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Master's Thesis
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April 12th, 2018

National Identity in Multilingual Countries: Narratives of Canadianness



Abstract

Nation membership is the most referred to form of social grouping. Nationalism and primary allegiance to one's national group has been and remains seen as highly influential in social sciences, politics and overall mainstream discourse. Yet, nationalist thought and sense of belonging to a greater imagined community such as a nation requires an idea of cultural sameness. In a country such as Canada, with its large and diverse–multicultural and multilingual–population, what form (if any) does this national identity take? The main question this exploratory study aims to answer is how do young Canadians from different linguistic backgrounds negotiate their Canadian identity? This study uses mixed qualitative methods to explore the complex narratives of young Canadians in Quebec and Ontario; semi-structured interviews supplemented by online surveys. Collected narratives illustrate the complex and situated nature of identity work, offering diverse, fluid and at times contradictory accounts of Canadianness. Quebecois participants showcased highly contrasted identity stances ranging from complete rejection of Canadianness to pride and strong embracing of Canadian values. On the Ontarian side, while most respondents share this feeling of Canadian pride, a perceptible number of young Canadians shared a sense of disconnect with the imagined Canadian community and voiced cynicism over Canadian values and beliefs. Ultimately, the main finding of this study is a general difficulty in expressing Canadian sameness and unity. What these results imply is that in the Canadian context, the relevance of nationalism and thus national group as a primary social influence is debated and debatable. This study opens doors to further research in the field of national identity in multicultural countries.

Keywords: Canada, Canadianness, national identity, nationalism, multiculturalism, multilingualism

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1. Introduction

Identity is a complex concept that is evolving, created and negotiated differently in different situations (Holliday, Hyde and Kullman, 2017). This study looks into the formulation of national identity in a multilingual context; Canada. In a social group that extends over thousands of kilometers and speaks different languages, how is Canadians' identity as member of this imagined national group voiced, what resources are drawn in their identity work, what similarities and differences are underlined or erased? This exploratory study examines the identity-defining narratives of diverse Canadian nationals from two different linguistic backgrounds (French and English) in the provinces of Quebec and Ontario. Data in this study is gathered through a mixed methodology; initially and primarily a set of 5 semi-structured interviews later completed by an online survey. This study is qualitative in nature, exploring individuals' experiences of Canadianness and potential patterns in diverse Canadians' narratives.

1.1 Outline

Processes of identity formation and formulation are not only highly complex, but they are also ever-changing. As a result, mapping out dynamic, interlaced and sometimes self-contradictory narratives in a structured and fixed document is a challenging enterprise. Additionally, undertaking an analysis of all potentially interesting outputs is hardly attainable under time and resource constraints, requiring the researcher to select and focus on the most meaningful findings. The structural approach chosen in this study is the result of a judgment of logic. This design is neither bulletproof nor is it the only way this dataset could be analyzed. On the contrary; this approach highlights various opportunities for further research. The outline of this study is as follows.

The present introductory section (1) maps out the study topic including the Canadian context this study focuses on. The following theoretical framework section (2) defines key concepts used throughout. The methodology section (3) details the questions this study seeks to answer, chosen method of data gathering and analysis, the participants and sampling method as well as limitations. Results (4) are presented and discussed following the overarching themes of belonging and disconnect (4.1), Sameness (4.2), Otherness (4.3) and finally identity negotiation (4.4). Following a conclusion and exploration of future research opportunities (5), the last two sections include used literature references (6) followed by all appendices (7).

1.2 Background

Prior to introducing and mapping out the complexity of identity work and its associated concepts, it is important to map the context in which this study takes place; Canada. This background section outlines the historical, political and linguistic environment relevant to this research project.

1.2.1 Settlement history of Canada

Indigenous Canadian peoples—First Nations, Inuits and Metis communities—lived on what is now known as Canadian territory long before European settlers washed ashore to claim the land. The first settlement attempt by Europeans was made around 1000 AD by Vikings, who soon abandoned the conquest. Following this short-lived attack, Natives were to wait centuries before another European encounter.

In 1496, John Cabot, sent by the King of England, discovered the east territory of Newfoundland. In the 1530s, setting out the long-standing rivalry between the French and the British in Canada and the current bilingualism of the state, French sailor Jacques Cartier claimed the Saint Lawrence valley for the French and named the territory *Nouvelle France*. The French colons of the Saint Lawrence river were the first permanent settlers of what was to become Canada. While the French and British colons went on to fight each other for the land, the greatest victims were the indigenous peoples. From European illnesses they were not resistant to, to forced exodus, to cultural genocide (Wolfe, 2006), these indigenous peoples were soon reduced to a minority on their own territory.

In 1763, after the Seven Years War, the Treaty of Paris conceded Nouvelle France to the Brits, after which France was left solely with the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon. Through the Quebec Act of 1774, the British Crown granted Quebec to the French, along with the freedom to apply their own civil laws in the province; a stepping stone in the development and anchoring of French culture and traditions in Quebec. Following the American War of Independence, Canada became separate from the United States, and the Confederated Dominion of Canada was officially created in 1867.

As of today, Canada counts over 36.7 million inhabitants (Statistics Canada, 2018) across 10 provinces (Alberta, British Columbia, Manitoba, New Brunswick, Newfoundland and Labrador, Nova Scotia, Ontario, Prince Edward Island, Quebec, and Saskatchewan) and three territories (Northwest Territories, Nunavut, and Yukon). All provinces recognize English as their official language, or as one of their official languages, with the exception of Quebec.

La charte de la langue française (“The Charter of the French Language”), also known as *loi 101* (“Bill 101”), was signed in 1977 and gives French—the language spoken by a majority of Quebecois—the status of official (and sole official) language of the province of Quebec.

1.2.2 Top-down multiculturalism and multilingualism

As one of the world’s main immigrant-welcoming societies, Canada has an official policy of multilingualism, following the ideology that “the best way of catering for the demographic diversity is to view it as a ‘mosaic’ rather than a ‘melting pot’” (Melchers & Shaw, 2011, p.91). Practically, this means that people from diverse origins and cultures have the freedom to preserve and engage with their cultural heritage while participating in Canadian society as equal members.

Stratton and Ang (1994), in their analysis of multiculturalism and national identity, distinguish bottom-up and top-down multilingualism. The United States, Canada’s southern neighbor, is given as an example in which politicization of multicultural discourse takes place from the bottom up, with minority groups feeling excluded from mainstream American culture putting the multiculturalist idea on the political agenda. The authors contrast the American case with that of Australia. Not unlike Canada, Australia’s formation of multicultural discourse follows a top-down trajectory in that it is “the centerpiece of official governmental policy”. Although literature does not make mention of Canada, the definition of top to bottom multiculturalist thought and its resulting inclusion of ethnic minorities into national culture applies to the Canadian context.

Multiculturalism in Canada is mainly promoted along the English and French dichotomy that constitutes the Canadian linguistic landscape. While both languages maintain equal official status at a federal level, English is the first language of 56.9% of the population and French the mother tongue of around 21.3% of Canadians as of the 2011 national census (Statistics Canada, 2011). At a provincial level, Quebec is the only monolingual French province, New Brunswick is officially bilingual, and the remaining provinces are officially English-speaking (although all apply institutional bilingualism). The three Canadian territories recognize both English and French as well as the languages spoken by native communities as official languages. The Canadian government not only advocates for the learning and at least partial knowledge of both French and English throughout the territory, but also actively works on safeguarding the integrity of both languages.

1.2.3 Separatism in Canada

Separatism refers to advocating for the separation of a group from a larger political unit to which it belongs (The Canadian Encyclopedia, 2018). In the Canadian context, the term is mainly associated to movements active in the 1960s in Quebec—led most notably the political parties Parti Québécois and Bloc Québécois—although the first attempts of separatism date back to 1837 in Quebec and 1867 in Nova Scotia.

After the defeat of the 1837 Rebellion, separatism was not actively sought by French Canadian Nationalists for another century before it reemerged in the late 1950s with the rise of the citizen movement and then political party RIN (Rassemblement pour l'Indépendance Nationale). The movement was soon joined by other separatist groups (some infamously radical such as the Front de libération du Québec). A first referendum for the sovereignty of Quebec was rejected in 1980 by 59.56% of Quebecois. Separatism in Quebec has to wait 15 years to see a new surge, to, this time, be rejected by only 1% of the voters in the 1995 referendum. Although separatism has since been rather dormant as a political agenda, it is important to keep in mind that to this day, a number of Quebecois do not recognize the nation of Canada and refuse all sense of belonging to the State. As an attempt to give the people of Quebec a separate status as group, Prime Minister Stephen Harper declared Quebec its own nation within the United Canada in 2006.

2. Theoretical framework

This section presents the concepts and theories relevant to this field and used throughout the present study. The concepts that constitute the framework for this research project are identity, Sameness and Otherness, Nationalism as well as imagined communities.

2.1 Identity, Sameness and Otherness

In this study, we are stepping away from previous, essentialist approaches to identity that saw identity as a rather static and solid concept and are looking at identification through a more recent, less essentialist lens. We are here approaching the concept of identity from the perspective of linguistic anthropology, more specifically how people use language to define and express their identity. Identity is performed, (re)created and (re)negotiated by individuals in social interactions, which, as opposed to the traditional essentialist notion, suggests that one's identity is situated and dynamic (Holliday, Hyde and Kullman, 2013). In this study, we are looking specifically at national identity and its discursive construction.

Identity, from the Latin *identitas*, stemming from *idem* ("same"), literally invokes sameness. It therefore seems reasonable to assume that identity is more prominent in contexts of great similarity amongst people. However, the observed reality diverges from this assumption and appears to be far more complex. Social grouping, according to Bucholtz and Hall (2005), is "a process not merely of discovering or acknowledging a similarity that precedes and establishes identity but, more fundamentally, of inventing similarity by downplaying difference" (p.371). There are evidently more differences between members than there are similarities in most given social groupings, but while not erased, these differences are minimized and devalued. The emphasis on collective sameness creates a feeling of group homogeneity and creates a seemingly unequivocal criterion for in-group belonging. As such, the notion of *Sameness* is central to the formation of group identity and more specifically of national identity, but this sameness is not necessarily either prominent nor obvious. This complex identity construction work makes it rather intricate for outsiders (and sometimes for insiders alike) to determine what the point of convergence of a group is, or if the observed set of individuals constitutes a group in the first place. As a result, Bucholtz and Hall (2005) point out the importance of paying close attention to speakers' own understanding of their identities, which is the approach we are following in this exploratory study. For many national groups, the emphasized similarity is the common national language or a common history. However, looking at the Canadian case raises the question of how people divided geographically and

linguistically (with linguistic and political tensions) formulate their belonging to the same national group.

In parallel, this definition of the formation of in-group through sameness instantly produces an exclusive out-group. In this social relation, the undermining dimension ‘us versus them’ is created by underscoring difference (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005). Once again, while there may be countless similarities, those become downplayed to focus on the divergent factor that categorizes one as an out-group member, an Other. *Otherness* is a dimension that is relevant to both the dominant and marked (minority) group and can be drawn from by both parties in the process of identity formulation. Imagined group identity often builds on a sense of antagonism by positioning one’s own group of ‘same’ individuals in opposition with a group of perceived ‘Others’. Many studies of language and identity such as Barth (1986) and Urciuoli (1995) report that social group identities emerge with greater intensity in heterogeneous environments than in contexts of felt homogeneity. In a country showcasing and promoting multiculturalism and multilingualism such as Canada (section 1.2.2), it is interesting to see what role, if any, heterogeneity plays in the construction of national identity.

2.2 Nationalism

National identity is one of the many forms of social grouping. Similar to the umbrella concept of identity and to a majority of complex concepts studied in social sciences, Nationalism and national identity are defined in a variety of ways. First and foremost, it is important to detach the term *Nationalism* used here from its more common use. Dictionary entries typically offer definitions along the lines of “a sense of national consciousness exalting one nation above all others and placing primary emphasis on promotion of its culture and interests as opposed to those of other nations or supranational groups” (Merriam Webster, 2018) or “a great or too great love of your own country” (Cambridge Dictionary, 2018); the desire for hegemony of one’s nation-state. However, the term nationalism here refers to a doctrine that does not (necessarily) carry the negative connotation that these definitions took on. To start with, nationalism derives from the idea of nation, which in itself is a human-made construct that ought to be defined. The most commonly cited definition is presented by Smith (1991), who describes a nation as a "named human population sharing an historic territory, common myths, and historical memories, a mass public culture, a common economy and common legal rights and duties for all members" (p.14).

The nationalist doctrine follows three premises. Firstly, the world is divided into nations, that are all unique and distinct from each other (culturally, historically and in its objectives). Secondly, each of us belongs to a nation, to which he or she is allegiant (the nation comes before all other group memberships). Finally, nations ought to be unified, independent and free to follow their own agenda to achieve their own goals (Smith, 1994). Ultimately, the nationalist doctrine understands the nation as the only source of social and political power. However, the doctrine clearly expresses that all nations enjoy the same rights, as opposed to the commonly accepted definition of nationalism as dominion of one's own nation-state over all else's. The overarching vision of nationalist doctrine is that the world is divided into nations and that these national groups exercise far more influence over individuals than any other social grouping. I argue that while this discourse is evolving, in part due to the rise of cosmopolitanism and internet culture, nationalist discourse remains prevalent.

2.3 Imagined communities

The concept of 'imagined community' crosses over the concepts of identity, or rather of self-identity, and the idea of nation. Theorized by Benedict Anderson in the 1980s, the concept of imagined communities was developed in an effort to analyze and understand nationalism, although the theory can readily be applied to most socially constructed groups. In his book *Imagined Communities* published in 1983, Anderson reflects on the origins and processes that led to the spread of nationalism in early modern Europe, drawing attention to the formation of personal national identity and sense of belonging.

Nations and their citizens form communities that Anderson coined 'imagined' in nature in that "the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion" (Anderson, 1983, p.15). To this effect, any socially constructed group that is large enough or spread out enough to make the knowledge of every existing member virtually impossible can be considered an imagined community, from religious groups and ethnic groups to large corporations. These different imagined communities vary in terms of the 'cultural artefacts' (narratives, myths, stories, symbols etc.) they reify. The acknowledgment of imagined communities and, as an extension, of the formation of imagined identities was of pivotal importance in the field as it provides "a crucial explanation for why the nation can demand such extraordinary sacrifices and commitments from its members" (Calhoun, 1993, in Philipps, 2002, p.600). An acute sense of belonging to a nation, an allegiance that overtakes all others,

has the power to prompt people to spend their lives serving the nation, and at its extreme, to die in the name of their nation—to die for a community largely made out of individuals they do not know.

According to Philipps (2002), much of the recent work on imagined communities has focused on tracing back the historical and social processes that produced and fed imagined communities, while little importance has been attached to the question of personal sense of belonging to said communities. This study feeds into this research gap by adopting a micro-level approach to imagined community membership.

3. Methodology

This section introduces the research questions and methods used to gather and analyze the necessary data. At the outset, attention is made to the researcher's position and potential leanings. The section subsequently describes the sample, the procedure adopted and discusses possible limitations of this study.

3.1 Research questions

The **main question** this study aims to answer is as follows:

How do young Canadians from different linguistic backgrounds negotiate their Canadian identity?

The three **sub-questions** of this paper are:

Which cultural resources and representations do young Canadians from different linguistic backgrounds draw from in their narrative?

What similarities are there between the identity narratives of young Canadians from different linguistic backgrounds?

What differences are there between the identity narratives of young Canadians from different linguistic backgrounds?

3.2 Research design

This study followed a mixed method approach, using namely semi-structured interviews as the main data collection method followed by a survey to evaluate the results' reach on a larger scope.

The aim of this exploratory study is to uncover the way Canadian people from diverse linguistic backgrounds create, define and negotiate their Canadianness, a process that, as mentioned in the theory section, takes place through discourse. Because of the complex and situated nature of identity, it cannot be measured quantitatively and requires a qualitative approach. Quoting Dörnyei (2007), "qualitative research is concerned with subjective opinions, experiences and feelings of individuals and thus the explicit goal of research was to explore the participants' views of the situation being studied" (p.38). This study primarily analyzed how various Canadians voice their Canadian identity by conducting semi-structured interviews. The gathered narratives were coded and contrasted in order to extract both differences and similarities.

Based on the conducted interviews and an initial analysis of results, a survey was designed and distributed to a wider sample of our studied group. In this second phase of analysis, the aim of the survey was not to uncover additional patterns but rather to assess whether the findings that stemmed out of our previously conducted interviews were reflected in the experiences of a broader population.

3.3 Researcher's background and bias

In the interest of transparency and (self) awareness, it is important for the researcher's background, preoccupations and expectations to be discussed early on. As an Intercultural Communication student, I have been to a certain extent conditioned to approach situations and interactions from a certain angle and by relying on a number of theories (introduced in previous sections). This specific academic background presumably stirs my line of questioning, my understanding and my analysis of outcomes in a direction and may cloud other relevant lines of thought.

