

CONTENTS

<i>List of figures</i>	xiii
<i>Preface to the paperback edition</i>	xv
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	xxi
1 Introduction: unsettling differences: origins, methods, frameworks	1
<i>Theory/identity: the margins and the metropolises</i>	8
<i>Necessary 'others': the contradictory inclusions of settler national identity</i>	13
<i>Nationalism as a Western project</i>	16
<i>'Ordinary people' and 'Canadian-Canadians'</i>	19
2 Settling differences: managing and representing people and land in the Canadian national project	23
<i>Allies and others in the colonial encounter</i>	25
<i>Race and settlement</i>	28
<i>Emerging national identity</i>	29
<i>Icy white nationalism</i>	30
<i>Nation-building, immigration and national identity</i>	32
<i>Settling the West: gentle Mounties and picturesque 'Indians'</i>	34
<i>Assimilation and appropriation</i>	36
<i>Northern wilderness and settler national identity</i>	40
3 Managing the house of difference: official multiculturalism	50
<i>Culture, 'race' and nation-building during the war</i>	50
<i>Post-war transformations</i>	52
<i>Prosperity and state intervention</i>	53
<i>Symbols and survival: the flag debate</i>	55
<i>Celebrating the 'new Canada'</i>	58
<i>Pedagogies of patriotism</i>	59

<i>Making the 'Indians' ethnic</i>	60
<i>Creating official 'multiculturalism'</i>	63
<i>Limiting diversity</i>	65
<i>Rationalising multiculturalism: changes in policy</i>	67
4 Becoming indigenous: cultural difference, land and narratives of nationhood	71
<i>Narrating the nation: official pedagogies of patriotism</i>	73
<i>The land as unifier of diversity</i>	74
<i>The Mountie's new clothes: reshaping earlier myths</i>	76
<i>Environmentalism and progress</i>	79
<i>Helpmates in progress, guardians of the land</i>	79
<i>Hybridity and Aboriginal self-representation</i>	83
<i>Cultures and projects: a summary</i>	88
5 Localising strategies: celebrating Canada	91
<i>White locality and multicultural nationhood</i>	91
<i>Re-enacting the past: erasure and appropriation of Aboriginal people</i>	94
<i>'What Canada Means to Me': the flavours and limits of multiculturalism</i>	98
<i>Shifting ground: tolerance turns to 'rubble'</i>	101
6 Crisis in the house: the constitution, celebrations and 'populism'	107
<i>Constitutions and celebrations</i>	108
<i>Constitutional context and background</i>	110
<i>Designing populist nationalism</i>	114
<i>'Diagnostics of power': non-political patriotism and civil society</i>	117
<i>Celebratory 'taboos' and naturalising imagery</i>	118
<i>Which 'people'?</i>	121
<i>Back to the constitution</i>	122
<i>'The people' at the Wallaceford Pumpkinfestival</i>	131
<i>Populism and localism</i>	134
<i>Legitimacy and 'common sense'</i>	139
7 The 'bottom line': 'Canada first' and the limits of liberalism	141
<i>The logic of 'Canada first'</i>	142
<i>Demonising and admiring the USA</i>	145
<i>'Canada first': many cultures, one set of rules</i>	147

CONTENTS

Core culture versus 'other' cultures: managing, limiting, and tolerating diversity 150

