REQUIEM FOR A NATION:
IDENTITY AND THE NATIONALIST QUESTION
AMONG YOUNG NEWFOUNDLANDERS

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REQUIEM FOR A NATION: IDENTITY AND THE NATIONALIST QUESTION AMONG YOUNG NEWFOUNDLANDERS

By

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Abstract

The debate surrounding Newfoundland identity and nationalism has been one that few have sought to study, especially with regard to its political implications. While some would argue that there is, indeed, a Newfoundland identity, and to some degree nationalism, very few would be able to explain why the former has not been expressed politically. This is important since in areas like Ireland and Quebec, the unique identity felt there has led to nationalism.

While the evidence supports the argument that young Newfoundlanders in this sample have a strong sense of identity, the evidence indicates that it has not resulted in nationalism. However, there are two possible outcomes: a strong sense of patriotism or a strong sense of neo-nationalism. The evidence will show that these individuals are likely to subscribe to neo-nationalism as it would allow an expression of identity and an equitable redress to Newfoundland's problems without any 'separation anxiety'.

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To my dad, James A. Baker: you never had the opportunity to see me grow up but I confident you have been with me all my life. I only hope that if you were alive, you would be as proud of me now as I am of you.

1. INTRODUCTION

The debate surrounding Newfoundland identity and nationalism has been one that few academics have sought to study, especially with regard to its political implications and outcomes. While some would argue that there is, indeed, a Newfoundland identity, and to some degree Newfoundland nationalism, very few would be able to explain why the former has not been more fully expressed politically. This is important because in other areas, such as Ireland and Quebec, the unique identity felt among those individuals have led to a strong nationalistic sentiment which in turn has politically expressed itself through a desire to separate. In fact, in both of these areas radical forms of nationalism have arisen (albeit in the case of Quebec it was quickly muted). As Wsevolod W. Isajiw argues:

> Radical nationalist ideology is not merely a vision of a politically independent state. It is also a view of society in which all areas of life, activity, and thought are subordinated to one goal and one principle... Radical nationalism defines independence in two ways. It is political independence in the sense of removing the power of the dominant ethnic group. It also means controlling all institutions in society, enabling their change and development to be achieved 'harmoniously' in relation to one another.[1]

Of course, if a nationalist sentiment does exist within Newfoundland, it obviously has not reached the specific ideological form suggested by Isajiw. Yet, while prior to and during the Confederation debate, Newfoundlanders had a strong desire to remain independent, over the past fifty years that feeling appears to have diminished significantly.[2] The 2003 *Summary Report of the Royal Commission on Renewing and Strengthening Our Place in Canada* noted, "only 12 per cent of respondents thought Newfoundland and Labrador

[1] Wsevolod W. Isajiw, "Towards A Theory of Ideological Movements: Nationalism and Community Change in Quebec and Flanders," *Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism* XII, no. 1 (1985): 143.
[2] Indeed, there are many Newfoundlanders who will argue that prior to and following Confederation, Newfoundland was and remains to this day a nation.

should leave Canada and become an independent country."[3] This is an interesting statistic given the province's status as a relatively new 'partner' in Confederation and its former status as a Dominion. Indeed, there are several important historical events that need to be highlighted in order to better understand why a discussion on Newfoundland nationalism is topical.

In the early 1980s, after the election of Brian Peckford, he and some of his cabinet began to espouse nationalistic rhetoric. This was partly in response to the perceived unequal treatment of Newfoundland by Canada as well as, at the time, the issue of control over natural resources, specifically offshore oil. Indeed, pan-Canadian sub-nationalism has been examined to great degree, especially in relation to Quebec. However, unlike Quebec, attempts to build a nationalist movement behind these issues in Newfoundland failed miserably. As a result, some scholars saw the rhetoric of the Peckford government as nothing more than an attempt at 'province-building' rather than a move towards a nationalist agenda.

The purpose of this thesis is not to explore 'province-building,' but rather to understand whether a nationalist sentiment could develop within Newfoundland by examining the views of a sample of sixteen young people from Newfoundland. In fact, it is anticipated that this will help explain the apparent discrepancy between young Newfoundlanders' strong sense of identity and their failure to express it politically. By conducting in-depth interviews with young Newfoundlanders, this research will focus on two areas: identity development and political nationalism.[4] Once the depth of young Newfoundlanders identity is established, an attempt can then be made to ascertain why

[3] Newfoundland and Labrador, *Royal Commission on Renewing and Strengthening Our Place in Canada: Summary Report* (St. John's: Queen's Printer, 2003), 23.
[4] For the purposes of this thesis, political nationalism will be treated as some form of self-determination.

the development of political nationalism within Newfoundland has been muted. There are several possible explanations as to why it has not been stronger including the lack of a dedicated political movement, young Newfoundlanders apparent interest in neo-nationalism[5], and the financial fears in acting as an independent nation.

Beyond the main purpose, this thesis will also address other subsidiary political issues. While these questions represent nationalistic theoretical frameworks (and form the basis upon which a nationalist sentiment can be based), an interesting discussion can nonetheless be made regarding young Newfoundlanders' perceptions concerning cultural nationalism, civic nationalism, ethnic nationalism, political nationalism and neo-nationalism. While the existence of any or any combination of these elements may help explain why political nationalism is not strong among the cohort, if the evidence suggests that none of the elements are present, it does not necessarily follow that young Newfoundlanders do not support political nationalism. It is also important to review the difference between nationalism and patriotism as the two are often viewed as synonymous, although for the purposes of this thesis, they are treated as separate entities.

1.1. SAMPLING

The research was undertaken from February 2004 to August 2004. Sixteen students who attended Memorial University of Newfoundland were interviewed (four rural males, four rural females; four urban males, four urban females). The sample was selected in order to ensure that views from rural and urban areas were equally reflected. Initially, the sample

[5] As Robert C. Thompson notes, "the final objective of the [neo-nationalist] struggle is hardly ever defined as the attainment of an independent nation-state... rather, what is sought is some kind of devolution of political and economic power which stops short of what is often seen as potentially damaging full sovereignty." This will be discussed in further detail later in the thesis.

was to be selected through the snowball technique.[6] While some scholars consider this to be a form of accidental sampling, it is most appropriate when "members of a special population are difficult to locate..."[7] One major limitation of snowball sampling is that the findings cannot be generalized. However, the aim was not to generalize the findings *per se* but rather to understand how this particular group of young Newfoundlanders conceptualized and constructed their identity. As well, it was important to understand how their sense of identity influenced their views on nationalism.

The interview process began after speaking to a number of acquaintances in order to gain referrals. However, since the many of the author's acquaintances were in Political Science, it was feared that the majority of interviews would come from one particular discipline. While there was no attempt to diversify the sample by Faculty, it was nonetheless desirable to have a broad cross-section represented.

Table 1.1: Number of Participants by Department/Faculty

Department/Faculty	Number of Participants
Political Science	4
Business	4
Engineering	3
Folklore	1
German	1
Education	1
History	1
Physical Education	1

The author then contacted several faculties and asked that a request be sent out via email to the students on the four different listservs: business, education, engineering, and human kinetics and recreation. However, only two faculties (business and engineering) agreed to send the email. Human kinetics and recreation denied the request while education could not accommodate it as their listserv had been shut down for the summer.

[6] This is a method in which study subjects recruit future subjects from among their acquaintances.
[7] Earl Babbie, *The Practice of Social Research,* 9th ed. (Toronto: Wadsworth Thomson Learning, 2001), 180.

The email requested that anyone interested in doing the interview (or alternatively if the students knew of anyone who might be interested) should contact the author. As well, the email was kept as vague as possible in order to prevent a particular view from dominating the research (e.g., students who believe that Newfoundland should separate from Canada).

The lack of responses may be the result of the timing of the project as problems arose in scheduling some interviews due to end of term commitments (exams, papers). As a result, potential participants would be unable to devote the time necessary to participate in the interviews. Once the appropriate number of individuals from a particular sample were interviewed (e.g.: rural males) or when four individuals from a particular program were interviewed, no more interviews were taken from that cohort. The process continued until the sample was complete.

1.2. METHODOLOGY

In carrying out this study, some problems arose that prevented the gathering of a more diverse set of interviews. Notably, some students chose not to participate due to prior commitments and the interview was unable to be rescheduled. Some interviewees suggested that their interview could be conducted via telephone. While this proved highly convenient for the interviewee, difficulties arose in attempting to record the interview. A test interview was conducted with a tape recorder only to find that the interview was barely audible and unfortunately a better recorder could not be found in time. This interview was to be conducted with a student who had gone home for the summer. As well, it was not practical to have the individual write out his responses as this would take him a significant amount of time. An e-mail response would also prevent follow up

questions which is essential in a hermeneutical inquiry. As well, one interview had to be conducted again as the microphone on the tape recorder did not function properly. While the same individual was interviewed again, approximately two weeks had elapsed between the first and second interview.[8]

There were approximately thirty-six questions (see Appendix I) asked and they were generally asked in the same order. However, there were some variances. A couple of questions were only asked of certain individuals depending on their answer to a previous question or if they gave a response that covered one or more questions. Secondly, the question regarding 'true Newfoundlander' was only asked of a handful of individuals after one student in the sample mentioned it in a response.

Each of the sixteen participants engaged in a one-on-one interview regarding their identity and attitudes toward Newfoundland nationalism. As Martyn Denscombe notes, one advantage of this type of research is that "the opinions and views expressed throughout the interview stem from one source: the interviewee. This makes it fairly straightforward for the

Table 1.2: Participants by Gender, Location, Region and Age

Gender	Rural/Urban	Region	Age
Female	Rural	Holyrood	22
Male	Rural	St. Paul's	23
Male	Urban	Paradise	22
Male	Urban	St. John's	20
Female	Urban	Mount Pearl	22
Male	Rural	Ferryland	21
Female	Urban	St. John's	20
Male	Rural	Gambo	22
Female	Urban	St. John's	24
Male	Urban	Grand Falls-Windsor	25
Female	Rural	Lewisporte	21
Male	Urban	St. John's	20
Female	Rural	Hillview	23
Female	Urban	St. John's	20
Male	Rural	Harbour Main	21
Female	Rural	Spainard's Bay	20

[8] This was the only time that was convenient to both the interviewer and interviewee.

researcher to locate specific ideas with specific people."[9] To ensure that no problems arose during the interview, responses were both recorded by hand and on tape. One of the problems with audio-recording is that it only captures speech and misses non-verbal cues. However, the researcher attempted to compensate for this by noting any distinct cues from the interviewee. Although the questions were pre-determined, the interviewer had flexibility in following up on related topics. Prior to beginning the interview, the respondents were given a copy of the consent form and asked to read it. If they did not have any questions, they were asked to sign and date the document.

While every attempt was made to seek out more interviews, several constraints and problems arose that prevented this action. Notably, it was initially planned to interview approximately 24 youth aged 19-25 who attended Memorial University. This number was chosen as it would ensure an equal number of rural/urban, male/female students. When it was discovered that interviewing 24 youths would be highly difficult, it was decided to interview 16 as this would ensure that there were equal numbers of rural/urban, male/female respondents. A respondent was categorized as urban if he/she lived in a town or city with a population greater than 15,000. Alternatively, a respondent was categorized as rural if he/she lived in a town or city with a population of less than 15,000.

The problem with accessing 24 participants was due in part to the time of year. By April, students were busy preparing for exams and could not devote the time to participate in the study. Further, given that the remainder of the surveys would have to be conducted during the summer, there were fewer students available to participate in the

[9] Martyn Denscombe, *The Good Research Guide for Small-Scale Social Research Projects,* 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: Open University Press, 2003), 168.

study than there would be in the Fall and Winter semesters. This explains why seven of the respondents are in engineering and business as both these faculties are active during the summer term. However, despite these problems some interesting data were gathered.

The data gathered from the participant interviews was interpreted liberally using the grounded theory method. Grounded theory is useful when one's research is "exploratory and focused on particular settings."[10] Indeed, as Goulding notes, "usually researchers adopt grounded theory when the topic of interest has been relatively ignored in the literature or only have been given superficial attention."[11] The data was coded and analyzed by dividing it into categories in order to seek out relevant themes and to develop relational patterns. As Denscombe notes, "whatever [the connection], the chunks of raw data have something in common that the researcher can identify and that allows those chunks of data to be coded (tagged) as belonging to a broader category."[12]

Originally, the unstructured data was to be coded using the software program NVivo. The intent of this program was to assist in analyzing the texts by allowing the researcher to place the data into different nodes. These nodes would then be created and re-created as the study progressed and new relations discovered. It would also allow for different aspects of the data to be categorized such as by gender, geographic location, and age. However, the program proved to be inappropriate and a more hands-on approach was used. As such, the data was coded manually. Grounded theory was used to analyze the data and relational patterns were sought by comparing and contrasting the questions.

[10] Denscombe, *The Good Research Guide for Small-Scale Social Research Projects,* 109.
[11] Christina Goulding, *Grounded Theory: A Practical Guide for Management, Business and Market Researchers* (London: Sage Publications, 2002), 55.
[12] Denscombe, *The Good Research Guide for Small-Scale Social Research Projects,* 119.

This allowed the data to be visualized in order to facilitate a better understanding of the phenomena being studied.

The next section briefly delves into the historical aspects of Newfoundland nationalism by offering an overview of the historical agents of discontent towards Canada. It is important for the reader to understand the historical issues that have created discontent among Newfoundlanders as well as to engage the reader as to why independence is not a political consideration for Newfoundlanders today.

1.3. WHY INVESTIGATE NEWFOUNDLAND NATIONALISM?

Many scholars would be puzzled by the lack of nationalist sentiment here given the apparently strong sense of identity and patriotism that is prevalent among Newfoundlanders.[13] Indeed, even more puzzling is the fact that given the decisions that have not favoured Newfoundland, there appears to be no desire to seek independence. This section will briefly highlight some of the issues that make nationalism an important area to study in Newfoundland.