Another critical influence in this study is my pre-existing experience in the Canadian context and with Canadian people. Having shortly lived in Canada prior to initiating this research project, I am bringing personal opinions and observations to the table.

Finally, my upbringing as a Swiss citizen, another multilingual country, not only fueled my interest for the topic but also certainly influences my expectations and later interpretation of outcomes. While these are important considerations to acknowledge, I stayed aware of my personal preoccupations and took measures to remain as objective as possible.

3.4 Participants

In order to gather data for the present study, it was necessary to select participants to collect answers from and, in order to make an adequate selection, to put in place criteria and a scope of enquiry. Here, the importance is not so much on choosing a sampling method, predominantly relevant to quantitative research (Dörnyei, 2007), but rather to select a number and profile of participants likely to have diversified and rich experiences while being representative of the investigated group. In this study, the aim is not for the sample to represent a wider Canadian population. Indeed, identity is a personal project that is complex, ever changing and negotiated differently in different situations. It is then impossible (and meaningless) to try and uncover a unique, solid 'Canadian identity'. Rather, the interest lays in analyzing diverse narratives and appreciating their complexity while bringing forward potential similar patterns and themes.

3.4.1 Interview participants

In order to balance out time and resource limitations and sufficient volume of data, this study focused on the narratives of 5 participants of Canadian nationality; 2 English speakers originating from Ontario, 2 French speakers from the province of Quebec as well as a bilingual participant from the bilingual city of Montreal, in Quebec. The participants were selected via purposive sampling (Dörnyei, 2007) among the existing social network or the researcher. Table 1 lists all interview participants.

Table 1: List of interview participants

Pseudonym	Place of origins	Mother tongue	Date of interview	Language of interview
Steve	Mississauga, Ontario	English	20.02.2018	English
Cara	Toronto, Ontario	English	01.03.2018	English
Marc	Montreal, Quebec	English/French	16.02.2018	English
Fred	Chicoutimi, Quebec	French	19.02.2018	French
Alice	Montreal, Quebec	French	27.02.2018	French

3.4.2 Survey participants

The target group for the survey was the same as for the interviews and by extension for the overall study—young Canadian adults from the provinces of Ontario and Quebec. Survey participants were recruited on social media groups bringing together users in or from Ontario and Quebec and were assured anonymity. Respondents that did not match the target audience based on either nationality, province or age were removed from the data prior to processing. In this case, the criteria for inclusion in the analyzed sample were defined as Canadian from either Ontario or Quebec between the age of 20 and 39. The final sample is constituted of the following demographics: 76 respondents out of which 30 originating from Quebec and 45 from Ontario (see table 2 for a breakdown of linguistic backgrounds) with an average age of 28 in both the Quebecois and Ontarian groups alike (see table 3). With regards to gender, our sample is notably greatly female with 51 women for 22 men and 3 preferring not to respond or identifying as queer-gendered.

Table 2: Linguistic background of survey sample

	Anglophone	Francophone	Bilingual	Total
Ontario	42	1	2	45
Quebec	7	21	2	30
Total	48	19	4	76

Table 3: Age of survey sample

	Mean	Median	Mode	Standard Dev.
Ontario	27.8	28	25	4.3
Quebec	28.4	27	25	6.4
Total	28	27.5	25	5.2

A first observation to be made with regards to this sample is its disparate number of Quebecois and Ontarian respondents. One explanation for the lower response rate in Quebec may be a difference in the number of channels available. As previously mentioned, respondents were contacted on social media via a number of existing groups. While groups facilitating exchanges and requests free of third party approval were numerous and easily accessible in Ontario or for English-speaking communities, such groups were difficult to find (if existent) and access and often included strict gatekeeping of posted content. This disparity in available channels may explain the difference in number of responses and may also account for the high number of Anglophones in the Quebecois group. In any event, a higher number of respondents from Ontario ought to be expected due to its larger population; 14,193,400 inhabitants in Ontario for 8,394,034 in Quebec (Statistics Canada, 2017).

A second observation related to the present sample is its overwhelmingly female constitution. While there is no explanation to offer for this imbalance, we need to recognize that males in this survey are underrepresented. However, this survey does not claim or aim to be representative of the general Canadian population, nor even of a Quebecois and Ontarian or Francophone and Anglophone population. This study is qualitative in nature and is interested in patterns and individual narratives.

3.5 Data gathering and processing

3.5.1 Interview procedure

The first step of the data gathering process was to elaborate a clear, concise but comprehensive interview guide to follow. The interview guide (attached in appendix 1) is made out of 6

sections targeting a specific sub-topic: demographic questions, “Canada”, personal identity, Canadianness, multilingualism and a wrap up section. This interview guide was subsequently translated to French.

The interview process was then tested by interviewing a French-speaking Swiss citizen (it was assumed that the questions would remain relevant and would allow the researcher to keep the full Canadian sample untouched). Interview questions were refined, added or removed on the basis of the test interview.

The data collection process officially started on February 16, 2018. Interviews were conducted digitally using video conference tools (Skype or Gotomeet). The interviews were recorded using the Quicktime player audio recording software, allowing the researcher to focus on the interview and later transcribe the interviews word for word. Participants were made aware of the general theme of the study prior to the interview—multilingualism and national identity—but were not given any further details regarding either the questions, points of focus or possible hypotheses. All respondents consented to being recorded and to their narratives being used in this study.

The data collected during the semi-structured interviews were then processed as follows. After the interviews were conducted, the recordings were replayed and transcribed. The transcriptions (appendix 3) are the result of a sociologic transcribing approach rather than being phonetic transcriptions, as accents and detailed linguistic patterns are not the interest of this study. Instead, the transcriptions account for the respondents’ answers as they were uttered, with the exception of a few modifications; a number of redundant words and idiomatic phrases that affected the readability of the transcribed talk were removed (such as ‘like’, ‘you know’ etc.) and names were changed to protect the anonymity of both respondents and the people they made references to. Instances of irrelevant talk were also omitted by the researcher. These few instances consist of discussions of personal matters or of topics unrelated to the study. Finally, punctuation was added intuitively to increase readability and intonation was only reported in the form of question marks following questions or, when relevant for the understanding of the exchange, was added between brackets (see conventions in table 4 section 3.5.3). Once transcribed, the interviews were coded with the aim to uncover patterns and variations. The analysis of the data looks both into the use of linguistic forms (‘we’, ‘they’, etc.) and the content of the collected information, following a more sociological approach of data analysis.

3.5.2 Survey procedure

To start with, survey questions were drafted on the basis of the data collected during the interviews conducted in the first stage of the study. The survey questions follow the same topics and structure as the interviews, although some questions were adapted to better fit survey best practices. The survey was originally created in English and reviewed, after which a French version of the survey was put together. A list of all survey questions in both English and French, along with their introductions and disclaimers is found in appendix 2. The full data retrieved through surveys is too extensive to be attached as appendix but is available upon request. When quoted in this study, survey-retrieved extracts obey the same conventions as all interview quotes (see table 4 below). In order to be identifiable while retaining anonymity, survey respondents were named as follows: number within the sample (1-76), province of origin (O=Ontario or Q=Quebec), gender (M=male, F=female or O=other) and linguistic background (A=anglophone, F=francophone or B=bilingual). To illustrate this naming convention, a survey-taker referenced as 37OFA would be the 37th respondent in the data sheet, Ontarian, Female and Anglophone.

3.5.3 Conventions and translations

To insure consistency and readability, this study follows uniform conventions throughout all transcripts, quotations and translations. The table below lists the used conventions:

Table 4: Transcribing conventions

Typography or symbols	Meaning
((Lorem ipsum))	Provides extralinguistic information, e.g. about bodily movements such as pauses, laughs, gestures or tone of voice
?Lorem ipsum?	Words or phrases transcribed without certainty
<i> Lorem ipsum </i>	Code switching
‘Lorem ipsum’	Reported speech
[Lorem ipsum]	Interviewer's own clarification, comment, or correction
(...)	Indicate that some material of the original transcript or example has been omitted

While written in English, this study was conducted bilingually (French and English). All quotes inserted in the study results are presented in their original language of utterance in

order to preserve the integrity of speakers' accounts. To assure full understanding for an English-speaking audience, French quotes were translated using meaning-for-meaning translation (relaying correct meaning primed over literal translation). All translations were carried out intuitively and appear underneath the original French in a size 10 font.

3.6 Limitations

There are a number of limitations associated with this thesis, some practical, some ethical and some personal. To start with, time and budget restrictions limited both the scope and the quality of the data gathering process. Indeed, the semi-structured interviews were conducted virtually (using online conference call tools such as Skype or Gotomeet) which tends to interfere with the data by modifying natural settings and by risking interrupting the narrative due to technical disruptions. While there were no interruptions during the interviews, the sound of one interview specifically (Steve's) was of lower quality and yielded inaudible utterances. These digital limitations had an impact on the resulting transcribed narrative, thus on the integrity of the data.

Secondly, the study creates a specific environment which takes respondents out of natural settings and thought process. Indeed, respondents were made aware of the topic of the study prior to being interviewed or to taking the survey, even if in as little detail as possible. In addition, in asking certain questions and formulating those questions or statements in specific ways, the researcher inevitably stirs the discussion in certain directions.

Another limitation that I, as a researcher, am aware of going into the research process is that of the problem of leaving aboriginal communities out of the scope of the study. Within both the anglophone and francophone population, there are a non-negligible number of First Nations, Inuits and Metis people, for whom questions of language and national identity are evidently significant. However, the research question in this context goes far beyond linguistic considerations. It was decided not to include these populations in the researched sample as it adds another level of complexity. This lack of aboriginal representation leaves room for further research.

Finally, it is important for a researcher to be aware of their own preoccupations and of the impact those may have on the research process. As discussed in section 3.3, I am aware that I, as researcher, carry my own cultural background, values, opinions and expectations going into this exploration of Canadian identity. I am also aware that my prior relationship with the respondents affected the outcome of the interviews, as would the dynamic between any other researcher and participant.

4. Results and discussion

This section presents and discusses the key results of the collected data. Findings that emerged from our interviewees' narratives form the basis for analysis and discussion, supplemented or possibly contrasted by additional survey-takers experiences when relevant. This section opens with a review of accounts of (lack of) belonging. Discursive strategies used in our respondents' identity narratives are then examined. These observations are grouped under the themes of sameness and nationalism, otherness and categorization, and finally identity negotiation.

4.1 Belonging

One of the central questions of this exploratory study seeks to examine the nature and strength of feeling of Canadianness of diverse Canadians. To refer back to the literature used as framework for this analysis, our interest is concentrated on feelings of belonging to the imagined community that is the nation of Canada. In their narratives, our interviewees voiced this feeling in manifold ways.

Interestingly, most of our respondents did not express a strong sense of national identity. Alice, female native French speaker, was the only interviewee to claim feeling strongly Canadian:

Alice: "Oui, moi je me sens très Canadienne. Et puis je suis contente de le dire aussi, j'aime ça de dire que je suis canadienne."

Yes, I personally feel very Canadian. And I'm also happy to say so, I like that saying that I'm Canadian.

Our male native French speaker, on the other hand, when asked whether he felt Canadian instantaneously answered "no", before explaining that his allegiance lies primarily with his province (Quebec) and only next in order with the nation (Canada). What this shows is a sense of belonging, although not readily to Canada as a whole but rather to his province. This respondent, Fred, also had the most difficulty putting 'Canadianness' or Canadian features into words. Showcasing a similar duality of alternating allegiance is our Quebec-born bilingual respondent Marc, for whom the tendency is not as much reversed as is it circumstantial:

Marc: "If I'm drunk and I'm getting into a debate as to why Quebec is the best province in the world, then yeah I'd be more Quebecois than Canadian. Because I'm defending my pride. But no I don't, (...) no I don't really have that too often."

More striking in this participant's narrative, however, is his almost non-partisan expression of Canadianness:

Marc: "Everyone has their nationalities, and like Toronto and Montreal are very multicultural places so it doesn't matter at the end of the day, what you associate yourself with. That's the way I see it. It's just another aspect of who I am, just like the color of my skin or the color of my hair. Like 'oh sure I'm Canadian' and whatever."

The Anglophones of our interviews sample (both our male and female interviewees) expressed similar feelings of disconnect with their Canadian identity, a disconnect that, contrary to our bilingual interviewee, they deplore:

Cara: "Yeah ((uncertain tone)) I feel pretty Canadian, but not the most Canadian (...) To be Canadian? I've been thinking about this question a lot. Cause I'm like 'yeah what is Canada?' Such a good question cause we need help. ((Long pause)) uhm Canadian for me. Oh it's so tricky. ((Pause)) I think it's honestly for me just living here. Like this land is Canada and there's a mess of things happening in it. But I live here, so I am Canadian."

Our male anglophone interviewee compellingly shared this questioning of identity, declaring:

Steve: "[what being Canadian means] is something that I've been trying to figure out for a long time. (...) So I don't know, I don't really have a strong sense of national identity, really".

Overall, the data collected showed a variety of levels of feelings of belonging, ranging from a strong sense of national or provincial identity to an expressed sense of disconnect with the imagined community of Canada. What emerges in our interviews is, with the exception of Alice who expresses strong feelings of Canadianness, a rather noticeable feeling of disconnect, a lack of perceived community.

This fluctuation of Canadian belonging and disconnect also surfaces within survey-results. Outliers but necessary to mention are two Quebecois participants entirely reject belonging to the imagined community that is Canada. Indeed, while a majority of the survey-

takers from Quebec expressed a feeling of belonging, two respondents stand out by their rejection. One male survey-taker associates remarkably negative words with Canada:

63QMF : “Mépris, Honte, Indifférence (...) Je ne me considère pas canadien. Je suis un indépendantiste québécois.”

Disdain, shame, indifference (...) I don't consider myself Canadian. I am a Quebecois independentist.

While this might be a more popular opinion in Quebec than our survey shows, it is interesting to note that these two respondents, who are most adamant in rejecting any belonging to Canada (they are the only two respondents scoring their feeling of Canadianness a 1 out of 5), are the two oldest French-speaking Quebecois of our sample. This may suggest that this rather separatist discourse is decreasingly popular with younger generations. We could hypothesize that the anglicization of younger populations, in part due to the rise of global media and internet communities plays an important role in the unification of the Canadians with different linguistic backgrounds. This possible generational change, also suggested by Marc and Alice, opens doors to further research. Another possible explanation for this overall high sense of belonging from Quebecois is that it is a byproduct of our sample being largely urban.

Overall, most interviewees and survey-takers acknowledge a level of belonging even if secondary. While, on the one hand, a majority of English-speaking respondents rate their feeling of ‘being Canadian’ as very strong and the word “home” is used many times throughout their answers, they do also have a tendency to express that there is no such thing as Canadianness, no imagined community beyond shared territory and passport (this is further discussed in upcoming sections). These continuous shifts in feeling of belonging and disconnect are present in most narratives and are underlying the complex processes of identity construction we are discussing in this study.

4.2 Sameness and Nationalism

Nationalism, not understood as patriotism but rather as a way of categorizing the world (see section 2.2) defines the imagined community of a nation as bound by the same culture, history and goals that members pledge allegiance to. This triad of nationalist ideology emerged in the discourse of a number of respondents in this study. This chapter explores Canadian culture and artefacts, history and unity of national vision in respondents’ narratives.

4.2.1 Cultural artefacts of Canadian narrative

To construct one's group identity narrative, common references to cultural products—also known as cultural artefacts—are used as building blocks. In the production of the Canadian 'lego house', what are commonly drawn from cultural resources? On the basis of the conducted interviews, and later followed by survey results, a number of reoccurring references emerge in narratives of Canadianness.

The most drawn from cultural artefact throughout our extended sample is Nature. While Nature might not commonly be considered a cultural artefact, Canadian cultural products are often celebrating nature and wildlife and using those as symbols, building up nature as a cultural artefact. References to nature as inherent to Canada are found in three out of five interviewees' narratives (Alice, Fred and Cara's). Not only were these references to nature abundant, but they were also often immediate for both the interviewees and survey-takers. Indeed, 47% of Quebecois and 52% of Ontarian survey respondents made a reference to nature within the first associated 3 words. From the beauty of wild Canadian forests to cold winter temperatures, the natural environment of Canadians is a central theme of narratives across linguistic, gender and geographic backgrounds.

Another theme, sports, appears repeatedly. As we will touch on individually in a later section, the Olympic Games were a current event at the time of the interviews, making this specific sports competition a very relevant and top-of-mind reference for our interviewees. Aside from this event, sports as a typical Canadian artefact (and more specifically hockey) emerged as a pattern and are further discussed in section 4.4.3.

Steve: "Watching those games, you feel closer to each other, you'll see people in sports bar cheering, getting along with each other just because of just the hockey game, basically."

Looking at our survey results, hockey as a significant cultural artefact appears to be far reaching within the English-speaking group.

