demonstrated that representations of Canadian history are British and French rather than pan-European. Furthermore, when asked how greatly Other Europeans contributed to Canadian history, participants rated them as contributing significantly less than British, French and Aboriginal peoples, despite participants' ancestry being from a variety of European nations. Further investigations should focus on the contributions of non-British and non-French European peoples to the representations of nationhood and identity. The cultural grouping of newer immigrants and their descendants is also extremely broad and encompasses a diverse set of peoples with different histories in Canada, and with different races, religions, cultures and ethnicities. For instance, are Black Canadians incorporated into representations of nationhood and national identity differently than South Asian Canadians?

Finally, while this research was based on the contention that political representations lead to media representations, which operate together to shape individual representations (Anderson, 1991), we were not able to empirically test this contention with our cross-sectional data. Our research illustrated that individual-level representations were very similar to societal-level representations, but the direction of this relationship could not be determined. Future endeavours should focus on developing particular methodological techniques to test the direction of the relationship.

Applications

  This dissertation was underpinned by the assumption that the inclusion of minority groups in representations of Canadian nationhood and identity is a good thing, which will lead to better social relations and greater equality between Canada's diverse ethnic groups (Berry, 2012). We operated on this assumption for Canada because Canadians pride themselves on belonging to an inclusive and multicultural nation (Adams, 2007; Kymlicka, 2003), and so it is fruitful to determine where this is and is not being achieved. We highlighted both the ways that English Canadians, as the majority group, are achieving this, as well as identified some blind spots and areas for improvement. It was found that the media was mostly positive in its portrayal of cultural diversity, and how the discourses were formulated to achieve this. The Canadian media should be commended in this instance for the inclusive set of discourses they used to describe and represent minority groups, although previous work has highlighted that there is still a long way to go (see Mahtani, 2009). A glaring blind spot that we identified was the absence of an Aboriginal voice in present day discussions of diversity. Newer immigrants and their descendants were also excluded from representations of Canadian history.

  The findings which highlighted the exclusion or absence of certain groups in representations of nationhood and identity can be applied in several ways. The most obvious point of departure should be to foster discussions between the majority and minority cultural groups in Canada. Perhaps the most illuminating finding in this dissertation is the widespread absence of Aboriginal peoples in present day discussions of Canadian society. This is marked by the exclusion of an Aboriginal voice or perspective about or from within the omnipresent policy of multiculturalism, which is seen as a cornerstone of Canadian society (Adams, 2007; Kymlicka, 2003). Since this research focused solely on the majority group, and the ways in which they include or exclude other cultural groups in their representations of Canadian nationhood and identity, we are not suggesting that the outcome should necessarily be for the government or other advocacy groups to take steps to ensure that Aboriginal peoples are represented in and by the multiculturalism policy. We argue instead that the first step should be the dissemination of these findings to Aboriginal groups with the purpose of establishing a dialogue between them and the other groups represented more clearly by the policy (i.e., English Canadians, French Canadians, and newer

immigrants and their descendants). We view the exclusion of Aboriginal peoples from discussions of present day diversity and society to be of grave concern and a major obstacle in achieving fair and equal treatment for Aboriginal peoples. However, the solution should not be to take steps to include Aboriginal peoples without their input about their experiences, perspectives and desires. Instead, discussions with Aboriginal peoples could lead to more awareness and knowledge for all groups, and should provide Aboriginal peoples with a voice to discuss both problems and solutions from their perspectives. We do not want to perpetuate a cycle of imposition and assume the issues raised in this thesis are in fact issues Aboriginal peoples are concerned with. We assert only that these results could serve as the basis for dialogue between the cultural groups about issues of inclusion and exclusion.

This dissertation also highlighted the importance of history, and representations of history, in individuals' conceptions of nationhood and identity (Liu & Hilton, 2005). In discussions of Canadian history, newer immigrants and their descendants were framed as groups that received help from Canadians, which therefore portrayed them as "others". This demonstrates that while newer immigrants and their descendants are at least sometimes included in representations of nationhood in present day, the finding that they are mostly absent from historical representations may be one reason that they are not always represented as Canadian. This finding suggests that one application of this research is for the government to re-formulate representations of Canadian history to include the active contributions of non-European and non-Aboriginal peoples.

