Canadian Identities:
An Interdisciplinary Overview of Canadian Research on Identity

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I. Introduction

“Identity” may be defined as the distinctive character belonging to any given individual, or shared by all members of a particular social category or group. The term comes from the French word *identité* which finds its linguistic roots in the Latin noun *identitas, -tatis*, itself a derivation of the Latin adjective *idem* meaning "the same." The term is thus essentially comparative in nature, as it emphasizes the sharing of a degree of sameness or oneness with others in a particular area or on a given point. “Identity” may be distinguished from “identification;” the former is a label whereas the latter refers to the classifying act itself. Identity is thus best construed as being both relational and contextual, while the act of identification is best viewed as inherently processual (Rummens 1993: 157-159).

The term “personal identity” may be used to refer to the result of an identification of self, by self, with respect to other. It is, in other words, a self-identification on the part of the individual. In contrast, “social identity” may be used to refer to the outcome of an identification of self by other; it is an identification accorded or assigned an individual by another social actor (Rummens 1993). Both concepts are clearly distinct from the notion of “self-identity,” which may be defined as the "individual self as reflexively understood by the individual in terms of his/her life history." The latter concerns itself with the state of being a specific person and no other, the distinctive character belonging to a single individual—in short, a given subject’s total, all-encompassing and defining essence—and has traditionally been more the domain of psychology than of sociology and anthropology. All three conceptualizations of identity are important to consider when examining the interdisciplinary literature concerned with the social classification of individuals and concomitant identification processes.

A great deal of research has been done in Canada that focuses specifically on issues of identity. This material is, however, rather difficult to access since it tends to fall under various overly general rubrics, including “cultural identity,” “social identity,” “ethnic identity,” “racial identity,” “social identity,” “group identity,” as well as “self-concept.” Used as keywords, these terms are often simply convenient “catch-alls” that are primarily descriptive in nature. Only 1 in 5 items retrieved via existing search terms commonly used in various on-line search services and university library catalogues actually deals with identity per se.

In light of Canada’s rapidly changing demographics and growing sense of itself as a maturing nation, a comprehensive overview of the research already done in the area is important to researchers and policy makers alike. The topic of identity is of increasing interest to scholars, researchers and students in a wide variety of disciplines, and of particular policy relevance to various governmental ministries and departments. The latter includes Canadian Heritage (Multiculturalism, Canadian Studies, Official Languages, Native Citizens, Arts and Heritage, Community Participation, etc.) as well as Citizenship and Immigration (CIC).
This literature review provides an interdisciplinary overview of the Canadian English-language research literature on identity. It covers a wide array of disciplines and fields of study, including anthropology, education, geography, history, psychology, sociology, political science, as well as ethnic, native and women studies. This comprehensive overview is based on an analysis of all materials that could be retrieved via on-line periodical indexes, library catalogues, and website searches. These items include journal articles, books, reports, theses, videos, governmental documents as well as unpublished manuscripts. Particular effort was also made to include recent graduate level work and, where possible, project reports from recently completed research initiatives. International research was incorporated only if it included a focus on Canada; otherwise the emphasis is clearly on the Canadian literature.

Given that there are almost an unlimited number of "identities" that are ascribed to and/or assumed by individuals and groups as social actors, this review limits itself to a consideration of the major socio-cultural identities deemed relevant in the Canadian context. These include aboriginal, ethnic, national, linguistic, regional, racial and religious identifications. Other important identities such as age, sex, gender, dis/ability, sexual orientation, and socio-economic status have been incorporated only to the extent that their consideration in the literature intersects with a primary focus on cultural identities. In the interest of greater conceptual clarity, racial and religious identities are given separate treatment from "ethnic" ones in the analysis. In this synopsis, ethnic identity is thus used to refer specifically to Canada's various immigrant cultural communities. This in no way denies recognition of the various overlaps and intersections among these three types of identity but instead enhances it. Most importantly it should be noted that materials retained for inclusion in the bibliography had to make clear reference to identity per se; ethnographies and other treatises concerning specific cultural groups were not automatically included. The only exceptions were those works that clearly dealt with social group identity or inter-group dynamics. Finally, though common alternate nomenclature has also been included in this overview, groups' own self-identifications have been favoured wherever possible.

II. Search Strategies and Parameters

A number of different search strategies were used to ensure inclusion of a wide range of materials across the various disciplines. Online search services were used to locate academic journal articles, while books, theses, reports, videos and governmental documents were found via major university library catalogues. In addition, various website searches facilitated the retrieval of relevant research project reports, conference papers and other unpublished documents. In all cases, the particular keywords used were tailored to the particular search service or strategy employed in order to ensure the optimal retrieval of relevant materials. Care was also taken that the search terms used reflected topic areas and terminological usage within each of the various disciplines covered in this literature review. (For examples please see Sample Search Strategies in the Appendix). The timeframe covered in the literature search was limited only by the search services themselves. All searches are as up-to-date as possible and include the most recently published books and journal articles.
Journal articles and conference papers were located via such on-line services as Sociological Abstracts, Humanities Index, PsychInfo, Psyclit, Medline, Dissertation Abstracts, Microlog (Canadian Government Documents) and Social Sciences Abstracts (Social Sciences Index). A search of Current Contents—an interdisciplinary search service—was also undertaken to ensure that even the most recently published materials were included, namely those not yet catalogued by the various search services. Books, theses, reports, videos, and government documents were located via the on-line catalogues of the Library of Congress, York University Libraries and the University of Toronto Libraries. Research reports, workshop papers and unpublished documents were found via website searches of Canadian Heritage, Citizenship and Immigration Canada, Metropolis Centres of Excellence, and The Policy Research Initiative (PRI), or else provided by the author's personal collection of relevant materials. An overview listing of Literature searched appears in the Appendix.

2928 items were retrieved via on-line services and library catalogues using these search strategies. In addition, more than 250 documents were scanned via the website searches for possible relevance. This work was undertaken with the research assistance of Ali Hassan Zaidi M.A. who implemented the various search strategies and made the initial determination of items to be retained for inclusion in this literature review. 557 of the approximately 3200 items retrieved using a wide range of identity-relevant search terms were then retained after a second cut by the author. The overall retention ratio was thus close to 1 in 5 items. Search Parameters: For a reference to be retained for more detailed analysis, its focus had to be specifically on—or directly overlapping with—socio-cultural identity. It was not enough that the material in question might be relevant to issues of cultural identity for an item to be retained; so, for example, very few ethnographies of particular cultural groups have been included in this review. At the same time items that focus on “social group identity”—a commonly used keyword in existing search engines—have been included for their relevance both in terms of identity development, construction and negotiation, and in terms of inter-group relations. "Race as a social category" is, for instance, important on both counts.