Core culture and Western universal principles 156

Liberal tolerance and power 161

Western projects and cultural hybridity: concluding thoughts 163

Notes 168

Bibliography 176

Index 191

INDEX

- Aboriginal people (Native people, Indigenous people, 'Indians') 2; 6, 8, 21, 23, 24, 32; artifacts and romanticising of 36-7; assimilation and appropriation 38; attempt to make 'ethnic' 60-3; constitutions and celebrations 108, 112; cultural difference, land and nationhood 72, 73, 76-7, 78; cultures and projects 89, 90; environmentalism and progress 79; erasure and appropriation 44, 94-8; guardians of the land 80, 81; identity formation 25; land rights 64; land as unifier of diversity 75, 76; nationalism 19; picturesque 'Indians' 34-6; representation 27; Royal Proclamation 27; self-representation and hybridity 83-8; wilderness and settler identity 14, 15, 49
- Abu-Lughod, L. 6, 18, 118
- advertising 123, 128
- Africa 28
- Allor, M. 9, 12, 13, 14
- 'allowable' differences 104
- amalgamation of culture 151, 152
- American cultural imperialism 46
- American Revolution 27, 31
- anarchism 157
- Anderson, B. 2, 32, 118-19, 137
- Ang, I. 4, 11
- Angel, S. 67, 70
- anthropology 3, 4, 6, 7, 8
- anti-Semitism 51
- Appadurai, A. 6, 72
- appropriation 36-9, 94-8, 152
- Armstrong, J. 1
- art 40-9
- Asad, T. 4, 11, 16, 17, 18, 88, 151, 152, 154, 160, 162, 164, 165
- Asia-Pacific Foundation 68
- Assembly of First Nations 62
- assimilation 36-9, 152, 153
- Atwood, M. 40, 43-4, 45, 46-7, 48-9
- Australia 8, 20, 24, 33, 72, 141, 142
- Aykroyd, P.H. 58, 60, 62
- Bagley, C. 64
- Balfour Bowen, L. 86-7
- Balkanisation 159
- Bannerji, H. 14, 15
- Banton, M. 26, 28, 30
- Barker, M. 8
- Bashevkin, S.B. 110, 111
- Bauman, Z. 167
- Beaudoin, G. 24
- Beaudoin-Dobbie Commission (Special Joint Committee on Renewed Canada) 113-14
- Beaver Swamp, Algoma* 42
- Belgians 132
- Bennett, T. 9, 10, 13
- Berger, C. 29, 30, 31-2, 40, 44, 52
- Berkhofer, R.F. 26, 29
- Berland, J. 8, 9, 10, 40
- Bhabha, H.K. 4, 5, 17, 72, 73, 83, 85, 150, 163-4, 165
- biculturalism 64
- Biculturalism Commission 63, 64
- bilingualism 8, 63, 64, 66, 160
- Bill C-93 (1988) 67
- Bissoondath, N. 141
- Blundell, V. 9
- Boddy, T. 73
- Bordo, J. 44, 77

- Bothwell, R. 24
 Bouchard, Mr. 15
 Branswell, B. 65
 Breckenridge, C.A. 36, 59
 Breton, R. 52, 64, 65
 Britain 8, 12, 30, 41, 56, 72, 140, 141, 152
 Britain, differentiation from 35, 48, 49, 70
 British-Canadians 14, 64; 'Canada first' 141, 150; Canada First Movement 29-32; flag debate 55-8; and the 'norm' 66-7; populism 131; rationalising multiculturalism 70; *see also* core culture
 British colonialism 46
 British colonisers 25, 75
 British cultural hegemony 19
 British immigrants 32, 33
 British imperialism 17
 British national identity 89
 Brock, General 95
 Brodie, J. 20, 21
 Brooke, R. 48
 Bumsted, J.M. 27, 28, 29, 33, 34, 54-5, 57-8, 63, 110
 Burke, E. 46, 47