Next in the commonly evoked categories of artefacts is the flag and associated symbols. While the flag is mentioned by a large number of respondents, Canadian symbols such as 'Canadian colors' or the maple leaf are more widely mentioned within the first words

associated with Canada¹. Within the same category of artefacts, both interview and survey participants brought up their passport as sole element of Canadian sameness. While this reference forms a general pattern throughout both groups, there is a noticeably higher proportion of Quebecois naming the passport as common denominator than Ontarians.

Finally, multiculturalism, diversity and associated values of acceptance and respect emerge in most narrative of Canadianness. Because of the focus of this study and the direction of the questions asked by the researcher, it is evidently a theme that takes center stage in our participants' narratives. We will however assume diversity to be a relevant cultural resource as a generous number of survey participants made references to this theme prior to multiculturally-focused questions and without having been made aware of this focal point of the study.

Ultimately, what is observable in this overview of prevalent cultural artefacts is their conformity with Canadian clichés. Evidently, this can be interpreted in different ways. On the one hand, one could explain these results by stating that Canadian stereotypes closely reflect the reality of shared Canadian experiences. I would argue slightly otherwise. While stereotypes do not emerge out of nowhere and are partially formed on the basis of the behavior and beliefs of a share of the population, they do not reflect the reality of a diverse population nor even that of the majority. I suggest here that these results depict a reverse relationship. Because of the great diversity of experiences and overall great heterogeneity of the national group, respondents find themselves in difficulty when asked to express shared properties of their imagine community, which might result in them heavily relying on clichés.

4.2.2 Culture: different but same?

The question of the cultural homogeneity—or lack thereof—in Canada is complex and greatly debated by our respondents. Indeed, most respondents give contradicting statements or rather shift their perspective on cultural sameness throughout the course of the conversation.

Most interviewees recognized a salient difference in cultures between the different communities at some point of the interview or another. Our Francophones both expressed

¹ In the exercise of categorizing cultural references, I believe I cannot fail to address the double meaning of 'maple leaf'. Indeed, Toronto's ice hockey team is named the Toronto Maple Leafs, commonly referred to as 'the Maple Leafs' or simply 'the Leafs'. As a result, any mention of 'maple leaf' could plausibly be read as either a sports, nature or symbolic reference. However, the consistently plural and the particular spelling of the hockey team—Maple Leafs—allow us to isolate this cultural reference. As to distinguish symbolic versus real meanings of 'maple leaf', it was assumed based on reason that singular 'maple leaf' was to be read as emblematic while potential plurals using the grammatically correct spelling 'maple leaves' would be taken as references to nature. Evidently, this distinction is only applicable to written sources. In the case of our interviews, meaning was inferred contextually.

feeling a definite cultural contrast between Francophones and Anglophones (according to Alice) or more specifically (for Fred) between Quebec and the rest of the country:

Alice: “C’est vrai qu’au niveau culturel il y a une différence, c’est pas la même (...) c’est sûr qu’il y a une grosse différence entre les français et les anglophones.”

It’s true that at a cultural level there’s a difference, it’s not the same (...) there’s for sure a big difference between the French and the Anglophones.

Fred: “Moi je trouve que le Québec se distingue vraiment d’abord par sa langue mais aussi par sa culture qui est vraiment différente du reste du Canada.”

I think that Quebec really distinguishes itself by its language but also by its culture that is really different from the rest of Canada.

Steve and Cara, the two Ontarian participants, see the Canadian cultural ecosystem not solely as a division between French and English speakers but rather as a much richer collection of language-based, nationality-based, ethnicity-based and, interestingly, behavior-based subcultures:

Cara: “There’s like a settler Canadian that’s been here for a while, that’s like pretty white and British. And then there’s like the indigenous Canadian that’s like a whole other thing. And then there’s a Toronto Canadian vibe that’s like super urban and doesn’t really know what’s going on in the rest of Canada. And like I mentioned my mom is from Newfoundland and they’re like a whole other breed of Canadian, like I don’t even, like the accent is completely different”

Both interviewees list differences in culture(s) within Canada with ease yet fall short in their attempts to find commonality across Canadian population as a whole. Throughout most narratives, accounts of cultural differences are more evident than those of cultural homogeneity.

Another token of this felt lack of cultural sameness is the repeated statement made by survey respondents claiming that their citizenship (14 mentions of ‘passport’ or ‘nationality’) or that living in the same geographic area (mentioned 11 times) is the only point of intersection between all Canadians. Strikingly, denying sameness across Canadians is predominantly found amongst Quebecois:

61QFF : “Avoir un passeport canadien mais être dans un pays qui est différent de ma culture en tant que québécoise. Être dans un système qui a ses avantages mais qui a une vision de l'histoire et des intérêts différent de la culture à laquelle j'appartiens”

Having a Canadian passport but being in a country that is different from my culture as a Quebecois. Being part of a system that has its perks but that has a vision of history and different interests from the culture I belong to.

Although references to common passport is a pattern throughout the sample, a majority of Ontarians are capable of voicing collective features, even if those seem less forward than differences.

Contrary to majoritarian opinion, two interviewees submitted the idea of a unique, undivided national culture. Marc, our bilingual interviewee, suggested that a unique culture can cross over linguistic borders, an idea shared by our other Montreal-born interviewee Alice²:

Marc: “Between French and English the culture is pretty much the same for the most part I would say at least. It’s just a question of how you would go about expressing, communicating in your day to day life”

Despite their divergent and fluid expression of culturality, which, as introduced earlier in section 2.1, is natural given the complexity of this ever-changing social construct, all interviewees saw this multiculturalism as a positive and quintessential quality of Canada.

Fred: “Tu peux rester dans le même pays et de rencontrer plusieurs cultures différentes, plusieurs mentalités différentes peu importe dans quelle province tu te situes. Je trouve que c’est très riche au niveau culture, et puis du pays et de l'idéologie aussi”

You can stay in the same country et encounter many different cultures, many different mentalities whatever province you find yourself in. I think that it’s very rich culturally, as a country and also its ideology.

Alice: “ C’est la beauté un peu du Canada c’est qu’on, c’est un des seuls pays qui est parfaitement, qui se considère vraiment bilingue pis je pense que c’est important de garder les deux langues. C’est nos deux... Nos deux [pause] nos deux cultures.”

It’s a kind of the beauty of Canada that we, it’s one of the only countries that is perfectly, that considers itself bilingual et I think that it’s important to keep both languages. They’re our two... Our two [pause] our two cultures.

² It is important to remark here that both interviewees originate from a bilingual city as well as speak both languages fluently, which most likely influences this stance.

This idea of unifying multiculturalism is articulated by a female anglophone survey-taker as follows:

45OFA: “Especially when you grow up in a city, there is a strong sense of there not actually having one distinct culture (i.e. is there anything that is actually 'Canadian' other than maple syrup and poutine?) [sic]. Instead, I think many people embrace the idea that our culture is in fact a beautiful and for the most part safe and harmonious mix of many cultures, which is a strength, as it makes us a very tolerant people in this age of globalization and immigration.”

Overall, what emerges from these narratives is that multiculturalism itself—the heterogeneity of the cultural environment—is a central aspect of Canadian culture. This statement is somewhat counterintuitive and reflects how complex the processes of culturality and social grouping truly are. Additionally, our respondents’ narratives show similarities in the belief that Canadianness, despite the presence of co-existing subcultures, is marked by a shared pride of emblematic values; among others respect, inclusion and kindness (although there is criticism over the genuineness of said values, see section 4.4.1).

4.2.3 Common history and objectives

Alongside a sense of common national culture, the definition of nationalist ideology calls for a communion of history and objectives. Both of these themes are addressed by participants when discussing the constitution of Canadian sameness. The following extract from the interview of Marc, bilingual Quebec-based participant, makes a compelling case for the abiding relevance of nationalist thought:

Interviewer: “So I guess what I’m wondering here is in a country where people can’t necessarily understand each other, what is national identity based on?”

Marc: “Well I guess it’s common history wouldn’t it? Canada is a pretty recent country and we’re still young and fairly freshly independent and we want to stay that way. Whatever what your province may be, we want to stick together and not go back into colonial times. And you know, all we’ve been through to get to this point in time, that would be the link between everything I guess.”

In this segment, Marc brings forward two of the three components that the nationalist doctrine proposes as basis for the existence of a nation as coherent imagined community. Together with his earlier statement on cultural cohesiveness between the two linguistic communities, this participant's account of Canadianness makes use of many nationalist narrative components.

Another use of national artefact constitutes a pattern across the recorded narratives; loyalty to the flag. All three male interviewees, regardless of their province of origins or linguistic backgrounds recognized the Canadian flag as a symbol of national cohesion, a pattern found in interviews and survey results alike. Fred explains:

Fred: "On est quand même solitaire au drapeau canadien. Et puis je pense que s'il y avait un conflit ou quoi que ce soit on laisserait tomber les différences qu'on aurait entre nous et on s'unierait sous le drapeau canadien, je pense."

We are still loyal to the Canadian flag. And I think that would there be a conflict or something like that we would forget about the differences between us and we would unite under the Canadian flag, I think.

Another respondent, Alice, while not mentioning the flag explicitly makes references to "Canadian colors" that are often worn to symbolize Canadian belonging and pride. The 'maple leaf' references found across survey answers also fall in this category of symbolic unity. I would argue that the flag, and by extension its colors and the maple leaf, is a symbol of, if not even all three, at least two components of nationalist narrative: history and common vision.

Ultimately, this this raises the following question: do all three pieces (common culture, history, objectives) have to co-exist or can two make up for the lack of the third (culture)? While there is no doubt that Canada shares a history (even if partially fragmented, problematic and problematized) as well as a common purpose regarding its present and future, any homogeneity of culture seems debated and debatable. In other words, does this (felt) cultural heterogeneity prevent members of the nation from experiencing a tangible sense of personal of belonging to the imagined community, or perhaps does it hinder the ability to even create this imagined image of community?

4.3 Otherness and categorization

In the construction of their casted identity, respondents in turn associate themselves with one category or another. In parallel, they create and recreate diverse Others throughout their narratives. This fluid process of categorizing one self and surrounding individuals as part of the in-group or as an Other shows the complexity of social grouping and how identity is

negotiated contextually (these contextual shifts are thoroughly discussed in a further section). We will here focus on the discourse used to take account of what we will call national Others (Others within Canada) and international Others (non-Canadian Others).

4.3.1 Categorization

Cara: “Cause I find it hard to define with every pocket of Canadian culture. We have the whole indigenous thing right now, the whole French versus English thing is weird, and I live in Ontario, which has the most diluted identity.”

Categorization is a fundamental necessity in making sense of the world around, identity formation and expression of group belonging. Considering the way our respondents make sense of their world through categorization is then critical to understanding the tactics used in their narratives of national identity. The following categories were extracted from the recorded interviews.

Canada/Canadians
The rest of the world/foreigners

Anglophones
Francophones

Quebec
The rest of Canada

Separatists
Non-separatists

Provinces

First Nations
Settler Canadians
Immigrant Canadians

‘Our’ generation
Older generations

East Canada
West Canada

Canada
The United States

The presented categories are grouped based on their momentary mutual exclusiveness. Indeed, most tactics of categorization create antagonistic distinctions; the discursive creation of a group X simultaneously creates the opposite group Y. Additionally, ascribing a feature, value or behavior to the members of one category implies lack of said traits, or even opposite traits on the other side of the dichotomy. In the categories used in our respondent's discourse, some categories appear to create divisions that are three-sided (First Nations, immigrant Canadians, settler Canadians) or more (in the case of a province-based categorization) instead of the usual two. I would however argue that the moment one of these categories (A) is used, the other two momentarily merge into a single antagonistic category (not A).

Categorization as a discourse strategy, but also the contents of these categories are significant tools used by speakers to create and negotiate their identity, both as a group and as individuals. We find these groups, at times opposed or unified, throughout the present narratives of Canadianness.

4.3.2 Internal Others

Othering discourse from our respondents toward groups of people within Canada takes place along geographic, cultural and behavioral lines. The results from our interviews depicts a difference in how prominent language is to respondents from different linguistic backgrounds in creating meaningful in and out-groups.

One category of Others that surfaces in this study is unsurprisingly the Othering of Francophones by Anglophones and vice versa. This is evidently a central theme due to the focus of this study and as a result the questions asked and the orientation of the discussion towards such reflections. The language-based dichotomy does not emerge as front-of-mind—thus is presumably not highly meaningful—to English-speaking respondents. Indeed, when asked whether they perceived Canada to be divided into different types of Canadians, none of our three native English-speaking interviewees intuitively brought up a linguistic split, although they did recognize its significance at a later stage. For both our Ontarian interviewees, Francophones are rather distant Others due to having little to no relationship with French-speaking Canadians (we will come back to the importance of contact in a later section). This lack of top-of-mind awareness of the language-based dichotomy is also present in our survey results, in which only a small number of respondents made language-based Othering references, and if so, only did so alongside other non-language related categorizations.

To Quebec-based respondents, on the other hand, language appears to be a meaningful criterion for social categorization in Canada, although there are differences in their definition

of the in- and out-groups. To Alice, language is the criterion that separates the nation into two main groups. This categorization along linguistic lines is dominant within survey answers.

72QFF : “Les unilingues anglophones, les unilingues francophones, les gens bilingues, pour c'est ce comment de façon global [sic] se divise notre pays, les barrières de la langue créant de ce fait ces différents groupes. “

Anglophone monolinguals, francophone monolinguals, bilingual people, globally that is how our country is divided, language barriers thus creating these different groups.

To Fred, the line lies at the provincial border—Quebec versus English-speaking Canada—an Othering process in which the rest of the French-speaking population falls in between, being neither ‘us’ nor ‘them’. In this narrative, the in-group (Quebec) is depicted as fundamentally different from its opposed group (Anglophones):

Fred: “Je pense que les québécois ne se reconnaissent pas dans le canadien anglophone.”

I think Quebecois people don't recognize themselves in anglophone Canadians.

Hence, to Fred language is not emphasized as the key difference but rather a difference in culture. This argument of not being like-minded is also touched upon by Cara who refers to “the way [Francophones] think about things sometimes”.

If the francophone-anglophone or province-based split is not expressed as notably relevant to the Anglophones interviewed in this study, what groups (if any) are constructed as Others? To Cara, immigrant communities who publicly speak foreign languages are estranged from the Canadian narrative and are painted as Others:

Cara: “It makes people uncomfortable. Like especially when you're going to the grocery store and like they're just speaking mandarin to each other across the aisles and you're just like what?”

To Marc, this out-group is described using the phrasing “technically Canadians but”, a formulation that implies a disconnect with his image of ‘true’ Canadianness.

Marc: “There’s also Canadians that are technically Canadians, but they just immigrated here and they don’t really speak English that well, and even if they do they’re like second generation. Maybe their parents didn’t bother to teach them English.”

Another group that is repeatedly made reference to is the Native population of Canada; First Nations, Inuits and Metis peoples. These peoples are oftentimes grouped under the common umbrella terms ‘Natives’ or ‘indigenous people’. While this group is clearly marked and positioned as different from the majoritarian in-group, Cara gives this group a unique role in her narrative by making use of a possessive determiner:

Cara: “Our indigenous people also have their own languages too so I can see it really like creating barriers between different Canadian cultures”

By using a possessive (“our”), she positions indigenous people as both an in and out-group and, one could argue, creates an implicit power-relation between her majoritarian group and the ‘subject’ indigenous group.

An interesting observation to be made on the basis of these descriptions of Otherness is that whichever group is painted as Other, language seems to be a decisive element in all cases. This seems to indicate that language is considered by our interviewees to be a fragmenting factor within Canadian communities, a criterion for the formation of ‘in-Others’.

4.3.3 External Others

4.3.3.1 Canada versus the World

The same way internal Others are created through discourse, the dichotomy Canada/other countries is established. In this relation, Canada as a nation constitutes the in-group while every other group that is not Canada is the out-group.

The overarching theme around which respondents brought external Others into being is cultural differences. These comparisons of cultural artefacts include values, traditions, systems of beliefs and, as we will see in the second portion of this chapter, in some cases extends to politics and laws. A difference in values between Canada and non-Canadian countries is an argument found in Alice’s narrative:

Alice: “Dans plusieurs pays le respect c’est pas quelque chose que tous les pays ont de la même façon. Puis je pense que nous on a vraiment un respect de de la personne, de l’espace personnel.”

In many countries, Respect is not something all countries have the same way. And I think that we really have a Respect of individuals, of personal space.

This speech act, by its comparative form, results in positioning Canada and the values held by its citizen as superior to external Others. These Others are unnamed, which allows Alice to promote her group’s values and norms without targeting a specific group or set of groups as inferior. Marc, on the other hand, explicitly Otherizes Europeans:

Marc: “For example, when I was living in Europe I was like you Europeans have silly traditions, you know, but if it gets too much I can always go back to Canada. Here I can be surrounded by like-minded people a.k.a. Canadians.”