The idea of Newfoundland nationalism has its roots in the Confederation debates of 1864. While Newfoundland did not attend the Prince Edward Island talks, the Colony did send a delegation to Quebec several months later. However, following the election in 1869, the confederates were handily defeated. As Hiller noted, "Newfoundlanders saw no

[13] There are a number of sources that treat this obliquely and not directly. For an interesting discussion on identity, patriotism, and nationalism, see: E. David Gregory, "Vernacular Song, Cultural Identity, and Nationalism in Newfoundland: 1920-1955," *History of Intellectual Culture* 4, no 1 (2004): 1-22; Jerry Bannister, "The Politics of Cultural Memory: Themes in the History of Newfoundland and Labrador in Canada: 1972-2003," Submission to the *Royal Commission on Renewing and Strengthening Our Place in Canada*, (March, 2003) and Gerard Blackmore, "Sense of Place: Loss and the Newfoundland and Labrador Spirit," Submission to the *Royal Commission on Renewing and Strengthening Our Place in Canada*, (March, 2003).

advantage in joining the new dominion and wanted to ascertain whether the colony could survive as an independent unit."[14]

The acrimonious debate between Canada and Newfoundland continued for nearly 80 years. After Canada successfully blocked the Bond-Blaine Convention,[15] Newfoundland introduced various protectionist measures against Canada. Notable among these was the refusal to allow Nova Scotian vessels to purchase bait fish in colonial waters and the imposition of duties on imports from Canada. As expected, Canada retaliated with duties and other sanctions. When the disagreement eventually subsided, Newfoundland and Canada met again in 1892. However, the meeting accomplished little as Canada continued its objection to the Blaine-Bond convention.

After surviving the financial crisis of 1894-95, Newfoundland continued to agitate Canada by insisting on its right to negotiate an independent trade treaty with the United States. In 1900, Sir Robert Bond received permission to begin treaty negotiations and by 1902 a draft treaty had been negotiated. However, the Bond-Hay Convention was never ratified by the American Senate due to the strong objections from the New England fishing industry.[16] Bond imposed sanctions against the Americans and proceeded to interpret the Anglo-American Convention of October 1818[17] in a way that the Americans could not accept. While Canada and Newfoundland won their case at The Hague, the issue of an American fishing treaty with Newfoundland was never discussed again. The

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[14] James K. Hiller, *Confederation: Deciding Newfoundland's Future, 1934 to 1949* (St. John's: Newfoundland Historical Society, 1998), 2.
[15] The Bond-Blaine Convention was a bi-lateral trade agreement with the United States. Fearful of American expansionism, Canada successfully petitioned Great Britain to refuse consent.
[16] Frederick W. Rowe, *A History of Newfoundland and Labrador* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited, 1980), 346.
[17] The Anglo-American Convention of October 1818 defined the right of American vessels to fish in Canadian and Newfoundland waters.

joint submission eventually led to the development of closer links with Canada with increased trade, sharing of services and improved communications.

Newfoundland's status as an independent entity was further solidified by two important Acts of the British Parliament. The Balfour Declaration of 1926 made all Dominions, including Newfoundland, autonomous communities within the British Empire as well as giving these areas the right to conduct their own foreign affairs. Following the Balfour Declaration, the Statute of Westminster (1931) declared that all British Dominions were independent either immediately as was the case with Canada, or upon ratification, as was the case with Newfoundland. Unfortunately, Newfoundland did not ratify the Statute and by 1934 had reverted back to colonial status after failing to meet its financial obligations to Canada and Great Britain due in part to the Great Depression.

The Great Depression created financial chaos for Newfoundland culminating in the appointment of the Amulree Commission. While Confederation with Canada was discussed, Newfoundland chose to surrender its government in favor of an appointed Commission of Government.[18] Following the outbreak of World War II, Canada became particularly interested in Newfoundland given the increased presence of American forces under the Leased Bases Agreement. As a result of the increased American presence, Canada quickly recognized that it had important and permanent interests in Newfoundland that had to be protected.[19]

While both Canada and Great Britain accepted that Newfoundland should become a province, it was quite clear to Great Britain that there was no appetite to join Canada nor was there an immediate desire among Newfoundlanders to return to responsible

[18] Hiller, *Confederation: Deciding Newfoundland's Future, 1934 to 1949*, 3.
[19] Hiller, *Confederation: Deciding Newfoundland's Future, 1934 to 1949*, 7.

government. In order to address this issue democratically, Great Britain decided that an elected national convention would be set up to allow Newfoundlanders to consider their situation through a free and informed decision.[20] At the time the national convention met with their British counterparts, the anti-confederate delegation was convinced that there was a conspiracy within London to 'sell' Newfoundland to Canada.[21] Indeed, their suspicions appeared to be justified as the British Government arbitrarily decided to allow the option to join Canada on the ballot; this action was interesting given that the National Convention had defeated a similar motion 29 votes to 16.[22] Yet, despite the efforts of many anti-confederates (including a petition and lawsuit) by late March 1949, Canada, the Commission of Government and Great Britain had given its consent for Newfoundland to enter Confederation.

Ironically, the potential for nationalism to reassert itself in Newfoundland was furthered by Premier Joseph Smallwood[23] in the late 1950s. The Royal Commission set up review Term 29[24] did not recommend a time limit on the payments; rather it was the government of Prime Minister John Diefenbaker who decided that the annual grant to Newfoundland would be eliminated within five years.[25] Smallwood was able to rally the Newfoundland population in defiance of Diefenbaker; it was a rare, but fleeting show of nationalism by Newfoundlanders but had little, if any, political effect.

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[20] Hiller, *Confederation: Deciding Newfoundland's Future, 1934 to 1949*, 10.
[21] Hiller, *Confederation: Deciding Newfoundland's Future, 1934 to 1949*, 24.
[22] Hiller, *Confederation: Deciding Newfoundland's Future, 1934 to 1949*, 42.
[23] Smallwood was one of the champions of Confederation. For his work, he was named and was subsequently elected as the first Premier of Newfoundland in 1949.
[24] Under the Terms of Union with Canada, Newfoundland would be provided with a special transitional grant for the first eight years of Confederation. This grant would then be subject to review by a Royal Commission.
[25] Rowe, *A History of Newfoundland and Labrador,* 511.

However, two of the greatest opportunities for Newfoundland nationalism to prosper in the late twentieth century came after Smallwood lost the election in 1972. The Churchill Falls fiasco came to represent all things wrong with Confederation. However, it was not until 1979 that the Churchill Falls deal proved to be a humiliating one, at least in the eyes of many Newfoundlanders.[26] It is ironic that Newfoundlanders' drive toward nationalism could have resulted from the federal Liberals fear of it developing in Quebec. Indeed, in the eyes of many Newfoundlanders, the federal government abandoned Newfoundland and Labrador when it refused to declare Quebec power lines in the national interest. It is also surprising that Newfoundlanders did not rise up against what many termed Canadian oppression when the Supreme Court of Canada first ruled against Newfoundland in the Churchill Falls deal and then again in 1984 when it ruled that Canada, not Newfoundland, owned the rights to offshore oil:

> The Canadian Supreme Court of Canada ruled on March 8th, 1984 that the right to explore and exploit the sub-sea resources of the continental shelf of Newfoundland belonged to the Canadian federal government and that the federal government had legislative jurisdiction to make laws in relation to hydrocarbon exploration and development. It ruled that any rights, which Newfoundland held at the time of Confederation, would have been automatically transferred to Canada when Newfoundland relinquished its sovereignty and became a province of Canada.[27]

It is also surprising that the pro-nationalist Party for an Independent Newfoundland[28] disbanded days after the 1984 decision. Despite being motivated by the possibility that Newfoundland would lose ownership of its offshore resources, the party disbanded due to

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[26] When former Premier Joseph Smallwood signed the Churchill Falls contract with Hydro-Quebec, it did not include an escalator clause for the purchase of power. As a result, Hydro-Quebec buys power from the province at virtually the same rate it paid for it in the 1960's, but sells it at the current market price. While Quebec receives a little more than $535 million dollars per year, the province receives less than $20 million per year for its own resource.

[27] *Who owns Hibernia?* [online]; available from http://www.hibernia.ca/rpt/qaq/questions/ownership.html; Internet; accessed June 27, 2004.

[28] The PIN party was launched in mid-October, 1983 in anticipation of a negative decision regarding control over offshore oil. The party coordinator was Charlie Devine, a former Labrador MHA.

lack of financing.[29] It is unclear whether or not the party disbanded due to not achieving its membership sales, or whether it was due to promised financing that did not materialize, or a combination of both.[30] While it appears that the negative decision would have provided the prime opportunity for nationalism to develop within Newfoundland, the disbanding of the separatist party suggests that an independent Newfoundland, or at least supporting a party devoted to independence, was not on Newfoundlander's radar.[31]

1.4. GENERAL FINDINGS

The results from the interviews suggest that young Newfoundlanders in this sample have a strong sense of identity. While they recognize the importance of certain markers in shaping that identity, the evidence will show that they feel they are losing their identity. In their view, the North American culture is having a significant negative influence but they are unsure as to how to reverse the trend. The evidence will also show that young Newfoundlanders are extremely proud of their identity. They are quick to defend it from outside attacks and, as a result, espouse a strong sense of personal pride in being a Newfoundlander. This is an interesting paradox given that they are staunch defenders on one hand yet unable or unwilling to protect their identity from outside influences on the other.

The evidence will also show that while young Newfoundlanders in the sample are civically engaged, it appears that this engagement has not influenced their support for independence. However, it is interesting to note that the three individuals who support the idea of independence also self-identified as members of the Progressive Conservative

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[29] "Separatist Party near collapse," *The Evening Telegram*, 15 March 1984, sec. A, p. 3.
[30] "A Matter of Money: Independence Party Ceases to Exist," *The Evening Telegram*, 27 March 1984, sec. A, p. 2.
[31] It should also be noted here that during this time, Primer Brian Peckford and some of his Cabinet were highly nationalistic, if not in action, certainly in rhetoric.

Party of Newfoundland and Labrador. The correlation is interesting given the historic connection that the Progressive Conservative Party had with the anti-confederate movement. Indeed, former Liberal leader Ed Roberts and current Lieutenant Governor suggested in 1983 that, "The next PC generation, the men and women who come after Peckford, are going to be separatists. And I can tell you that the day when they'll be in command isn't very far off."[32]

While the evidence supports the argument that young Newfoundlanders in this sample have a strong sense of identity, the evidence will show that it appears not to have resulted in a strong sense of nationalism. The evidence, however, does point to two possible outcomes: a strong sense of patriotism or a desire to move toward neo-nationalism. Either outcome may help explain the paradox within the Newfoundland identity. It appears that these young Newfoundlanders are unwilling to commit themselves to seeking independence though, at the same time, can express a strong sense of self as well as pride in who they are as individuals. In fact, the evidence will show that these young Newfoundlanders are more likely to subscribe to a neo-nationalist sentiment. As such, this sentiment would allow them to express their identity and seek an equitable redress to Newfoundland's problems while, at the same time, only skirting with independence.

[32] Ted Warren, "Newfoundland Separatism: Relic from the past or omen for the future," *The Newfoundland Herald*, 5 November 1983, 16.

2. REVIEW OF LITERATURE

2.1. DEFINITION AND MEANING IN NATIONALISM

One of the more challenging aspects of writing on nationalism is to define the concept in both relevant and topical terms. Indeed, this appears to be a problem for many scholars of nationalism. As Daniele Conversi notes, "Walker Conner was one of the first scholars to address systematically the lack of an appropriate terminology in studying nationalism, especially in political science."[33]

Indeed, depending on its usage, nationalism can have many faces; yet, at its most basic level, nationalism represents the nation, "a rather fuzzy term indicating a common identity and purpose which unites people for political purposes. A nation exists where a people share a common language, culture, religion, customs, and a shared understanding of their collective history as a people."[34] While Larry Johnston suggests a connection between nation and nationalism, other scholars argue differently. Dankwart A. Rustow observed that, "Nationalist writers have done little to clarify what is meant by the nation" while Anthony Smith suggests "the criteria for distinguishing between ethnic communities and nations are often slippery and ambiguous."[35] Curiously, nationalism is a 'doctrine' for Kedourie, an 'ideological movement' for Smith, a 'political principle' for Gellner, an 'act of consciousness' for Kohn, a 'competitive interest' for Deutsch, and sarcastically 'the measles of mankind' for Albert Einstein.

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[33] Daniele Conversi, "Conceptualizing nationalism: An introduction to Walker Conner's work" in *Ethnonationalism in the Contemporary World: Walker Connor and the Theory of Nationalism*, ed. Daniele Conversi (London: Routledge, 2004), 1.
[34] Larry Johnston, *Ideologies: An Analytic and Contextual Approach* (Broadview Press: Peterborough, 1996), 205. There are many definitions for nation, this is just one.
[35] Konstatine Symmons-Symonolewicz, "The Concept of Nationhood: Toward a Theoretical Clarification," *Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism* XII, no. 2 (1985): 215.

In fact, there even appears to be little agreement among politicians regarding the connection between nation and nationalism. Former Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau, for instance, saw *Canadian* nationalism as something significantly different than *Quebec* nationalism and, similarly, former Premier Brian Peckford saw *Newfoundland* nationalism significantly different than either *Canadian* or *Quebec* nationalism.[36] Yet, each of these 'nationalisms' has arisen within the same nation-state.

As well, disagreement regarding the concept of nationalism is not limited to scholars or politicians; political theorists also seem to have difficulty agreeing about what constitutes the idea or concept of nationalism. Nationalism, for John Stuart Mill, represented an "identity of political antecedents; the possession of a national history, and consequent community of recollections, collective pride and humiliation, pleasure and regret, connected with the same incidents in the past."[37] However, for contemporary scholars like Ernest Gellner, the shift from a mostly agrarian society to a mostly industrial one provided the necessary catalyst for education to become the major architect of nationalism. For these scholars, the idea that nationalism equates independence simply is not true.

Gellner argues that in the agrarian world, there was little need for most members of the society to have or desire the political expression of their culture precisely because the majority of the citizens were living in inward-turned communities.[38] Individuals were

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[36] For a brief discussion on Trudeau's view, see Robert Sheppard, "The Fight of a Lifetime: The Constitution started with Quebec and ended with Canada," *Macleans*, 9 October 2000 and for a brief discussion of Peckford's view see Robert C. Thomsen, "Cultural and Political Nationalism in Stateless Nations: Neo-nationalism in Newfoundland and Scotland," *Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism* XXVIII, no. 1-2, (2001): 57-75.

[37] John Stuart Mill, *Considerations on Representative Government*, [book on-line] (London: H. Holt & Company, 1890; accessed July 22, 2006); available from http://site.ebrary.com.qe2a-proxy.mun.ca/lib/memorial/Doc?id=2001596; Internet.

[38] Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983), 14.

then content simply to live out their existence, and "no-one, or almost no-one, had an interest in promoting cultural homogeneity at this social level."[39] This changed with the advent of the industrial age. While in an agrarian society training could be left to families or guilds, in an industrial society a change in the division of labor demanded the social provision of education.

At its most basic level, an industrial society demands that individuals "possess that generic training, which enables them to follow manuals and instructions of a new activity or occupation."[40] The teachers employed to conduct the training within this new society must also be trained in the same common literacy so as to ensure societal continuity. The demands of the system continued to escalate to a point where a shared common literacy was needed in order to sustain the polity.[41]

The end result of a shared common literacy is an educated society. The mass education system, in effect, binds the state and culture together.