III - Analysis of Materials

Each of the 557 reference items retained in this comprehensive literature search was then analyzed to determine the particular type of identity and nature of identity processes discussed. This entailed a complete review, analysis, and coding of both the considered and retained items by the author in order to distill major topic areas, themes, and issues, and was informed by the author's own specialization and 14 years of research and teaching experience in the area of identity. The goal of this "content analysis" was a) to determine what research has been undertaken in Canada to date on issues of identity, in order to b) determine areas requiring future attention. Given the volume and diverse range of materials located via this interdisciplinary literature search, this literature review is necessarily limited to an analytic overview of research undertaken rather than synthesis of all research findings.
The analysis of the compiled materials revealed the following major thematic areas:
specific types and kinds of identity; various aspects of identity formation/development,
construction and negotiation; implications for group dynamics; and the role of the state.
A summary of these larger thematic areas and key subheadings appears in the
overview table below. A review of the specific topics contained under these various
headings is provided in the synopses that follow.

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<th>Overview of Major Thematic Areas</th>
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IV - Summary Overview of Findings

First some general observations. Changes over time: It is clear from a review of the literature that the rubric of "multiculturalism" of the 1970s was largely replaced by a discourse on anti-racism (particularly in education) through the 1980s. Both were later subsumed under the more inclusive term "identity" over the course of the 1990s.

Interdisciplinary differences: Identity research in sociology, anthropology and political science tends to focus on the ascribed nature of identity, the social construction and negotiation of group differences, as well as the informing and ensuing group dynamics. In sharp contrast, work in psychology and medicine tends to focus almost entirely on identity development and formation within the individual and is therefore very much concerned with issues of identity searching, identity crisis, self-concept and self-esteem. Research in the humanities tends to concern itself with various expressions of identities—including Canadian national identity—both in literature and discourse, while government documents as well as some of the political and sociological research explores the role of the state in the sponsorship of cultural identities.

Recent works: Much of the most recent work done in the area of identity appears as theses, project reports, and conference papers. A number of major books, doctoral thesis and reports have also been written and/or published on the topic over the last decade, and include the following:

Books dealing with aboriginal, indigenous, native, First Nations identities include (Davis 1997), (Burley, Horsfall, et al. 1992), (Parkinson 1992), (Tafoya, Sterling, et al. 1995), (Thomas 1990), and (Restoule 1994). There is also an interesting 1974 bibliography on by the Micmac (Union of Nova Scotia Indians 1974). Key books in the area of ethnic identity include (Berry & Laponce 1994), (Driedger 1987 & 89) as well as the research of (Kalin & Berry 1994) and (Bourhis 1994) on ethnic attitudes. Other work consider ethnic identity and: demographics (book chapter by Krotki & Reid 1994); race (Isajiw 1999); immigrants (Benvenuto 1996); youth (Hebert, Kodron, et al. 1998); literature (Schaub, Keefer, et al. 1996), (Padolsky 1994); the media (Fleras 1994); and the importance of place (Crombie 1995). Notable theses include (Romans 1990) on Ukrainian identity in Canada as well as (Sarhadi 1993) on globalization and youth.

Research on national identity includes (Ministry of Supply and Services 1991), (Earle & Wirth 1995) and (Mandel & Taras 1988). (Fraser 1967) and (Angus 1997) consider Canadian identity: (Flett, McKinley, et al. 1999) explores its relationship with race and (Mauguiere 1998) its expression in literature. Regional identities are examined by (Mandel & Taras 1988) and (Taras & Rapsorich 1997), while (Dodge 1992) focuses on Quebec identity in particular. The Canadian Policy Research Network has also prepared
a number of papers that address issues of social cohesion. These include: (Canadian Heritage 1998), (Jeannotte 1997), (Jeannotte, forthcoming), (Jeannotte, Ellis, and Butt, 1996) and (Stanley forthcoming); (De Santis, forthcoming) on diversity and cultural participation; as well as (Karim, forthcoming) on the impact of digital communities (new media).

Key books that explore *racial identity* include (Fong 1999), (Foster 1996), (Kelly 1998), and (Walcott 1997). (Clairmont & Wien 1976) look at the racial composition of Canada, (Govia & Lewis 1988) provide an historical perspective, while (Manyoni 1986) examines the notion of "skinship." Mention should also be made of the theses by (Kitosa 1998) and (Yon 1995). Work on *religious identity* includes books by (Yousif 1993) and (Mol 1985), and explores its intersection with aboriginal, indigenous, native identity (Treat 1996), ethnicity and immigration (Berns-McGown 1999) and multiculturalism (Adelman & Simpson 1996).

In terms of *identity processes* (Makabe 1998) looks at generation differences within the Japanese Canadian community, (Hazelle Palmer 1997) explores perception of identity and assimilation in her book "But Where are You Really From?" while Hall's thesis examines the phenomenon of ethnogenesis within the francophone community in Toronto (Hall 1999). Kalin and Gardner's edited volume on social psychology (Kalin and Gardner 1981) also remains influential in the field. Finally, the *role of the state* in identity processes is examined in work by (De Santis, forthcoming), (Gamlin, Berndorff, et al. 1994), (Karim 1996), (Kymlicka & Norman 2000), (Laponce 1994), (Pask 1994), (Paquet 1994), (Tepper 1994) and (Weinfeld 1994).

1. Types of Identity

Most of the research literature focuses on ethnic identity, followed by national identity, then native identity and racial identity. Research on regional identity and religious identity is less well represented in terms of total number of reports, articles and books. The former might reflect a relative lack of attention to the topic; the latter the fact that religious identity has tended to decrease in salience for many—though certainly not all—established groups in Canadian society. It should be noted that the analysis distinguishes between national identity and citizenship since a sense of national belonging is not necessarily a prerequisite for the latter.