Finally, Enlightenment Values emerged as the key to minority group inclusion in the nation. Berry (1997) has demonstrated that integration is the preferred strategy for individuals who are acculturating to a new or dominant society, indicating that in order to adapt successfully to society, they should adopt elements of the dominant culture and maintain elements of their original culture. Rather than leaving it to individuals to pick and choose which elements of both cultures they wish to adopt or maintain, this research suggests that if individuals promote or adopt Enlightenment Values they may be able to achieve inclusion and thus greater integration. It might be crucial then that federal, provincial and municipal governments all clearly articulate that Enlightenment Values, such as equality and freedom, are values that cannot be compromised in Canada. An example where a government in Canada explicitly

asserted its values was presented in Chapter 2. The current government attempted to do this in the Citizenship Guide (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2012), but unfortunately singled out specific cultural groups, using deeply negative and accusatory language, describing their practices as "barbaric". We recommend instead that the government articulates that Enlightenment Values are fundamental Canadian values without accusing or ostracising particular groups. Clear but sensitive language should be used. Simultaneously, more information and greater public education about cultural minority groups and their practices is recommended to dispel myths that those belonging to certain groups invariably threaten Enlightenment principles. Overall we assert that a more open dialogue is crucial among all groups in Canada about values and inclusion.

Conclusions

Like every nation, Canada has a complex history of social relations between its various ethnic and cultural groups (Mackey, 2002). This history has very real implications for diversity management and attitudes towards diversity. This dissertation has been devoted to constructing a national psychology for Canada, by taking a comprehensive approach in examining how cultural diversity is incorporated in the majority group's representations of nationhood and national identity. While it was found that representations are primarily British in nature, French Canadians represented a non-negligible component of what it means to be Canadian. On the other hand, Aboriginal peoples and newer immigrants and their descendants were variously excluded from representations; however, it was found that under particular conditions, the majority group expanded their representations to include both cultural groupings. English Canadians also consistently promoted the Enlightenment Values of equality, freedom, democracy and reason (Michael, 2000), and also supported the idea that diversity should be accommodated. This thesis identified particular blind spots in English Canadians' approach to diversity and subsequent incorporation of diversity into their representations of Canadian nationhood that should be addressed in future. But more than that, this dissertation offers a hopeful account of Canada and Canadian diversity, highlighting some of the ways that Canadian multiculturalism is so successful.

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APPENDIXA: NEWSPAPER ARTICLES INCLUDED IN MEDIA ANALYSIS

Reasonable Accommodation

	Date	Headline	Author	Type
Globe & Mail				
1	9/2/2007	*Quebec strikes commission*	Seguin	News
2	27/3/2007	*Of rednecks and rural-urban solitudes*	Ibbitson	Column/Editorial
3	31/3/2007	*A shortage of accommodation*	Valpy	Focus
4	21/9/2007	*Reasonable Accommodation' debate hits heartland*	Peritz	News
5	10/10/2007	*Don't prohibit all visible symbols*	No author	Editorial
6	3/11/2007	*Far from "reasonable"*	No author	Editorial
7	28/11/2007	*Mud wrestling the "big issues": Pragmatic Ontario vs existential Quebec*	Simpson	Column
Toronto Star				
1	9/2/2007	*Quebec [MET Edition]*	No author	News
2	8/3/2007	*Don't give in to prevailing prejudices*	Siddiqui	Op. Ed.
3	12/9/2007	*Failed leadership spawned minorities panel*	Hebert	News
4	12/9/2007	*Clear rules sought on immigrants*	Levesque	News
5	15/10/2007	*Canadian reality is multicultural*	No author	Editorial
6	17/10/2007	*Multiculturalism under the scope in Quebec*	Abraham	Op. Ed.
7	7/11/2007	*All Canadians flourish in a climate of tolerance*	Alghabra	Op. Ed.
8	10/11/2007	*Surprise, Canadian pluralism is working*	Adams	Ideas
9	26/11/2007	*Quebec's own two solitudes*	Gordon	News
10	27/11/2007	*Good newson diversity from gasp! Quebec*	Maioni	Editorial
11	15/11/2007	*The hawks are back*	Gordon	Ideas