> Nationalist principle requires that the political unit and the 'ethnie' one be congruent-given that ethnicity is defined in terms of shared culture, it demands that everyone within the political unit be of the same culture and that all those of the same culture be within the same political unit.[42]

The kin or local units cannot effectively provide this level of citizenship, so the onus for providing that education falls onto a much larger unit, i.e. the state.[43] Since the state must act as the overseer and controller of the education system, that system demands that the state sustain and protect the culture, which can result in a desire to unmask, neutralize and drive out the foreigners who wish to debase and destroy it.[44] Gellner is, in effect,

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[39] Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism,* 10.
[40] Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism,* 35.
[41] Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism,* 18.
[42] Ernest Gellner, *Nationalism* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1997), 45.
[43] Gellner, *Nationalism,* 34.
[44] Gellner, *Nationalism,* 8.

suggesting that nationalism has an ethnic component, i.e., those who are not part of the ethnie cannot be a part of the polity.

Regrettably, Gellner's view of nationalism has a fatal flaw. By suggesting that cultural identity ought to be protected at all costs, there exists the potential for groups to resort to violence to achieve their nationalistic desires. But Gellner redeems himself in a later contribution by noting that the similarity of culture can be dangerous since it can result in extreme forms of nationalism. Irvin Staub also observes this noting that:

> We constantly see in the world what may be called blind patriotism: an intense alignment by people with their nation or group and uncritical acceptance of and support for its policies and practices, with an absence of moral consideration of their consequences or disregard of their impact on the welfare of human beings who are outside the group or are members of its subgroups.[45]

It should be noted here the Staub refers to patriotism as opposed to nationalism. These terms are often used interchangeably; this will be discussed later in the thesis.

Protecting one's cultural identity is important but doing so at the expense of another is not. Joseph Stalin's view of nationalism is closely related to Gellner's in that there is a strong emphasis on the objective aspects of nationalism. He argues that nationalism results from "an historically constituted stable community of people, formed on the basis of a common language, territory, economic life and psychological make-up manifested in a common culture."[46] Even in today's world, we have seen the results of actions designed to protect culture at all costs such as the attacks by the FLQ in Quebec between 1963 and 1970.

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[45] Ervin Staub, "Blind versus Constructive Patriotism: Moving from Embeddedness in the Group to Critical Loyalty and Action" in *Patriotism in the Lives of Individuals and Nations,* eds. Daniel Bar-Tal and Ervin Staub (Chicago: Nelson-Hall Publishers, 1999), 213.

[46] Joseph Stalin, "The Nation" in *Nationalism*, eds. John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 20.

Like Gellner, Karl Deutsch believes that culture is important in any definition of nationalism. In Nationalism and Social Communication, he argues that nationalism is "applied to a people where there exists a significant movement toward political, economic, or cultural autonomy in which the personal and characteristics of the people will predominate."[47] In his definition, Deutsch suggests that nationalism prevails when a society seeks some form of self-sufficiency, whether politically, economically or culturally-based.

Believing that communication among individuals is the dominant factor of nationalism, Deutsch argues that without some level of communication, nationalism could not exist. Even Johnston notes that, "the development of a national identity [which can follow from nationalism] depends to a large degree on the development of a means of communication and travel..."[48] Leonard Doob also shares this assessment noting that much of nationalism depends upon communication.[49]

Deutsch identifies four major subsets[50] of social communication that he believes provide the framework upon which nationalism is built. The first, language, is critically important. If social communication is the bond that holds nationalism in place, language, then, is the bond that holds social communication in place. Indeed, without a commonly understood language, a *cohesive* community simply cannot exist. While regional and social divisions of dialects and linguistic stratification do occur, it nonetheless is the case that "a community of language is a community of information vehicles: most words of

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[47] Karl Deutsch, *Nationalism and Social Communication: An Inquiry into the Foundations of Nationality,* 2nd ed. (Cambridge: The M.I.T. Press, 1966), 17.
[48] Johnston, *Ideologies: An Analytic and Contextual Approach,* 205.
[49] Leonard W. Doob, *Patriotism and Nationalism: Their Psychological Foundations* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1964), 22.
[50] These major subsets are language, population clusters, division of labor and culture.

the language, or at least most words frequently used, will be recognized and spoken by most members of the group, with identical or closely similar denotations."[51]

Doob shares many of Deutsch's views noting that language "provides an efficient way to create awareness with in people of their own distinctive attributes".[52] Further, a common language can create a unique social bond that permits the development and facilitation of linguistic uniformity within and between members of the society.

Deutsch also suggests that as long as there are enough common words and phrases among several groups to facilitate basic interactions, the language requirement of communication will have been met. This is important given that written language is a form of symbolic communication and the emphasis placed on symbolism within different societies is particularly instrumental in the development of nationalism.[53] However, the nature of the symbol is not as important as how that symbol is communicated; indeed, a commonly understood language ensures that meaningful communication will occur within the society.

Population clusters represent another important aspect of social communication. To the political geographer, the areas that are of most importance are the principle cities where the majority of trade and commerce is conducted. As such, those who control these key areas can have enormous influence on the nodal or sparsely populated areas serviced by the epicenter. This level of control can be significant; especially if one nationality dominants the epicenter. As Deutsch notes, "control of such areas by members of one

[51] Deutsch, *Nationalism and Social Communication,* 41.
[52] Doob, *Patriotism and Nationalism,* 230.
[53] This is important given the emphasis placed on symbols such as a nation's flag, its monuments, its national anthem, among others.

nationality gives them power over the lives of other members in the hinterland..."[54] This is an important point since mobilization is directly correlated to communication of similar traits, it follows then that a society clustered around an epicenter would have a higher rate of mobilization than the population removed from the epicenter. In Newfoundland's case, this would suggest that urban areas such as St. John's would have a higher rate of mobilization than rural areas such as Gander. As a result, those living in urban areas would wield an enormous amount of power over those in rural areas. In fact, James Overton argues a similar point noting that "such areas [like Newfoundland] are dominated by regions that are economically and politically more developed [like Ontario], and they are kept in a state of 'colonial servitude'; their development is not for the benefit of the local people... but is dictated by the needs of the metropolitan society."[55] Hence, the periphery, i.e. urban areas, would have significant influence over the outlining, i.e. rural areas.

Deutsch also recognized the importance of division of labor in the development of nationalism. Much like the other elements, loosely defined, division of labor demands that persons be able to work together.[56] Working together requires, at the very least, a common language. In turn, the ability of individuals to work together and share experiences work in tandem to build social institutions. Given this natural relationship, certain patterns of social teamwork can facilitate the development of nationalism among members of the society. Gellner too recognized this fact noting that, "(n)ationalism is rooted in a certain kind of division of labor, one which is complex and persistently,

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[54] Deutsch, *Nationalism and Social Communication,* 39.
[55] James Overton, "Towards a Critical Analysis of Neo-Nationalism in Newfoundland," in *Underdevelopment and Social Movements in Atlantic Canada*, eds. Robert J. Brym and R. James Sacouman (Toronto: New Hogtown Press, 1979), 232.
[56] Deutsch, *Nationalism and Social Communication,* 29.

cumulatively changing."[57] The changing aspect of the division of labor is directly related to the high productivity demanded of the industrial age, something Deutsch failed to directly address in his analysis.

Another important aspect of social communication is culture. A common culture "is a common set of stable, habitual preferences and priorities in men's attention, and behavior, as well as in their thoughts and feelings"[58] and can be a facilitator of communication since it can promote, within the community, a sense of belonging and sameness. Gellner stresses the importance of culture on nationalism noting that "nationalism is a political principle in which maintains that similarity of culture is the basic social bond."[59]

Cultural communication speaks directly to Deutsch's theory of mobilization. Where a common culture is important is in its relationship to communication as it is easier for individuals to communicate with those of a similar culture than with those of a dissimilar one. Writing about the collective system of meanings, Janusz Reykowski suggests much like Deutsch that "people feel most close to one another when they believe that they see the world in the same way and have similar attitudes and feelings— that they share the meaning of an experience."[60] The shared meaning of an experience also speaks directly to the importance of a shared collective history as both may be used to facilitate nationalism. While Deutsch's focus is significantly different, he does acknowledge that education can have a role to play in the development of nationalism.

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[57] Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism,* 24.
[58] Deutsch, *Nationalism and Social Communication,* 88.
[59] Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism,* 3.
[60] Janusz Reykowski, "Patriotism and the Collective System of Meanings" in *Patriotism in the Lives of Individuals and Nations,* eds. Daniel Bar-Tal and Ervin Staub (Chicago: Nelson-Hall Publishers, 1999), 114.

However, the impact is not as vital as suggested by Gellner. Through the public education system of the state, nationalism could easily become a political weapon to organize the masses against other groups or states.[61] As a result, this would allow the state to use history, language and culture to promote a nationalist agenda.

While Deutsch believes that there are different types of nationalism that ought to be treated equally, Anthony Smith argues, however, that independence, loyalty to the nation and sense of belonging are paramount to the development of nationalism. These elements are expressed in his definition through the concepts of autonomy, unity and identity. For Smith, nationalism is "an ideological movement for attaining and maintaining autonomy, unity and identity for a population which some of its members deem to constitute an actual or potential nation."[62] A key part of Smith's definition is the idea that some members may choose to constitute a nation. This difference of opinion may help explain why there are so many ethno-cultural conflicts. Furthermore, Smith's definition precludes the possibility that a population could fall into a different type of nationalism, that is, one where political nationalism is not the principle goal.

Smith's major contribution rests in his discussion on national identity, which is an important aspect of nationalism. Several authors believe that nationalism has its roots in identity and it is Smith who argues that all variants of nationalism pursue the goal of national identity to some degree.[63] Among the definitions of national identity that exist, two stand out: "a principal willingness to internalize the national culture"[64] and "the individual's feeling of belonging to a distinctive community and his granting this

[61] Deutsch, *Nationalism and Social Communication,* 181.
[62] Anthony D. Smith, *Nationalism: Theory, Ideology, History* (London: Polity Press, 2001), 9.
[63] Smith, *Nationalism: Theory, Ideology, History,* 10.
[64] Leon Festinger, "A Theory of Social Comparison Processes," *Human Relations* 7 (1954), 129.

community a primary loyalty"[65]. These two stand out because they each reflect differing aspects of national identity: one based on culture and the other on loyalty. Interestingly, Smith recognizes both culture and loyalty in his definition of national identity. He suggests the following fundamental features of national identity:

(a) An historic territory, or homeland;
(b) Common myths and historical memories;
(c) A common, mass public culture;
(d) Common legal rights and duties for all members; and
(e) A common economy with territorial mobility for members.[66]

However, according to John Calhoun, who authored a doctoral thesis on Newfoundland identity in 1970, national identity (at least as it relates to Newfoundland) differs somewhat from Smith's global definition.[67] Calhoun's national identity does, however, have common links with Smith's. Speaking of cohesive and distinctive characteristics, Calhoun notes that historical traditions, geographical contiguity, language, religion, racial consciousness and culture, when unshared with an outside community such as Canada, result in the facilitation of a *distinct* Newfoundland identity.[68]

Calhoun goes on to argue that young Newfoundlanders are more likely to have a shared identity with their Canadian counterparts, given the fact that they are likely to have greater opportunities to interact despite the geographical divide.[69] It is interesting to note that this was true in 1970, only twenty-one years after Confederation. Calhoun's argument is in contrast to Reykowski, who argues that groups who are geographically

[65] John H. Calhoun, "The maintenance and transformation of National Identity in Newfoundland," (Paper presented at the Canadian Political Science Association annual meeting, June 12, 1971), 1.
[66] Anthony D. Smith, *National Identity* (London: Penguin Books, 1991), 14.
[67] It must be noted that there was some disagreement regarding Calhoun's work. It is mentioned here due to its connection to Newfoundland identity.
[68] Calhoun, "The maintenance and transformation of National Identity in Newfoundland," 8.
[69] Calhoun, "The maintenance and transformation of National Identity in Newfoundland," 15.

separated from the greater social whole do not develop the sense of similarity or identity needed for patriotism to prosper.[70]

Furthermore, this can be linked to Deutch's argument regarding population clusters. It could be argued that those who control trade and commerce could also control the development of an identity in specific population areas. However, it is doubtful, not for the argument put forth by Reykowski, but rather based on the fact that many rural parts of the province are still significantly isolated and the potential for *direct* interaction between Newfoundlanders and Canadians remains limited.

This section is important because it outlines the arguments regarding the origins of nationalism as argued by Gellner and Deutch. According to Gellner, in pre-industrial societies, a shared culture was the only key needed to bind the community. However, following the industrial age, it was the mass education system that was the catalyst for the development of nationalism, namely a shared language and history. Deutch, however, argues that communication, and not culture, is the main ingredient in the development of nationalism. While he does not discount the influence of culture in the nationalism equation, he focuses on the argument that nationalism cannot develop without a well-defined mode of communication, i.e., a commonly understood and shared language.[71] Smith's contribution is to use Gellner and Deutch's arguments in order to build a 'model of national identity'. Smith proposes five conditions that need to be met in order for a national identity to develop within a community. He goes on to suggest that if these

[70] Reykowski, "Patriotism and the Collective System of Meanings," 117. (Emphasis in text)
[71] It bears repeating that Deutsch believed that as long as there were enough common words and phrases to facilitate basic interactions, the language requirement has been met. Nationalism, in his view, does not demand a specific, differentiated language.

conditions are met, then *political nationalism* can develop.[72] This suggests that should a Newfoundland identity be proven to exist, then it is possible for nationalism to develop within Newfoundland.

2.2. THE ROOTS OF NATIONALISM: UNDERSTANDING PARADIGMS

Paradigms can be an important aspect in social research as they provide the framework through which the discipline is generally accepted by its practitioners.[73] From the social sciences' perspective, paradigms describe the set of experiences, beliefs and values that affect the way an individual perceives reality and responds to that perception. This differs slightly from Thomas Kuhn's definition who suggested that paradigms are the dominant understanding of a particular class of phenomena at a particular time.[74] Geddes goes on to suggest that there is a certain degree of volatility to paradigms. "Paradigms are sometimes overthrown by well-organized, coherent, mobilized opposition.... at other times, paradigms fall because of their own internal contradictions and their inability to deal with the inconvenient facts thrown up by the world..."[75] Her statement is interesting given that there are nationalist scholars who differ on the origin of nations. In this thesis, there are four main paradigms that will be considered: primordialism, perennialism, modernism and ethno-symbolism.