*Aboriginal/Indigenous/Native/First Nations Identity*

Research on aboriginal, indigenous, native, and/or First Nations identity includes discussion of native cosmology, healing practices, rituals, the sacred, traditional culture, traditional games, traditional subsistence and world view. Much of the work concerns itself with acculturation models or strategies such as assimilation, integration, segregation and marginalization, as well as issues of cultural retention, maintenance and intergenerational socialization. A few references deal with change, namely identity transition, non-traditional religious identities, as well as the link between native identity and sport.
The intersection of native identity and age is explored in work that focuses specifically on children and youth as well as the cultural role of Elders. Intersections with gender identity are also addressed in some of the research. Other work considers the overlap of native identity with Canadian identity, citizenship, national identity, and issues of colour. A few references deal with the impact of colonization on native identity; these look at indigenous identity as colonized, as "ethnic," or as First Nations, while others explore Metis identity as a mixed identity.

The largely psychological literature focuses on cognitive development, self-concept and personality, while some of the very early—and academically dated—education research examines the role of culture on intellectual abilities. More recent research in the area of education concerns itself with native education, school curriculum, academic performance, academic or educational achievement, and vocational aspirations.

Other work focuses on the impact of economic factors, societal and structural conditions, social status and level of societal development on native identity. The role of the justice system is also explored, as are links with politics, self-determination and social conflict. The relationship between native identity and language, as well as its expression in art, literature, oral narratives and other discourse also receives attention, as does the link between native identity and place.

Finally, the literature search also yielded more general reference materials that cover native demography, mental and physical health, and history. Other works provide a bibliography of relevant sources or address related research issues.

Ethnic Identity

The term "ethnic" is commonly used to refer to a group that differs from others in terms of culture (either immigrant and/or non-immigrant), nationality, race or even religion. In this review these four different identity criteria have been treated separately for the sake of greater conceptual clarity. The term "ethnic" is thus retained for specific reference to Canadian cultural groups of immigrant origin.

Research on ethnic identity focuses on descriptions, expression, narratives or discourse, and ethnic experience. It considers ethnic self-identity, ethnic salience, symbolic ethnicity, social preference, social meaning as well as social significance. Some of the work focuses on perceptions of self-identity, perceptions of social identity, preference, social preference, social meaning, social significance and social category membership, while other work explores various identification patterns, the existence of hyphenated identities as well as the phenomenon of transnational identity.

The literature includes material on ethnic origin or heritage, the homeland, traditional culture, value orientations, ethnic norms and ethnic subculture. Attention is also given to food preferences, child rearing, home-leaving, marriage patterns, cultural transmission and socialization, as well as ethnic organizations and community governance. A few
items focus on collectivist/individualist distinctions, regional differences or variations and international comparisons.

A wide range of immigrant and refugee groups are represented in the research undertaken to date. Comparisons are made with the host culture, and the social contributions of newcomers to Canada also receive mention. Some of the work focuses specifically on diaspora communities, domestic workers, sojourners and the foreign-born. Much of the work, however, tends to focus on the migration/emigration/immigration, settlement experiences, adaptation strategies and group survival of these immigrant populations. Particular attention is given to acculturation models or strategies (assimilation, integration, marginalization, segregation) pursued by various ethnic groups within a context of cultural diversity as well as differences in acculturation processes within an ethnic group.

Other work focuses on change, more specifically on cultural retention and culture loss. Research on ethnic cultural maintenance explores the roles of community size, cultural values, government, language, religion, mass communications, social networks and structural resources on this process. Strategies pursued by specific ethnic groups also receive attention, and include the establishment of ethnic enclaves, ethno-specific recreational activities and the process of ethnic regeneration. Language, language preferences or abilities and language retention are also examined.

Research also addresses issues related to cross-cultural contact, alienation, social isolation, and the effects of social interaction, including discrimination and historical redress. Much of the psychological research literature focuses on social psychology, the role of culture in intellectual abilities, personality, psychological development, other psychological aspects, self-esteem and vocational maturity.

The intersection of ethnic identity with other major identity criteria is well addressed in the research undertaken to date. The latter include: age (adolescent, elderly, children, youth), dis/abled identities, gender, gender relations, gender roles, generation, minority group, minority group membership, national identity, race, religion and sexual orientation. Ethnic expression in art, literature, the media and recreation also receives attention, as does its articulation with major social institutions including: agriculture; education (educational attainment, educational opportunities, academic performance or achievement, school, school curriculum); employment and labour (earning capacity, economic success or satisfaction); health care; social services delivery; as well as other forms of social support.

Work in political science and sociology includes research on ethnic identity and citizenship, civic participation, political participation, and voting patterns. It explores relationships with the government and the nation state, and also touches on the contributions of ethnic groups to Canada. Other work focuses on politics, power relations and the emergence of ethnic nationalism. Attention is also given to existing social conditions, differential resource allocation, social structure, socio-economic status/class and social mobility, as well as the impact of globalization processes.
Finally, considerations of geography, history, demography, ethnology, as well as relevant research issues are addressed in a number of general reference works on ethnic identity.

Linguistic Identity

The Canadian research literature on linguistic identity includes studies of bilingualism, host language acquisition, multilingualism, ethnic language retention, the status of native languages, and language maintenance or preservation. Attention is given to the critical link between language and culture, especially as this is negotiated through acculturation processes and articulated in specific acculturation strategies. The important connection between linguistic identity and ethnic as well as national identity also receives treatment. Other studies examine code-switching, language competency, language preference and literacy, focus on language in education, or provide brief historical or research-relevant overviews.

Specific attention is given to the intersection between linguistic identity and age (children) and to generational differences. Particular linguistic identities considered include: anglophone (in Canada, Ontario, Quebec); francophone (in Canada, the Maritimes, Quebec); native; and ethnic minority.

National Identity

Research on Canadian national identity includes consideration of its expression in the arts, communications, literature, music and sports, as well as in various narratives and forms of discourse. It is examined in terms of citizenship (including citizenship education) and civic participation, as well as in terms of shared values. Attention is therefore also given to Canadian social cohesion, social divisions, social stratification, socio-economic integration, as well as to the importance of community.

The research literature explores divergent images or forms of national identity—expressed in terms of culture, ethnicity, citizenship, and/or allegiance to a given nation state or territory—and also examines identification patterns and attitudes. The role of culture, cultural consciousness and the emergence of "Canadianism" receive attention in some of the work, while other research examines the role of ideology and imagery (obstacles/survival) in the construction of Canadian national identity. Research has also been undertaken on issues of national sovereignty, national unity, and various forms of nationalism, as well as regional differences and the emergence of regionalism. Other work considers national identity as a social identity and examines the emergence of hyphenated national identities.