	Date	Headline	Author	Type
Montreal Gazette				
1	9/2/2007	*Charest right to move on reasonable accommodation*	Legault	Editorial
2	9/2/2007	*Charest enters the fray*	Dougherty	News
3	9/2/2007	*Chairman have blue ribbon credentials*	Curran	News
4	9/2/2007	*Arbour welcomes immigrant debate*	Bauch	News
5	9/2/2007	*Respectful dialogue the right approach*	No author	Editorial
6	11/2/2007	*Sovereignist party weighs in on Herouxville debate*	Fidelman	News
7	14/2/2007	*We don't need 2 studies: Rights commission*	Carroll	News
8	16/2/2007	*Why are there no women on reasonable accommodation panel?*	Bagnall	Editorial
9	27/2/2007	*Ridiculous ruling on headscarf*	No author	Editorial
10	27/2/2007	*Other soccer teams showed true understanding of ethics*	Mennie	Column
12	21/11/2007	*West end has its say*	No author	News
13	21/11/2007	*The Bouchard-Taylor hearings aside, Canadians are more tolerant; There is a growing backlash against suggestions we are not accommodating*	Adams	Editorial
14	21/11/2007	*Hearings are a platform for bigots, group says*	Block	News
15	23/11/2007	*Coalition calls for calm, reasonable debate*	Block	News
16	26/11/2007	*Quebecers don't have to bicker, a child tells adults; Reasonable accommodation forum. But workshops hear that immigrants face bigger obstacles than language*	Hustak	News
17	27/11/2007	*We might begin to hear new voices as hearings hit city; So far, old-stock francophones from the regions mainly had their say*	MacPherson	Editorial
18	28/11/2007	*Diverse portraits of modern Quebec: Bouchard-Taylor. Protesters disrupt open-mike forum*	Heinrich	News
19	28/11/2007	*CSDM wants to ban prayer space in schools*	Branswell	News
20	29/11/2007	*Hearings protesters are wrong*	No author	News

	Date	Headline	Author	Type
Montreal Gazette				
21	30/11/2007	*Anglos speak in many voices; open-mike night. Bouchard-Taylor hear diverse issues from anglophones*	Heinrich	News
22	1/12/2007	*Anglos don't seem to understand accommodation crisis; Hearings in English underscore differences between Montrealers and other Quebecers*	MacPherson	Editorial
National Post				
1	9/2/2007	*Quebec to study how to live with immigrants*	Dougherty	News
2	13/2/2007	*Professor attacks civil service exclusion: Quebec minorities "under represented"*	Block	News
3	14/2/2007	*Quebec rights panel rethinks plan for probe*	Carroll	News
4	20/3/2007	*Sugar like salt in Quebec's wound*	Hanes	News
5	5/4/2007	*Muslim parents, daycare in row over child's food; Non-Halal meat; Latest "reasonable accommodation" quarrel in Quebec*	Leong	News
6	15/8/2007	*Let Quebec control its immigration, Marois says; "Francophone state"*	White	News
7	16/8/2007	*Mennonites may flee Quebec town; 15 families; Dispute with province over children's education*	Riga	News
8	22/8/2007	*Volatility feared at hearings; Quebec consultations; Commissioners warn of tensions to "Reasonable Accommodation"*	Heinrich	News
9	25/8/2007	*Forum sheds light on Quebec youth; Reasonable accommodation*	Heinrich	News
10	6/9/2007	*Chairmen's credibility causes stir in Quebec, reasonable accommodation hearings yet to start*	Hanes	News
11	12/9/2007	*Accommodation has its limits, panel told*	Hamilton	News
12	25/9/2007	*Canadians want to have limits on reasonable accommodation*	Cobb	News
13	26/9/2007	*Quebec failing immigrants, hearing told; Accommodation Debate; Newcomers not properly integrated, social worker says*	Heinrich	News
14	3/10/2007	*Erasing the British influence on modern Quebec*	Kay	Column