While each has its supporters and detractors, it is important to understand the theory behind nationalism. This is important in the Newfoundland context because it may help explain why Newfoundlanders have such a strong connection to their homeland. Indeed,

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[72] It is unclear as to why Smith included common legal rights in his definition as it may not be relevant for many nationalist movements.
[73] Michael Nicholson, *The Scientific Analysis of Social Behaviour* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1983), 10.
[74] Barbara Geddes, *Paradigms and Sand Castles: Theory Building and Research Design in Comparative Politics* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003), 6.
[75] Geddes, *Paradigms and Sand Castles,* 7.

this connection speaks directly to the influence of nationalism as it is easy for an individual to defend their homeland if they have a strong connection to it.

2.2.1. Primordialism and Perennialism

Although many scholars view primordialism more as an approach rather than a theory, it is nonetheless the case that, simplistically speaking, primordialism suggests that nations have always existed. Indeed, for Smith, "they [nations] exist in the first order of time and lie at the root of subsequent processes and developments."[76] Primordialism views nationality as a natural part of humanity and see nations as having existed since time immemorial.[77] Unlike other nationalist paradigms and according to Edward Shils (who is credited with first employing the term), "the strength of the attachments one feels for his/her family members does not stem from interaction but from 'a certain ineffable significance... attributed to the tie of blood.'"[78] Clifford Geertz argues that a primordial attachment is:

> ...one that stems from the 'givens'- or, more precisely, as culture is inevitably involved in such matters, the assumed 'givens'- of social existence: immediate contiguity and kin connection mainly, but beyond them the givenness [sic] that stems from being born into a particular religious community, speaking a particular language, or even a dialect of a language, and following particular social practices. These congruities of blood, speech, custom, and so on, are seen to have an ineffable, and at times overpowering, coerciveness in and of themselves.[79]

Geertz's remarks regarding language, especially with regard to dialect, are especially relevant in the Newfoundland context. He is suggesting that speaking a particular dialect, and not necessarily a specific language, could help precipitate the development of a primordial attachment to a community. As a result, this could then lead to the

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[76] Smith, *National Identity,* 14.
[77] It should be noted that scholars generally divide history into three large epochs: antiquity or ancient history, the Middle Ages and modern.
[78] Umut Ozkirmli, *Theories of Nationalism: A Critical Introduction* (London: MacMillan Press Limited, 2000), 65.
[79] Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (London: Fontana, 1973), 259-60.

development of a nationalist sentiment. Furthermore, Geertz's comments suggest that the attachment Newfoundlanders feel to their birth place is rooted in some primordial attachment. This may help explain why many Newfoundlanders feel that they have an 'unspoken connection' with the place.

Primordialists primarily divide their paradigm into two schools: socio-biological and culturalist. The socio-biological school holds that nations, ethnic groups, and races can be traced to the underlying genetic reproductive drives of individuals while the culturalist school holds that "ethnic groups and nations are formed on the basis of attachments to 'cultural givens' of social existence."[80] It views kinship and the connections created through kin as the underlying drive of the primordial nation. In fact, the socio-biological primordialist view attempts to explain the passion and attachments that appear to be inherent in the nationalist sentiment. Given the historical connection many feel to Newfoundland, primordialist scholars would likely argue that any tie between the people and the land is based on the culturalist school. Given that primordialists believe that "individuals and members of collectivities *feel and believe in* the primordiality of [their] *ethnies* and nations"[81], this may help explain Newfoundlanders 'imagined community'.

There are also some scholars who reject the socio-biological and culturalist aspect of primordialism for an instrumentalist critique. While John Breuilly in Nationalism and the State considers culture in his definition of nationalism, he rejects the idea of cultural

[80] Smith, *Nationalism: Theory, Ideology, History,* 53.
[81] Smith, *Nationalism: Theory, Ideology, History,* 54. (Emphasis in original)

identity as a determining characteristic as it would lead to an irrational primordialist's 'need to belong'.[82] As Smith notes:

> For Breuilly, nationalism is not about identity, unity, authenticity, dignity, the homeland, or anything else, save political power, that is, political goals in the modern state. Nationalism is simply an instrument for achieving political goals, and as such, it can only emerge under modern conditions.[83]

Umut Ozkirmli suggests that Gellner's vision of nationalism is similar to the instrumentalist critique without fully rejecting the influence of cultural identity. Arguing that Gellner perceives "national identities [as] a 'natural' part of all human beings, just like speech or sight: a man has a nationality as he has a nose and two ears,"[84] it is also true that Gellner sees nationalism as primarily a political principle in which the political and national unit should be congruent. For Gellner, the national unit is cultural identity.

While perennialism is viewed as a subset of the primordial paradigm, it differs significantly from the socio-biological or culturalist views to warrant a separate discussion. Anthony Smith coined the term in order to present a less radical view of the primordial paradigm. Perennialism offers the belief that nations have existed from time immemorial and that many nations have always existed, in some form or another, in every period of history; however, before WorldWar II, scholars did not believe that nations evolved from any sort of primordial ties but rather that they "existed from time immemorial."[85]

This particular nationalist paradigm comes in two forms: continuous and recurrent. The latter suggests that nations have had a long and continuous history and can trace their origins to the Middle Ages while the former offers a more general, bold

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[82] Smith, *Nationalism: Theory, Ideology, History,* 56.
[83] Smith, *Nationalism: Theory, Ideology, History,* 56.
[84] Ozkirmli, *Theories of Nationalism: A Critical Introduction,* 66.
[85] Smith, *Nationalism: Theory, Ideology, History,* 49.

statement regarding the antiquity of nations. As a result, nations are historical and they change with time with strong emphasis on the reoccurrence of the same type of collective cultural identity.[86] As such, recurrent perennialism suggests that "though particular nations may come and go, the idea of nationhood is a universal, disembedded phenomenon..."[87] While perennialists concede that nations can recede, the nation's 'essence', however, continues. In fact, all that is necessary to reawaken the nation is to rekindle the flames of nationalism.[88] Perennialism scholars would argue that the 'Newfoundland nation' never truly faded away when it joined Confederation. Rather, the nation has merely receded until a point when nationalism arises to awaken it from its slumber.

2.2.2. Modernism and Ethno-Symbolism

Modernist theory contends that nations can exist only in modern societies, and the process of becoming modern creates a nationalist sentiment. Modernization theories derive from Durkheim's emphasis on social differentiation as society develops from the small traditional group to an interest-based community. In fact, the French Revolution not only ushered in a new ideology but also a new form of community, identity and polity. This is central to Gellner's argument that any existence of nations prior to the modern era is purely accidental; as a result, the existence of nations and nation-states can only be explained though the modernist theory. Smith argues that Gellner believed that

[86] Smith, *Nationalism: Theory, Ideology, History,* 51.
[87] Smith, *Nationalism: Theory, Ideology, History,* 51.
[88] Ozkirmli, *Theories of Nationalism: A Critical Introduction,* 69.

the need of modern societies for cultural homogeneity creates nationalism.[89] As such, nationalism is sociologically rooted in modernity.

Smith, however, sees two forms of modernism: chronological and sociological. The latter asserts that nationalism (as ideology, movement and symbolism) is relatively recent whereas the former asserts that nationalism is an innovation, and not something that has been updated from something older.[90] As such, Smith asserts that "nationalism, in short, is a product of *modernity*, nothing less."[91] Smith goes on to distinguish between several varieties of the modernist paradigm: socio-economic, socio-cultural, political, ideological, and constructionist.

The socio-economic variant stresses that nationalism is derived from economic and social factors such as industrial capitalism, regional inequality, and class conflict. Within the socio-cultural framework, Gellner argues that nationalism is a "sociologically necessary phenomena of the modern, industrial epoch emerging in the transition of 'modernization'."[92] The modern political paradigm suggests that nationalism is forged through the modern state, either directly or in opposition to states; ideological modernism focuses on the European origin and the modernity of nationalist ideology as well as its power and role in breaking up empires and creating new nations where none previously existed. Finally, the constructionist view of modernism suggests that nationalism is wholly modern with an emphasis on its socially constructed character.[93]

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[89] Anthony D. Smith, "Theories of Nationalism: Introduction" in *Nationalism*, eds. John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 47.
[90] Smith, *Nationalism: Theory, Ideology, History,* 46.
[91] Smith, *Nationalism: Theory, Ideology, History,* 46. (Emphasis in original)
[92] Ernest Gellner, *Thought and Change* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978), 47.
[93] Smith, *Nationalism: Theory, Ideology, History,* 48.

For modernist scholars, any primoridial connection Newfoundlanders may have had to their community prior to the French revolution was ancillary. They would argue that the small fishing villages would not constitute a nation and only after the early 1800s would Newfoundland begin to show the signs of a 'modern' nation. Furthermore, given the variety in the definitions, it is most likely that modernist scholars would attempt to explain the origin of 'Newfoundland nationalism' by focusing on the inequality between the province and the federal government.

Seen as the midpoint between primordialism and modernism, ethno-symbolism "focuses particularly on the subjective elements in the persistence of *ethnies*[94], the formation of nations and the impact of nationalism."[95] While there are several concerns over ethno-symbolism, such as over its applicability in the longer-term,[96] the move from the exclusively elite-oriented emphasis of modernism, and the problem of collective passion and attachment, ethno-symbolism shifts "the focus of analysis away from purely external political and economic or socio-biological factors to the cultural ones of symbol, memory, myth, value and tradition."[97] Ethno-symbolism has become important in modern nationalism studies due in part to its focus on culture.

Indeed, for Walker Conner, this paradigm denotes "both loyalty to a nation deprived of its own state and the loyalty to an ethnic group embodied in a specific state, particularly where the latter is conceived as a nation-state."[98] Similarly, Anthony Smith argues that for ethno-symbolists "what gives nationalism its power are the myths,

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[94] According to Smith, ethnie is "a named human community connected to a homeland, possessing common myths of ancestry, shared memories, one or more elements of shared culture and a measure of solidarity, at least among the elites."
[95] Smith, *Nationalism: Theory, Ideology, History,* 57. (Emphasis in original)
[96] Smith suggests that a significant problem with the ethno-symbolist approach is the ability to analyze social and cultural patterns over *la longue durée.*
[97] Smith, *Nationalism: Theory, Ideology, History,* 59.
[98] Conversi, "Conceptualizing nationalism: An introduction to Walker Conner's work," 2.

memories, traditions and symbols of ethnic heritages and the ways in which a popular *living past* has been and can be rediscovered and reinterpreted by modern nationalist intelligentsias."[99] For those scholars who subscribe to ethno-symbolism, 'Newfoundland nationalism' would be described as the best of both worlds: the rich history of myths, memories, traditions and symbols that are inherent in primordialism and the influence of the French Revolution that is the cornerstone of modernism. Modern nationalists would use such historical events as the Battle of Beamount Hamel and Confederation as a means to build a connection with the 'Newfoundland nation' due, in part, to the imagery it would evoke among Newfoundlanders.

While each of these paradigms can offer an explanation for the development of a 'Newfoundland nation', the most convincing paradigm is the primordialist and more specifically, the culturalist school. Given the strong influence of familial ties for many of the respondents, it is likely that they view kinship and the connections created through kin as an important part of their connection with Newfoundland. Indeed, as noted earlier, kinship is considered the underlying drive of the primordial nation. While Newfoundland certainly cannot trace its history to antiquity, this does not diminish the fact that the province has had nearly 300 years to build a common kin community.

2.3. EXPLORING THE LINK BETWEEN NATIONALISM AND IDENTITY

Several scholars have argued that there is a close link between national identity and nationalism. According to Thomas Blank, nationalism represents a specific expression of national identity.[100] As such, a strong national identity *may* lead to a strong sense of nationalism, but this need not be true. Individuals can have a strong sense of

[99] Anthony D. Smith, *Myths and Memories of the Nation,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 9.
[100] Thomas Blank and Peter Schmidt, "National Identity in a United Germany: Nationalism or Patriotism? An Empirical Test with Representative Data," *Political Psychology* 24, no. 2 (June 2003): 291.

their own identity expressed patriotically without that identity translating itself into nationalism. In fact, despite the belief of some scholars, secessionist movements are not necessarily the end result of a nationalist sentiment. While this form of nationalism does exist, there are invariably other forms of nationalism that do not expressly advocate separation as a means to protecting an individual's identity. In fact, as Katherine O'Sullivan See argues, "the fundamental need for identity and self-esteem can only be met in collectivities where we connect to others like ourselves, see ourselves in the community, and find an identity in something larger than our own individuality."[101]

Nationalism can be characterized as an idealization of the nation in that an individual perceives his/her own national superiority as well as having a positively viewed judgment of one's own nation.[102] This is consistent with other definitions of nationalism. For instance, according to Peter Alter, nationalism "exists whenever the individuals feel they belong primarily to the nation, and whenever affective attachment and loyalty to that nation override all over attachments and loyalties."[103] Blank also notes that there is a propensity for individuals to reinterpret difficult periods of their history and to refuse a historically justified responsibility for problems in that history.[104]

Nationalism can also be characterized by the role that various other elements play within the context of one's view of their nation. While these theories of nationalism work together to build a connection within a society, it must be noted that the presence or absence of these elements need not have an adverse effect on one's sense of nationalism.

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[101] Katherine O'Sullivan See, *First World Nationalisms: Class and Ethnic Politics in Northern Ireland and Quebec* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1986), 3.
[102] Thomas Blank, "Determinants of National Identity in East and West Germany: An Empirical Comparison of Theories on the Significance of Authoritarianism, Anomie, and General Self-Esteem," *Political Psychology* 24, no. 2 (June 2003): 262.
[103] Peter Alter, *Nationalism* (New York: Edward Arnold, 1994), 4.
[104] Blank, "Determinants of National Identity in East and West Germany," 262.

Rather, they merely represent the basis in which a stronger sense of nationalism may develop within an individual. The elements that are most relevant to this thesis include cultural, ethnic, civic, political and neo-nationalism.

2.3.1. Cultural Nationalism

Cultural nationalism allows a group to express themselves *nationalistically* without the trappings of a nationalist movement. Referring to Scottish nationalism, Jim Sillars argued that Scots were "ninety minute nationalists, happy to cheer on their sporting team but unwilling to translate that identification into voting for the nationalist party."[105] This idea is similar to the notion of 'rollercoaster nationalism' in Newfoundland, where nationalist feeling rises and falls in a constant motion depending on the issue at hand. In fact, a comparison can be made between with Rick Kosterman and Seymour Feshback's view of patriotism. They argue that:

> Patriotism has appeared to 'flow' at various periods in American history characterized by extroversion or national self-assertion, on in response to an outside threat. It has appeared to 'ebb' however, however, a short time following some peak in this self-assertion in which 'patriotic excesses' were perpetrated.[106]

Again, these authors are suggesting that patriotism, much like cultural nationalism, represents an outlet for nationalist views without demanding the expression of a nationalist sentiment. From this perspective, cultural nationalism (and perhaps patriotism) is simply 'sound and fury, signifying nothing'.