Through this utterance, Marc clearly positions his in-group, Canadians, above the out-group, Europeans, by referring to this out-group’s traditions as “silly”. Here, we also witness this participant taking an Othering stance on belief systems through his opposition of Europeans against “like-minded” Canadians. This perception of divergent capacity for understanding appeared once more further down the interview, when he presumed the interviewer’s inability to grasp his description of Canadian identity stating “you need to be Canadian to understand, sorry”.

Additionally, our participants repeatedly bring up the Canada versus external Others dichotomy whenever making references to travelling as a defining environment. To all five interviewees as well as to a significant number of survey-takers, interactions with non-Canadian Others—generally achieved when travelling—activates their sense of national identity and sense of belonging to the Canadian in-group as a result of opposition with foreign Others.

4.3.3.2 Us versus Them; the United States

Alice: “C’est la merde aux Etats-Unis, *meanwhile* au Canada on bouffe du sirop d’érable.”

It’s mayhem in the United States, meanwhile in Canada we’re munching on maple syrup.

One recurrent position adopted by respondents is based on their common rejection of their Southern neighbor; the United States of America. According to our interviewee Alice and numerous survey-takers, shared national identity is negotiated (if not mainly, at least partly) through the formation of this common Other:

Alice: “je sais qu'aussitôt que je suis en voyage là, et qu'on me dit ‘américaine’, je me défend et je dis ‘non non non je suis canadienne, je suis pas américaine’. Je suis sûre que ça nous aide un peu à nous sentir mieux parce qu'on est... Nos cousins d'en bas sont un peu, sont un peu mal vus, donc c'est sûr que ça nous remonte un petit peu, on est pas comme ça.”

Me I know that as soon as I'm travelling, and people take me for an American, I defend myself and I go ‘no no no I'm Canadian, I'm not American’. It for sure helps us feel a bit better because we are... Our Southern neighbors are a bit, a bit looked down on, so it pulls us up a bit, we're not like that.

Similarly, multiple survey respondents from Ontario brought out this US-Canada dichotomy. Answers to the question “what do all Canadians have in common?” include “smugness about not being American” (100A), “they are not Americans” (18OFA), “a pride in how we are different from Americans” (52QFA) and a number of variations of the same theme. Other entries, notably on the question “what does being Canadian mean to you?” while not straightforwardly referencing the US can be understood as participating to the same discourse: “being able to watch the news at the moment without shooting my brains out from shame” (19OFA).

What seems to emerge from the gathered data is a use of Othering and opposition strategies using the United States as a point of reference. Rather unsurprisingly, this opposition is more present in Anglophones' narrative than in Francophones'. The explanation I tentatively offer for this observation is that not only is the need for demarcation stronger for speakers of the same language—English—than it is for French speakers, but also as a minority in Canada, it has historically been more relevant for Quebecois to think of contrast with the English-speaking population of their own country before thinking of external Others.

4.4 Identity negotiation

4.4.1 Dissociation and cynicism

A process that stems out of our data is the dissociation of certain participants from their own (self-identified) group.

The most compelling example of strategic distance building is Steve's. In the onset of the interview, Steve introduces himself as Canadian, a group membership he then confirms by stating that he feels Canadian. However, whenever referring to Canadians throughout the interview, Steve distances himself from the group by repeatedly using the pronoun "they" rather than the inclusive "we":

Steve: "I think Canadians generally have this idea of that they are more polite or more nice than the rest of the world. I don't know if that's true, but I know that a lot of Canadians think that way. Also becomes very obvious that that's the case when you meet Canadians abroad and they always want to advertise that they are from Canada and they have the flag literally on their bag, on their shirts, whatever."

In this example, not only does Steve refute affinity with fellow group members, but he also discredits the group's identity narrative by using phrases such as "have this idea that" or by using negatively connoted words the likes of "advertise". Cara, on the other hand, is equally critical of the beliefs of her group but, in contrast with Steve, still expresses her membership by using the pronoun "we":

Cara: "we like to push this idea that we were, you know, nice wholesome people. That we didn't have racism and we're like accepting of other people. That's the push."

By using such a formulation, Cara doesn't step away from in-group membership yet distances herself from the values the group promotes. This further exemplifies our Ontarians' feeling of disconnect with their Canadian identity.

These critical, often cynical accounts of Canadianness are increasingly more evident in our survey results. A read through reports of Canadians and Canadian values, specifically within the Ontarian sample, brings out a great duality of perceptions that seems neither based on gender, age or linguistic proficiency. On the one side, a majority of respondents associate Canada with highly positive words such as "freedom", "friendliness", "acceptance" or "pride".

These accounts often follow the cliché cultural definitions of Canadianness discussed in section 4.2.1. On the other side of the coin, a large number of respondents paint a grim image of their country and its people, principally denying the value of acceptance and respect that often emerge. Some of the answers given by respondents on the meaning of Canadianness echo Steve and Cara's account to varying degrees and include:

9OMA: "neoliberalism, capitalism, subtle racism"

2OMA: "I think we aspire to be helpful, generous, and polite. Whether that's actually reflected in our choices as a nation I'm not certain"

30OFA: "What the government and the Canadian imagination want us to see: politeness, multiculturalism, acceptance, bravery. What I see: violence, consumerism, colonialism, racism, whiteness."

These highly contrasted narratives further show the variety, complexity and versatility of Canadian experiences.

On the francophone side, we notice fewer uses of dissociation methods, whether implicit (semantically expressed) or explicit³. None of our interviewees from Quebec voice such cynicism towards Canadian ways or people as a national group. Both Francophones express their disagreement with the separatist portion of their population as well as with those feeling threatened by the majoritarian language. However, these groups are subcultures of the larger Quebecois community that our respondents do not consider as their in-group or are no longer part of in the case of Alice. These instances thus fall into the category of Othering rather than of distancing from one's own group. Our bilingual respondent consistently positions himself as an active member of his narrative. Marc uses the pronoun "we" in all instances referring to the groups he considers to be part of: Canadians, Quebecois, Francophones, Anglophones. He does, however, criticize himself and by extension all similar members of his in-group by qualifying Quebec-pride discourse as petty and spiteful:

³ The two respondents who expressed complete refusal of group belonging are not included in this discussion of in-group dissociation, the reason being they do not identify as part of the Canadian in-group in the first place.

Marc: “If I’m drunk and I’m getting into a debate as to why Quebec is the best province in the world, then yeah I’d be more Quebecois than Canadian. Because I’m defending my pride (...) When I get into that behavior, like petty and spiteful, it’s the worst for the person I’m arguing with.”

This continuous “us” use is most likely facilitated by the privileged position he benefits from as a native bilingual citizen. As Marc suggested in multiple instances, his upbringing allows him the reach across both linguistic groups, giving him the luxury to choose either side based on which membership is most beneficial at that point and time.

To summarize, we notice higher in-group distance being voiced by our interviewees from Ontario—a tendency enhanced by survey results—than from the remaining respondents. This tendency further supports the findings that seem to indicate a sense of disconnect in our Ontarians’ sense of national belonging.

4.4.2 Negotiation in contact

We already established that identity expression is a complex and fluid process and that people experience and voice their identity differently in different contexts. This section looks into the contextual settings our respondents expressed as relevant in choosing to draw one identity card over another. Most environments referenced by our interviewees as triggering a shift in chosen identity are environments of social heterogeneity. These ‘points of contact’ are situations in which there is contact between two or more groups. Those points of contact appear to be either temporal, geographical or social in nature.

One narrative in particular illustrates this identity shift phenomenon well. Steve, Anglophone born and raised in multicultural Toronto recalls:

Steve: “Growing up in Canada, especially in Toronto, it’s very multicultural, right? So, here in school, when I was in high school, people would always have this question ‘what’s your background?’ or you know ‘where are you from?’ or whatever. So when you ask somebody that in Canada, people always identify with where, you know, their parents or their grandparents came from. Like half of the people in my class were Indian or Polish or Italian or whatever it may be, even though they were born and raised in Canada. But they don’t identify as being Canadian. But my parents, my family has been in Canada for like, on my mom’s side six or seven generations and on my father’s side, well my great grandfather moved here from Malta. When my great grandfather came

from Malta he forbid my grandparents from speaking Maltese, because he wanted them to assimilate into Canadian culture. He just wanted them to be Canadian. So I've always identified, if someone asked me what my background is I would say Maltese, because my dad's family is Maltese. But when I'm outside of Canada yeah, I think all the people in my classes that would identify as Polish or Italian or whatever, when they are abroad they always say that they're Canadian."

This shows the process by which this respondent and (allegedly) his peers choose to enact one identity over another depending on the context. In his Canadian multicultural high school, identifying as Canadian doesn't seem relevant and is then set aside in favor of a different identity—Maltese. In an environment in which being Canadian is the norm, this identity marker fades to make space for any other representative identity—Indian, German, Maltese. Interestingly, the identity card chosen to be played by Steve in this situation is that of a heritage he admits having very little connection left to, not speaking the language, performing cultural rituals nor having visited the country. Marc, bilingual respondent, also evokes the fading of Canadian identity in multicultural environments, namely in Toronto and Montreal.

Cara's reported shifts in chosen identity are similarly based on the identities enacted by people around her:

Cara: "Sometimes I hang out with so many people that are from immigrant families that like my Canadian identity isn't really a thing and then sometimes like my mom is from Newfoundland and they're really nationalist like in Newfoundland so I'm like wow I'm super Canadian right now."

This relegation of Canadian identity to a position of lesser importance in multicultural settings echoes Steve's experience. The tendency to play the Canadian identity card when travelling outside of Canada is also relevant to Cara's case. Indeed, she reveals that she is "more adamant about expressing [Canadian] identity" during her trips to the United States. However, her experience with an increase in sense of national identity when in Newfoundland is unique to her narrative. She expresses that when surrounded with a (rather homogenous) group displaying a strong nationalist discourse, her feeling of belonging with this imagined national community is heightened. This phenomenon conflicts with the theory that predicts stronger national identity manifestations in contexts of greater heterogeneity.

Much like Steve and Cara, all other respondents mentioned travelling as a shifting point for identity formation. While Alice found this point of contact to be the root of a long-term identity transformation most interviewees describe travelling as a temporary influencer. It could be argued that this resulting increase in nationalism is in part a response to the threat of having to defend oneself against a different and majoritarian Other. This idea is elaborated in the following section.

Finally, Marc shared an additional perspective on contextually chosen identity. As our only bilingual interviewee, he enjoys a unique position that is the ability to credibly enact either linguistic identity. When questioned about his own identity positioning, Marc admits to a sporadic identity shift:

Marc: “[I identify as] whatever suits me the best. Like now I’m in Ontario because it pays more to be here so. Plus I have the luxury to be able to choose both sides right?”

Marc’s chosen played identity card, both linguistically and geographically, is highly dependent on context. He will adapt which side of his identity that will be taking a front stage position on the basis of the people he is interacting with and on what is likely to be most beneficial to him. This fluidity of enacted identity illustrates the complex and interaction-based nature of identity work that our theoretical framework describes.

4.4.3 Threats as a catalyst

On the basis of our respondents’ narratives, a possible hypothesis we emit is that situations in which national identity is threatened constitute a likely environment for nationalism to sprout. Points of contact such as travels and other cases of one’s identity finding itself marked (part of a minority) enter the realm of identity threatening environments. In addition to those, other threats emerged in our interviewees’ narratives as being catalysts of national identity.

Some threats that work as strong catalysts are realistic threats to one’s life or to the existence of one’s group. Threats of this nature would include wars, but would also include any instances, for example political or legal changes, that put the in-group in danger. Several of our participants made references to realistic threats as criteria for stronger sense of identity in their narratives:

Fred: "Je pense que s’il y avait un conflit ou quoi que ce soit on laisserait tomber les

différences qu'on aurait entre nous et on s'unirait sous le drapeau canadien, je pense.”

I think that if there was a conflict or something like that we would forget about the differences between us and we would unite under the Canadian flag, I think.

Marc: “Canada is a pretty recent country and we're still young and fairly freshly independent and we want to stay that way. Whatever what your province may be, we want to stick together and not go back into colonial times.”

Here, Fred and Marc both express that while themselves and fellow Canadians might choose to enact identities different than Canadian, or even reject it in the case of separationists, any threat to national security would bring their Canadianness forward.

At a provincial level, the reasoning is the same for Alice and her understanding of strong Quebecois identities:

Alice: “Dans nos écoles au Québec on nous donne un peu une façon que le Canada nous voit pis une éducation un peu portée sur... Pas sur le séparatisme mais sur la langue française, que ça se perd, que le reste du Canada s'en fout un peu. (...) Tu sais d'avoir deux langues, mais après c'est sûr que ça fait un, une rivalité parce que tu veux pas que le gouvernement enlève de l'argent d'un bord pour le mettre de l'autre. Qu'il penche plus d'un bord ou de l'autre.”

In our schools in Quebec we're taught that Canada sees us a certain way and given an education focused on... Not on separatism but on the French language, that it's getting lost, that the rest of Canada doesn't really care. (...) You know having two languages, but at the end it does create a rivalry because you don't want the government to take away money from one side to give it to the other. That it sways one way or the other.

While the threatened in-group is Quebec or French-speaking Canadians, Alice's account mirrors Fred and Marc's. In this case, it is the Quebecois identity that is strengthened because of a perceived threat on their language, their financial well-being; overall threat to the existence or health of the group.

Another category of threat that seems to be an important catalyst of (national) identity are symbolic in nature. These “threats” are not putting the nation, group or individual's (quality of) life in danger, but menaces their value system, pride or position—in other words they are face threatening). One example is Marc's account of conflicts over what the best province is. He explains that he is then “defending [his] pride”, leading him to enact his Quebecois identity in an unusually vehement fashion. Another example of non-vital threats is that of

misidentification. Alice recalls being mistaken for a United States citizen a number of times while travelling, an error that she felt she had immediately correct and resulted in a feeling of strong Canadianness:

Alice: “Moi je sais qu'aussitôt que je suis en voyage là, et qu'on me dit américaine, je me défend et je dis ‘non non non je suis canadienne, je suis pas américaine’.”

Me I know that as soon as I'm travelling, and people take me for an American, I defend myself and I go ‘no no no I'm Canadian, I'm not American’.

This misidentification is perceived as a threat that, although benign, attacks her identity and her pride (albeit is face threatening). In these examples, respondents are being positioned as Others, whether by their environment or through self-Othering (self-positioning as different). As a defense mechanism, the threatened identity is then felt as heightened and more actively voiced.

Finally, a strong stimulus of national identity among our interviewees appears to be found in international competitions, notably the Olympic Games. The Olympics were mentioned in the narrative of 4 out of 5 of our respondents⁴. Sports competitions happen to be a compelling example of both threats to one's position and identity and at the same time, in case of victory, a reinforcement of national pride, strengthening one's feeling of belonging. The Olympic Games, as one of the most important international competitions, see nation states compare each other in a number of disciplines, competing for medals and status. In such a context, national identity primes over other allegiances. Fred, who identifies primarily as Québécois, names the Games as a context in which his Canadian identity appears stronger:

Fred: “Comme là les jeux olympiques, quand il y a des compétitions internationales c'est sûr que je vais ?prendre? pour le Canada ou je vais être content des performances canadiennes”

Like now the Olympics, when there are international competitions I will for sure ?support? Canada or I'll be happy about Canadian performances.

This competitive context doesn't only reinforce individual's feeling of national belonging and pride, but it also creates a feeling of togetherness.

⁴ This event was extremely relevant at the time of the interviews, all of which were conducted during or within a week following the Games.

Marc: “Right now for example it’s the Olympics, so I’m pretty sure we’re all together in that. Whatever it is that non-tangible Canadian ideal identity, how malleable that is, but there’s definitely events or things that can bring it out in all of us”

Alice: “Là c’est les olympiques par exemple, bah tu sais tout le monde va en parler, tout le monde va être fier de de du pays, tout le monde va regarder ça. Je sais que même en voyage quand on avait des canadiens, même les gens ils portent les couleurs du Canada, les mitaines, la tuque.”

Now it’s the Olympics for example, so you know everyone is going to talk about it, everyone is going to be proud of the country, everyone is going to watch that. I know that even abroad when we had Canadians, people even wear Canadian colors, the gloves, the hat.

Interestingly, sports and more specifically the Olympic Games take on a unique place in Steve’s narrative. As discussed in the section related to dissociation technique, Steve distances himself from his in-group—Canadians—from the onset and throughout the interview by repeatedly using the pronoun “they” instead of “us”. However, there is one instance of Steve’s narrative that shows marks of fellowship; when recollecting memories of earlier Olympics:

Steve: “I remember like Vancouver 2010 and whatever the last, was it Sochi or something. Canada won double gold in hockey for like the last 12 years and even if you just go to a bar or Tim Hortons they’ll be a party watching the hockey team basically. And watching those games, you feel closer to each other, you’ll see people in sports bar cheering, getting along with each other just because of just the hockey game, basically.”