The intersection of national identity with other major identities also receives fair consideration. The latter include age (children; youth), race, religion and socio-economic status or class. Surprisingly, there is very little exploration of intersections with ethnicity, nor the possible variations therein. Attention is, however, given to the impact of: immigration and immigration policy; linguistic policy (of Canada, Quebec,
Canada vs. Quebec, Canada vs. USA); and multiculturalism policy (diversity, pluralism and assimilation). Other work examines the role of politics, social conditions, education (including school curriculum), globalization, technological change and transition, or addresses the connection between national identity and individual rights. Useful reference materials include work in the area of demography (population), history (historical development), and theory. A few references deal with related research issues.

Regional Identity

Research on Canadian regional identities focus on the cultural distinctiveness of, and cultural diversity within, various geographically-defined areas of Canada. The relatively modest literature focuses particularly on images or portrayals of regionalism, its expression through narratives or discourse, as well as attendant ideologies. Much of this work falls in the realms of history and literature. There is some treatment of gender, nationality, inter-regional migration, politics and political culture. However, this area of work remains relatively underdeveloped. Specific regional identities considered include: city communities, the Maritimes, Newfoundland, the North, the Northwest Territories, Ontario, the Prairies, Quebec and the West.

Racial Identity

Canadian research on racial identity is fairly comprehensive in its focuses on indigenous populations, “visible minorities” (particularly Black), as well as Caucasians (Whites). Latin Americans, South Asians and domestic workers of various origins also receive attention.

Discussion begins with a consideration of colonial legacy, the historical legacy of slavery, and the historical representation of physical difference, as well as their role in the social construction of racial identities. Attention is given to life histories, social experience, and sense of alienation felt by members of visible minority groups, as well as articulations of racial identity in narratives and other forms of discourse. Racial awareness, preference and socialization are also explored, as is the legitimization of racial difference through ideology. Much of the Canadian research on “ethnic” identity during the late 1970s and 80s concerns itself specifically with racism and anti-racist policies and practices.

Racial identity is considered both in terms of a collective identity and in terms of its cultural dimensions, in other words as ‘ethnic.’ Intersections between socially significant physical difference and other major identities are also examined; the latter include ethnic identity, national identity, citizenship, age (children, adolescents, youth), gender, sex, and generation. The racial identities of immigrants and refugees populations also receive attention, as does the impact of Canada’s immigration policies and practices on Canadian changing demographics.

The articulation of racial identity in various contexts is explored in work that focuses on the family (especially parent / child relations), education (school), employment, labour
and the justice system (delinquency; violence). Its expression through language, as well as in literature, the media, music, sports and popular culture, is also examined. Consideration is furthermore given to the various social conditions and relations that directly inform racial relations. These include differential power relations expressed through social stratification (socio-economic status or class; issues of social mobility) and political interaction. Attention is also given to residential patterns, urbanization, the importance of place, and to comparisons with the United States. General reference material includes relevant bibliography.

Religious Identity

Canadian research on religious identity focuses on religious expression and practice, including through narratives and other discourse, and on socialization processes. Attention is given to ethnic awareness, ethno-religious identity, as well as minority religions and sects. Much of the literature concerns itself with the maintenance or preservation of specific religious identities, as well as to conversions and change processes. Work dealing with migration and immigration processes tend to focus heavily on the various acculturation modes or strategies (assimilation, integration, segregation, marginalization) pursued by newcomer groups in their religious practices. Intersections with major identities other than ethnicity, include a consideration of gender and generation. The relationships between religious identity, national unity, and place are also explored, as are the connections between religious identity and economics, politics and power relations. More general reference materials focus on religious demographics and history.

2. Specific Identities

The literature search revealed very good coverage of Canadian ethnic identities, with over 70 specific identities receiving detailed attention. Most of these reflect cultural groups of European, Asian, Caribbean or Latin American origin, mirroring to a large extent Canada’s immigration policies over the last few decades. There is very little coverage of African-based ethnic identities, nor has much been written about the identity or identity processes of more recent immigrants to Canada such as Ethiopians, Somalis and Tamils. The literature is also weak in terms of research on linguistic, religious, visible minorities.

Aboriginal/Indigenous/Native/First Nations Identities in Canada

Research on native identity includes work on Arctic (Inuit or Eskimo), North West Coast (Kwakiutl, Salish), and Plains/Prairie aboriginal groups. A few references specifically identify the particular cultural groups by name. Included among the latter are: the Cree, Dakota, Dene, Innu, Micmac, Mohawk, Montagnais/Naskapi, Ojibwa and Salteaux. A few pieces of work deal with Metis identity, while the odd one simply refers to Treaty Indians. Unfortunately, much of the literature tends to ignore the rich cultural diversity existing among Canada’s native populations, treating all identity issues together under the rubric of “general.”
Canadian Ethnic Identities

Canadian ethnic identities are well represented in the identity literature and account for close to half of all retrieved items (once “racial” and religious identities are teased out for separate analyses). These identities reflect cultural groups that originated from all major continents, with the exception of Africa which is more poorly represented. Regions which are indeed well represented include: Europe (general; Central, Eastern, Northern, Southern, South Eastern and Western), Asia, South Asia, the Caribbean (including both Afro-Caribbean and Indo-Caribbean/West Indian populations), the Middle East, and Latin America (Central and, South). Specific identities include: Albanian, American, Arab, Australian, British, Bulgarian, Cambodian, Chinese, Columbian, Croatian, Cuban, Czechoslovakian, Dutch, East Indian (includes Virasaiva), El Salvadorian, English, Fijian (East Indian origin only), Filipino/Philippino, Finn, French, German, Greek, Guatemalan, Haitian, Hungarian, Indo-Pakistani, Icelandic, Irish, Ismaili, Israel, Iranian, Italian (includes Sicilian), Japanese (includes: Issei, first generation; Nisei, second generation; Sansei, third generation), Korean, "Macedonian," Mexican, Malaysian, New Zealander, Nicaraguan, Pakistani, Polish, Portuguese, Romanian, Russian, Scandinavian, Scottish, Sikh, Solomon Islander, Somali, South African, Soviet Union (USSR), Spanish, Swedish / Swede, Tibetan, Ukrainian, Vietnamese, Welsh, Yugoslavian, and Zambian. Note that all terms used to refer to specific ethnic communities are those in common usage in Canada (eg. “Ismaili,” “Sikh” and “Macedonian”). Other works deal with Canadian ethnic identities more generally.