 Cairns, H.A.C. 26, 28, 110
 Calgary pact 2
 Cameron, D. 110, 112
 Canada 125 Celebrations 7, 108, 109, 122, 147; celebratory taboos and naturalising imagery 119, 120, 121; Constitution 114, 123, 131; core culture versus 'other' cultures 152; legitimacy and 'common sense' 139; localism 135, 137, 138; multiculturalism, flavours and limits of 101; 'ordinary people' and Canadian-Canadians 21; patriotism 74; populism 132, 133, 134, 135, 137, 138; populist nationalism 114, 115, 116, 117; white locality and multicultural nationhood 91-4
 Canada Clause 114
 'Canada first' and liberalism, limits of 141-67; core culture versus 'other' cultures: diversity 150-6; core culture and Western universal principles 156-61; liberal tolerance and power 161-2; logic of 'Canada first' 142-5; many cultures, one set of rules 147-50; 'ordinary people' and Canadian-Canadians 19; United States, demonising and admiration of 145-7; Western projects and cultural hybridity 163-7
 Canada First Movement 29-32; and Canadian myths 102; centennial celebrations 58; emerging national identity 29; and racial discourse 52; search for identity 89; settler national identity 14; wilderness and settler identity 40, 41, 42, 45, 46
 Canadian-Canadians 3, 19-22, 89, 132, 142, 154, 156, 157; tolerance and cultural mosaic 104, 105, 106
 Canadian Heritage Arts Society 74
 Canadian Human Rights Act 69
 Canadian Multiculturalism Act 1988 67, 68
 Canadian Museum of Civilisation 72, 73-4, 75, 77, 78, 79, 82, 87, 89
 Canadian Pacific Railway 36
 capitalism, global 68, 153
 Carby, H. 3
 Cardinal, D. 73, 75-6, 79-80
 celebrations 58-9, 108-10; *see also* Columbus Quincentennial celebrations
 celebratory taboos and naturalising imagery 118-21
 census group 65
 centennial 147
 Centennial Commission 60, 61, 62
 Chabram, A. 24
 Chakrabarty, D. 4
 Champlain, S. 38-9
 Charlevoix, P.-F.-X. de 26
 Charlottetown Accord 114, 122, 123, 127-8, 131, 134, 135, 139, 148-9; *see also* referendums
 Charter of Rights and Freedoms 1982 67, 110, 122, 128
 Chatterjee, P. 4, 107, 118, 140
 citizenship 92, 140, 154, 157
 Citizenship Bill 1946 52
 civic nationalism 154, 155, 156, 157, 159, 161
 civil rights 154, 157; movement 141
 civil society 117-18, 134, 135, 137, 140
 class 12
 Clifford, J. 72, 90
 climate 30-1, 33, 40, 51-2
 Coates, C.M. 43

- colonial encounter 25-8
- colonialism 4, 8, 10, 14, 46, 49; Western 156
- Columbus Committee 109
- Columbus counter-celebrations 19
- Columbus Quincentennial celebrations 6, 83, 108
- 'common sense' 139-40
- Communications Committee of the Cabinet 122
- Confederation of Canada 1867 28, 29, 33, 34, 55, 63, 102
- Conservatives 108, 110, 111, 121; Charlottetown Accord 128; legitimacy and 'common sense' 139, 140; official multiculturalism 53; populist nationalism 114; *see also* Progressive Conservative Party
- Constitution of Canada 7, 65, 103, 108-14, 117-18, 122-31, 139-40
- continentalism 29
- Cook, R. 27
- coordination of culture 151, 152
- core culture 2, 150-61
- corporate nationalism 123, 124, 125, 126
- corporate sponsorship 114-15
- Corrigan, P. 4
- Cosmo-multiculturalism 142
- Courmier, A.J. 60, 62
- cultural genocide 2, 14
- cultural groups 7
- cultural mosaic 50, 65, 101-6
- cultural property 77
- cultural studies 8, 9
- culture 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 12; 'Canada first' 148; conceptualisation 152; cultural difference, land and nationhood 73; during World War II 50-2; legitimacy and 'common sense' 140
- Curtin, P.D. 26
- Dagleish, R. 109-10, 114, 115, 117
- Darwinism 46
- Delacourt, S. 127, 128, 131, 139
- Department of Industry 123
- Department of Multiculturalism and Citizenship 67
- Department of the Secretary of State 122
- Department of Tourism 123
- Diefenbaker, Prime Minister 58
- difference 2, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 94, 154; 'Canada first' 148; core culture versus 'other' cultures 154, 156; nationalism 17-18; 'ordinary people' and Canadian-Canadians 22; political 134; rationalising multiculturalism 70; Western projects and cultural hybridity 163; *see also* difference, land and nationhood; settling differences; unsettling differences
- difference, land and nationhood 71-90; cultures and projects 88-90; environmentalism and progress 79; hybridity and Aboriginal self-representation 83-8; land, guardians of 79-83; land as unifier of diversity 74-6; patriotism 73-4; Royal Canadian Mounted Police: reshaping earlier myths 76-8
- Dippie, B.W. 29
- Dissanayake, W. 72
- diversity 5; core culture versus 'other' cultures 152, 153, 154; land 74-6; limiting 65-7, 150-6; managing and tolerating 150-6; multiculturalism, flavours and limits of 101; Western projects and cultural hybridity 166; white locality and multicultural nationhood 92
- Dobbie, D. 24
- dominance 5, 150, 156, 163; *see also* power
- Dominion of Canada (formation 1867) 29, 72
- Durham, J. 80
- Dyer, R. 3, 21, 22, 157
- Economic Council 68
- efficiency 160
- environmentalism and progress 79
- Equal Rights Amendment 123
- equality 142, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 166
- erasure of difference 3, 94-8, 150, 152, 162, 163, 167
- ethnic/ethnicity 134; groups 7; minorities 6; nationalism 154, 155, 156, 159, 161; strength 103; *see also* Aboriginal people
- Europe 9, 11, 12, 27, 117
- European immigrants 32, 80
- extermination 14