These narratives of identification in response to threat, whether those are realistic or symbolic (face threatening), exemplify the situated nature of identity work. Context is crucial to feelings of belonging and to the specific identity stance taken by individuals at given times. These narratives also illustrate the social grouping mechanism described by Bucholtz and Hall (2005) as “a process not merely of discovering or acknowledging a similarity that precedes and establishes identity but, more fundamentally, of inventing similarity by downplaying difference”. When unification is required, differences that are customarily significant are set aside and sameness—here Canadianness—emerges.

5. Conclusions

5.1 Summary and closing remarks

The narratives collected from our five interviewees, completed by the experiences reported by survey-takers, illustrate the complexity, fluidity and context-based nature of (national) identification. Participants' feelings of belonging to Canada greatly varied in strength and nature, yet the general tendency is for participants to voice a feeling of disconnect with their imagined community. Aside from two Quebecois rejecting any belonging to Canada past the possession of the passport, all other respondents expressed being Canadian and feeling Canadian to a varying degree. At the same time, we witness a number of the same self-identifying Canadians questioning the existence of Canadianness altogether.

When inquired about Canada and Canadianness, many respondents drew from stereotypical cultural artefacts; among others nature, politeness, hockey, Platt shirts. Whether or not there is a genuine belief in these cultural items being truly representative is debatable, for many respondents faced difficulty in producing an image of Canada and Canadianness. A hypothesis might be that in their uncertainty, many participants made use of default and cliché Canadian artefacts in their narratives.

The question that arises, then, is whether or not there is an idea of cultural homogeneity among young Canadians. While, again, narratives are widely diverse and at times self-contradictory, the overarching story is that of a fragmented national culture. Respondents were noticeably quicker to voice differences, boundaries and to create categories than they were in finding commonality within their Canadian in-group. In addition, a large number of respondents, although fully self-identifying as Canadian, emitted explicit criticism over the historical origins of their settler group and past or current political stances, but most extensively over the (genuineness of) values held by Canadians.

Moreover, this image of fragmented culture is largely expressed through the categorization and building of Others throughout the country. Language is prominent in many instances of creation of internal Others; Francophones and Anglophones, indigenous peoples, immigrant communities, Canadians with certain accents etc. Anglophones and Francophones, the two groups most paid attention to in this study, are made out to be different in most aspects; language, naturally, but most importantly culture. As a result, some argue that they cannot recognize themselves in the members of the other linguistic group, reifying this felt divide between Canadians.

Yet, there seems to be a gap between what is expressed and what is observable. What is expressed is a felt lack of similarity, but there is in reality a definite number of shared characteristics identifiable. Indeed, whether their allegiance to Canada is contextually heightened or momentarily replaced by Other relevant identities, there is a general consensus around common national vision (shining through shared history and goals) that celebrates nature, freedom and multiculturalism. This sense of joined enterprise emerges more vigorously in the presence of extramural Others. These Others, whether part of the United States—repeatedly voiced as a common Other not to be associated with—or any other country or group that is not Canada, form the foundation for an ‘us versus them’ opposition that brings Canadians together within the unique ‘us’ category. This contrast and resulting togetherness are expressed as significant in instances of contact with the Other and in the face of threat, whether real as in the prospect of conflict or symbolic as one would experience during international competitions.

Ultimately, what this study reflects is the impossibility to provide a unique perspective and definition of Canadianness (or any other social group identity). In these narratives of Canadianness, we observe individuals’ feeling of national belonging as ever changing points on a continuum. What we can draw from individuals’ narratives are patterns, collective references and experiences that appear to be more than idiosyncratic coincidences. Overall, we would suggest that Canadian culture is perceived to be highly fragmented and that language is seen as a divisive criterion. What this fragmentation and lack of felt Sameness produces is a difficulty imagining a unique community and articulating grounds of potential unity. But while young Canadians express disconnect, the reality may be other. From their narratives emanates many common points of sameness, whether it is their connection to Nature, national symbols, heightened cohesion in the face of Others and threats or ideal vision of Canada and Canadianness.

5.2 Limitations and further research

This study only aims at exploring the narratives of a set of individuals within a target population and successfully gained valuable insights into unique meanings on Canadianness. However, the findings of this study are limited and raise a number of questions that leaves room for further research.

The main limitation of this study is its limited sample size. Because of time and resources constraints, only 5 interviews could be conducted, and the reach of the survey was

limited. One question that emerged and cannot be answered within the current study concerns the relation between age and national belonging and identity. While our two oldest Quebecois respondents showcased clearly different attitudes towards Canada and Canadianness, further research is necessary to explore the hypothesis of a generational attitude shift.

Another question that arises is the influence of gender on identity construction. Gender diversity was actively sought in the composition of the interview sample but failed to reach a representative ratio among survey-takers. With a largely female sample, this study does not allow to draw legitimate observations on any relationship between gender and formulation of Canadianness. This limitation leaves room for further research exploring the potential role gender plays in identity work in Canada.

Additionally, some respondents raised the idea of a significant difference in national identity between rural and urban areas. Due to the availability of contact channels and the purposive choice of interviewees within the researcher's preexisting social network, a large majority of respondents either originate from, have lived, or lived in urban areas at the time of the study. This constitutes a potential gap in the representativeness of the sample and opens door for further research into the role of urbanicity on Canadian identity.

Furthermore, it is necessary not to silence indigenous communities of Canada when seeking to understand the complexity of Canadian identity perspectives. In this study, this group was voluntarily kept out of the researched population due to the added layer of complexity including indigenous narratives would have added. Questions of their narratives in the domain of Canadianness and identity work are however an important component of the Canadian equation and requires careful research that falls out of this study's potential scope.

Finally, these time and resources constraints also called for a restricted geographical scope of research. It was decided early on that focus would be limited to young Canadians in Quebec and Ontario, due in part to personal convenience and in part following the rationale that the topic of language in identity narratives would likely be more relevant in neighboring provinces. However, it is evident that a larger study including participants from all provinces would be a logical and valuable extension to this limited study. To what extent are our findings found in narratives from Canadians from other provinces? Are processes of national identification similar or different in provinces with no direct contact with French-speaking provinces? Is this active identity contrast with the United States as prominent in provinces that are further removed from the US border? The current study opens doors to many questions that would benefit from a country-wide investigation.

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7. Appendices

1. Interview guide

English interview guide

Introduction	Introduce yourself What language do you speak? In what context?
“Canada”	Describe the word “Canada” in three words
Personal identity	Do you feel Canadian? Are there times where you feel more Canadian than other times?
Canadianness	Are there different types of Canadians? Where do you situate yourself? What does the typical Canadian man look like? And the typical Canadian woman? Are there typical Canadian values?
Multilingualism	What relationship do you have with French speaking Canadians? What are your thoughts on multilingualism in Canada? Do you think it has an impact on Canadian unity?
Closing	What does it mean to you to “be Canadian”?

French interview guide

“Canada”	Présente toi Décris le mot “Canada” en trois mots.
Identité personnelle	Te sens-tu Canadien? Y a t’il des moments ou tu te sens plus Canadien que dans d’autres?
Canadienneté	Y a-t’il différents types de Canadiens? Ou te situes-tu? A quoi ressemble l’homme Canadien typique? Et la femme Canadienne typique? Y at-il des valeurs typiquement Canadiennes?
Multilinguisme	Quel type de relations as-tu avec les Canadiens anglophones? Quel est ton avis par rapport au multilinguisme du Canada? Penses-tu que cela impacte l’harmonie/ le sentiment d’unité Canadienne?
En résumé	Qu’est-ce que ça veut dire d’être Canadien?

2. Survey questions

English survey

Dear survey-taker,

This survey is part of a wider study on multilingualism and Canadian identity. In other words, the aim of this questionnaire is to help understand what 'being Canadian' means to you and other Canadians and whether your perception of Canadian identity differs from Canadians with another linguistic background.

This survey is anonymous, and all data will be erased after the completion of the study. You are free to end or resume the survey at any time.

The survey takes approximately 5-10 minutes. You are encouraged to elaborate on answers in as much detail and length as you wish.

Thank you for your participation!

Section	Questions
Demographics	What is your province of origins? What gender do you identify as? How old are you? What is your English language proficiency? What is your French language proficiency?
You and Canada	What are the first three words that come to mind when you think of Canada? Which of these geographic groups do you identify with first? Which of the remaining groups do you identify with next? How Canadian do you feel? Are there times when you feel more Canadian than others?
Canadianness	What do all Canadians have in common? Do you think there are different types of Canadians? If yes, what would these be? How would you describe the typical Canadian? According to you, what are typical Canadian values?
Culture	Rate your level of agreement with the following statements: I have a good relationship with Canadians who have a different mother tongue I think the culture is different in Quebec than in English-speaking provinces

	I can easily relate to Canadians with a different linguistic background I think multilingualism in Canada is a positive thing I think multilingualism is threatening for linguistic minorities I think multilingualism is a strength of Canada I think multilingualism has a negative impact on Canadian unity
Wrap up	What does being Canadian mean to you? Do you have anything to add on the topic of multilingualism and national identity?

French survey

Cher participant,

Cette enquête fait partie d'un projet de recherche sur le sujet du multilinguisme et d'identité nationale. En d'autres mots, ce questionnaire a pour but de découvrir ce que "être Canadien" veut dire pour vous et d'autres Canadiens, et si votre manière de percevoir l'identité canadienne diffère de celle des Canadiens anglophones.

Cette enquête est anonyme et toutes les données seront détruite une fois la recherche terminée. Vous êtes libres de quitter ou de reprendre le questionnaire à tout moment.

Le questionnaire dure entre 5-10 minutes. Vous êtes encouragés à élaborer vos réponses avec autant de détails que vous le souhaitez.

Merci de votre participation!

Section	Questions
Démographie	Quelle est votre province d'origine? Vous vous identifiez comme Quel est votre âge? Quel est votre niveau de français? Quel est votre niveau d'anglais?
Vous et le Canada	Quels sont les 3 premiers mots qui vous viennent à l'esprit en pensant au Canada? Auquel de ces groupes géographiques vous identifiez vous principalement? Auquel des groupes géographiques restants vous identifiez vous ensuite? Vous sentez-vous Canadien? Vous sentez-vous plus Canadien à certains moments qu'à d'autres?

Canadienneté	<p>Qu'est-ce qu'ont en commun tous les Canadiens?</p> <p>Pensez-vous qu'il existe plusieurs types de Canadiens? Si oui, quels sont-ils?</p> <p>Comment décririez-vous le Canadien typique?</p> <p>Selon vous, quelles sont des valeurs typiquement Canadiennes?</p>
Culture	<p>Évaluez votre niveau d'accord avec les déclarations suivantes:</p> <p>J'ai de bonnes relations avec des Canadiens de langue maternelle différente de la mienne</p> <p>Je pense que la culture Québécoise est différente de celle des provinces anglophones</p> <p>Je me reconnais facilement dans les Canadiens qui parlent une langue différente de la mienne</p> <p>Je pense que le multilinguisme est une chose positive</p> <p>Je pense que le multilinguisme est un danger pour les langues minoritaires</p> <p>Je pense que le multilinguisme est une force du Canada</p> <p>Je pense que le multilinguisme a un impact négatif sur le sentiment d'unité Canada</p>
En résumé	<p>Pour vous, "être Canadien" qu'est-ce que ça veut dire?</p> <p>Avez-vous quoi que ce soit à ajouter sur le sujet du multilinguisme et de l'identité canadienne?</p>

3. Interview transcripts

Interview 1

Participant pseudonym: Steve

Date of interview: 20.02.2018

Language of interview: English

Timestamp	Speaker	Transcribed talk
00:48	Interviewer	Just to start, can you please introduce yourself quickly? Who you are, where you are from, what you do.
00:58	Steve	I'm Steve. [Personal and irrelevant details] I work as a business analyst and I'm from Ontario in Canada.
01:10	I	Alright, awesome.
01:11	S	Is that enough detail?
01:13	I	Yeah, that's great. So what language do you speak? I know I already asked you this question before but this is a different study so let's get through the questions.
01:20	S	Alright, yes. Just English.
01:25	I	Alright, that's good. So when you travel outside of Ontario, it's just English wherever?
01:30	S	Yes.
01:33	I	Alright. If I say "Canada", what does it mean to you in 3 words? If you have to pick three words to describe Canada.
01:42	S	I guess: home, cold and ((laughs)) Tim Hortons. I don't know.
01:50	I	((Laughs)) Tim Hortons? ((Cross talk)) I mean, that makes sense, that makes sense. Okay, do you feel Canadian?
01:59	S	((Pause)) Yeah, yeah, I feel Canadian.
02:05	I	Are there times where you feel more Canadian than other times?
02:10	S	((Pause)) No, not really, I don't really have a strong national identity I guess.
02:18	I	That's gonna make this questionnaire fairly interesting, because that's kind of the topic. But that's what's kind of interesting here I guess.

02:27	S	Okay.
02:28	I	But do you feel like when you're outside of Canada you have more of a feeling of Canadianness or not necessarily?
02:39	S	Definitely, more when I'm outside of Canada, because like, growing up in Canada, especially in Toronto, it's very multicultural, right? So, here in school, when I was in high school, people would always have this question like "what's your background?" or you know like "where are you from?" or whatever. So when you ask somebody that in Canada, people always identify with where, you know, their parents or their grandparents came from. Like half of the people in my class were Indian or Polish or Italian or whatever it may be, even though they were born and raised in Canada. But they don't identify as being Canadian. But my parents, my family is like has been in Canada for like, on my mom's side six or seven generations and on my father's side, well my great grandfather moved here from Malta. When my great grandfather came from Malta he forbid my grandparents from speaking Maltese, because he wanted them to assimilate into Canadian culture. He just wanted them to be Canadian. So I've always identified, if someone asked me what my background is I would say Maltese, because my dad's family is Maltese. But when I'm outside of Canada yeah, I think all the people in my classes that would identify as Polish or Italian or whatever, when they are abroad they always say that they're Canadian.
04:20	I	That makes sense. Have you ever been to Malta?
04:24	S	I haven't. My parents have, my grandparents go like four months of every year. But I haven't been 'cause it's just so expensive to go there.
04:40	I	Okay. So according to you, then, is there different types of Canadians?
04:45	S	Yeah. ((Pause)) I mean I guess, it depends how you want to look at it. You can say, either it could be based on whatever their cultural background is. Like my best friend V, he's ((inaudible)) even though he was born and raised here. But then you could also say that there's people from the east coast or... But in most cases I think it's divided between the English-speaking and the French, like the anglophones and the francophones, ((inaudible)) if you had to divide Canada.
05:26	I	And, so you situate yourself as just an anglo-canadian...
05:34	S	Yeah. Well we all grow up taking French classes. From what I remember it's like once a week for thirty minutes or something like that. So if that's your only French immersion,

		well, you just speak English. ((Crosstalk))
05:58	I	Do you feel like they're better at it on the other side? Like the French-speakers are better at learning English than the other way around?
06:06	A	I don't think that's necessarily true. I think it's more dependant on your circumstance and where you grow up. So everyone from Montreal for example, well almost everyone from Montreal that I've met speaks like perfect French and English. But then if you go, you know, a few hours north of Montreal... I think that there's generally a greater struggle to speak English or just that the accent is a lot stronger, because it's more country than Montreal or any major city.
06:45	I	Alright. And if you had to describe the typical Canadian man, what would he be like?
06:54	S	I think it'll vary a lot depending on the part of Canada you're from.
06:59	I	But for you?
07:00	S	In Toronto, well I've met people from most parts of Canada, and my ((inaudible)) is that the typical Toronto man is super into sports, obsessively into the Raptors and the Blue Jays, even though none of our teams have been doing well at all for a very long time [both laugh]. Maybe a bit sheltered and isolated. But I think, one of the things, after living abroad, one of the main things I found was that Canadians that are travelling for the first time and when they come back they have just a very different perspective. A lot are just very happy to be in their bubble, in Toronto, Ontario or whatever. Like our friend Karl is from the east coast, he's from Halifax, and I just find him to be a lot more friendly and easy-going. Even when I didn't know him that well, he just gave me the keys to his house in Halifax.
08:15	I	((Laughs)) That's cool.
08:17	S	Yeah but in Toronto, I feel like if I meet somebody here and I just meet them and, you know, have a quick conversation and if I were to invite them over to my house for dinner or something invite them to hangout with my friends I think they would think it's like weird. You're not part of my social circle so why are you even talking to me.
08:39	I	So in Toronto they don't really fit that stereotype of overly friendly at all?
08:45	S	No. That's not my impression anyway.