	Date	Headline	Author	Type
National Post				
15	12/10/2007	*Rights take wrong turn in Quebec*	Cosh	Column
16	20/10/2007	*Quebecers have "ambiguity" about other cultures; Poll finds marked differences with Rest of Canada*	Heinrich	News
17	24/10/2007	*The furor that one town stirred; Accommodation panel to hear from Herouxville*	Hamilton	News
18	25/10/2007	*Commissioner challenges code authors; Herouxville town councillors say they've heard worse*	Hamilton	News
19	26/10/2007	*Quebecers get "ghetto" warning; Commissioners urge Quebecois to help newcomers assimilate*	Heinrich	News
20	26/10/2007	*Hearings become heated; Commissioners urge Quebecois to help newcomers "assimilate"*	Heinrich	News
21	29/10/2007	*Quebec exodus rivals mid-90s statistics; Out-migration; "Accommodation" debate may be behind departures*	Hanes	Stats (Business Section)
22	29/10/2007	*Muslims offer views on place in Quebec; Accommodation; "There's a lot of disinformation, prejudices."*	Heinrich	News
23	31/10/2007	*From desperate separatists, a Hail Mary pass*	Kay	Column
24	31/10/2007	*Charest all over the map on cultural issues; More concerned about scoring political points*	Hamilton	News
25	7/11/2007	*Jewish mission outlines concerns; Meet with Charest*	Dougherty	News
26	16/11/2007	*Quebec Commission called exercise in democracy*	Heinrich	News
27	23/11/2007	*Debates opening wounds; "At the extremes, there was racism, anti-Semitism"*	Hamilton	Column
28	24/11/2007	*Many refugees find getting work in Ontario easier, commission told*	No author	News
29	27/11/2007	*Immigrants no threat, hearing told; a "success" academics say*	Hamilton	News
30	28/11/2007	*Montreal schools devoid of culture clases: board; Quebec hearings*	Hamilton	News
31	11/12/2007	*Quebec union wants secular charter to ban religious garb; No Hijabs*	Heinrich	News
32	12/12/2007	*Bon cop, bad cop routine at Quebec hearings; everyone is a Quebecer*	Hamilton	News

	Date	Headline	Author	Type
National Post				
33	15/12/2007	*Make rights charter pro-Quebec*	Hamilton	News
34	20/12/2007	*Few racial slurs at Quebec accommodation hearings; Forums called profoundly democratic*	Heinrich	News
35	22/12/2007	*"Reasonable Accommodation" hearings get mixed review on usefulness: poll*	No author	News
36	24/12/2007	*Room for God*	No author	Editorial

Citizenship Guide

	Date	Headline	Author	Type
Globe & Mail				
1	12/11/2009	*Being Canadian with vitality*	No author	Editorial
2	13/11/2009	*The new Canada: A question of emphasis*	Friesen	News
3	19/11/2009	*It's only been a decade, but the conservative way is redefining us*	Martin	Editorial
Toronto Star				
1	12/11/2009	*New citizens to see Canada's darker side*	Keung	News
2	16/11/2009	*Updated citizenship guide to Canada. Good, bad and ugly*	Hebert	News
National Post				
1	11/11/2009	*Poppies trump potash in new citizens' guide; Focus on history; Current booklet "awfully thin," Kenney says*	Stone	News
2	12/11/2009	*"Muscular" guide to be released; Conservatives rewrite citizenship handbook to focus on responsibilities*	Carlson	News
3	13/11/2009	*Worth spelling out*	Colby	Editorial
4	13/11/2009	*Newcomers warned: no barbaric acts; Honour killings, female genital mutilation cited*	Carlson	News
5	13/11/2009	*The Tory guide to a blue Canada*	Ivison	News
6	16/11/2009	*A better message for immigrants*	No author	Editorial
7	19/11/2009	*A record of conservative achievement*	Daifallah	Editorial

	Date	Headline	Author	Type
Montreal Gazette				
1	12/11/2009	*Riel makes it into new guide; included in document for immigrants*	Stone	News
2		*No "barbaric cultural practices" here; New Citizenship Guide; "When you become a citizen, you're not just getting a travel document into*		
	13/11/2009	*hotel Canada," minister says*	Stone	News
3	13/11/2009	*An important message for all newcomers*	No author	Editorial

APPENDIX B: REPRESENTATIONS OF HISTORY SURVEY

Representations of History

1. **Please write down what you think are the 7 most important EVENTS in Canadian history:**

Name and briefly describe each event. Please also rate how positive or negative these events were to Canadian history, using the following scale: -3 = extremely negative, 0 = neutral, 3 = extremely positive.

	Important Event (with description)	Extremely negative			Neutral			Extremely positive
1.		-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3
2.		-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3
3.		-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3
4.		-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3
5.		-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3
6.		-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3
7.		-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3

2. Please write down who you think are the 7 most influential PEOPLE in Canadian history:

Name and briefly describe each person. Please also rate how positive or negative these people were in Canadian history, using the following scale: -3 = extremely negative, 0 = neutral, 3 = extremely positive.