- fascism 157
- Feaver, G. 111, 113
- Finley, J.L. 25, 35
- First Nations 14, 15
- flag debate 55–8
- flexibility 151, 161, 166
- Foucault, M. 4, 18, 118, 134
- founding nations *see* British colonialism; French colonisers
- Fowler Commission 54
- Fox, R. 6
- fragmentation 5, 13, 104
- Francis, D. 1, 29, 34, 35, 36, 37, 66
- Frankenberg, R. 3, 21, 93
- Fraser, A.B. 56, 58
- Fraser, B. 55, 57
- Fregoso, R.L. 24
- French-British conflict 31, 110
- French-British dualism 63
- French-Canadians 14, 21, 24, 27, 28;
 - Constitution 123; erasure and appropriation 95; flag debate 56, 57; limiting diversity 66, 67; populism 131; prosperity and state intervention 55; rationalising multiculturalism 70; white nationalism 31, 32; wilderness and settler identity 49
- French colonisers 15, 25, 64, 75
- Frye, N. 45, 46, 47–8, 49
- gays and lesbians 122, 131, 134, 140
- Geddes, J. 65
- Gellner, E. 4, 10–11, 32, 152
- gemeinschaft* 119, 132, 134, 137, 138
- gendering 10, 12, 41, 134, 136, 140
- Gibbon, J.M. 51
- Gilroy, P. 8, 12, 16, 46, 72, 150, 164
- global capitalism 68, 153
- globalisation 7, 72, 142, 163, 165, 166, 167
- Goldberg, D.T. 16, 26, 157–8, 162, 164
- Gollner, A. 111
- Gordon, C. 118
- government populism 128, 130
- governmentality 118
- Greenfeld, L. 4, 107
- Greenhill, P. 157
- Grey Owl (A. Belaney) 36
- Group of Seven 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 48, 145
- Gupta, A. 6, 72
- Gwyn, R. 128, 141
- Hage, G. 8, 16, 24, 67, 142
- Haliburton, R.G. 30
- Hall, C. 157
- Hall, S. 2, 4, 11, 24, 26, 37, 45, 71, 72, 77, 118, 151, 157, 163–4, 165, 166
- Handler, R. 10, 11, 19, 24, 41, 57, 66, 88, 94, 117
- Harcourt, P. 45
- Harney, R.F. 33, 52–3, 63, 65
- Harper, E. 111–12
- Harris, C. 45
- Harris, L. 40, 42
- Harris, M. 139
- Harvey, P. 109
- Haslett Cuff, J. 131
- Hawkin Report 68
- Hawkins, F. 33, 34
- Haydon, A.L. 34
- Haynes, A.R. 123
- hegemony 19, 89, 166
- Held, D. 117
- heritage 77–8
- heterogeneity 5, 31, 32, 83, 93, 163
- hierarchy of culture 142, 151, 153, 162
- Hinsley, C. 36, 59
- Hobsbawm, E. 2, 4, 19
- homogeneity 3, 8, 12, 82; core culture versus ‘other’ cultures 150, 151, 153, 154, 156; cultural difference, land and nationhood 72, 73; cultures and projects 88; liberal tolerance and power 162; national cultural 12; oppressive 5, 13; repressive 167; Western projects and cultural hybridity 163, 164, 165, 166; white nationalism 31, 32
- House of Commons and Senate 123
- Hull, General 95
- Hutcheon, L. 64
- Hyatt, S.B. 140
- hybridity 5, 13, 72, 73, 82, 83–8, 163–7
- identity 3, 5, 6, 8, 13; cultural difference, land and nationhood 72; demonising and admiring United States 145; formation 25; fragmented 104; Western projects and cultural hybridity 164; *see also* identity crisis
- identity crisis 7, 8, 19, 107, 108, 110, 142; ‘Canada first’ and liberalism 141; core culture versus ‘other’ cultures 153; demonising and admiring United