Canadian Identities

Canadian identities specifically addressed in the literature include national, linguistic, regional or other culturally-based identities, plus various combinations thereof. The broadest classification considered is that of North American. This is followed by Canadian, considered in general terms, as post-colonial, and in comparison to American and Swiss identities; also in some work Canadian is contrasted with Quebecois. Within the national framework, English Canadian identity (in Quebec) and Anglo-Canadian identity (including identification with the United States) receive consideration, as do "English" versus Canadian, English Loyalist, and Anglo-Saxon or WASP identifications. French Canadian identity in the Maritimes and Quebec also receives attention, as does of course Quebeois and/or Quebec identity. Other important Canadian identities addressed include Acadian, Celtic (Anglo-Celtic) and Gaelic.

Attention is given as well to various hyphenated identities, including African-Canadian, Chinese Canadian, European Canadian, Indo-Canadian, and Jewish-Canadian. Bicultural and mixed heritage identities also receive some mention. Major regional or territorial Canadian identities considered include: Franco-Manitoban, Franco-Ontarian, Maritimer (Atlantic Canada), Newfoundlander, Northerner, Northwest Territories, Ontarian, Pacific Northwest (Cascadian), Prairie, Quebecker/Quebecois and Westerner/Western Canadian.
**Linguistic Identities in Canada**

Canadian linguistic identities covered in the literature include: native languages (Cree); anglophones/English in Canada, New Brunswick, Quebec, the United States; francophones/French in Canada, the Maritimes/Atlantic Canada, Nova Scotia, Ontario, Quebec and New Brunswick; as well as ethnolinguistic identities such as Yiddish. Specific attention is also accorded to Canadian English and Quebec French.

**Religious Identities in Canada**

Canadian research on religious identity addresses the following religious affiliations: Buddhist, Christian, Hindu, Jewish (orthodox), Muslim and Sikh. Christian religious identities include both Catholic and Protestant; denominations include Anglican, Baptist, Calvinist, Methodist, Presbyterian, and United Church. Ethno-religious identities such as Doukhobor, Hutterite and Mennonite also receive attention, as do Jehovah's Witness, Pentacostals and the Church of Scientology.

**Visible Minorities in Canada**

Canadian racial identities addressed in the literature include aboriginal/indigenous/native, "Black" (including Canadian, Afro-Caribbean and African), Asian (particularly Chinese), Latin American, South Asian and Whites. The latter “non-visible” identity has been included in this section only because it is based on a racial identification; its inclusion should in no way be understood to deny existing power differentials among majority and minority groups based on "racial" differences. The literature in this area also gives some consideration to issues of mixed racial heritage.

**3. Identity Processes**

Identity processes refer to identity development/formation, identity construction and identity negotiation. Identities are not just ascribed or achieved as part of the individual's socialization and developmental process, they are also socially constructed and negotiated by social actors. These identifications of self and/or other may be accepted or they may be contested; in many cases they overlap or intersect with other significant—and sometimes competing—identities (Rummens 1993). Making a distinction between self-identity, personal identity and social identity (see Introduction) helps to shed greater light on these closely intertwined processes.

Identity Development/Formation (of self, by the individual)

*Identity development or formation* refers to the cognitive developmental processes that each individual undergoes throughout the maturation process as he or she explores his or her place in the world and develops a unique sense of self. Research literature in this area examines the different developmental stages that individuals undergo and explores variations according to age (children, adolescent, youth, adult), ethnicity and gender.
The literature on this topic is largely dominated by the field of psychology. The latter focuses explicitly on the development of self-identity, and considers ideal self versus real self, in-group affirmation and in-group denial, as well as the development of national self-identity. It further explores self-identification processes, including the importance of identification by others, existence of discrepancies, personality adjustment, and impact of experimenter bias on research results. The existing work also examines self-labeling (ethnic) and naming processes, as well as the development of a self-concept or self-image; research regarding the latter considers self-concept clarity, as well as its sometimes negative or changing nature. It also explores the impact of significant others, measures school self-acceptance, and reflects on the influence of test language on research findings.

Other work focuses on identity searching, identity confusion and identity crisis or conflict. Some of this research explores the various stages through which individuals may pass (ego identity status), as well as their sense of influence over their internal and external environment (locus of control). Attention is also given to identification choice. Identity evaluation is also considered, as are various strategies for collective and personal self-enhancement.

The influence of social identity on identity development is explored in work that examines the perception of difference/similarity among groups, affiliation and group identification processes, and in-group pride. Identification as a social minority or majority group member is also addressed, as are (racial) identification preferences. The constancy or permanence of ethnic and racial identities receives mention, as does labeling accuracy in social identification processes.

The research literature also explores the links between identity development, self-confidence and both personal and collective self-esteem. In so doing it furthermore investigates the impact of individuals’ sense of attachment, sense of belonging, and sense of commitment, and considers: the effects on mental health and well being; personality; psychological adjustment; and the impact of memory.

The role of various factors in identity development or formation receives considerable attention. This includes an examination of the impact of: place of birth; migration; material (or economic) forces; language; cultural forms and industries (literature, oral narratives); education; religion; the state (see also Section 5); moral factors; value orientations; culture and cultural differences; as well as racism and hate / bias activity. The different contexts (intersituational) in which these developmental processes take place is also examined, as is their expression through language, literature, oral narratives and social interaction. The importance of socialization is also considered.

Other works focus on social psychology, psychological measures, theory and various theoretical approaches or perspectives (including accessibility theory, escape hypothesis, identity status approach, and light colour bias theory). Attention is also given to cross-group comparisons, minority/majority differences, identity development in
visible minority group members, variations across geographical regions, as well as international comparisons.

**Identity Construction (of self by individuals and/or groups)**

*Identity construction* refers to the creation, formulation and expression of personal or social identities for the self, either by individuals or groups. Research in this area focuses largely on the socially-determined nature of identity and much of the work falls naturally within the domains of sociology and anthropology.

This research literature focuses on the development of collective group identity as well as on the emergence of new, culturally-based, collective identities (ethnogenesis). It explores their expression through images or meaning and through imagined communities, and examines the role played by shared values. The cultural appropriation as well as reconstruction, reinterpretation or revitalization of existing identities is also examined, as is the communication of newly constructed identities through narratives, discourse and language.