Other authors, however, see cultural nationalism differently, arguing that it is based largely on the cultural markers inherent within national identity. Gerard Delanty and Patrick O'Mahoney, for example, see cultural nationalism "as a non-state-centric form of nationalism as it refers more to manifestations of national identity expressed

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[105] David McCrone, *The Sociology of Nationalism* (London: Routledge, 1998), 135.
[106] Rick Kosterman and Seymour Feshback, "Toward a Measure of Patriotic and Nationalist Attitudes," *Political Psychology* 10, no. 2, (1989): 257-8.

variously in national literatures and music, cultural policies on the preservation of heritage, and some of the taken for granted assumptions of national identity in the everyday."[107] In fact, this view is similar to the one espoused by John Hutchinson. Arguing a primordial link with cultural nationalism, Hutchinson views the cultural nationalist as one who "perceives the state as accidental... for the essence of a nation is its distinctive civilization, which is the product of its unique history, culture and geographic profile."[108]

Each of these authors views cultural nationalism differently and uniquely; as an outlet for nationalist sentiment, as an integral part of national identity and finally as something that intrinsically connects the individual with the nation. In fact, Hutchinson's primordial bond to cultural nationalism can also be linked with Benedict Anderson's idea of 'imagined communities'. Anderson writes that communities are "imagined because 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."[109] He is suggesting that while members of the community, here a nation, may not have a physical connection to one another, they do have an imagined connection that can result in a nationalist sentiment among them.

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[107] Gerard Delanty and Patrick O'Mahoney, *Nationalism and Social Theory* (London: Sage Publications, 2002), 129.
[108] John Hutchinson, "Cultural Nationalism and Moral Regeneration" in *Nationalism*, eds. John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 122.
[109] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991), 5.

2.3.2. Civic (Liberal) Nationalism and Ethnic (Illiberal) Nationalism

According to the tenets of civic (liberal) nationalism, nationalism is "moderate in ambition and temperament, valuing loyalty to and identifying with the nation but not in excess, and not to the extent that this would override other values and commitments."[110] However, ethnic (illiberal) nationalism is one in which is there is a strong association with the state to the point where it overrides all other loyalties. This nationalism theory "is more demanding of the commitment of its members, especially emotionally, seeing loyalty to the nation as the supreme good..."[111]

Ethnic nationalism differs dramatically from civic nationalism since the nation is "first and foremost a community of common descent"[112]; as such, nations are a product of history and people are born into them. Michael Keating suggests that ethnicity is given rather than chosen.[113] As such, citizenship is acquired by birth, and then only through *ius sanguinis*, meaning it will only be ascribed to children of citizens.[114] Furthermore, Liah Greenfield notes that ethnic nationalism is based on ascriptive criteria and cites "primordial or inherited group characteristics... language, customs, territorial affiliation and physical type."[115]

This differs significantly from the civic form as it is sometimes viewed as a weaker variety of nationalism. Civic nationalism envisions the nation as a "community of equal, rights bearing citizens, united in patriotic attachment to a shared set of political practices

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[110] Delanty and O'Mahoney, *Nationalism and Social Theory,* 114.
[111] Delanty and O'Mahoney, *Nationalism and Social Theory,* 114.
[112] Phillip Spencer and Howard Wollman, *Nationalism: A Critical Introduction* (London: Sage, 2002), 101.
[113] Michael Keating, *Nations Against the State: The New Politics of Nationalism in Quebec, Catalonia, and Scotland,* 2nd ed. (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 4.
[114] Keating, *Nations Against the State*, 4.
[115] Liah Greenfield, *Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992), 12.

and values."[116] As a result, a nation should be composed of all those individuals who subscribe to the national political creed. Indeed, Michael Ignatieff maintains that the "nation should be composed of all those- regardless of race, colour, creed, gender, language or ethnicity- who subscribe to the nation's political creed."[117] Similarly, Keating suggests that civic nationalism is "a collective enterprise of its members but is rooted in acquired rather than ascriptive identity. It is based upon common values and institutions, and patterns of social interaction."[118] Civic nationalism is considered *ius soli*: that is, citizenship may be ascribed to all persons residing within a given set of borders.[119]

2.3.3. Political Nationalism

When individuals speak of a political nationalism, they are generally referring to some form of self-determination. As such, this is how political nationalism will be treated in this text. This type of nationalism may involve attempts to obtain sovereignty and to split a territory or a group of people (usually a people with a distinctive national consciousness) from one another, or one nation from one another. Smith goes on to argue that "by 'nationalism' I mean an ideological movement for the attainment and maintenance of autonomy, unity and identity of a human population, some of whose members conceive it to constitute an actual or potential 'nation'."[120] Political nationalism arises from a variety of factors but can be generally related to feelings of inadequate political clout or perceived economic disadvantage. Furthermore, temporary or

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[116] Greenfield, *Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity,* 12.
[117] Michael Ignatieff, *Blood and Belonging*, (London: Vintage, 1994), 3.
[118] Keating, *Nations Against the State,* 6.
[119] Spencer and Wollman, *Nationalism: A Critical Introduction,* 105.
[120] Anthony D. Smith, "The Nation: Real or Imagined" in *People Nation and State: The Meaning of Ethnicity and Nationalism,* ed. Edward Mortimer (London: I.B. Taurus, 1999), 37.

intermittent dissatisfaction with a national or regional situation can provoke flickering feelings of separatism that rise and fall in popularity.

2.3.4. Neo-Nationalism

As a recent movement, neo-nationalism represents something that falls short of full independence. As Robert Thomsen notes, "the final objective of the [neo-nationalist] struggle is hardly ever defined as the attainment of an independent nation-state to accommodate the *Volksgeist*. Rather, what is sought is some kind of devolution of political and economic power which stops short of what is often seen as potentially damaging full sovereignty."[121] David McCrone argues that neo-nationalist movements are "to be judged as 'autonomist' rather than 'separatist', with particular emphasis on maintaining or developing cultural, social, and economic autonomy, but remaining within the political framework of the state into which they were incorporated."[122]

One of the key arguments against neo-nationalism is that it is not a true nationalism; rather it is more akin to regionalism, that is, "the mobilization for instrumental ends of territorial identity, but stopping well short of separatism."[123] Peter Alter argues that neo-nationalism results from "resistance to the state's centre from peripheral areas."[124] Interestingly, this links to the thesis put forth by Deutsch regarding population clusters in the development of social communication. According to the argument, those who control these key areas can have an enormous *positive* or *negative* influence on the nodal or sparsely populated areas: "control of such areas by members of one nationality gives

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[121] Robert C. Thomsen, "Cultural and Political Nationalism in Stateless Nations: Neo-nationalism in Newfoundland and Scotland," *Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism* XXVIII, no. 1-2, (2001): 67.
[122] McCrone, *The Sociology of Nationalism*, 126.
[123] McCrone, *The Sociology of Nationalism*, 126.
[124] Alter, *Nationalism,* 135.

them power over the lives of other members in the hinterland..."[125] The suggestion here is that neo-nationalism could merely be a reaction to the dominance of the epicenter over the nodal areas and not necessarily reflect a desire to form a polity. James Overton appears to agree suggesting that, within the Newfoundland context, "neo-nationalism can be seen as a reaction against the tendencies to concentration and centralization that are inherent in capitalism."[126] He goes on to cite the problems with control over the fishery and the issue of offshore oil noting that control over both resources is seen as "a prerequisite for the future development... so as to maximise (sic) benefits [for] the province."[127]

This argument is further supported by the work of Michael Hechter, who suggests "an exploitive and unequal relationship develops between peripheries and core in such a way that the internal colony produces wealth for the benefit of areas closer geographically and economically to the core state."[128] This suggests that ethnic factors appear to play a limited role while civic factors are seen as more influential:

> Ethnic peripheral nationalism will move from an emphasis on primordial elements to a definition based on territoriality... definition would change from an emphasis on common descent, race, language, distinctive cultural tradition... to one based on 'living and working' in an area, on a willingness to identify with that community.[129]

While this different nationalism may share similar traits with historical or mainstream nationalism, "...a more careful consideration shows its different place in history and its different character and potential. It deserves to be called 'neo-nationalism'..."[130]

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[125] Deutsch, *Nationalism and Social Communication,* 39.
[126] Overton, "Towards a Critical Analysis of Neo-Nationalism in Newfoundland," 222.
[127] Overton, "Towards a Critical Analysis of Neo-Nationalism in Newfoundland," 228.
[128] McCrone, *The Sociology of Nationalism,* 127.
[129] McCrone, *The Sociology of Nationalism,* 129.
[130] Tom Nairn, *The Break-Up of Britain: Crisis and Neo-nationalism,* (Great Britain: Lowe & Brydone Printers, 1977), 127.

3. ON THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN NATIONALISM AND PATRIOISM

Patriotism represents the psychological element of nationalism but unlike nationalism, patriotism is not a recent phenomenon. Held by individuals, it is developed by groups and acts as the binding force of the individual, group and the territory in which the individual resides. Still, to the layman, nationalism and patriotism are often used interchangeably, perhaps correctly, perhaps incorrectly. Although nationalism and patriotism refer to similar phenomena, they can be (and often are) perceived differently. In fact, there is a certain Janus-faced aspect to nationalism and patriotism. Gary Johnson notes, "From the perspective of those whose interests it advances, patriotism [and indeed nationalism] is probably a phenomenon of great nobility and beauty. On the other hand, from the perspective of those whose interests it harms, patriotism [and indeed nationalism] is probably ignoble and ugly."[131]

Patriotism denotes positive attitudes held by individuals to their own civic or political community. To some, patriotism has connotations of self-sacrifice, implying that the individual should place the interests of the community above their personal interests, and in extreme cases their lives. This connection is important given that patriotism "helps create unity, cohesiveness, solidarity and mobilization – the psychological elements of sociality, of community, that are essential for a group's existence and survival."[132]

Ernest Gellner probably offers one of the most interesting definitions of nationalism, noting that "nationalism is primarily a political principle, which holds that

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[131] Gary R. Johnson, "The Evolutionary Roots of Patriotism" in *Patriotism in the Lives of Individuals and Nations,* eds. Daniel Bar-Tal and Ervin Staub (Chicago: Nelson-Hall Publishers, 1999), 81.
[132] Daniel Bar-Tal and Ervin Staub, "Patriotism: Its Scope and Meaning" in *Patriotism in the Lives of Individuals and Nations,* eds. Daniel Bar-Tal and Ervin Staub (Chicago: Nelson-Hall Publishers, 1999), 3.

the political and national unit should be congruent."[133] While Gellner and Deutsch differ regarding the origins of nationalism, they do, however, provide consistent opinions vis à vis nationalism as a political principle. Deutsch envisioned nationalism as a movement toward *political*, *economic* and *cultural* autonomy;[134] Gellner, however, saw nationalism as a theory of political legitimacy in which ethnic boundaries ought not to separate power holders from the citizens of the state.[135] Indeed, nationalism demands that the state, at the very least, promote and protect the interests of its citizens.

The key difference between patriotism and nationalism is that the former does not demand a political expression. Individuals can be patriotic without being nationalistic. Furthermore, patriotism results from the feelings of the individual directed toward the group whereas nationalism results from the feelings of the group directed toward the nation. According to Bar-Tal and Staub, "a core definition of patriotism is attachment by group members to their group and the land in which it resides."[136] This can help explain why flag burners can see themselves as patriotic yet paradoxically engage in an activity that appears unpatriotic.

It has also been suggested that patriotism predates nationalism. One of Gellner's main arguments is that nationalism and nations are modern concepts whereas patriotism is viewed as a much more ancient phenomenon. Bar-Tal and Staub also make the point that patriotism "reflects a positive evaluation of and emotion toward the group...";[137] as a result, patriotism has existed at the tribal (group) level long before nations ever came into

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[133] Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism,* 1.
[134] Deutsch, *Nationalism and Social Communication,* 17. (Emphasis added.)
[135] Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism,* 1.
[136] Bar-Tal and Staub, "Patriotism: Its Scope and Meaning," 2. (Note the use of 'land' as opposed to 'nation' in their definition.)
[137] Bar-Tal and Staub, "Patriotism: Its Scope and Meaning," 2.

being. Herbert Kelman wrote that patriotism "is a psychological orientation that predates the advent of the nation-state and is thus much older and more general than modern nationalism."[138]

However, some scholars have offered a contradictory assessment regarding the antiquity of patriotism. Noting that Eric Hobsbawm believes that no nation[139] can see itself without a common past, Avner Ben-Amos argues that if patriotism means attachment of the individual to the group, then "such a group cannot come into existence without having a common past."[140] As such, Ben-Amos is suggesting that since nations are a modern invention rooted in a common past, patriotism must also be seen as a modern phenomenon given its link to a common past.

Thomas Blank and Peter Schmidt argue that nationalism and patriotism, while counter-concepts of one another, represent specific manifestations of national identity. Whereas nationalism sees an idealization of the nation (in political terms), patriotism allows for a critical evaluation of the nation.[141] Again, this can help explain, for example, why those who burn a flag in opposition to the state can see themselves as patriots. Seymour Feshbach and Noboru Sakano argue a similar point. "Theoretically, a minimal distinction that can be made is that between love of and pride in one's national identity (patriotism), and feelings of superiority and desire for power over other nations

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[138] Herbert Kelman, "Nationalism, Patriotism, and National Identity: Social-Psychological Dimensions" in *Patriotism in the Lives of Individuals and Nations,* eds. Daniel Bar-Tal and Ervin Staub (Chicago: Nelson-Hall Publishers, 1999), 166.

[139] The argument over the antiquity of nations is one of the many disputes among nationalist scholars. Hobswam, however, believes that nations are a modern phenomenon and therefore not rooted in antiquity.

[140] Avner Ben-Amos, "The Uses of the Past: Patriotism Between History and Memory," in *Patriotism in the Lives of Individuals and Nations,* eds. Daniel Bar-Tal and Ervin Staub (Chicago: Nelson-Hall Publishers, 1999), 129.

[141] Blank and Schmidt, "National Identity in a United Germany," 291.

(nationalism)."[142] Unlike nationalism though, it appears that patriotism does not demand a political expression nor does it require groups to be congruent with the political unit (i.e.: the state).