08:48	I	And the typical Canadian woman? Is she different?
08:55	S	I would say basically the same things. Maybe a little more so. Like, they will always feel like, on top of the defensiveness, the fact that I'd be a male talking to them, there's an extra layer of defensiveness. Like if I met somebody, again I'm speaking to a female and invite her to dinner, they'd think that I have other motives, that I'm interested romantically or whatever.
09:38	I	But do you have an idea of what the typical Canadian woman is like? Is she as much into sports and everything [crosstalk] or is there a difference in the typical Canadian girl?
09:52	S	Pretty much the same thing. They're also very obsessed with sports. I didn't really realized how obsessed Torontonians, or maybe even other Canadians too, are... They'll be wearing baseball caps and the jersey around as much as another guy.
10:17	I	Yeah I agree. Alright. Cool. And do you think there are typical Canadian values?
10:23	S	((Pause)) I think, I don't know. I think Canadians generally have this idea of that they are more polite or more nice than the rest of the world. I don't know if that's true but I know that a lot of Canadians think that way. Also becomes very obvious that that's the case when you meet Canadians abroad and they always want to advertise that they are from Canada and they have the flag literally on their bag, on their shirts, whatever.
11:03	I	Okay, and what kind of relationship do you have with French-speaking Canadians? Do you have any people that you know well or hang out with?
11:14	S	((Pause)) So, aside from basically just Mo is the one that obviously comes to mind, so we're pretty good friends and we hang out a lot. But I don't really have many other French Canadians... But all the ones that I've met I had a good relationship with, like pretty friendly, easy-going.
11:39	I	And what do you think of multilingualism in Canada, the fact that people speak different languages, do you have an opinion on that?
11:49	S	Yeah I generally I think it's a really good thing, it's really interesting. And I wish that I could learn one or more languages.
12:01	M	Okay. And do you think that the fact that not necessarily everyone can understand each other, like you would not really be able to have an interesting conversation with a person that doesn't speak English then, do you think that has an impact on

		Canadian unity as a people?
12:19	S	((Pause)) Sure, sure, of course it does have an impact. But I think, I don't think it's overly negative. Of course it does have an impact because if you think about it, these relationships are really... they're really based on communication that you have between two people. And even if I, especially with a new relationship, even if the tone of your voice is a little bit different that can impact the whole course of the relationship. So, cultural differences, and difference of languages they all come into play. So of course it does have an impact, I think it makes it more challenging, but I don't think it's a bad thing either.
13:13	I	Yeah, I understand. ((Pause)) I got lost in my questions. Where am I at?
		((Irrelevant))
14:02	I	Are there moments when people tend to be more... nationalistic? You mentioned sports earlier?
14:06	S	Oh yes, one hundred percent, yes. Mostly I remember like Vancouver 2010 and whatever the last, was it Sochi or something. Canada won double gold in hockey for like the last 12 years and even if you just go to a bar or Tim Hortons they'll be a party watching the hockey team basically. And watching those games, you feel closer to each other, you'll see people in sports bar cheering, getting along with each other just because of just the hockey game, basically.
14:48	I	And does it ever matter from what side of the linguistic border people are from, in that regard? Are people gonna cheer more for someone because they're from Québec or because they're from the English side?
15:05	S	No I don't, I don't think. Well, I think there's always exceptions to that but I think generally speaking no, it doesn't really matter.
15:15	I	Then it's really just a question of flag?
15:18	S	Sorry?
15:20	I	Then it's just a question of representing the flag, regardless of...
15:23	S	Yeah, yeah, exactly. I mean there's always rivalry, ?coming from a certain side?, but during the Olympics or whatever it wouldn't matter if half the team is from Québec or...
15:40	I	No? Okay. So, now, to summarize a little bit, what does it

		mean to you to be Canadian?
15:48	S	((Longue pause)) That's something that I've been trying to figure out for a long time. I don't know because, as I said, growing up everyone in my school identified, they didn't really identify as being Canadian, like I said, being Indian or Polish or German or whatever. So I don't know, I don't really have a strong sense of national identity, really.
16:20	I	So, do you think there is such a thing as Canadian identity? I guess maybe it's different in Toronto. But do you think there's something that brings people together, a real Canadianness?
16:32	S	((Pause)) Honestly, hockey. That's the only thing I can think of.
16:45	I	((Laughs)) Makes sense. Well, that's all I have, I don't know if you have anything else to say on the topic?
		((Explanation of research question))
17:30	S	I'd be interested to know what a first-generation Canadian, like someone who speaks Mandarin or Hindi or whatever has to say about that. Cause do they identify more as being Chinese or Canadian? Are you planning on talking to anybody that's not from Canada originally? ((Crosstalk))
17:48	I	We'll see in terms of timing, how much I manage to get done. It would be very interesting. But I'm still searching for the true meaning of what it means to be Canadian [laughs], haven't found it so far.
18:07	S	Let me know if you crack the code.
End of recorded interview		

Interview 2

Participant pseudonym: Cara

Interview date: 01.03.2018

Language of interview: English

Timestamp	Speaker	Transcribed talk
00:16	Interviewer	Thank you so much for participating it's really cool
00:18	Cara	No problem
00:20	I	And it's early for you guys ((laughs)). Yeah, time difference made it a little complicated, but here we are. Alright, then I guess I won't take too much of your time and jump right into it.
00:34	C	Cool.
00:35	I	So, just to start with, for a bit of demographic questions. So, can you just introduce yourself a little bit? Where you're from, age, what you do...
00:48	C	Yeah I'm from originally Barrie, Ontario. But I live in Hamilton right now. Uhm I'm 24 and I'm in the entertainment industry working in animation.
01:03	I	Cool.
01:04	C	Yeah.
01:05	I	Nice. Cool ((laughs)). So what language or languages do you speak?
01:13	C	I only speak English ((embarrassed tone)) and like a little bit of French ((laughs)).
01:18	I	And French because of ehm school? Or because of ((cross talk)).
01:22	C	Yeah. School but I was lucky because I went on a student exchange for a little bit so I retained a bit more than the average ((laughs)) Canadian.
01:33	I	Yeah well, that's good already ((pause)). If I tell you 'Canada' what are the first three words that come to mind?
01:43	C	((Pause)) Maple ((pause)) leaf. Is that two words? ((Both laugh)) Uhm I think maple leaf, moose and ((long pause)) just like a lot of trees.

02:01	I	Yeah. Makes sense. ((Pause)) Do you feel Canadian?
02:06	C	Yeah ((uncertain tone)) I feel pretty Canadian, but not ((pause)) the most Canadian.
02:13	I	So not super like strongly ((pause)) nationalist or...
02:18	C	Yeah. Exactly.
02:20	I	And are there times where you feel more Canadian than other times?
02:25	C	Uhm ((pause)) that's such a good question. ((Long pause)) Yeah I guess that's totally fair because sometimes I hang out with so many people that are from immigrant families that like my Canadian identity isn't really a thing and then sometimes like my mom is from Newfoundland and they're really nationalist like in Newfoundland so I'm like wow I'm super Canadian right now.
02:55	I	Yeah. And do you have experiences going outside of Canada? Or outside of Ontario or whatever and it's a bit different?
03:10	C	Yeah that's just like the biggest perk of being Canadian right? I have travelled a bit and it's definitely, it's definitely different. Even going to the states is like a different experience.
03:25	I	Yeah, and do you feel like you feel more Canadian when you go outside of the country? Or not necessarily?
03:34	C	Yeah probably, like more, more adamant about ((pause)) expressing that, that identity.
03:45	I	Mmh okay. Do you think there are different types of Canadians?
03:49	C	Yeah for sure.
03:51	I	And what would these types be?
03:53	C	Uhm I think it's like a location and a community obviously there's like a settler Canadian that's been here for a while, that's like pretty white and British. And then there's like the indigenous Canadian that's like a whole other thing. And then there's a Toronto Canadian vibe ((laughs)) that's like super urban and doesn't really know what's going on in the rest of Canada. And like I mentioned my mom is from Newfoundland and they're like a whole other breed of Canadian, like I don't even like the accent is completely different, it's funny.
04:31	I	Yeah? Never been, would like to though. Uhm and where do you situate yourself in that, I don't know, environment of

		different Canadians?
04:43	C	Man I have no idea ((pause)). Ugh I'd like to get to know them all ((laughs)) but uhm I don't know cause my mom is from Newfoundland and my dad is an immigrant, so I feel kind of like, just trying to be a good Ontarian, like caught between smaller town Canadian and Toronto urban life, I guess.
05:09	I	And do you feel like the linguistic border, or like the language aspect of Canadianness also plays into different types of Canadian? I don't know like Quebec versus the rest or like a split that is language-based?
05:32	C	Yeah probably ((pause)) that would make a lot of sense. Especially since our indigenous people also have their own languages too so I can see it really like creating barriers between different Canadian cultures.
05:48	I	And like do you have relationships with people from the French side of the country, like friends or going to Quebec? What kind of relationship do you have?
06:05	C	Uhm not really.
06:06	I	That's totally fine.
06:08	C	I had a couple of friends from New Brunswick. And they speak a mix of French and English but uhm they don't really speak French with me so yeah no. Which is kind of strange now that you're bringing it up.
06:24	I	((Laughs)) well I mean I'm also from a multilingual country and I don't really have any sort of relationship with people from the other side, so I guess...
06:30	C	That is wild.
06:32	I	Yeah, it's like it's close, but I think language makes it, you know, it creates a big enough barrier that it keeps people from interacting as much.
06:45	C	It's so true.
06:47	I	Okay, and then, well on that topic then what do you think of multilingualism in Canada? Like what are your thoughts on that?
06:55	C	((Pause)) I, I love it. Uhm I'm pretty comfortable with it. But I do know that it's a problem, cause my dad is Portuguese and they never taught me how to speak it, so I was like always around people that I wasn't understanding. I was like pretty okay with it, I love picking up bits and pieces of words and

		stuff, but I do know it makes people uncomfortable. Like especially when you're going to the grocery store and like they're just speaking mandarin to each other across the aisles and you're just like what? ((Laughs))
07:35	I	And do you think it has an impact on Canadian unity? Like the harmony between people and the way people interact with each other?
07:45	C	That's such a good question. ((Long pause)) I'd like to think ideally people get used to it, like not understanding each other and like using other ways of communication. And I think for some like a lot of people get used to it and it becomes a good thing. ((Pause)) Maybe we just need to get used to it and then it's fine and everybody can speak their own language it's not a big deal.
08:23	I	And more specifically on the topic of more that the country is bilingual, two official languages not that people are allowed to talk their own language in the street or whatever but like the official multilingualism is that also something that is either problematic or not?
08:47	C	I don't know. That's such a good question. Cause I feel like the culture is different too like the way they think about things sometimes. And I think it can be great for a country to like have a different perspective. But I, yeah, I don't know would they speak English would that change their different views on some things? It's so interesting. But, but I don't think it's a huge problem ((interrogative tone))? My personal opinion yeah, I don't know...
09:28	I	That's fine. I mean that's what I'm trying to look into.
09:31	C	I mean good luck girl, like ((laughs)).
09:33	I	Well I mean it's interesting because obviously the people that come from the French speaking part have a different [pause] well idea about everything that is related to language and being Canadian because they're from a minority group. And I guess that being from the English side it's a very different experience, and maybe upbringing also.
09:59	C	Yeah, you don't have to think about it at all. And I guess that having a different language might help them maintain their unique identity, which I'm totally into. But I guess that creating unity, I don't know. I don't know like their whole identity washed out by English speakers... That's so sad.
10:24	I	Well that's the whole discussion that's being for a while right? Separatism and everything. But, I mean, people have different

		ideas and different perspectives on it, which is very interesting to me.
10:40	C	Yeah ((laughs)).
10:41	I	And for you, what does the typical Canadian man look like?
10:45	C	Man?
10:46	I	Yeah we'll go to woman right after ((laughs)). Do you have an idea of the typical...
10:53	C	Right, well it sucks cause I'm just so aware of the ideal that they push in the media that pissed me off ((cross talk)).
10:58	I	But for you, then.
11:01	C	It's like you know that guy with the normal-colored jeans like the average-colored jeans and like the red Platt shirt and like a little beard.
11:10	I	((Draws attention to her own red Platt shirt))
11:12	C	((Both laugh)) Yeah you're dressed like a Canadian man today.
11:14	I	Yeah I am.
11:15	C	And he's wearing a little tuque and he's holding a beer. That's the like "this guy is totally Canadian" kind of guy.
11:24	I	And the typical Canadian woman?
11:26	C	She's like got blond hair, like kinda long, straight, blue eyes. She might be in a matching Platt shirt.
11:38	I	So is she part of that settler group that you mentioned earlier?
11:41	C	Oh yeah! For sure for sure ((both laugh)). They've been here for several generations, like came up on a boat, for sure.
11:51	I	Alright. And do you think there's like typical Canadian values?
11:54	C	((Pause)) Uhm yeah, yeah for sure. Like uhm we like to push this idea that we were, you know, nice wholesome people. That we didn't have racism and ((pause)) and we're like accepting of other people. That's the push.
12:30	I	No I, I see that. Uhm, alright, so to, to conclude a little bit, what does it mean to you to be Canadian?
12:39	C	Oh man! ((Laughs))

12:41	I	Deep.
12:43	C	((Laughs)) To be Canadian. I've been thinking about this question a lot. Cause I'm like "yeah what is Canada?"
12:50	I	Yeah. What is Canada? ((Laughs)) That is my entire question here.
12:55	C	Oh my god. Such a good question cause we need help. ((Long pause)) uhm Canadian for me. Oh it's so tricky. ((Pause)) I think it's honestly for me just living here. Like this land is Canada and there's a mess of things happening in it. But I live here, so I am Canadian.
13:24	I	And, is there something more than just the ground that you live on? Something that brings people together?
13:34	C	I think that might be something that we lack. Cause I find it hard to define with every pocket of Canadian culture. Like we have the whole indigenous thing right now, the whole French versus English thing is weird, and like I live in Ontario, which has like the most diluted identity. Like we're trying to be American, but it's not really working. ((Pause)) uhm so I think, I'll be Canadian eventually. But it's just right now I live here and I want to believe that we're not racist and we have, we love people and you know, we care about the environment but... I don't know.
14:31	I	So maybe the typical Canadian values are what makes Canada Canada?
14:36	C	Yeah, maybe. I hope, I hope so ((laughs)).
14:41	I	I'll keep searching for what it means to be Canadian or Canadian identity.
14:48	C	Let me know! ((Both laugh))
14:49	I	Yes! Some other people want me to crack the code and let them know if I find it. So I'll keep you in the loop. ((Both laugh))
14:58	C	I am interested.
15:01	I	Alright well those were the questions I had. I don't know if you have anything else to say on the topic?
15:06	C	No, but I'm glad somebody's looking into it ((laughs)).
15:10	I	Well I don't know if I'll find anything, because you know. But it's, it's really interesting to see, also how people don't necessarily think about it until, you know you start digging and

		then they go “I never thought about this”. But I’ll actually come and look into it some more in person because I’m moving to Toronto in April.
		((Personal irrelevant talk))
End of recording		

Interview 3

Participant Pseudonym: Marc

Date of interview: 16.02.18

Language of interview: English

Timestamp	Speaker	Transcribed talk
00:50	Interviewer	Can you introduce yourself quickly? Who you are, where you're from.
01:00	Marc	Alright. My name is Mohamed, I am from Montreal. Right now I am living in the suburbs of Toronto for work. I pretty much lived in Montreal my whole life before that, my whole teenage years at least, until I moved here. While in Montreal I did my primary school, and middle school, and high school in both English and French, since I think that's what's relevant here today. And ever since then I've been living in a bunch of different countries, exploring different cultures and now I'm settling down a little bit and see what the professional life has to offer.
1:50	I	Okay, so you've touched on that a little bit but what language do you speak, well in this case what languages do you speak?
2:00	M	So like just in general? Well obviously English, French, I learned Dutch when I was in the Netherlands and Belgium. Arabic, ethnically, from my parents' culture. And a little bit of Japanese, from having lived in Japan for about a year. And I think that pretty much covers it, yeah.
2:20	I	Pretty good! And what language do you speak in what context? Like with your family, what do you speak?
2:28	M	Well, depends. With my immediate family I would speak French with my father and he would speak French back to me. I would speak French to my mother, but she would speak Arabic to me, because she doesn't want me to forget the language and what not. With my sister it's a mix of French and English, like we would start a sentence in one language and finish it in another. With my sister's kids, cause they live in Amsterdam they don't know any English or French so I just speak Dutch to them. Which, I've been trying to get her to expose them a little bit but she's too lazy and the rest of my family it's just English or French. Or Dutch, if that's family that I have in the Netherlands, but I barely speak to them so yeah.
3:20	I	And at work?