Particular attention is given to the social construction of difference through language, symbolic identity markers, and opposition. The social construction of ethnicity is explored in research on the ‘ethnicization’ of "English," “native,” and “Maritimer” in Canada, as well as on regional differences. Attention is also given to ethno-cultural and ethno-religious groupings. Work on the social construction of national identity addresses both Canada and Quebec, and examines regional differences and variations in its expression. The social construction of race and of religious identity also receives mention.

Research in this area also considers the role of ideology in identity construction, as well as that played by various cultural forms/industries including the arts, cinema/film, dance, literature, media, music, narratives, new media, information technology, poetry and sports. It also examines both existing parochialism and emerging transnationalism, and presents a number of theoretical approaches to the topic.

**Identity Negotiation (of self/other, between/among groups, by/within groups via individuals)**

*Identity negotiation* refers to the political nature of social identifications of self and/or other between or among, and by or within groups, via the interaction of individuals. Identities can be ascribed, achieved or simply assumed both by individuals and collectivities. The fact that socially ascribed identities (social identity) do not always correspond to the individual’s self-definition (personal identity) points not only to possible existing societal tensions, but more importantly to the power dynamics that underscore many identification processes (Rummens 1993).

Research in this area focuses on identity ascription, categorization and labeling, as well as on the construction of group identities (based on race) and construction or
maintenance of group boundaries. It examines the development of group consciousness and sense of belonging, and explores structural identification. Competing, conflicting and contested identities are also analyzed, as is the existence of dual, hyphenated, mixed and multiple/plural identities. The individual’s ability to simultaneously and yet independently self-identify with two cultural identities at any one time (orthogonal identification) also receives attention. The literature furthermore explores overlapping or intersecting identities, the context-bound nature of situated identities, as well as the phenomenon of symbolic ethnicity.

Work in this area also explores the significance of misidentifications and examines the differential evaluation of socially relevant identities by various individuals and groups. It thus considers the various strategies used by different social actors in their negotiation of social position through opposition, identity politics, and the politics of difference, and pays particular attention to the negotiation and evaluation of group identities. Specific strategies addressed include: marginalization [of aboriginal, ethnic, ethno-racial (through naming), racial and religious groups]; criminalization; ethnic jokes; racialization; and stigmatization. Response strategies considered include: resistance to and/or re-negotiation of relevant identities; group empowerment; as well as demands for collective group rights (including territorial claims and divisions), all of which reflect attempts to secure greater autonomy, legitimization, and/or social control.

The research literature examines the role of identity negotiation in the development of the state, as well as the impact of socio-cultural diversity. Some of the work considers the influence of cultural dissonance and value opposition on identity negotiation processes, while other research explores the effect of ethnolinguistic status, language, language preference, social distance, and territorial or residential segregation. Ethnic saliency, the role of ethnic associations, as well as the impact of ethnic institutional completeness are other topics addressed.

Specific intersecting identities examined in this research literature include cultural identity, gender, generation and socio-economic status. Identity negotiation by immigrant groups is also considered, with special attention given to migration and immigration processes as well as to variations in acculturation strategies (assimilation, integration, marginalization, segregation) pursued. Immigrant identification with the host culture is also explored. Identity negotiation by marginalized groups through the construction of exclusionary identities, ethnopolitical action and/or collective resistance also receives attention.

The influence of cultural forms and industries on identity negotiation processes is examined in work in the area of drama and theatre, literature, media, museum exhibits and music. Consideration is further given to the role played by economic forces, employment, government, ideology, language, mass communications, the media, and television; the impact of symbols and importance of context or place receives mention as well. The research also analyzes the role of ethnic organizations, historical symbols, language and religion in the maintenance or social reproduction of socio-cultural
identities, and pays special attention to such processes in settler societies such as Canada.

Identity socialization, transformation and expression through narratives or discourse are explored in this body of literature as well. Patterns of identity negotiation are examined, as is the process of identity synthesis. Other work focuses on research, theory and theoretical approaches.

4. Group Dynamics

Individual and group identities both inform and are themselves the products of social group dynamics. The latter refers to attitudes and behaviours both within and among various societal groups and population categories. The Canadian research literature includes very good coverage of inter-group attitudes and relations; it is much weaker in terms of intra-group processes. The literature synopses that follow address both inter-ethnic and/or inter-racial attitudes and relations, unless otherwise specified.

Inter-Group Attitudes

The existing research literature explores the development of inter-group attitudes in children, and considers variations according to age (children, youth). It addresses ethnocentrism and prejudice (including attributional style) as well as stereotypes based on age, ethnic presence, gender or sex, language and race. It further examines racial preference, inter-group perceptions and expectations, in-group versus out-group distinctions, as well as the role of public opinion. The expression of inter-group attitudes in images/portrayals, literature and language is also addressed.

Attitudes regarding cultural diversity, bilingualism and multiculturalism (as ideology; as programme; its consequences) are specifically examined, as are attitudes regarding immigration and various acculturation strategies (assimilation, integration, segregation, marginalization). Inter-group attitudes between anglophones and francophones receive attention; however, only these two linguistic and/or cultural groups are considered. Much of the research literature focuses on dominant group attitudes towards and relations with various ethnic minority groups; little attention has been given to inter-group attitudes and relations among them.

Some of the research explores the nature of inter-group attitudes in greater detail, and focuses on tolerance, inter-group tensions, as well as xenophobia. It then examines the role of cross-cultural contact, in-group similarities and differences, diversity, ethnic composition, geographical proximity, education (type and level) and the media (newspapers, television) in the formation of inter-group attitudes. Variations according to socio-economic status or class are also addressed.

The literature includes the development and discussion of relevant psychological measures, and reflects various theoretical perspectives, including cognitive developmental, perceptual-affective balance and psychodynamic explanations.
Inter-Group Relations

The literature on actual inter-group behaviour—as opposed to attitudes—is largely focused on issues of discrimination, particularly discrimination on the basis of race. Where age is considered, the focus is on children: other age categories are not specifically addressed.