Contrary to the assertions that patriotism and nationalism are separate entities, Leonard Doob suggests that these phenomena are indeed linked. While patriotism represents a conscious connection between a person and the group to which s/he belongs, nationalism arises psychologically when patriotism leads to certain demands.[143] Patriotism, by its very definition, can exist without nationalism since the establishment of a nation is not a prerequisite for the development of patriotism. However, the reverse is certainly not true. Nationalism cannot exist without patriotism precisely because patriotism helps create unity and cohesiveness—the elements identified by Deutsch and Gellner as being paramount to the development of nationalistic feelings within a society.[144] Those who want to develop nationalism within a socio-political unit do so by availing of the sense of belonging that underlies patriotism.

The subtle but important distinction between nationalism and patriotism suggests that Newfoundland nationalism may be a latent concept. Nationalism, as suggested earlier, demands that the political and social units be congruent; that is, each unit has comparable goals and aspirations. Patriotism, however, demands that the group only have a sense of attachment to one another and the land they occupy; it does not require an overt political expression of that attachment (although nothing precludes that sentiment

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[142] Seymour Feshbach and Noboru Sakano, "The Structure and Correlates of Attitudes Toward One's Nation in Samples of United States and Japanese College Students: A Comparative Study," in *Patriotism in the Lives of Individuals and Nations,* eds. Daniel Bar-Tal and Ervin Staub (Chicago: Nelson-Hall Publishers, 1999), 95.
[143] Doob, *Patriotism and Nationalism,* 6.
[144] Bar-Tal and Staub, "Patriotism: Its Scope and Meaning," 3.

from developing). As a result, this may help explain the fierce loyalty to Newfoundland as sometimes expressed by Newfoundlanders.

3.1. EXPLORING NEWFOUNDLAND PATRIOTISM

Patriotism suggests that classical conditioning is the key means through which individuals become patriotic:

> The elementary feelings, emotions, and attitudes which have already been developed within the family circle can be transferred to the sight or sound of nationalistic symbols, such as the flag, the pictures of the presidents, the names of national heroes, the narration of historical episodes and the singing of the national anthem. Just as the salivary reaction was evoked and transferred to the sound of the bell [in Pavlov's experiments], so the response of love and respect which the child has heretofore experienced only toward his parents, is extended to the national flag or the national anthem.[145]

There is considerable insight in Allport's statement suggesting that, inherently, individuals are prone to the call of patriotism, much like Pavlov's dog, at any point a patriotic symbol is shown to the masses. And there appears to be some merit in Allport's claims. In his contribution, The Evolutionary Roots of Patriotism, Gary Johnson outlines three mechanisms that can result in increased feelings of patriotism among individuals: nepotism, reciprocity and collective goods and entities. Each of these will be reviewed to better understand Newfoundlander's sense of patriotism.

3.1.1. Nepotism

Many scholars agree that patriotism is rooted in the family. Indeed, the most important sources of cooperation, within a society, occur at the level of the family. Individuals must be able to identify between kin and non-kin; there has to be some level

[145] Floyd Allport, "The psychology of nationalism: The nationalistic fallacy as a cause of war," *Harper's Monthly Magazine* 155, no. 3 (August 1927), 294.

of kin recognition and according to Johnson, this recognition takes the form of association, phenotypic matching, and location[146].

Association is important in developing patriotism because there is a close connection between the welfare of the individual, his group, and the system as a whole. Immediately in life, as a child, there is a constant awareness of the importance of kin terms—mother, father, sister, brother—as, for children, they provide the first level of connection. Jean Piaget and Anne-Marie Weil's research notes that the common and undifferentiated appeal of the country is based on family feeling.[147] Kelman also appears to share this belief noting that "The extent to which attachment to nation and country draws on familial attachments is evident from the use of such terms as fatherland (*patria*) and mother tongue, which can be found in many languages and cultures."[148] As such, these terms can create a powerful influence on a child in terms of patriotic development.

Piaget's work in this area suggests the importance placed on the relationships between child and parent as well as the impact that it can have on the child's notion of home. Piaget writes that "We have met children who hardly know their own canton, yet stoutly declare they belong to it, out of attachment to their family."[149] For example, one child related to Germany, not due to any notion of attachment to that state, but rather based on the fact that his mother lived there.[150] Piaget's work speaks volumes regarding the relationship between child and parent and, comparatively, the transferability of that connection to the development of nationalism and patriotism within the child. For the

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[146] Johnson, "The Evolutionary Roots of Patriotism," 60.
[147] Jean Piaget and Anne-Marie Weil, "The Development In Children of the Idea of Homeland and of Relations with Other Countries," *International Social Science Bulletin* 3, (1951): 567.
[148] Kelman, "Nationalism, Patriotism, and National Identity: Social-Psychological Dimensions," 178.
[149] Piaget and Weil, "The Development In Children of the Idea of Homeland and of Relations with Other Countries," 565.
[150] Piaget and Weil, "The Development In Children of the Idea of Homeland and of Relations with Other Countries," 566.

child, the abstract notions of nation, nationalism and patriotism are irrelevant; rather, they represent, at least in the child's mind, a level of attachment to their parent.

Johnson, in an earlier text, identifies two uses of kin terms: referential and fictive (or symbolic). A referential kin term is used "when it refers to the actual or anticipated kin of either the speaker/poet/writer or his or her audience.[151] For example, it was widely believed that former Premier Clyde Wells, in an election speech, articulated that he would bring *every mother's son* home.[152] Doob notes too that there is a tendency to select a flower to symbolize unity;[153] for Newfoundlanders, that flower is the pitcher plant.

Johnson further notes that it is a common for kin terms to appear in national anthems. The fictive use of kin terms is prevalent in Sir Cavendish Boyle's *Ode to Newfoundland*. For example,

> As loved our fathers, so we love,
> Where once they stood we stand,[154]

Indeed, the *Ode to Newfoundland* also contains a referential kin term [As loved our *fathers*]. In Johnson's view, "Once a kin term has acquired emotional significance through an interaction between kin recognition and classical conditioning, pairing a kin term with the name of a country should transfer some of the emotional significance of the kin term to the country's name."[155] Doob agrees, noting that, "the name, the national symbol, the anthem can elicit deeply emotional and even specific responses."[156] As well, many Newfoundlanders' on March 31 (the date Newfoundland joined Canada) fly the

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[151] Johnson, "The Evolutionary Roots of Patriotism," 62.
[152] Progressive Conservative Party of Newfoundland and Labrador, "Population stats a damning indictment of Liberal policies since 1989," [on-line]; available from http://www.pcparty.nf.net/0207181.htm; Internet; accessed December 1, 2003.
[153] Doob, *Patriotism and Nationalism,* 50.
[154] Frank W. Graham, *We Love The Newfoundland: Biography of Sir Cavendish Boyle, k.c.m.g., Governor of Newfoundland, 1901-1904*, (St. John's: Creative Printers and Publishers, 1979), xvii.
[155] Johnson, "The Evolutionary Roots of Patriotism," 64.
[156] Doob, *Patriotism and Nationalism,* 33.

Newfoundland independence flag. This act links the flag with the notion of home and kin, which results in a sense of patriotism within the community[157].

Johnson also notes that phenotypic matching is also important in building nepotism. He states, "Among humans, then, phenotype includes language, accent, idioms, customs, gestures, manners, dress, and ornamentation, rituals and other cultural characteristics".[158] One can no doubt argue that the varied cultural characteristics, such as traditional Newfoundland music, Newfoundland jokes and expressions, Jigg's dinner or mummering, serve to distinguish Newfoundland from other cultural areas. Phenotypic matching also results in the "persistent tendency to differentiate one's fellow citizens and own society"[159] from others; hence, the use of the term "mainlander" to refer to non-Newfoundlanders. The use of the term "mainlander" may result from the desire of a "symbolic protection against the influence of an out-group..."[160]

The third mechanism of kin recognition depends upon a relation between kin and location. From Johnson's perspective, terms such as homeland and hometown may have some level of power because "location can act as a supplemental cue for altruistic dispositions."[161] For example, many Newfoundlanders take exception to the mispronunciation of their homeland. One cannot underestimate the importance placed upon the name of one's homeland and its role in developing a sense of patriotism.

Vague references to location may also act as a supplemental cue for readers and listeners. For example, again in the *Ode to Newfoundland*,

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[157] It is also interesting to note that this act could also be considered a political statement. Similarly, some Newfoundlanders would wear black armbands on March 31 to mourn entry into Canada.
[158] Johnson, "The Evolutionary Roots of Patriotism," 67.
[159] Johnson, "The Evolutionary Roots of Patriotism," 68.
[160] Reykowski, "Patriotism and the Collective System of Meanings," 120.
[161] Johnson, "The Evolutionary Roots of Patriotism," 70.

When sun-rays crown thy pine-clad hills,
And summer spreads her hand,

When spreads thy cloak of shimm'ring white,
At winter's stern command,

When blinding storm gusts fret thy shore,
And wild waves lash thy strand...[162]

and, in E.J. Pratt's *Erosion*,

It took the sea an hour one night,
An hour of storm to place
The sculpture of these granite seams
Upon a woman's face.[163]

Both of these examples indicated the connection between the Newfoundland and the patriotic emotions created by references to location and landscape.

3.1.2. Reciprocity

Reciprocity represents the ultimate patriotic act: having benefited from the society, one must give back to the society, even if that means giving up one's life.[164] For many Newfoundlanders, this resulted in them giving themselves to defence of Britain during World War I and II. This also results in monuments and buildings being erected in their honour, such as Memorial University. Those who are educated at the university are continually reminded of the sacrifice given by those who came before them; this creates, according to Johnson, "a powerful evocative mix of nepotism and reciprocal obligation."[165]

The greatest name recognition is often reserved for heroes; hence we have Cabot Tower. As well, the public ceremonies that mark an end to the war and, specifically, the

[162] Graham, *We Love The Newfoundland: Biography of Sir Cavendish Boyle,* xvii.
[163] Sandra Djwa et al, eds., *E.J. Pratt: Selected Poems,* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), 43.
[164] Johnson, "The Evolutionary Roots of Patriotism," 70.
[165] Johnson, "The Evolutionary Roots of Patriotism," 72.

Battle of Beaumont Hamel[166] draw attention to the sacrifice of these individuals. Remembrance events further socialize the symbols of patriotism into children since most of them are attended with family. Indeed, Piaget and Weil agree noting that "the 'decentration' (sic) of attitudes towards adoption of family traditions [by the child] may lead to the beginnings of a healthy patriotism...".[167]

3.1.3. Collective Goods and Entities

Johnson also notes the importance of a "capacity to recognize collective goods, and relatedly... a capacity to recognize collective entities as units."[168] Many writers lament that Newfoundlanders owe their lives to those who came before them; it is even epitomized in the *Ode to Newfoundland*—where once they stood, we stand. As well, another essential capability for generating patriotism is "the capacity to recognize the collective entity as a unit."[169] One method to achieve this sentiment is the nomenclature used within a society for home. Johnson also notes that it is frequent for individuals to personify their homeland, in terms of 'she' and 'he' and make reference to our "sons" and "daughters", especially with regard to Newfoundlanders who have left home. Johnson also notes the flag often acts as a signifier of the collective good within the society.[170]

3.1.4. The Strength of Patriotism among Newfoundlanders

There is little doubt that the elements exist to argue that patriotism can exist among Newfoundlanders. However, the strength of that patriotism is difficult to

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[166] On July 1, 1916, the first day of the Battle of the Somme in World War I, 800 soldiers of the First Newfoundland Regiment rose from the trenches and went into battle at Beaumont-Hamel. The next day, only 68 men answered the regimental role call.
[167] Piaget and Weil, "The Development In Children of the Idea of Homeland and of Relations with Other Countries," 570.
[168] Johnson, "The Evolutionary Roots of Patriotism," 75.
[169] Johnson, "The Evolutionary Roots of Patriotism," 76.
[170] Johnson, "The Evolutionary Roots of Patriotism," 78.

ascertain. Some would argue that Newfoundlanders are fiercely patriotic while others would argue that Newfoundlanders show very little patriotism.

In fact, Janusz Reykowski notes that there are groups that manifest little, if any, sense of patriotism. His first condition speaks to the isolation of a particular community. He argues that those who are separated from the greater social whole do not develop a sense of similarity or identity needed for patriotism to prosper.[171] Interestingly, Reykowski's theory, at least in the Newfoundland context, appears to be both a truth and fallacy depending on the period in question. Prior to 1949, there appeared to be a strong sense of patriotism, which was evidenced by Newfoundlanders twice rejecting confederation with Canada. This was done while Newfoundland remained an isolated, yet highly cohesive entity. However, after 1949, his theory has a degree of validity given that Confederation appears to have muted Newfoundlander's nationalistic desires.

His second condition that weakens national identification "is a form of life that fosters *connections exceeding the boundaries of a particular country.*"[172] Again, this theory appears to contradict the Newfoundland experience prior to Confederation, yet support it following Confederation. While he argues that exposure to foreign culture can result in the development of a sense of similarity with others, in Newfoundland's experience, this was not the case. Many Newfoundlanders, especially merchants and fisherman, had a significant amount of contact with foreigners, especially Canadians, Britons and Americans; yet it did nothing to quell their sense of patriotism.

But again, following Confederation, there appeared to be an impact as greater access to outside communication fuelled a desire for young Newfoundlanders to dress in

[171] Reykowski, "Patriotism and the Collective System of Meanings," 117. (Emphasis in text)
[172] Reykowski, "Patriotism and the Collective System of Meanings," 117.

the clothes of their American and Canadian counterparts. John Calhoun appears to be convinced by this assessment, noting that young Newfoundlanders are more likely to have a shared identity with their Canadian counterparts, given the fact that they are likely to have greater opportunities to interact.[173] He also references the increased Americanization of young Newfoundlanders in the 1950s and 1960s through both direct and indirect means (directly, through the American bases and indirectly through such mediums as television and radio)[174]. This speaks directly to the influences noted by Reykowski.