- States 146; liberal tolerance and power
162; tolerance and cultural mosaic 105
- Ignatieff, M. 154, 155
- immigration 32-4, 52-3, 65, 70, 89, 131
- Immigration Act 1910 33
- Immigration Act 1919 33
- Imperial Oil 125
- imperialism 17, 46
- India 107, 140
- Indian Act 1876 35-6
- individualism 157
- institutionalisation of difference 17-18,
62-3, 70, 88, 152, 162
- interest groups 65; *see also* special interest
groups
- intermarriage 28
- internal differentiation 152
- intolerance 7, 15, 142, 145, 162, 167
- Italian communities 92
- Janigan, M. 65
- Jeffrey, B. 112, 123, 127
- Johnson, C. 20, 142
- Kallen, E. 33
- Keynesianism 53
- King, M. 52
- land 64, 74-6, 79-83, 90; *see also under*
culture
- Land, Spirit, Power* 83-5, 86, 88
- Landry, Mr. 15
- Lattas, A. 8
- Laurendeau-Dunton Commission (B and
B Commission) 54
- Lavenda, R.H. 93
- Lawrence, R. 61
- legal rights 154, 157
- legitimacy 139-40
- Levesque, R. 110
- Lewycky, L. 64, 68
- liberal pluralism 5
- liberal tolerance 5, 161-2
- liberalism 5, 7, 157, 158; *see also* 'Canada
first' and liberalism, limits of
- Liberals 111, 139
- Little, K. 77
- local/locality 91-106; Aboriginal people,
erasure and appropriation of 94-8;
multiculturalism, flavours and limits of
98-101; tolerance and cultural mosaic
101-6; white locality and multicultural
nationhood 91-4
- localism 134-8
- Locke, J. 117-18
- Luna, J. 87
- McBride, S. 111
- McClintock, A. 8, 28, 41, 59
- MacDonald, G.F. 73, 74-5, 77, 79, 82
- MacDonald, J.A. 33
- Machiavelli, N. 127
- McKenzie, R.T. 37
- Mackey, E. 7, 108, 114, 123
- MacLaren, A.S. 43
- McNaught, K. 27, 95, 110
- Macpherson, C.B. 11
- McQuaig, L. 113
- management of culture 152, 162
- Mani, L. 8
- Manning, P. 108
- Marcus, G. 6
- Marcus, J. 6, 73, 80
- marginalisation 12
- Martin, G. 110
- Marxism 157
- Massey Commission 54
- Massey, D. 72
- Massey, V. 51-2
- Matheson, J.R. 56
- Meech Lake Accord 109-12
- Mendus, S. 16, 162
- Merchant, C. 79
- Milne, D. 110, 112
- Minh-ha, T.T. 84
- Ministry of Multiculturalism and
Citizenship 64, 122-3
- Mitchell, C. 24
- Mitchell, W.J.T. 44
- mobility 167
- modernity 3, 4, 13, 156, 158
- Mohanty, C.T. 22
- monogenetic interpretations 29
- Montesquieu 30
- Moodley, K. 2, 64, 66
- Morton 45
- Mullard, C. 66, 150
- Mulroney, B. 110, 111, 112, 113, 128,
139
- multiculturalism 2, 3, 5, 7, 8, 24, 50-70,
108, 122; 'Canada first' 141, 144, 147,
149, 150; core culture versus 'other'
cultures 151, 153; core culture and