	Influential Person (with description)	Extremely negative		Neutral		Extremely positive
1.		-3	-2 -1	0 1	2 3	
2.		-3	-2 -1	0 1	2 3	
3.		-3	-2 -1	0 1	2 3	
4.		-3	-2 -1	0 1	2 3	
5.		-3	-2 -1	0 1	2 3	
6.		-3	-2 -1	0 1	2 3	
7.		-3	-2 -1	0 1	2 3	

3. **Please rate the contributions made by the following peoples to Canadian history, on a scale from 1 to 7, with 1 being Did Not Contribute and 7 being Contributed Greatly. Use the scale below.**

	Did Not Contribute			Made Moderate Contribution			Contributed Greatly
First Nations/Aboriginal	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
French	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
British	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Other European	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
African (including Afro-Caribbean)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Asian	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Other (please specify) _____	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

4. How important do you think knowledge of Canadian history is?

Not At All Important	**Slightly Unimportant**	**Neutral**	**Slightly Important**	**Very Important**
+	+	+	+	+

National Identity (Cameron, 2004)

5. The following questions relate to your identity as a Canadian. Please indicate your agreement or disagreement with the following statements using the scale provided.

	Strongly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Mildly Disagree	Neutral	Mildly Agree	Moderately Agree	Strongly Agree
I often think about being a Canadian.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. Being a Canadian has little to do with how I feel about myself in general.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. Being a Canadian is an important part of my self image.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. The fact I am a Canadian rarely enters my mind.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5. In general I'm glad to be a Canadian.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6. I often regret being a Canadian.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7. Generally I feel good about myself when I think about being a Canadian.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8. I don't feel good about being a Canadian.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9. I have a lot in common with other Canadians.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10. I feel strong ties to other Canadians.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11. I find it difficult to form a bond with other Canadians.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12. I don't feel a sense of being connected to Canadians.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Ethnic Identity (Cameron, 2004)

6. The following questions relate to your identity as an English Canadian. Please indicate your agreement or disagreement with the following statements using the scale provided.

	Strongly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Mildly Disagree	Neutral	Mildly Agree	Moderately Agree	Strongly Agree
I often think about being an English Canadian.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. Being an English Canadian has little to do with how I feel about myself in general.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. Being an English Canadian is an important part of my self image.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. The fact I am an English Canadian rarely enters my mind.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5. In general I'm glad to be an English Canadian.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6. I often regret being an English Canadian.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7. Generally I feel good about myself when I think about being an English Canadian.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8. I don't feel good about being an English Canadian.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9. I have a lot in common with other English Canadians.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10. I feel strong ties to other English Canadians.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11. I find it difficult to form a bond with other English Canadians.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12. I don't feel a sense of being connected to English Canadians.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Support for Multiculturalism

7. Please indicate your agreement or disagreement with each statement using the following scale.

	Strongly Agree	Slightly Agree	Neither Agree or Disagree	Mildly Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1. The official policy of multiculturalism fairly reflects the cultural and racial diversity of Canadian society.	1	2	3	4	5
2. Cultural minorities in Canada should not be encouraged to preserve their cultural heritage.	1	2	3	4	5
3. Cultural minorities of all origins should participate fully in the shaping of all aspects of Canadian society.	1	2	3	4	5
4. The government should not be obliged to encourage the development of cultural communities in Canada.	1	2	3	4	5
5. There are no significant barriers preventing cultural minority groups from participating fully in Canadian society.	1	2	3	4	5
6. Political institutions of Canada should not be obliged to reflect Canada's multicultural demographic.	1	2	3	4	5
7. Cultural diversity is a valuable asset in Canada.	1	2	3	4	5
8. Social institutions in Canada should reinforce Canada's multicultural character.	1	2	3	4	5
9. The use of non-official languages in Canada should not be promoted.	1	2	3	4	5
10. Canada's diverse cultures should be celebrated.	1	2	3	4	5

Support for Bilingualism

8. Please indicate your agreement or disagreement with each statement, using the following scale.

	Strongly Agree	Slightly Agree	Neither Agree or Disagree	Mildly Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1. It is important that Canadians have the right to receive services from federal departments in both official languages (i.e., French and English).	1	2	3	4	5
2. The national anthem should not have to be sung in both official languages.	1	2	3	4	5
3. Canadians should be allowed to be heard before federal courts in the official language of their choice.	1	2	3	4	5
4. It is not important that French be taught in English schools within Canada.	1	2	3	4	5
5. Equal legal weight should be given to parliamentary documents in the two official languages.	1	2	3	4	5
6. It should be mandatory for Parliament to adopt laws in both English and French.	1	2	3	4	5
7. It is not important that English and French be formally recognized as official languages of Canada.	1	2	3	4	5
8. It is not necessary for French immersion schooling to be encouraged in the English speaking provinces of Canada.	1	2	3	4	5
9. It is not important that English be taught in French schools within Canada.	1	2	3	4	5
10. All Canadians should be able to hold a conversation in both French and English.	1	2	3	4	5

Support for Religious Accommodation

Please indicate your agreement or disagreement with each statement, using the following scale.