Finally, Reykowski notes that the third kind of condition that "may modify the sense of loyalty...is related to the process of individuation and *diminishing importance of the social identity*."[175] He argues that when individuation is less advanced, a social group identity may prevail resulting in an increase in a sense of patriotism. In the Newfoundland context, again, prior to 1949, there appeared to be a greater emphasis on the Newfoundland identity and way of life; however, since Confederation, Newfoundlanders appear to have become, at least in a group sense, more Canadian. By holding onto their Newfoundland identity at the *individual* rather than group level, they have precipitated a reduction of their own Newfoundland identity. While the previous two sections appear to contradict one another, in Reykowski's mind this may not necessarily be the case. The feeling of lost patriotism, manifested through individuation,

[173] Calhoun, "The Maintenance and Transformation of National Identity in Newfoundland," 15.
[174] Calhoun, "The Maintenance and Transformation of National Identity in Newfoundland," 15.
[175] Reykowski, "Patriotism and the Collective System of Meanings," 117. (Emphasis in text)

may in fact lead to a reinforcement of social identities. This is turn may result in an increase in patriotism or the resurgence of nationalism among Newfoundlanders.[176]

This section is important as it outlines the key differences between what it means to be patriotic versus nationalistic. While Newfoundlanders may be patriotic, it does not necessarily follow that they are nationalistic. As noted earlier, patriotism can exist without nationalism, but nationalism cannot exist without patriotism. The following two sections will seek to determine if a Newfoundland identity exists, and if so, if this identity has led to the development of Newfoundland nationalism among young Newfoundlanders in the selected cohort.

[176] Reykowski, "Patriotism and the Collective System of Meanings," 118. It may also be important here to note the rise of identity politics. See Castells, Manuel. *The Power of Identity*. Second Edition. Maine: Blackwell Publishing, 2004.

4. MAPPING THE ROAD TO IDENTITY

There are several aspects of identity that contribute to the building of nationalism. James Overton has noted the importance of identity building as a means toward building a political movement: "...we often find a rediscovery or invention of national or regional history and culture, all of which is part of an attempt to discover and define an identity as a prelude to political mobilization."[177] But it must be noted that while the presence of an identity is important if nationalism *is* to develop, it is certainly not the case that the mere presence of an identity *will* lead to nationalism. There are several important aspects of identity within the Newfoundland context: culture, pride, territoriality, language and history. Each of these will be discussed independently to assist in mapping young Newfoundlanders' identity.

The evidence will show that young Newfoundlanders in this sample recognize the importance of certain markers in shaping their identity. However, the evidence will also show that these young men and women feel that they are rapidly losing that identity through the cultural influence of North America. Furthermore, the evidence will also show that the young Newfoundlanders in this sample are an extremely proud stock of people. They are quick to defend their culture, language and history from outside attacks while strongly promoting their pride in being a Newfoundlander. As a result, the evidence supports the argument that young Newfoundlanders have a strong sense of identity.

[177] Overton, "Towards a Critical Analysis of Neo-Nationalism in Newfoundland," 229.

4.1. Culture

One of the more important aspects of national identity rests with the belief that a distinct culture is paramount for building a sense of identity. As F.L. Jackson writes,

> People do not choose their culture as if it were a tie or dress, nor can they make of culture what they like. People *are* their culture; it is in a very real sense their identity: in their culture a people find their freedom, their meaning and their self-awareness. Culture begins with the very soil in which people find themselves placed; it feeds on the immediate everyday experience of the natural setting and what it offers. It springs from the possibilities of work, leisure, and community that belong to a specific geography, climate and living environment.[178]

It appears that Jackson is suggesting that there is a strong link between culture and identity. Indeed, much like Jackson's words suggest, Gellner believed that, culture, at the political level, could act as a great mobilizing power. As a result, only those who share a culture could make a legitimate claim as a nation.[179]

The importance of culture to those interviewed for this study cannot be underestimated. Recognizing their culture as unique is important given that it suggests that the respondents distinguish themselves from Canadians. Furthermore, they feel they are rapidly losing their culture and feel helpless to stop it. They clearly see the impact of globalization and Americanization and to some degree 'Canadianization'. This leads to the next point: the relationship between culture and identity.

Tim Edensor argues that, "national identity is grounded in the everyday, in the mundane details of social interaction, habits, routines and practical knowledge"[180] and it is through these mundane tasks that culture is most readily produced, transmitted, and received. As a result, by measuring how the individual expresses and promotes their

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[178] F.L. Jackson. *Surviving Confederation.* (St. John's: Harry Cuff Publications, 1986), 10.
[179] Josep R. Llobera, *Foundations of National Identity: From Catalonia to Europe* (New York: Bergrahm, 2004), 101.
[180] Tim Edensor, *National Identity, Popular Culture and Everyday Life* (Oxford: Berg, 2002), 17.

culture in the everyday, one can argue that those individuals [who choose to express and promote that culture] also have a strong national identity. Some of the respondents spoke highly of their culture; others however felt that their culture would not last given the number of foreign influences. There is certainly a lack of cultural expression within the sample, as several students noted this; ironically, it could be this lack of expression that is leading to their cultural loss rather than the aforementioned foreign influence.

Expressing one's culture (through song, food, or dance for example) is critical given that national identity is, first and foremost, identification with and a sense of belonging to a particular community. As such, culture plays an important role in this identification because culture, when viewed collectively, represents the direct expression of identity. Individuals need not be aware that are expressing elements of their culture in order to have an identity. Indeed, many aspects of one's culture are unconsciously exhibited, such as, one's idiomatic sayings. One will no doubt agree that Newfoundland expressions are part of its culture, regardless of whether or not people are consciously aware they are uttering them. As a result, there is a link between Newfoundland culture and the Newfoundland identity because different aspects of its culture define who Newfoundlanders are as a people. Their culture makes them unique from other people within Canada, North America and, indeed, the world. As noted previously, this sample rapidly agreed that they felt their culture was unique from other places. Ultimately, though, it is the emphasis on a common culture that "create[s] a sense of solidarity within a society, which cuts across divisions of class, religion, sex, region, etc. Newfoundlanders

have common interests and a collective purpose and the cement which binds them together is a shared way of life and set of experiences."[181]

The expression of one's culture is also an important aspect of national identity since it reflects who Newfoundlanders are as a people and a society:

> In many ways national symbols, customs and ceremonies are the most potent and durable aspects of nationalism. They embody its basic concepts, making them visible and distinct for every member, communicating the tenets of an abstract ideology in palpable, concrete terms that evoke instant emotional responses from all strata of the community.[182]

Knowledge of one's culture is also important since it suggests that a "section of the population has absorbed certain [cultural] traditions..."[183] The art, history, and customs that are passed down from generation to generation further construct the Newfoundland identity. It is interesting that the students interviewed offered differing visions regarding the transferability of their culture. Some felt that it was the sole responsibility of the individual to protect their culture while others felt it was the role of government acting through the schools. The use of schools as a medium for the dissemination of culture speaks directly to Gellner's vision of nationalism: using the school system to promote a nationalist agenda. In order to maintain that identity, Newfoundlanders need to be aware of the objects, whether material or immaterial that are part of their culture. Smith's assertion is the main reason why it is important to study the expressive elements of culture within the Newfoundland context. When an individual listens to traditional Newfoundland music, reads a Newfoundland poem, or defends his or her people or homeland against others, the individual is expressing, consciously or unconsciously, his or her Newfoundland identity.

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[181] James Overton, "Progressive Conservatism? A Critical Look at Politics, Culture and Development in Newfoundland" in *Ethnicity in Atlantic Canada,* ed. Robert Garland, (Saint John: University of New Brunswick, 1985), 5: 94.
[182] Smith, *National Identity,* 77.
[183] Doob, *Patriotism and Nationalism,* 9.

4.2. Pride

Another important aspect of identity is pride. Given that one's national identity stems from the distinguishing features of the group as well as to the individual's sense of belonging to it, it is understandable that the influence of pride can significantly impact the development of one's identity. Indeed, in two separate opinion polls commissioned by *Maclean's* in the early 1990s, 53 and 57 percent of Newfoundlanders (in 1990 and 1994 respectively) reporting feeling a stronger connection to Newfoundland than to Canada. This is an interesting statistic considering the fact that Quebec's sense of pride was 55 and 49 percent, in the same two years.[184] Furthermore, in 2003, Ryan Research and Communications found that 72 percent of those responding considered themselves to be Newfoundlanders first.[185] Both these polls seem to reflect the responses given by these sixteen respondents. As noted earlier, eleven of the sixteen clearly identified the sense of pride in being a Newfoundlander.

Pride in one's community can be a strong force in the development of a nationalist sentiment. Still, it is difficult to explain why the majority of those interviewed appear to have a strong connection to their 'homeland'. It could be familial or kinship ties; indeed, primordialists would perhaps suggest this as the root cause. Perennialist scholars however would suggest that pride is merely one aspect of one's cultural identity. As a result, the fact that individuals rate themselves high in terms of pride does not necessarily mean that they are nationalist or have any desire to light the nationalist fires. Modernists on the other hand would argue that pride is irrelevant to the nationalist debate; rather they suggest that it is one of a series of modern ideas that leads to

[184] Thomsen, "Cultural and Political Nationalism in Stateless Nations," 61.
[185] Newfoundland and Labrador, *Royal Commission on Renewing and Strengthening Our Place in Canada: Provincial Opinion Study* (St. John's: Queen's Printer, 2003), 397.

nationalism. Similarly, ethno-symbolists would focus more on cultural markers to promote nationalism than pride in one's community.

While a strong sense of pride may not directly result in the development of a nationalist sentiment, it may help explain Newfoundlander's strong sense of patriotism. After all, to some, patriotism is nationalism without the political movement. Evidence from this thesis will show that young Newfoundlanders are extremely proud group of people. They would not hesitate to defend vigorously their language, culture, and customs from those they deem to be outsiders. While this may not be unique to Newfoundland, it is important because it does show that Newfoundlander's are patriotic. It appears unlikely that they would verbally defend Canada as quickly as they would Newfoundland.

4.3. Territoriality

A connection to one's historic homeland is also an important part of national identity since individuals need to have some connection to the place they call home. As Leonard Doob notes, "Land, people, and culture are the basic stimulus patterns or referents... [which] give rise to, and then become the essential components of, 'national consciousness'..."[186]. And Newfoundlanders have always identified with 'the rock':

> We all love this land. It has charm, it warms our hearts, go where we will, a charm, a magic, a mystical tug on our emotions that never dies. With all her faults, we love her. But a metamorphosis steals over us the moment we cross the border which separates us from other lands.[187]

While Joseph Smallwood understood our love of the land, it was Sir Robert Bond who demonstrated the connection between Newfoundlanders as a people and the land:

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[186] Doob, *Patriotism and Nationalism,* 24.
[187] Calhoun, "The Maintenance and Transformation of National Identity in Newfoundland," 5.

> This island, which some of us love so dearly....may henceforth be hailed not only as our native land, but our own land, freed from every foreign claim, and in the blasting influence of foreign oppression – ours in entirety – solely ours.[188]

The sense of community that young Newfoundlanders in this sample feel toward their home is paramount to the development of identity. These individuals see their home (that is, the community where they grew up) and the province interchangeably and recognize that they have a special unique bond that differentiates them from others. Llobera argues that:

> There is little doubt however that a territory is perhaps one of the most concrete and important phenomena that exist for human beings, as it also reflects their psychological characteristics. In this respect, it is possible to assert that identifying with a given territory is an important feature of a given human group.[189]

Many of the respondents noted the important role that family plays in the development of homeland ties. This offers an interesting parallel given that a primordial tie to one's homeland is related to kinship. In fact, kinship could help explain why young Newfoundlanders feel so connected to their community and province. Llobera also comments on this, noting: "Often the love of the family is quite central, giving a strong sense of origin to the inhabitants."[190] As such, this speaks to the importance of community and family in the development of their identity, but makes no claim on the connection it may have to the development of a nationalist sentiment.

An historic homeland is an important aspect of national identity. Individuals need to feel they have a connection with the place they live. Many of the interviewees noted that they had a special connection to the place they grew up. This is important in the development of one's identity because it speaks directly to the kinship ties of place.

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[188] G.C. Blackmore, "Sense of Place: Loss and the Newfoundland and Labrador Spirit," in *Royal Commission on Renewing and Strengthening Our Place in Canada Report*, Government of Newfoundland and Labrador (St. John's: Queen's Printer, March 2003), 341.
[189] Llobera, *Foundations of National Identity,* 48.
[190] Llobera, *Foundations of National Identity,* 49.

Indeed, there has always been a deep connection to between Newfoundland and her citizens. This connection to one's homeland is expressed outside the province quite well; it represents a diasporic feeling among Newfoundlanders in other parts of Canada and the world.[191]

4.4. History

A shared history ensures that, as a people, Newfoundlanders know where they came from, and ultimately where they are headed. Calhoun has noted, "historical events have contributed to the development of a distinctive Newfoundland identity."[192] A shared history is important because it builds a sense of community among the members of the society. Similarly, O'Sullivan See argues that nationalism:

> ...is not [simply] a set of cultural attributes per se; rather it is a *sense* [emphasis in original] of commonality and of shared history. Without that sense, a group with common cultural attributes is analogous to Marx's conception of peasants who lack class consciousness. Like a sack of potatoes, they may be in the same situation, but they are incapable of common action or a sense of collective interest. It is precisely for that reason a historical approach is necessary; for we seek to understand how that common identity and sense of shared past is constructed, imagined and produced.[193]

The sense of shared history permeates from the belief that all Newfoundlanders share in the struggle of this land whether it be against the harsh climate or for political autonomy. In fact, the most obvious argument for a shared history rests in their vision of a small 'h' history rather than the traditional big 'h' history. For these respondents in this sample, a shared history is not about parades, symbols or monuments (big 'h' history), rather it is about how families and communities were affected, how lives were made, lost, and re-made (small 'h' history). These young Newfoundlanders feel that they share an intimate,

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[191] Diaspora refers to any people or ethnic population forced or induced to leave their traditional ethnic homeland. While use of this term may slightly exaggerate the Newfoundland experience, its usage is correct in that it reflects the reality that many Newfoundlanders have no choice but to leave their homeland in search of better opportunities.
[192] Calhoun, "The maintenance and transformation of National Identity in Newfoundland," 9.
[193] O'Sullivan See, *First World Nationalisms*, 3.

primordial connection with their history. Indeed, this primordial connection can be highly important in the development of the Newfoundland identity.

Still, according to these respondents, there is a strong belief that Newfoundland history is not as well known among its people as it ought to be[194]. This can have significant implications for the development of nationalism given that a shared history is important in developing an imagined community. If history is not formalized such as in the school system, then this could partially explain why nationalism in Newfoundland has not occurred.