- Western universal principles 158;
cultural difference, land and
nationhood 72; culture, 'race' and
nation-building during World War II
50-2; cultures and projects 89;
diversity, limiting 65-7; ethnic
'Indians' 60-3; flag debate 55-8;
flavours and limits 98-101; liberal
tolerance and power 162; liberalism
141; limiting diversity 65, 66; nation-
building and immigration 34;
nationalism 19; 'new Canada',
celebration of 58-9; official 63-5;
'ordinary people' and Canadian-
Canadians 20; patriotism 59-60;
populism and localism 138; post-war
transformations 52-3; prosperity and
state intervention 53-5; rationalisation:
policy changes 67-70; settler national
identity 14, 15; tolerance and cultural
mosaic 103, 104; Western projects and
cultural hybridity 163, 166; wilderness
and settler identity 49
- Multiculturalism and Citizenship Canada
67
- Multiculturalism Directorate 64
- NAC (National Action Committee on the
Status of Women) 128, 174
- nation 2, 4, 6, 7, 8, 72, 117
- nation-building 3, 5, 11, 12, 23, 25, 27,
32-4; 'Canada first' 142, 148, 150;
Constitution 124; core culture versus
'other' cultures 151, 153, 154; core
culture and Western universal principles
160, 161; cultures and projects 89, 90;
demonising and admiring United States
145; during World War II 50-2;
erasure and appropriation 98; guardians
of the land 83; hybridity and self-
representation 88; liberal tolerance and
power 162; liberalism 142; limiting
diversity 66; nationalism 17, 18;
prosperity and state intervention 55;
rationalising multiculturalism 67, 68,
70; settler national identity 13;
tolerance and cultural mosaic 104;
Western projects and cultural hybridity
163, 166, 167; white locality and
multicultural nationhood 94;
wilderness and settler identity 49
- nation-state 4, 6, 11, 13; 'Canada first'
150; core culture versus 'other'
cultures 152; cultural difference, land
and nationhood 71, 73; cultures and
projects 89; nation-building and
immigration 32; patriotism and civil
society 117; and populism 107
- National Gallery of Canada 72, 83, 85, 87
- National Identity and Special Events Task
Force 109-10, 114
- national unity 104
- nationalism 3, 4, 5, 8, 9, 10-11, 12;
'Canada first' and liberalism 142; core
culture versus 'other' cultures 154;
corporate 123, 124, 125, 126;
demonising and admiring United States
146; ethnic 154, 155, 156, 159, 161;
populism and localism 137; populist
114-17; violent 156; as Western
project 16-19; white 157
- nationhood 8, 118; *see also under* culture
- naturalising imagery 118-21
- nature 72, 80-1, 90; *see also* wilderness
- Nemiroff, D. 83-6
- 'new Canada', celebration of 58-9
- new racism 8
- New Zealand 8
- '905 revolution' 139
- Official Languages Act 68-70
- 'Oka Crisis' 110, 112
- O'Leary Commission 54
- 'one set of rules' 145
- Order-In-Council 55
- 'ordinary people' 19-22
- Osborne, B. 40, 42, 44
- 'other' cultures 145, 150-6
- otherness 22
- Paine, T. 118
- Palmer, H. 33, 50
- Parizeau, J. 14-15
- Parkin 30, 31
- Parliament Buildings 37, 77-8
- patriotism 8, 59-60, 73-4, 101, 117-18,
145, 146
- Pearson, L.B. 55, 56, 57, 63
- 'piggybacking' 115
- plural cultures 150
- pluralism 2, 3, 5, 6, 13, 14, 24, 81; core
culture versus 'other' cultures 151,
153; core culture and Western universal