	Strongly Agree	Slightly Agree	Neither Agree or Disagree	Mildly Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1. Muslims who practice their religion pray five times a day, in designated prayer rooms. There should therefore be a designated prayer space in every Canadian university that has Muslim students.	1	2	3	4	5
2. As part of the Sikh religion, men carry kirpans (small ceremonial daggers) at all times as a symbol of their faith and devotion. But in Canada, Sikh men should not be allowed to carry their kirpans in the workplace, since they pose a major risk to safety.	1	2	3	4	5
3. In the Hasidic Jewish faith, men and women must remain separate in public places. Hasidic Jewish men should therefore have the right to deny a public service from a woman (e.g., a driving test) and ask to instead be served by a man.	1	2	3	4	5
4. Muslim women often wear hijabs (headscarves) as a sign of their faith. However, Muslim women should not be allowed to wear hijabs when working in a Canadian public institution (e.g., a hospital) since this violates the principle of the separation of state and religion.	1	2	3	4	5
5. Sikh men wear turbans to symbolize honour and self-respect. It is therefore appropriate to allow Sikh men to wear a turban in place of the regulation headgear usually required by their employer (e.g., the police).	1	2	3	4	5

Demographics:

We would like to ask you some questions about yourself. You will never be personally identified in this research project or in any publication.

How old are you (in years)? _____

What is your gender?   Male   Female

What is your mother tongue/first language?

English	French	Other (please specify)
+	+	_____
		+

Please indicate how well you can speak English and French, using the following scale:

	Poor	**Fair**	**Good**	**Excellent**
1. English (Spoken)	1	2	3 4	
2. English (Written)	1	2	3	4
3. French (Spoken)	1	2	3	4
4. French (Written)	1	2	3	4

How would you describe your race?

White/Caucasian	Asian	Black/African	First Nations /Aboriginal	Other (please specify) _____
+	+	+	+	+

What are your ancestral origins (please list all; e.g., Scottish, Ukrainian, Italian)?

_____

Were you born in Canada?   Yes   No

If not, which country were you born in? _____

If not born in Canada, how old were you when you immigrated to Canada?

How many years have you lived in Canada, in total? _____

If born in Canada, were you born in Ontario?   Yes   No

If not, in which province/territory were you born? _____

Do you currently live in Ontario?   Yes   No

How many years have you lived in Ontario, in total? _____

Did you attend a French Immersion elementary school or high school?

○ Yes

○ No, my schooling was in English

○ No, I attended a French-language school for children with a parent whose mother tongue is French

Other (please specify)

Generally speaking, what kind of voter are you?

Conservative	Liberal	NDP	Green	Other (please specify)
+	+	+	+	_____

How strongly do you support that party?

Very weakly	Somewhat weakly	Moderately	Somewhat strongly	Very strongly
1	2	3	4	5

Often, people use the terms "liberal" or "conservative" to describe their political beliefs. How would you rate yourself in these terms?

Very liberal	Somewhat liberal	Central	Somewhat conservative	Very conservative
1	2	3	4	5

Alternatively, people use the terms "left-wing" or "right-wing" to describe their political beliefs. How would you rate yourself in these terms?

Very Left-wing	Quite Left-wing	Moderate	Quite Right-wing	Very Right-wing
1	2	3	4	5

Where do you live?

○ In a rural area

○ In a town or suburb

○ In a city

If you answered city, please specify which city

What is the highest educational qualification you have achieved?

○ Primary school qualification

○ Secondary school qualification

○ Post secondary certificate/Diploma

○ Trade certificate

○ Bachelor's degree

○ Masters or PhD degree

Other (please specify) [   ]

What is your employment status?

○ Part-time

○ Full-time

○ Student

○ Unemployed

○ Retired

What is your occupation?

[   ]

Are you married?

○ Yes

○ No, I'm single and/or don't live with my partner

○ No, but I live with my partner

What is your approximate annual pre-tax household income?