3:22	M	Work is English.
3:25	I	And friends?
3:26	M	English. This is Toronto, there's not a lot of French-speaking people. I know maybe like 2-3 French-speaking people and I don't see them that often.
3:40	I	Yeah I get that. But if you're back in Montreal is it also English?
3:44	M	It's a healthy mix. So with my family it's French, but most of my friends back home are Anglophones and Francophones, like evenly split.
4:00	I	Okay, interesting. ((Pause)) Now, I'm gonna ask you to think about the first three words that come into your head when you think of Canada. What the first 3 words you think of?
4:12	M	Home, skiing and poutine.
4:14	I	((Laughs)) Okay and do you feel Canadian?
4:20	M	Yeah.
4:30	I	And are there times when you feel more Canadian than other times?
4:36	M	Well, if I'm drunk and I'm getting into a debate as to why Quebec is the best province in the world, than yeah I'd be more Quebecois than Canadian. Because I'm defending my pride. But no I don't, like if you ask me about instances when I feel like, when something is a bit demeaning or something like that, no I don't really have that too often. It's not really something that you notice. It's not in the front of your mind, right.
5:05	I	So would you say there are times when you choose to be more then Quebecois than you would Canadian, or the other way around?
5:12	M	When I get into that behavior ((inaudible)) like, petty and spiteful it's the worst for the person I'm arguing with. It's not something that, to be honest for me it's just a title. Sure like being Canadian is something on my passport, but like I don't really associate myself as being super pro-separationist or something like that. Everyone has their nationalities, and in like Toronto and Montreal are very multicultural places so it doesn't matter at the end of the day, what you associate yourself with. That's the way I see it. It's just another aspect of who I am, just like the color of my skin or the color of my hair. Like oh sure I'm Canadian and whatever.
6:04	I	Do you think there are different types of Canadians?

6:10	M	Uhm, ((pause)) yeah. I mean there's Canadians that have been here their whole life for example. I know some people for which the idea of a vacation is going up north or something like that. Like even another province is a big step for them. Like for example I met a couple of girls on vacation last week, they were from south-east Ontario. They were 28 and for both it was the first time they ever left Ontario in general. And this was in Cuba, right. So like wow, I left the country when I was 16 years old and I just came back, right? So I guess there's like the everyday Canadians that would constitute the majority of the population, where they just do their everyday life, your average Joe. And then you have the international Canadians. Like the Canadians that actually try go on adventures and explore.
7:25	I	Okay so you don't really see a difference that's language-based?
7:30	M	Oh yes for sure! There's that too. I mean even just on the Anglo side there's so much variety. There's also Canadians that are technically Canadians but they just immigrated here and they don't really speak English that well, and even if they do they're like second generation. Maybe their parents didn't bother to teach them English. But if it's between French and English, I mean the culture is pretty much the same for the most part I would say at least. It's just a question of how you would go about expressing, communicating in your day to day life.
8:40	I	Okay. And where you situate yourself, do you feel like you're on one side or the other?
8:48	M	Well, whatever suits me the best ((both laugh)). Like now I'm in Ontario because it pays more to be here so. Plus I have the luxury to be able to choose both sides right?
9:05	I	That makes sense. Now, if you had to describe a typical Canadian man, what would he be like? ((Crosstalk)) Like if you had to pick a Canadian mascot, like THE Canadian man.
9:29	M	Like my ideal version of it? Or the reality of it?
9:40	I	Whatever you feel is your idea of the Canadian man.
9:41	M	The Canadian man would be a brown person that doesn't give into stereotypes, and doesn't stabber 'sorries' like every 5 seconds, like people expect us to. Actually speaks both languages of the country obviously. Learn for themselves and not just be contempt with one little thing. Cultured, doesn't necessarily mean like educated. You can be cultured without having a proper post-secondary education. Well-travelled, or at least acquainted with other cultures. And just a general knowledge of pop culture, like general culture as well, cause

		that's something that's part of us I guess. And an all-around nice person.
10:40	I	((Laughs)) Nice person. That's so typical Canadian on its own.
10:50	M	Yeah here you go, these stereotypes.
10:53	I	And the typical Canadian woman? Just the female version of that?
10:56	M	I don't see why not.
11:00	I	Me neither. Would you say there are typical Canadian values?
11:04	M	Canadian values? Aside from moral values? Like I'm pretty sure our moral compass is the same as everybody else's or like every other moral peoples. Canadian values would be do not judge external appearances, accept people for their differences and try not to be a jerk.
11:30	I	((Laughs)) You'd be surprised it's not necessarily. ((crosstalk))
11:34	M	I guess those values can really get applied to any kind of country ((crosstalk))
11:41	I	So like acceptance in general
11:46	M	Yeah that would be like the biggest one I think, acceptance.
11:53	I	Alright, so my next question has to do more with the whole 'multilingualism' aspect of Canada. So what do you think of multilingualism in Canada?
12:07	M	So the country having multiple official languages? That's fine. A country's history or cultural baggage cannot be limited in scope, one source, right? So the fact that the combination of all that resulted in a country that has two official languages, which is not that many compared to others in the world, it's just, it's nothing surprised at. I think it's not something worth having a second look at.
12:42	I	And do you think it has an impact on Canadian unity?
12:50	M	I don't think it does. Maybe like 30-40 years ago when there was the whole separatist movement, and now things have died down a lot. And I think for me at least my generation growing up there wasn't anything we even thought about, like a lack of unity. Like oh yeah sure, we're like the second largest country in the world, so we don't really feel like compartmentalized or segregated in any way no.
13:25	I	Do you feel like maybe the fact that you speak both languages

		may impact that idea? The fact that you can belong to both sides?
13:36	M	Yeah probably. I mean it might be connected also. As I said earlier, I do have the luxury to be fairly roaming around and be experiencing a bunch of subcultures that can be found in the country. Like people from Alberta can't you know move to Quebec and expect to make a living there, just like people from nowhere Quebec can't move to the middle of Saskatchewan and expect to make a living there because they don't speak English. So I think that definitely contributes, it's a factor, but it's not something that is like an obstacle. It's not that big of an obstacle. It can be overcome, anybody can learn a language so, it's a small stepping stone it's not a big hurdle.
14:35	I	Do you think there's such a thing as Canadian identity? Something that brings everybody together?
14:45	M	Yeah. I mean right now for example it's the Olympics, so I'm pretty sure we're all together in that. Whatever it is that non-tangible Canadian ideal identity, how malleable that is, but there's definitely events or things that can bring it out in all of us. I don't know how I would define it, but it's definitely there. Like yesterday was flag day. So parading in the streets and stuff. It's one of those things.
16:00	I	So to summarize, to you, being Canadian, what does it really mean.
16:10	M	Like the deeper meaning? Wow. Being Canadian.. I don't think there is anything that's too deep about it. It's just like it's something to fall back on, something to come back to at the end of the day. For example, when I was living in Europe I was like you Europeans have silly traditions, you know, but if it gets too much I can always go back to Canada. Here I can be surrounded by like-minded people a.k.a. Canadians. But I guess the same can be said about any nationality. If it's in the context of just being here all your life I don't think other Canadians have too many deep thoughts about what it means to be a Canadian person, or just Canadian in general.
17:10	I	So you would say it's more about just.. I don't know how to phrase that.
17:16	M	It's belonging.
17:20	I	Is it a geographical thing only? Or is some imaginary notion of unity?
17:40	M	No. Like if I went up to Nunavut for example I would be so out of my element. I would not know ((inaudible)). So it's not

		necessarily geographical, it's just, I don't know, it's a feeling. ((laughs)) You need to be Canadian to understand, sorry ((laughs)).
		((irrelevant))
18:50	I	So I guess what I'm wondering here is in a country where people can't necessarily understand each other, what is national identity based on?
18:57	M	Well I guess it's common history wouldn't it? Canada is a pretty recent country and we're still young and fairly freshly independent and we want to stay that way. Whatever what your province may be, we want to stick together and not go back into colonial times. And you know, all we've been to to get to this point in time, that would be the link between everything I guess.
		((irrelevant))
24:00	I	Thank you so much for your help.
24:03	M	No worries. Stay in touch!
End of recorded interview		

Interview 4

Participant pseudonym: Fred

Date of interview: 19.02.18

Language of interview: French

Timestamp	Speaker	Transcribed talk
00:15	Interviewer	Pour commencer, est-ce que tu peux te présenter en quelques mots?
00:19	F	Je m'appelle F, j'ai 22 ans. Je suis ((pause)) Qu'est-ce que tu veux savoir?
00:28	I	Je sais pas, qu'est-ce que tu fais, d'où tu viens?
00:31	F	Okay. Je viens de Chicoutimi, au lac St-Jean. C'est une petite ville à deux heures et demi de la ville de Québec. Après ça je sais pas.
00:43	I	Très bien. Ça me suffit. Quelles langues est-ce que tu parles?
00:48	F	Français, langue première.
00:50	I	Et des autres?
00:52	F	Anglais. ((Cross talk)) Français-anglais.
00:56	I	Très bien. Et tu dirais que tu as quel niveau en anglais?
01:00	F	Avancé.
01:02	I	Okay.
01:02	F	Ouai. Pas bilingue, mais capable de me débrouiller assez pour vivre quatre mois sans parler français. A part quand je t'ai rencontré mais bon ((rires)).
01:13	I	((Rires)) Okay. Et donc dans quel contexte tu parles quoi? Quand tu es au Québec tu parles que français?
01:20	F	Que français.
01:22	I	Et puis en voyage, c'est la que...?
01:24	F	Voyages, c'est en anglais principalement à moins que la personne parle français ou qu'elle soit intéressée à apprendre la français une fois que c'est fun à essayer d'apprendre... De montrer à une personne comment parler français, les mots et tout. Mais principalement c'est en anglais en voyage et puis en français dans la vie de tous les jours.

01:44	I	Okay. Nickel. Maintenant, si dois décrire le mot 'Canada' en trois mots, quels sont les trois premiers mots qui te passent pas la tête?
01:53	F	Olalala.. Eh ok. Canada en trois mots. Je dirais ((longue pause)) liberté, ressources et [longue pause] nature.
02:27	I	Okay. Intéressant. Est-ce que tu te sens canadien, toi?
02:31	F	((Très rapidement)) Non.
02:33	I	Dis-m'en plus.
02:35	F	Je me sens québécois avant d'être canadien. Moi je trouve que le Québec se distingue vraiment d'abord par sa langue mais aussi par sa culture qui est vraiment différente du reste du Canada. On est la seule province au Canada qui parle français comme langue première donc, je trouve que le Québec se distingue beaucoup du reste du Canada donc voilà c'est pour ça que je me considère québécois avant d'être canadien. Mais oui je me considère canadien mais je suis québécois avant d'être canadien.
03:08	I	Et est-ce qu'il y a des moments où tu te sens plus canadien que dans d'autres?
03:15	F	((Longue pause)) Non.
03:22	I	Et est-ce qu'à un moment comme maintenant, avec les jeux olympiques ou des fêtes nationales etc. Est-ce que tu as l'impression que...?
03:35	F	Alors oui c'est sûr qu'alors je m'identifie au Canada. Comme la les jeux olympiques, quand il y a des compétitions internationales c'est sûr que je vais 'prendre' pour le Canada ou je vais être content des performances canadiennes, mais je dirais qu'au Québec on est... Un canadien si il a pas un nom québécois des fois c'est un petit peu, on s'en fout un peu des canadiens des autres provinces, je dirais.
04:02	I	Donc tu dirais ((crosstalk)) qu'il y a plusieurs types de canadiens différents donc?
04:09	F	Ouais.
04:10	I	Et donc ces types-là sont du coup basés sur la langue ou sur les provinces...?
04:18	F	((Pause)) Je dirais province de l'origine de la personne, d'où elle vient. Parce qu'il y a des français aussi en Ontario, et puis dans d'autres provinces comme au Nouveau Brunswick, en Ontario tout ça du Canada, qui sont pas nécessairement rattachés au Québec et puis qui... Je dirais vraiment que c'est une question

		de provenance, de la province du Québec plutôt que seulement de langue.
04:50	I	Okay. Et si tu devais me décrire un homme canadien typique, c'est quoi pour toi un homme canadien typique?
05:02	F	Un typique canadien ((longue pause)). Je dirais ((longue pause)). C'est dur je sais pas.
05:20	I	((Rires)) Prends ton temps. Il n'y a pas de bonne réponse ou mauvaise réponse.
05:25	F	Ouais je sais mais on dirait que je me suis jamais posé cette question-là, et puis là je... Tu me fais réfléchir là. ((Longue pause)) Je sais pas. Je sais pas.
05:55	I	Ca va aussi. Et est-ce que selon toi il y a des valeurs qui sont typiquement canadiennes? ((Pause)) Tu avais dit liberté avant dans les mots, est-ce que...?
06:07	F	Typiquement non, mais c'est sûr que ça fait partie de notre identité au Canada. Je pense pas, je pense qu'on a une belle variété de valeurs mais qui est pas typiquement, nécessairement typiquement canadien.
06:30	I	Et même si c'est pas typiquement canadiennes, ces valeurs là c'est quoi en général, tu trouves?
06:34	F	Je te dirais, comme je t'ai dit la belle valeur de liberté ((longue pause)) mmh ((longue pause)).
06:55	I	Liberté ça suffit.
06:58	F	Ouais okay. On va dire ça alors.
07:02	I	Et qu'est-ce que tu as comme relation avec les Canadiens anglophones, toi?
07:09	F	Une bonne relation, moi j'ai pas de... Les seuls Canadiens anglophones que j'ai rencontrés c'est des anglophones en voyage. Et puis les gens en voyage sont toujours sympathiques donc j'ai vraiment pas de mauvaise image du Canadien anglophone ou quoi que ce soit, fin que j'ai quand même une, comment dire, une bonne impression des Canadiens anglophones.
07:40	I	Mais c'est pas une impression partagée par la majorité des Québécois?
07:45	F	C'est pas ce que je ressens en tout cas.
07:46	I	Okay. Et puis en général, tu as l'impression que les autres Québécois ils se moquent des anglophones?

07:59	F	Qu'ils se moquent, pas nécessairement. Mais je pense qu'ils se reconnaissent seulement pas dans la manière qu'ils vivent dans cette partie-là. Je dirais que c'est plus une question d'appartenance. Je pense que les québécois ne se reconnaissent pas dans le canadien anglophone.
08:23	I	Mais, c'est juste une question de "ils s'en fichent" ou est-ce qu'il y a une question d'animosité, ou ils ne s'aiment pas?
08:30	F	Je pense pas que ça aille jusqu'à la haine, je pense que ça serait de l'indifférence plutôt.
08:36	I	Et du coup, c'est quoi ton avis par rapport au fait que le Canada, c'est un grand pays, mais il y a plusieurs langues?
08:45	F	Moi je trouve que c'est... Plusieurs langues, enfin deux principalement, mais je trouve que c'est intéressant, c'est différent, diversifiant. D'une province à l'autre il y a des cultures différentes, des mentalités différentes, ce qui fait la richesse d'un pays. Je trouve ça bien d'être capable de voyager, justement dans le sens du voyage, tu peux rester dans le même pays et de rencontrer plusieurs cultures différentes, plusieurs mentalités différentes peu importe dans quelle province tu te situes. Je trouve que c'est très riche au niveau culture, et puis du pays et de l'idéologie aussi. C'est le fun tout ça.
09:24	I	Est-ce que tu as l'impression que cette histoire de langue différentes ça a quand même un impact sur l'harmonie entre les gens ou le sentiment d'unité canadienne?
09:36	F	En général non, je dirais qu'on est quand même solitaire au drapeau canadien. Et puis je pense que s'il y avait un conflit ou quoi que ce soit on laisserait tomber les différences qu'on aurait entre nous et on s'unirait sous le drapeau canadien, je pense.
09:56	I	Donc toi tu fais pas partie des gens qui préféreraient que le Québec soit séparé?
10:03	F	Non.
10:04	I	Okay, intéressant. De nos jours c'est un sentiment ou un avis qui est partagé beaucoup ou est-ce que la plupart des gens...?
10:13	F	C'est partagé, enfin c'est quand même un sujet politique encore vraiment d'actualité, la séparation du Québec du Canada. Puis je te dirais, il y a des gens qui sont pour et des gens qui sont contre, pas pour les mêmes raisons. Mais je te dirais que c'est quand même un sujet chaud encore politique et c'est ce qui peut des fois faire pencher la balance de, comment je pourrais dire ça ((pause)) non voilà.