- principles 159; cultural difference, land and nationhood 71, 72, 73; cultures and projects 89; demonising and admiring United States 146, 147; liberal 5; and multiculturalism 100; nation-building and immigration 34; tolerance and cultural mosaic 102, 103; white locality and multicultural nationhood 94
- policy changes 67-70
- policy-making 133
- political difference 134
- political rights and duties 154, 157
- polygenetic interpretations 29
- populism 121-2, 128, 130, 131-8, 153, 156
- populist nationalism 114-17
- Portuguese communities 92
- post-colonial theory 8
- post-war transformations 52-3
- power 4, 5-6, 7, 13, 117-18, 161-2; 'Canada first' and liberalism 142; core culture versus 'other' cultures 150, 151; nationalism 17, 18; Western projects and cultural hybridity 166, 167
- private/public partnership 114
- private sponsorship 114
- Probyn, E. 9-10
- progress: 'Canada first' and liberalism 142; core culture and Western universal principles 157, 158, 159, 160; and environmentalism 79; land 79-83; liberal tolerance and power 162; race and settlement 28-9; Western projects and cultural hybridity 166
- Progressive Conservative Party 7, 109, 110-11, 139, 153
- projects 88-90; Western 163-7
- prosperity 53-5
- Québec 9-10; Act of 1774 23, 27, 65; and bilingualism 161; constitutional context and background 111, 112; core culture and Western universal principles 160; flag debate 56; nationalism 19, 24, 55; official multiculturalism 64, 65; populism and localism 136; 'problem' 63; 'quiet revolution' 110; referendum 2, 14-15, 110, 114; separatism 50, 70; tolerance and cultural mosaic 103
- race 6, 7, 12, 28-9, 50-2, 102, 134, 140
- racism 8, 15, 51, 167
- Rae, R. 128
- rationality 67-70, 142, 162, 166, 167; core culture and Western universal principles 157, 158, 159, 160, 161
- Reagan, R. 110
- reason 158
- referendums 7, 19, 134, 138; *see also* Québec
- reform 158
- Reform Party 108, 139
- representation 6
- Richmond, M. 64
- Riel Rebellion 29
- rights and duties 154, 157
- Robins 163
- Roediger, D.R. 3
- Roman Catholic Church 27-8
- Rosaldo, R. 77
- Royal Canadian Mounted Police 1, 34-6; myth 1-2, 65, 76-8, 86, 102
- Royal Proclamation of 1763 23, 27, 64
- Rushdie, S. 164, 165
- Salee, D. 111
- Samuda, R. 53
- Satchewich, V. 64
- Schmidt, C. 51
- Scott, D. 13
- Second World War 50-2
- Seidel, G. 8
- self-determination 118
- self-representation, Aboriginal 83-8
- settlement 28-9
- settler national identity 40-9
- settling differences 23-49; assimilation and appropriation 36-9; colonial encounter 25-8; emerging national identity 29; nation-building, immigration and national identity 32-4; race and settlement 28-9; Royal Canadian Mounted Police and picturesque 'Indians' 34-6; white nationalism 30-2; wilderness and settler national identity 40-9
- Shore, C. 108
- Sifton, C. 33
- Simeon, R. 111
- Simpson, J. 141
- singularity 150, 163
- Sitting Eagle, Chief 1