○ Under $30,000

○ Between $30,001 and $40,000

○ Between $40,001 and $50,000

○ Between $50,001 and $70,000

○ Between $70,001 and $100,000

○ Over $100,000

APPENDIX C: EXPERIMENTAL STIMULI AND MATERIALS

Example Consent Form

Letter of Information (Study 1)

Project Title: Categorizing symbols and faces

Principal Investigators: A. Girling and V. Esses

In this study, you will be asked to categorize a series of symbols and faces on a laboratory computer. You will be asked to do this by pressing designated keys on the keyboard to place the images into different categories. Following this, you will be asked to complete a survey assessing your opinions on various social issues. Your responses will remain confidential and any data you provide will be used for research purposes only.

There are no known risks to participating in this study. In terms of benefits, you will receive two full research credits for your participation.

This research session will take less than two hours to complete. Participation in this session is voluntary. You may refuse to participate, refuse to answer any questions, or withdraw from the study at any time without loss of promised compensation.

At the end of this session you will receive written feedback further outlining the purpose and hypotheses of this study, and will be provided the opportunity to ask questions about the studies.

If you have questions about this research, and/or if you want to obtain copies of the results of these projects upon their completion, please contact Adrienne Girling (email: agirling@uwo.ca; office: 6303 SSC) or Dr. Victoria Esses (phone: 661-2111 ext. 84650; email: vesses@uwo.ca; office: 6322 SSC). These results may be published in professional journals of psychological research.

If you have any questions about the conduct of this study or your rights as a research participant, you may contact the Director at the Office of Research Ethics, The University of Western Ontario, by phone at 519-661-3036 or email at ethics@uwo.ca.

Experimental Stimuli

Canadian Symbols

Foreign Symbols

Ethnic Surnames

British Canadian: Johnson, Smith, Martin, Morris, Wilson, Clark

French Canadian: Gagnon, Bouchard, Gauthier, Lavoie, Leblanc, Pelletier

Chinese Canadian: Li, Chan, Wong, Leung, Huang, Nguyen

Facial Stimuli

Caucasian

First Nations

East Asian

Measures

Explicit Associations Experiment 1 and 3 (1=Strongly Disagree, 7=Strongly Agree)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. British people born in this country are just as entitled to call themselves Canadians as anyone else who was born here.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. British people born in this country should have the opportunity to contribute to Canadian culture just as much as all other Canadians.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. British people born in this country are, on average, just as patriotic as other Canadians.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. British people born in this country belong here just as much as other Canadians.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5. French people born in this country are just as entitled to call themselves Canadians as anyone else who was born here.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6. French people born in this country should have the opportunity to contribute to Canadian culture just as much as all other Canadians.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7. French people born in this country are, on average, just as patriotic as other Canadians.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8. French people born in this country belong here just as much as other Canadians.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9. Chinese people born in this country are just as entitled to call themselves Canadians as anyone else who was born here.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10. Chinese people born in this country should have the opportunity to contribute to Canadian culture just as much as all other Canadians.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11. Chinese people born in this country are, on average, just as patriotic as other Canadians.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12. Chinese people born in this country belong here just as much as other Canadians.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Explicit Associations Experiment 2 (1=Strongly Disagree, 7=Strongly Agree)

1. Caucasian people born in this country are just as entitled to call themselves Canadians as anyone else who was born here.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. Caucasian people born in this country should have the opportunity to contribute to Canadian culture just as much as all other Canadians.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. Caucasian people born in this country are, on average, just as patriotic as other Canadians.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. Caucasian people born in this country belong here just as much as other Canadians.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5. First Nations people born in this country are just as entitled to call themselves Canadians as anyone else who was born here.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6. First Nations people born in this country should have the opportunity to contribute to Canadian culture just as much as all other Canadians.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7. First Nations people born in this country are, on average, just as patriotic as other Canadians.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8. First Nations people born in this country belong here just as much as other Canadians.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9. Asian people born in this country are just as entitled to call themselves Canadians as anyone else who was born here.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10. Asian people born in this country should have the opportunity to contribute to Canadian culture just as much as all other Canadians.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11. Asian people born in this country are, on average, just as patriotic as other Canadians.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12. Asian people born in this country belong here just as much as other Canadians.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Priming Tasks

Enlightenment Values

Make a grammatical sentence as quickly as possible out of each set of sentences, using only four of the five words provided.