The existing research briefly touches on inter-group accommodation, intermarriage patterns (including dating and mate selection), sense of belonging and perceptions of social acceptance. Most of the work examines discrimination based on ethnicity, "race," religion, and sex / gender. The literature distinguishes between discrimination at the group level and at the personal level, and also considers personal/group discrepancies in the reporting of perceived discrimination. Racism (institutional and situational), ethnic jokes, and hate-activities receive particular attention, as does the stigmatization (based on "race"), marginalization, oppression, subordination, and segregation of various social groups. While much of the focus is on race, religion and religious communities also receive explicit attention.

Explanations are sought in the nature of cross-cultural contact, degree of contact, spatial organization and value differences between relevant social groups. In-group/out-group comparisons are also examined, as are specific contact preferences. Various responses to existing inter-group dynamics receive attention as well. These include anglo-conformity and cultural dominance, as well as personal and collective resistance and ethnic mobilization. The various contexts (education, mass media; at school, at work) in which inter-group relations are expressed are also addressed.

The impact of Canada’s pluralism and official multiculturalism policy on intergroup relations is also explored, while the role played by language receives special mention. Much of this work attempts to determine the connections between existing patterns of inter-group relations and a) the formation of a national identity, b) social incorporation of all citizens (civic participation), and/or c) social cohesion. The literature also points to existing inequities, social divisions, status differentials, and other forms of social stratification within Canadian society. It furthermore reflects on the role of politics and power differentials in determining the nature of inter-group relations, and points to inter-group competition, conflict, tensions, and polarization as common expressions thereof. Transformations in inter-group relations also receive mention.

Finally, the existing literature also examines the social psychology of inter-group relations, as well as the impact thereof on self-definition. International comparisons are also made, and the role of academia and research in influencing particular inter-group relations explored. Other work presents various sociological approaches to, and theoretical perspectives on, the subject.

The specific types of inter-group relations addressed in the research literature include cross-cultural, colonizer/colonized, majority/minority, Black/White, and English/French
relations. Canada’s relations with its a) aboriginal, indigenous, native, First Nations peoples, b) ethnic minority groups, and c) visible minorities, also receive attention, as do Canada/Quebec and Canada/USA/Mexico relations. Native/ethnic group relations and native/non-native relations are addressed as well, as are Quebec’s relations with its ethnic minorities and aboriginal, indigenous, native, First Nations peoples. Host society/immigrant and refugee relations are also examined.

**Intra-Group Attitudes**

The research literature regarding both intra-group attitudes and behaviours is much smaller than that on inter-group dynamics. In-group attitudes toward acculturation and cultural change, immigrants and immigration, multiculturalism and national identity are addressed in this body of work, as are tolerance, group pride and ethnic pride. The role of cross-group comparisons and of ideology is considered, as are variations in the degree of acculturation and sense of security. Predictors and psychological measures of intra-group attitudes are also presented and some international comparisons made.

**Intra-Group Relations**

The literature on in-group interactions is similarly modest. It addresses self/group relations as well as self-reliance. Attention is also given to community development, leadership, institutions and infrastructure (including institutional completeness), organization, politics and support. The role of the family in in-group dynamics, as well as that played by food preferences, is also considered. The existing research further examines the impact of internal diversity, intergenerational differences, internal divisions or discord on intra-group relations. Cultural resistance vis-à-vis the host culture and the integration of newcomers into the group, are two additional topics addressed.

5. **The Role of the State**

State sponsorship, promotion, obstruction or denial of various socio-cultural identities is logically subsumed under Section 3) – Identity Processes: Identity Negotiation; the role of the state. This topic has, however, been separated out for special attention in this review in order to facilitate reflection on the linkages between identity and issues of social justice (discrimination, human rights), civic participation, and social cohesion. Materials analyzed are limited to those retrieved via an academic/scholarly literature search; additional "gray" materials (internal reports and other such documents) exist within various governmental ministries but were not readily accessible for the purpose of this literature review. Note too that given the relatively small volume of research material in this area—as well as sometimes changing jurisdictions—federal, provincial and municipal levels have been collapsed together, unless otherwise indicated.

In addition to a few General works on the role of the state in the negotiation of socio-cultural identities, the research literature addresses several specific areas of governmental jurisdiction. Research in the area of identity and Citizenship/Naturalization Policy has focused on: aboriginal, indigenous, native, First Nations peoples; immigrants or refugees; ethnicity; multiculturalism; nationality, national sovereignty, national
symbols; citizenship education, citizenship/civic participation; democracy; technological change; and globalization. A few studies also offer international comparisons. The work on *Constitutional Legislation and Discourse* considers the impact of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, constitutional reform and Canada’s social diversity.

In terms of *Cultural Policy*, attention is given to Canada’s pluralism, its Multiculturalism policy, and ethno-racial policy, as well as to relevant discourses. The state’s role in defining citizenship and national identity, as well as in promoting various modes of acculturation (assimilation, integration, segregation, marginalization), is also considered. Other work focuses on international comparisons, research, and theory. The literature on *Education Policy and Practices* focuses on the specific needs of aboriginal, indigenous, native peoples, as well as those of parents. It reflects on the education system’s role in the assimilation and marginalization of particular social groups, as well as on group, individual and parental rights. Anti-racist education (including that of racial minority teachers), bilingualism and multicultural education all receive considerable attention, while thought is also given to the school and university contexts in which these important socialization processes take place. Student assessments also receive mention.

Research on *Immigration Policy and Practices* considers its relationship with citizenship, the demographic needs and economic factors that inform policy, as well as the impact of immigration policy and practices on race or ethnic relations. Other relevant materials focus on the social contributions of immigrants and on experiences of racism. The state’s impact on identity processes through *Language Policy* is addressed in work on Bilingualism (including public support thereof), immersion programmes, the Multilingualism debate, English-as-a-Second Language (ESL), French language instruction, heritage languages and minority languages. Special attention is given to language policy in education. *Legislation, Policies and Practices regarding Canada’s Aboriginal/Indigenous/Native Peoples* also receive some consideration in work on the state’s naming of indigenous peoples as well as on its role in the area of education.

Relevant work in the area of *Communications* considers the impact of information technology and new media. The state’s impact on identity processes through its *Support for the Arts* also receives mention. Materials addressing *Human Rights* issues focus on education, employment equity, freedom of religious expression, affirmative action, discrimination, racism and civic participation, while research on the *Justice System* examines historical redress and land tenure. Finally, the research literature on *Human Resources* explores identity issues in employment, while work on *Social Services* focuses on welfare policy/social assistance as well as on the special needs of Canada’s youth.
V - Conclusions

This interdisciplinary literature review has provided an overview of research themes and topics in the Canadian literature on identity. A number of recommendations regarding further research emerge from a consideration of this body of work; several gaps in the literature are also evident.