- Smith, A.D. 72, 154-7
 Smith, B. 43
 Smith, M. 110, 112
 Smith, S. 32, 33, 52, 53
 Smolicz, J.J. 66
 socio-economic rights 154, 157
 space 72, 76; *see also* Third Space
 special interest groups 128, 131, 136,
 138-9, 145, 149, 153, 156
 Spicer Task Force (Citizen's Forum on
 Canada's Future) 9, 112-13, 128
Spirit of a Nation 74-7, 79, 80-2, 87, 89,
 92, 101, 163
 Spivak, G.C. 22, 84, 85
 Sprague, D.N. 25, 35
 state intervention 53-5
 Steinkopf, M. 60, 61
 Stocking, G.W. Jr 26, 28-9, 36, 59
 Stoler, A.L. 28
 Stratton, J. 4, 11
 Street, B. 29, 36, 59
 subjectivity 18, 118
 Sumatra 28
 Supreme Court of Canada 65
 Swainson, G. 122
- Taylor, C. 117-18
terra nullius (empty, vacant land) 76
 Thatcher, M. 110
 theory/identity: margins and metropolises
 8-13
 Third Space 73, 164
 Thomas, N. 8, 16, 18, 153
 Thomson, S. 85-6
 Thomson, T. 41
 Todd, L. 83, 88
 Todorov, T. 26
 tolerance 2, 3, 5, 25, 101-6, 108, 112;
 'Canada first' and liberalism 142;
 cultures and projects 89; demonising
 and admiring United States 145;
 heritage 25; hybridity and self-
 representation 87, 88; liberal 5, 161-2;
 limiting diversity 66; and
 multiculturalism 65, 70, 101; populism
 134; settler national identity 14; white
 nationalism 31
 'Tradition' 163
 'Translation' 163-4, 165, 166
 transnationalism 72, 73
 Tremblay Commission (Quebec Royal
 Commission of Inquiry) 54
- Trevor-Roper, H. 144
 Trigger, B.G. 25, 28
 Trudeau, P.E. 58, 64, 65-6, 110, 113,
 158
 Tylor 151
- Ukrainian-Canadians 64, 132
 Underwood, N. 127
 uniqueness 109
 United Nations 11; Charter 1944 53
 United States 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 25;
 comparison with 159; cultural
 difference, land and nationhood 72;
 demonising and admiration of 145-7;
 Equal Rights Amendment 123; flag
 debate 56, 57; gains made by ethnic
 minorities 141; immigration from 27;
 imperialism 49; melting pot philosophy
 24, 104-5; 'negro' problem 31; trade
 with 29; War of Independence 118; *see
 also* United States, differentiation from
 United States, differentiation from 23, 30,
 32, 35, 38, 54; erasure and
 appropriation 98; guardians of the land
 82; official multiculturalism 50, 51, 63;
 rationalising multiculturalism 70;
 tolerance and cultural mosaic 101, 106;
 wilderness and settler identity 42, 47,
 48
 unity 136
 unsettling differences 1-22; nationalism as
 Western project 16-19; necessary
 'others': contradictory inclusions of
 settler national identity 13-16;
 'ordinary people' and Canadian-
 Canadians 19-22; theory/identity:
 margins and metropolises 8-13
- van Kirk, S. 28
 vernacular culture 155
 victimisation 12
 Vietnamese communities 92
 violent nationalism 156
 Vipond, R.C. 110
- Walcott, R. 80
 Walkom, T. 141
 Wallerstein, E. 11
 War of 1812 25, 28, 31, 95
 Webber, J. 110, 112, 127
 West, C. 84

- West Wind, The* 41
- Western colonialism 156
- Western projects 163–7
- Western universal principles 156–61
- Whitaker, R. 33, 53
- white ‘backlash’ 3, 5, 21, 141, 142
- white ethnicity 157
- white nationalism 30–2
- white supremacy 141
- Whitelaw, A. 71, 83
- ‘whiteness’ 3, 8, 21, 22, 93, 94, 142
- wilderness 40–9, 72
- Williams, R. 151, 152
- Wilson, R. 72
- Winant, H. 141
- Winsor, H. 121, 122–3
- Wordsworth, W. 47
- Wright, S. 6, 108