1. equal be coin should people
   _____

2. have bird let freedom us
   _____

3. book we with think reason
   _____

4. promotes bars law the order
   _____

5. footsteps should followed be rules
   _____

6. right the everyone hand has
   _____

7. live vote we democracy in
   _____

8. choice a you decide have
   _____

9. treat divide fairly others we
   _____

10. balance prevail will always justice
    _____

11. think to rationally aim portion
    _____

12. find instrumental ultimate truth the
    _____

13. your at bells use liberty
    _____

14. should adult we sensibly react
    _____

15. power enlightenment the illuminate of

Threat to Enlightenment Values

Make a grammatical sentence as quickly as possible out of each set of sentences, using only four of the five words provided.

1. go preference there should likes
   _____

2. privileges house have let them
   _____

3. had state value special we
   _____

4. received he your desk handouts
   _____

5. child that she blanketed favoured
   _____

6. are amusement they advantaged more
   _____

7. dole candied we concessions out
   _____

8. completely a unfair worsen decision
   _____

9. this number makes exception he
   _____

10. unmerited those exam were grades
    _____

11. we service claim goods those
    _____

12. out race competition taking the
    _____

13. your unreasonable papers is argument
    _____

14. cell was unjust the ruling
    _____

15. television unwarranted is fussiness your
    _____

Neutral

Make a grammatical sentence as quickly as possible out of each set of sentences, using only four of the five words provided.

1. now are presence here we
   _____

2. delicious our vegetables was meal
   _____

3. this we together being created
   _____

4. silly you laugh are always
   _____

5. comb details those fine organize
   _____

6. river the city though crosses
   _____

7. stories interesting he tells photograph
   _____

8. we around bags those carry
   _____

9. cheer always good feels she
   _____

10. them along loud let sing
    _____

11. be sunlight summery sunlight by
    _____

12. me play ball the throw
    _____

13. bright trees lights shine the
    _____

14. is weekday tight schedule my
    _____

15. is tranquility night the silent
    _____

Example Debriefing Form

Project Title: Categorizing symbols and faces

Principal Investigators: A. Girling and V. Esses

Dear student:

In this study, you were asked to categorize a series of symbols along with a series of faces, using a computerized program called the Implicit Association Task (Greenwald, McGhee & Schwartz, 1998). The purpose of this study was to determine if members of certain ethnic groups (e.g., White) are more associated with Canadian identity than others (e.g., First Nations). You were asked to categorize a series of faces representing different races and a series of national symbols representing both Canadian and foreign symbols. It is theorized that your response will be faster when the categories sharing the same keystroke are already highly associated with one another (for example, White + Canadian), rather than if they are not highly associated with one another (for example, White + foreign). We predict that the White faces will be more highly associated with Canadian symbols than First Nations faces or Asian faces, based on research findings in the United States showing that White faces were implicitly associated with American symbols while Black faces and Asian faces were not (Devos & Banaji, 2005). Although a similar study conducted in New Zealand showed that the indigenous Māori people to be implicitly associated with NZ identity (Sibley & Liu, 2007), we hypothesize that this will not be true in Canada, as Aboriginal peoples do not hold the same status here.

We also assessed your endorsement of Canadian diversity policies (e.g., multiculturalism) to determine whether your answers to these questions relate to your implicit associations between ethnicity and nationhood.

It is important to know that your responses are confidential and that these data will be analyzed at the group level and not on individual responses. We could not tell you the full details of this study prior to your participation because it might have biased your responses. Similarly, in order to reduce the possibility that other participants will be biased by their preconceptions about this study, we would greatly appreciate it if you would not discuss the details of this study with your fellow students. If you have any questions, please contact Adrienne Girling (email: agirling@uwo.ca; office: 6303 SSC) or Dr. Victoria Esses (phone: 661-2111 ext. 84650; email: vesses@uwo.ca; office: 6322 SSC).

If you have any questions about the conduct of this study or your rights as a research participant, you may contact the Director at the Office of Research Ethics, The University of Western Ontario, by phone at 519-661-3036 or email at ethics@uwo.ca.

Suggested readings:

Greenwald, A. G., McGhee, D. E, & Schwartz, J. L. K. (1998). Measuring individual differences in implicit cognition: The Implicit Association Task. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 74(6),* 1464-1480.

Devos, T. & Banaji, M. R. (2005). American = White? *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 88(3),* 447-466.

Sibley, C. G. & Liu, J. H. (2007). New Zealand = bicultural? Implicit and explicit associations between ethnicity and nationhood in the New Zealand context. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 37,* 1222-1243.