Greater attention needs to be given to the rich cultural diversity that exists among Canada’s native aboriginal, indigenous, native, First Nations people; much of the research literature simply lumps linguistically and culturally distinct groupings together. In light of Canada's changing demographic profile, new research in the area of ethnic identity might also begin to focus on various African-based ethnic identities as well as on cultural variations within Caribbean- and Asian-origin populations. The intersection of Canadian national identity and ethnicity—together with the possible permutations thereof—is another area that has been largely unexplored. Regional identities should also be accorded more emphasis; regional snapshots of major representative identities and intergroup dynamics (both attitudes and behaviours) would also be particularly useful. Religious identity remains an especially underdeveloped research area and yet is particularly salient among several newcomer immigrant and refugee groups. It too merits greater consideration.

More research might also be undertaken on identity development/formation, construction and negotiation within, among and by recent immigrant and refugee groups in Canada more generally. In this era of globalization, transnational identities also require additional attention. Further analyses of inter-group and intra-group dynamics is also needed. The research on inter-group attitudes regarding cultural diversity is largely limited to a consideration of anglophones versus francophones, as well as to dominant group attitudes towards and relations with Canada's ethnic groups; relatively little attention is given to inter-group attitudes and behaviours among Canada’s various immigrant cultural communities. The literature on intra-group attitudes and behaviours (ie group dynamics) is particularly weak and needs further development. The retrieval and analysis of internal government documents (reports, commissioned studies, workshop papers, briefing notes, etc.) would also contribute greatly to our understanding of the role of the state in identity processes.

Finally, syntheses of research findings within each of the subsections and/or internal subheadings developed in this literature review would be enormously helpful to researchers and policy makers alike. A review of theoretical developments regarding identity development/formation, identity construction and negotiation would be especially important in this regard. Ideally such synthesis would also encompass social identities that were beyond the scope of the present literature review, including those associated with various sub-cultures (youth; gay/lesbian communities) as well as non-cultural identifications based on age, sex, gender; sexual orientation, dis/ability and socio-economic status/class.
VI - Appendix

Literature Searches

Sample Search Strategies

Full Bibliography
Literature Searches

A. Journal Articles and Conference Papers
   (using the Silver Platter search service)

   **On-line Search Services included:**
   Sociological Abstracts
   Humanities Index
   PsychInfo
   Psychlit
   Medline
   Dissertation Abstracts
   Microlog (Canadian Government Documents)
   Social Sciences Abstracts (Social Sciences Index)
   Current Contents (an interdisciplinary search service)

B. Books, Theses, Reports, Videos, and Government Documents

   **On-line Catalogues:**
   Library of Congress
   York University Library
   University of Toronto Library

C. Research Reports, Workshop Papers and Unpublished Documents

   **Website Searches included:**
   Canadian Heritage
   Citizenship and Immigration Canada
   Metropolis Centres of Excellence
   Policy Research Initiative (PRI)
Sample Search Strategies

A. Journal Articles (using the Silver Platter search service)

Online database: *Sociological Abstracts*
1. ‘Cultural identity’ and ‘Canada’ in the words anywhere field
2. ‘Social identity’ and ‘Canada’ in the words anywhere field
3. ‘Culture’ and ‘Canada’ in the DEM (major descriptors) field
4. ‘Identity’ and ‘Canada’ in the DEM field
5. Identity and Plural* and Canad* in the DE (all descriptors) field
6. (Aboriginal or indigenous or native) identity and Canada in DE
7. Ethnic identity and Canada in DE
8. Ethnic * and Canada in DE
9. Rac* and Canad* in the DE (all descriptors) field

Online database: *Humanities Index*
1. ‘Identity’ and ‘Canada’ in the DE (descriptors) field
2. ‘Identity’ and ‘Canad*' in the words anywhere field

Online database: *PsychInfo, PsycLit and Medline*
1. Identit* and Canad* in the DE [descriptors] field
2. Social identity and Canada in DE
3. Group identity and Canada in DE
4. Cultural identity and Canada in DE
5. (Aboriginal or indigenous or native) identity and Canada in DE
6. Ethnic identity and Canada in DE
7. Ethnic * and Canada in DE
8. Rac* and Canad* in DE
9. Self concept and Canad* in DE

Online search service: *Current Contents* (an interdisciplinary search service)
1. Cultural identity and Canada
2. Social identity and Canada
3. Group identity and Canada
4. Identit* and Canada
5. Race* and Canada
6. Ethni* and Canada
7. Ethnic identity and Canada
8. Self concept and Canada
9. Black and Canada
10. MicMac and Canada
11. Gaelic and Canada
12. Celtic and Canada
13. Native* and Canada
14. Quebecois and Canada

Also:
1. identification
2. ethnic
3. ethnicity
4. identity
5. identity conflict
6. identity development
7. identity formation
8. identity marker
9. ethnic identity or Ethnic-Identity
10. ethnic attitudes
11. ethnic consciousness
12. ethnic groups
13. race
14. racial identity
15. racial identity theory
16. racial preference
17. racial identification and self concept
18. racism
19. etc.

AND Canada or Canadian

B. Books and Other Documents or Materials

Library of Congress, York University and University of Toronto on-line catalogue search for all types of documents (e.g. books, videos, government docs, sound recordings, etc.) using keyword field. Search terms included:

1. Identity and Canada
2. Ethnicity and Canada
3. [Ethnic identity] and [Canada] and not (ethnicity and Canada]
4. Cultural identity and Canada
5. Aboriginal / indigenous / native identity and Canada
6. Linguistic Identity and Canada
7. National Identity and Canada
8. Racial identity and Canada
9. Regional identity and Canada
10. Religious identity and Canada
11. Group identity and Canada
12. Social identity and Canada
13. Blacks and Canada
14. Aboriginals and identity and Canada
15. Natives and Canada
16. Natives and Identity
17. [Quebecois] and [identity] and not [federalism]
18. Quebecois identity
19. [Quebecois] not [Federalism]
20. Acadian and Canada
21. MicMac and Canada
22. Gaelic and Canada
23. Celtic and Canada
24. etc.
Bibliography