10:56	I	Et donc du coup, pour résumer, pour toi “être canadien” ça veut dire quoi?
11:02	F	((Pause)) Pour moi “être canadien” c’est ((longue pause)) c’est un sentiment de liberté, c’est [longue pause] c’est un sentiment de, ouai, je dirais que c’est ((longue pause)) ouai je sais pas.
11:45	I	C’est bon, c’est égal.
11:47	F	Excuse-moi.
11:48	I	Et si au lieu de dire “être canadien”, je reformule et je dis “le Canada c’est quoi”? ((Pause)) Est-ce que c’est juste un pays, ou est-ce qu’il y a quand même ((pause)) tu vois ce que je veux dire?
12:02	F	Non
12:02	I	Non peut-être pas, je crois que je formule pas très bien ((rires)).
12:05	F	((Rires))
12:08	I	Si tu devais re-répondre à ma question du début, le Canada en trois mots c’est quoi? À quoi ça te fait penser? ((Pause)) Est-ce que après le reste de la discussion tu as une réponse différente?
12:20	F	((Pause)) Quand tu m’as demandé au début de décrire le mot “Canada”? Non. Liberté, ressources et nature.
12:34	I	D’accord. Super.
12:39	F	En fait ta thèse elle est sur quoi exactement?
12:44	I	En fait ce que je recherche c’est est-ce que ça veut dire quelque chose de différent, pour des gens de chaque côté de la barrière linguistique, d’être canadien? Est-ce que ça veut dire la même chose pour un québécois et pour un canadien anglophone?
		((Discussion about researcher’s studies))
14:25	I	Est-ce que tu as quelque ce soit d’autre à dire sur le sujet? Quelque chose qui te passe par la tête?
14:34	F	Non, pas pour l’instant. Si ça me vient je te l’écrirai, des fois que je pense à quelque chose là.
14:38	I	Volontiers. Merci beaucoup pour ton aide.
14:43	F	Merci à toi d’avoir pensé à moi.
End of recorded interview		

Interview 5

Participant Pseudonym: Alice

Date of interview: 27.02.2018

Language of interview: French

Timestamp	Speaker	Transcribed talk
00:45	Interviewer	Juste pour commencer, est-ce que tu peux juste te présenter en quelques mots. D'où tu viens, qu'est-ce que tu fais, tout ça.
00:54	Alice	Je m'appelle Alice, je viens de Montréal, Québec, au Canada. Et puis je travaille dans le milieu du cinéma. Donc je travaille comme ?pigiste? de manière autonome.
01:07	I	Okay. Cool. Et quelle langue est-ce que tu parles? Quelle langue, pluriel, singulier, peu importe.
01:14	A	Ma langue maternelle c'est le français. Puis après je parle aussi anglais ((pause)) parfaitement du coup là.
01:21	I	Et dans quel contexte tu parles quelle langue? Avec tes amis, au travail etc.
01:28	A	Et bien vu que j'habite au Québec, qui est francophone, je parle français au travail et avec mes amis, la famille et tout le monde. Par contre là mon copain vient de la Nouvelle Zélande donc on parle anglais, je parle anglais avec lui. Et mon entourage parle pas mal l'anglais aussi donc tant qu'on est avec lui on parle en anglais. Sinon ça reste pas mal français.
01:49	I	Okay. Cool. Si je te dis 'Canada', est-ce que tu peux me donner les trois premiers mots qui te passent par la tête?
01:57	A	((Pause)) ((inaudible)) Ouverture d'esprit. Ça compte-t'il comme trois mots ça? ((Rires))
02:05	I	((Rires)) On va dire un.
02:08	A	Sinon je dirais ((pause)) fierté, entraide.
02:17	I	Okay. Intéressant. Et donc toi, est-ce que tu te sens canadienne?
02:22	A	Oui, moi je me sens très Canadienne. Et puis je suis contente de le dire aussi, j'aime ça de dire que je suis canadienne.
02:30	I	Est-ce qu'il y a des moments où tu te sens plus canadienne que dans d'autres?
02:35	A	((Pause)) Euh non pas vraiment, j'ai toujours été... C'est sûr que,

		je sais pas si t'as su un peu, si tu connais l'histoire du Québec et Canada et tout là.
02:45	I	Ouais ouais.
02:46	A	Mais c'est clair qu'il y a des moments où j'étais plus québécoise avant d'être canadienne. Et le fait de j'ai voyagé pis le fait d'avoir vu le reste du Canada c'est sûr que là je me sens plus Canadienne, et puis je suis vraiment plus fière d'avoir un pays ((pause)) bilingue, fin que l'union du Canada au complet que de juste avoir québécois avant d'être canadien.
03:10	I	Okay donc toi tu serais pas pour avoir un Québec séparé du reste du Canada?
03:15	A	Non. Non, non, non. Je l'étais, je le suis plus.
03:19	I	Okay. Donc ça c'est arrivé après avoir rencontré d'autres canadiens que tu as changé d'avis ou c'est...?
03:25	A	Ouais, c'est pas mal en voyant le reste. Dans nos écoles au Québec on nous donne un peu une façon que le Canada nous voit pis une éducation un peu portée sur... Pas sur le séparatisme mais sur la langue française, que ça se perd, que le reste du Canada s'en fout un peu. Mais à force d'avoir voyagé, pis d'avoir rencontré des gens un peu partout dans le Canada, d'avoir habité ailleurs aussi j'ai réalisé que c'est pas nécessairement vrai, que les canadiens veulent parler français, que c'est important, et qu'ils apprécient, qu'ils aiment le Québec et le fait qu'on parle français. Qu'il y a des petites commun- commun- voyons
04:04	I	Communautés?
04:07	a	Qu'il y a des petites communautés ((rires)) francophones un peu partout dans le Canada, peut-être que ça réalise qu'on fonde le Canada c'est ça aussi là, c'est les deux, c'est les deux langues.
04:13	I	Okay. ((Pause)) Et est-ce que tu penses qu'il y a plusieurs types de canadiens différents?
04:18	A	((Longue pause)) Eh bah il y a les francophones ((rires)), les anglophones. Mais, non, non je crois pas.
04:30	I	Et toi tu te situes ((pause)) t'as l'impression qu'il y a une séparation entre les francophones et les anglophones quand même niveau culturel ou, plus que juste linguistique?
04:43	A	Ouai niveau culturel, c'est vrai qu'au niveau culturel il y a une différence, c'est pas la même... Mais tu sais, ça dépend je dirais. C'est sûr qu'il y a, tu vois en gros si tu compares avec la masse avec la majorité c'est sûr qu'il y a une grosse différence entre les français et les anglophones, si t'y vas vraiment avec les préjugés

		et avec juste les premières apparences mais après au final je pense qu'on se rejoint tous, fin que tous les canadiens au final se rejoignent tous.
05:12	I	Donc selon toi il y a un peu des valeurs ou quelque chose de culturel qui est commun à tous les canadiens peu importe leur, leur langue maternelle?
05:23	A	Ouais je pense que ouais. Je pense que à la base on est tous, on est tous canadiens. Il y en a beaucoup qui vont mettre le Québec, la langue française avant, mais je pense qu'au final tout le monde se dit canadien même si ((rires)), même s'il y a cette guerre entre les français et les anglais.
05:41	I	Okay. Et si tu devais me décrire l'homme canadien typique, il ressemble à quoi?
05:49	A	((Rires)) Euh il serait pas mal grand ((rires)), fort avec une barbe.
		((Rires))
05:58	I	Un peu les stéréotype ((Cross talk))
06:00	A	Le t-shirt à carreaux là, un vrai bûcheron ((rires))
06:03	I	Et la femme canadienne?
06:04	A	((Pause)) Euh la femme canadienne elle est indépendante. C'est une femme indépendante je pense. Puis pareil ((pause)). Par contre c'est moins typique, il y a moins de... Pour moi une canadienne c'est juste une femme forte aussi, mais tu sais avec un caractère, une femme qui ne se laisse pas nécessairement ((inaudible)) sur euh. Mais je sais pas c'est peut-être plus pour les québécois parce que c'est les femmes québécoises que je connais plus que... Mais je sais que les femmes, les québécoises sont bien reconnues pour être des femmes fortes et indépendantes.
06:38	I	Cool. Et du coup ces valeurs canadiennes dont on parlait avant, tu penses que ces valeurs typiquement canadiennes c'est quoi?
06:46	A	((Pause)) Bah l'entraide je pense c'est une grosse valeur. Le respect aussi. Ça j'ai pu le contaster dans beaucoup, conte-, ouai, j'ai plus de cerveau ((rires)).
06:55	I	Constater ((rires))
06:56	A	Je sais pas ce que j'ai aujourd'hui. J'ai pu le conta-, conte-, voyons ça.
		((Rires))
07:03	A	Dans plusieurs pays le respect c'est pas quelque chose que tous

		les pays ont de la même façon. Puis je pense que nous on a vraiment un respect de de la personne, de l'espace personnel. Tiens, le meilleur exemple dans les autobus les gens ils font la file pour entrer dans le métro pis t'sais t'as un respect de "le premier arrivé le premier qui rentre dans l'autobus"
07:22	I	Ouai
07:23	A	Je pense que ça c'est une grosse, une grosse valeur du Québec ((pause)), bah du Canada en fait, le respect des autres aussi.
07:30	I	((Acquiesce)) Et puis du coup tu penses quoi du multilin-, multilinguisme, purée moi aussi j'ai de la peine avec les mots aujourd'hui [rires]. Donc le fait que les gens parlent des langues différentes toi tu trouves que c'est ((pause)) quelque chose qui est plutôt positif ou plutôt?
07:48	A	Nan moi je pense que c'est positif, c'est ça qui fait un peu la beauté aussi du pays là. Tu sais d'avoir deux langues, mais après c'est sûr que ça fait un, une rivalité parce que tu veux pas que le gouvernement enlève de l'argent d'un bord pour le mettre de l'autre. Qu'il penche plus d'un bord ou de l'autre. Mais après je pense que tu vois il y aurait... Faut avoir une bonne façon de gérer ça, je pense que c'est la beauté un peu du Canada c'est qu'on, c'est un des seuls pays qui est parfaitement, qui se considère vraiment bilingue pis je pense que c'est important de garder les deux langues, c'est nos deux... Nos deux ((pause)) nos deux cultures, les anglais et les français sont venus au Canada, pis c'est un peu le secret de pourquoi c'est différent d'un côté et de l'autre aussi tu sais.
08:31	I	Est-ce que tu penses que le fait que toi tu sois vraiment bilingue et que tu passes pas mal de temps aussi, en fait entre les deux, est-ce que tu penses que ça change un peu ton opinion sur ((pause)) le bilinguisme?
08:44	A	Oui. Bah ouais. Ouais, ouais, ouais. Je pense que quelqu'un qui a toujours habité ici, puis qui est jamais sorti, va avoir une opinion vraiment plus fermée sur la langue française. Vraiment plus séparatiste, et maternelle de garder sa langue française, de pas parler franglais. Les anglais, on aime pas les anglais. Mais je pense que de sortir, de voir aussi autre chose, de voir par ses propres moyens, tu réalises qu'au final ((pause)) c'est pas les anglophones qui mettent la langue en danger autant que c'est nous qui, les québécois en tant que tel qui la mettent en danger là mais, ouais. Je pense que d'être entre le l'anglais et le français c'est sûr que ça ((pause))
09:25	I	Ça change ((cross talk))
09:25	A	Ça m'a ouvert les yeux, ouais.

09:27	I	Et est-ce que tu crois qu'en général ce... Le fait que les gens puissent pas nécessairement se parler l'un à l'autre entre les francophones et les anglophones, tu penses que ça a un impact sur l'harmonie ou le sentiment d'unité canadienne? Pour le reste des canadiens?
09:40	A	Euh je pense ((pause)) pas. Parce que en général ceux qui sont séparatistes, ceux qui parlent que français, ils restent au Québec ((rires)). Pis, tu sais maintenant c'est rendu de plus en plus, les jeunes commencent à apprendre l'anglais vraiment tôt là, mes petits cousins qui ont 12 ans pis ça parle déjà pas mal anglais.
		((audio recording failure))
10:12	I	Et est-ce que tu as l'impression qu'au-delà des valeurs, est-ce qu'il y a d'autres choses qui sont vraiment très communes aux canadiens, plus qu'à d'autres pays spécifiquement? Je sais pas, genre, quelque soit d'autre auquel tu peux penser?
10:26	A	Le goût de l'alcool ((rires)), euh, nan mais je... Autre que les valeurs, je pense que c'est pas mal nos valeurs qui nous gardent un pays mais sinon, tous les canadiens en général on est fiers de notre pays. Ça c'est quelque chose que j'ai remarqué, si tu veux on est fiers de dire qu'on est canadiens, t'sais le Canada... La c'est les olympiques par exemple, bah tu sais tout le monde va en parler, tout le monde va être fier de de du pays, tout le monde va regarder ça. Je sais que même en voyage quand on avait des canadiens, même les gens ils portent les couleurs du Canada, les mitaines, la tuque. Je pense qu'il y a une fierté qui rassemble aussi ça, d'avoir un pays qui... Qui a du sens.
11:11	I	Ouais. Et est-ce que tu as l'impression qu'il y a une partie qui est aussi ((pause)) mmh, je sais pas comment poser cette question. Qui est du fait, que la fierté c'est en partie du fait que vous êtes 'pas américains'? Que c'est pas ((cross talk))
11:24	A	Ouais
11:26	I	Que c'est pas les États-Unis? Vous faites partie du même, vous êtes voisins mais pas...
11:30	A	Ouais, ouais, ouais. Je comprends. Je pense que oui aussi là. Je pense on va se faire mettre dans le même bateau que les américains là, moi je sais qu'aussitôt que je suis en voyage là, et qu'on me dit 'américaine', je me défends et je dis "non non non je suis canadienne, je suis pas américaine". Je suis sûre que ça nous aide un peu à nous sentir mieux parce qu'on est... Nos cousins d'en bas sont un peu, sont un peu mal vus, donc c'est sur que ça nous remonte un petit peu, de on est pas comme ça.
11:56	I	Comme on voit souvent ces trucs sur internet avec ces <i>memes</i> où

		t'as les Canadiens qui regardent les États-Unis en rigolant de l'autre côté de la frontière ((rires)). Donc je me demandais si...
12:06	A	Ouai, c'est la merde aux États-Unis, <i>meanwhile</i> au Canada on bouffe du sirop d'érable.
12:10	I	Ouais c'est clair ça aide avec la fierté un peu j'imagine ((rires)).
12:14	A	Ouais c'est sûr qu'on se dit "au final on est juste à côté et on vit le même, pas mal dans le même coin, on a les mêmes températures, le même budget, la même... bah pas la même économie mais quand même similaire disons. Donc on se dit on pourrait bien finir comme eux aussi mais au final on s'en sort [pause]. Au final notre plus grosse réputation c'est les Canadiens on est polis et gentils, c'est pas si pire ((rires)).
12:39	I	((Rires)) Non, c'est plutôt bien ((rires)). Okay. Donc pour résumer, j'ai plus ou moins fini mes questions, donc pour toi, en résumé ça veut dire quoi "être Canadienne"?
12:50	A	((Pause)) Euh, pour moi être Canadienne? O mon dieu. Pas je pense c'est de, bah d'abord d'avoir un savoir vivre là, genre je pense que déjà ça, d'avoir été née au Canada ça m'a donné un savoir vivre, d'être respectueux, d'être poli genre. Je pense déjà ça c'est quelque chose que j'ai d'être canadienne, mais aussi d'être dans un beau pays, qui est ouvert d'esprit, qui est vert et tu sais l'écologie est encore un peu là. Pis je sais pas, d'être fière d'avoir un beau pays c'est, c'est qu'il y a des bonnes valeurs dans le fond.
13:24	I	C'est intéressant parce que j'ai fait plusieurs interviews jusque-là et ça revient souvent, ces choses-là. Entre le sport, la nature, et puis la liberté ou ces valeurs d'inclusion ça revient souvent donc ça à l'air d'être un thème un peu important.
13:43	A	Ah oui!
13:43	I	Mais c'est des bon thèmes. Bon voilà, je crois que c'est tout ce que j'ai comme questions. T'as d'autres choses à dire sur le sujet de la 'canadienneté' ou, ce qui m'intéresse surtout c'est le lien entre le multilinguisme, de, de, de parler des langues différentes mais d'avoir quand même une identité nationale. ((Pause)) Donc c'est ça qui m'intéresse.
14:20	A	Euh non, je pense que j'ai fait le tour pas mal, de ce que ((pause)) ce que j'ai pensé là.
14:34	I	Ok, je crois aussi.
14:37	A	Mais je crois que le Canada, justement il y aura plein d'autres gens qui te diraient différemment, mais moi je te dirais que la

		<p>beauté c'est justement qu'on est un pays ouvert. Tu sais il y a beaucoup de gens qui viennent d'ailleurs, si tu vois à Montréal ou il y a beaucoup de langues différentes. Je sais, je sais que c'est une grande ville là, avec maintenant <i>Chinatown</i>, et <i>Little Italy</i>, on a la petite Italie, tu sais il y a beaucoup de... Dans le fond comme partout ailleurs mais je pense que les gens sont assez acceptés ici pour leur propre langue, leur propre culture aussi, puis je pense que c'est ça qui fait la beauté du Canada.</p>
15:14	I	<p>Bah super. C'est tout ce que j'ai comme questions. Hésite pas à me contacter si tu penses à quoi que ce soit d'autre. Je te tiendrai au courant, mais je crois que j'ai tout ce qu'il me faut. Merci encore beaucoup d'avoir pris le temps de discuter.</p>
<p>Fin de l'enregistrement</p>		