In fact, the evidence from this thesis suggests that young Newfoundlanders in this sample have little awareness of the most significant Newfoundland historical events. While some respondents noted such seminal moments as the collapse of the fishery, Confederation with Canada, and World War I/Beaumont Hamel, it is interesting that some of the more important historical events that were not mentioned such as Bennett's anti-confederation drive in the late 1860s and the bankruptcies in the 1890s and 1930s.[195] In fact, the bankruptcy in the early 1930s could be seen as a watershed moment in Newfoundland politics given the event that resulted from it, that is, Commission of Government and then Confederation with Canada.[196] This omission could be explained as

[194] Nine of the sixteen respondents suggested, in some form or another, that Newfoundland history wasn't well known. Two of the respondents did not address the question either directly or indirectly.
[195] It is interesting to note that the few respondents who were doing history were unable to identify more than one or two significant historical events.
[196] It is possible that Newfoundland might have survived the Great Depression had it not gone into significant debt over the building of the railway and paying for the war effort. By 1932, Newfoundland owed a consortium of Canadian banks nearly $100 million. Concerned over the impact it would have on their businesses, the mercantile elite began to push for a 'commission' to put the country back into financial stability. In fact, this option seemed reasonable to many Newfoundlanders who had born witness to the corruption scandal of Prime Minister Richard Squires in both 1924 and 1932.

there is no formalized Newfoundland history course in the school system[197]; however, the fact that no respondent mentioned such seminal moments may underscore the reason as to why nationalism (at least political nationalism) is not a factor in their lives.

4.5. Language

For many scholars, language plays a crucial role in the development of identity. Language provides kinship and, as such, this kin bond helps develop the necessary connection with the community needed for the development of an identity. As a result, the link created through one's community is seen as key to promoting the nationalist sentiment. As Jan Blommaert suggests, "it [language] is often given a central role in the ascription and definition of national or ethnic identities through the classic Herderian association between a language and the 'spirit' of the people, and language issues may constitute an important battlefield of nationalist struggle."[198] Similarly, Lowenburg has argued that "nationalism begins in the family and at home."[199]

The research conducted for this study suggests that young Newfoundlanders within this sample are highly cognizant of the connection that the Newfoundland language creates among its people. They cite the familiar idioms, dialects, and phrases that create a unique language, at least, in their opinion. As noted earlier, Deutsch suggests that it is the similarity of dentonators that are important, not necessarily the language. Simply put, he is arguing that a language community is created when most of the words used are frequently recognized by the community.

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[197] It is interesting to note that five of the respondents noted that Newfoundland history was not specifically taught in the school system.

[198] Jan Blommaert, "Language and Nationalism: comparing Flanders and Tanzania," *Nations and Nationalism* 2, no. 2 (1996): 235.

[199] Peter Lowenburg, "The Psycho-Dynamics of Nationalism," *History of European Ideas* 15, no's 1-3 (August 1992): 94.

For Leonard Doob, language "provides an efficient way to create awareness within people of their own distinctive attributes."[200] In fact, a common language creates bonds and promotes friendship among those who speak the same language. In fact, many of the youth interviewed indicated that their language helped create some form of connection or bond. The youth felt that the Newfoundland language furthered friendships among other Newfoundlanders while others suggested that they often made a connection with other Newfoundlanders through the unique words and phrases or dialect of Newfoundland. As the interviewees noted, "...if you hear someone from Newfoundland you're enticed to go up and introduce yourself and see where they're from you know..."; "...it was years ago and just on the beach [in Florida] like my family went and there was another couple there and my father heard this gentlemen talking and he went up to him and said 'what part of Bonavista Bay are you from?'..." or "...and you know you can always know a Newfoundlander when he's around especially if you're outside Newfoundland and there's all people speaking with mainland Canadian standard dialect..." For these young Newfoundlanders, a common identifiable dialect provided the necessary opportunity to create a bond with their 'kin'. In fact, they felt comfortable introducing themselves to individuals previously unknown to them.[201]

Doob also notes the importance of praising one's language. He writes, "the language, it is said, accepts or rejects foreign words: it makes men think in particular ways. People also praise their language in they way they extol other customs and

[200] Doob, *Patriotism and Nationalism,* 230.

[201] It must be noted that while linguist identity is important in the development of political nationalism, Newfoundland is different. I base this assertion on the fact that Newfoundland's political circumstances were unique in that it was a Dominion, like Canada, for several decades. Unlike other places, I do not believe that it needs to be proven that Newfoundland has its own language but rather that the language was unique enough to develop separately from other English speaking areas. Despite the similarities in language between the United States and Great Britain, no one would argue that they are separate nations, even if one would be considered modern.

themselves."[202] In fact, it could be argued that not only is praising one's language important but also defending it as well. Throughout the interviews, young Newfoundlanders felt especially proud of their language. The differing dialects, as well as unique words and phrases provided for a very identifiable and colorful language. As one student noted, "...and while there are a lot of jokes made about it, you know, if I say 'yes bye', like that, to me, is not in any way degrading myself, that's who I am, I'm a Newfoundlander, and if you don't like it, that's fine." As Tomasz Kamusella states, "Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762-1814) lauded the mother tongue passed to descendents by their fathers as the most precious thing one has..."[203]

It is also interesting to note that another important emergent theme in the interviews was the 'us versus them' mentality. Indeed, this 'we ourselves' mantra was espoused by eight individuals who believed that their language made them significantly different from other Canadians. One typical comment suggested that "...even in Nova Scotia, I don't think, I've been there doesn't really compare just how different we are and the way we talk from the rest of the country..."

The desire to differentiate oneself from others through language is certainly not new. In the first North American nation-state, Noah Webster published his *American Dictionary of the English Language* in order to show that the United States of American was linguistically different from Great Britain.[204] Similarly, in 1999, the University of Toronto Press published the second edition of the *Dictionary of Newfoundland English,*

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[202] Doob, *Patriotism and Nationalism,* 231.
[203] Tomasz D. I. Kamusella, "Language as an instrument of nationalism in Central Europe," *Nations and Nationalism* 7, no. 2 (2001): 238.
[204] Kamusella, "Language as an instrument of nationalism in Central Europe," 239.

and for many young Newfoundlanders, 'Newfinese' represents an important part of their identity.

One of the purposes of this thesis was to attempt to explain why Newfoundland nationalism appears latent among young Newfoundlanders. As noted earlier, language helps facilitates a connection to kin and bonding among those who speak a similar language. As Kamusella argues:

> Language is the basic instrument of communication among human beings and is the indispensable basis for the existence of cultures, civilisations and religions, and for social reality in general. This is born out by the key role that language plays in social cohesion both in tiny communities and extensive societies organised in the form of nations... Thus, [it can be argued] that language is the instrument by which it is possible to bond groups with a theoretically unlimited number of individuals...[205]

This bonding is extremely important as a basis for nationalism. The strength of the bond within the community then is paramount to the development of a nationalist sentiment. However, while a weak bond could conceivably lead the development of a unique identity, it is not the case that the identity itself would act as a facilitator of nationalism. This is an important point for nationalism among young Newfoundlanders.

It could be argued that the strength of one's bond with the community is reliant upon the development of two separate bonds: an 'outsider' and an 'insider'. The 'outsider' bond is created by young Newfoundlanders differing themselves from other Canadians while the 'insider' bond is created by young Newfoundlanders identifying themselves with other young Newfoundlanders. The interviews seem to suggest that the 'insider' bond is not as strong as the 'outsider' bond; as such, this may partly explain the latent sense of Newfoundland separation nationalism. Three individuals (two urban females, one rural male) suggested that the bond created by language was not as strong among young Newfoundlanders due, in part, to a perceived 'rural-urban' divide. As they

[205] Kamusella, "Language as an instrument of nationalism in Central Europe," 236.

each noted, "if I'm put into a situation I can't handle from the around the bay and I'm feeling kind of awkward because I'm the outsider (from St. John's), the first thing I notice myself doing, unconsciously is putting on more of an accent to sort of bond to be in with that group...", "like St. John's, Corner Brook, and like the Conception Bay areas, they have more of a negative attitude towards the bayman accents as they call them, you know... [it doesn't] allow for much solidarity among most Newfoundlanders..." and "the way we do it from town is like 'oh, we're from town, everybody else is from around the bay' so you know what I mean... it's like us and the rest of the whole province..." Interestingly, these individuals self-identified themselves as a Newfoundlander first and a Canadian second.

This section has outlined clearly the sense that young Newfoundlanders in this sample feel that they are distinct, especially from other Canadians. In fact, while seven of the sixteen interviewees clearly indicated that they saw themselves both as a typical Newfoundlander and Canadian, fourteen of the sixteen felt that Newfoundlanders were different from Canadians.[206] As a result, there is certainly a strong case to be made that Newfoundlanders, at least based on this sample, have a strong sense of identity built through years of hardship coupled with a strong sense of community. However, while for some societies this apparent strong identification could facilitate into a sense of nationalism, it appears, that within the Newfoundland context, nationalism is relatively muted. This case is further frustrated by the fact that many Newfoundlanders believe that Canada has treated Newfoundland as a black sheep and that Confederation has not provided the necessary expectations that were promised.

[206] One person did not answer the question and the other felt that there was no difference between Newfoundlanders and Canadians. In fact, the latter respondent indicated that he was both a Newfoundlander and Canadian.

5. ON NEWFOUNDLAND IDENTITY AND NATIONALISM

The following analysis evaluates varying aspects of the Newfoundland identity (language, culture, territoriality, history, pride) from the perspective of sixteen young Newfoundlanders. These elements are important as they represent the constituent parts of identity which can be used to determine the degree to which nationalism exists among young Newfoundlanders in this sample. While the data that was collected from the sixteen interviewees was quite rich, time constraints did not permit an extensive analysis of the responses. The data that was examined though does offer some interesting insights into the minds of a select sample of Newfoundland youth regarding their identity.

The section also offers an analysis of young Newfoundlanders' visions regarding the different potential manifestations of nationalism (political, civic/ethnic, cultural, and neo-nationalism). The final section reviews the political activities of the sample to determine whether or not a correlation exists regarding their political involvement and their vision of nationalism.

5.1. Language

Rural students immediately recognize that the Newfoundland language is unique within Canada. The words, dialects, phrasing and idiomatic expressions reflect not only the character of the language, but also the character of the people who speak it. For many young Newfoundlanders, language creates an immediate connection, especially with those other Newfoundlanders on the mainland. In fact, this bond may be explained through the connection that Newfoundlanders feel they have with the province.

Young rural Newfoundlanders also emphasize the importance that community-specific accents and dialects play in creating that connection. As one respondent noted,

Table 5.1: Language as Bond Among Rural and Urban Students

Does language create a bond?	RURAL	URBAN
YES	7	7
NO	1	1

"every different province has their own accent and their own slang but even different communities in Newfoundland are different..." Indeed, the variant dialects between towns are reflective of the Irish, English and French roots within Newfoundland and Labrador.

In fact, for some young Newfoundlanders, the province's unique language represents more than just a connection to one another; it can also speak volumes about the history of the island as well as the struggles that many Newfoundlanders face. As one student noted, "the language describes the history of the place... just as something as small as someone's tongue can tell you the history of the place that's what's unique about our language..."

Interestingly, urban respondents' views on language are quite similar to those of rural students despite their belief that they are different. Among those individuals, there is a general consensus that the Newfoundland language is unique and that the influence of Europe (mainly Ireland and England) is highly prevalent.[207] As one urban student noted "...I guess, it's really the only place that has a strong Irish influence and it's still even then unique on its own..." The interviewees seem to be concerned that the Newfoundland language is dying out and the focus seems to be on the schools. This is an important point given the impact that socialization at the school level can have on children. As one interviewee noted "the school systems are basically scolding the youth a bit... in ways we're being taught the standard language..." His words seem to suggest that young

[207] Eleven of the sixteen students noted that they felt the Newfoundland language was unique (5) or used some other variation such as distinct (2), different (2), identifiable (1) and distinguishable (1). There were eight references to the English or Irish origin of the Newfoundland 'language'.

Newfoundlanders are being socialized to a specific manner of speech and that the traditional outport language is disparaged.

These particular interviewees seemed to believe that the Newfoundland language provided for a bond and a connection among Newfoundlanders. This is important given the connection that language plays in developing one's identity. As one of the rural interviewees noted:

> ...if you're one Newfoundlander amongst twenty people from Kingston, Ontario... everyone's going to know how much different you are than everybody else without much effort... if you're five or six Newfoundlanders amongst twenty people from Kingston say at a party everyone's definitely going to know who you are because you're going louder, you're going shooting more shit than everybody else there... you're going to be talking to them, you're going to be talking to yourselves...

The urban interviewees also felt that the Newfoundland language creates a bond by suggesting that there is an inherent connection through a common and shared language. As one urban student noted, "it's [language] that one thing totally ties you together regardless of where you come from..."

Despite the importance that the Newfoundland language plays in developing a Newfoundland identity, the young rural Newfoundlanders who were interviewed also feel a sense of shame related to their language. There seemed to be a consensus that given the uniqueness of the language, that uniqueness has bred a certain degree of disparagement or mockery among others, especially from Canada. As one interviewee noted, "...I think that a lot of people look down on our accent, well other Canadians... but I think people look down upon it and say that its because we're, I don't know, a lot of people say Newfies are stupid..." This belief was also prevalent among urban interviewees who felt that Newfoundlanders were oftentimes looked down upon by others. As one urban student noted, "like the Newfoundland dialect... even stigmas come with it like we can

be proud of it but still have a stigma against it." While young Newfoundlanders feel that there is a stigma attached to the Newfoundland language, there is an inherent sense of pride among those young people, rural and urban, who were interviewed.

However, this view of language was not limited to those outside Newfoundland. For the rural interviewees, other areas of Newfoundland, especially St. John's, look down upon the Newfoundland outport accent. As one interviewee noted, "like St. John's, Corner Brook, and like the Conception Bay areas, they have more of a negative attitude towards the bayman accents as they call them you know..." Indeed, one urban student seemed to recognize this division as he suggested that "I think people from inside the city; a lot of them consciously try to lose that accent..."[208]

5.2. Culture

Cultural identity is the feeling of identity of a group or culture, or of an individual as far as she/he is influenced by her/his belonging to a group or culture. Common characteristics and ideas may be clear markers of a shared cultural identity, but essentially it is determined by difference: if you feel you are part of a group, and a group defines itself as a group by noticing and highlighting differences with other groups and cultures. People who feel they belong to the same culture have this idea because they rely on a common set of norms, but the awareness of such norms is possible only in their absence. In fact, the dynamics of cultural self-identification imply a continuous contact between cultures.

Given the above discussion on cultural identity, it is impressive to note that twelve of the respondents (four were not asked this question) felt that the Newfoundland

[208] Within Newfoundland, there is a strong conflict among rural and urban individuals. This divide goes back centuries and is related to the control the fish merchants had over the fishery and the conditions on which fishermen were forced to accept in order to carry out a living.

culture was unique.[209] This certainly suggests an acute awareness of their own culture and the differences between the Newfoundland culture and others. The interviewees shared similar views noting that, while the way in which their culture is passed on may not be unique, its content is unique. As one urban student suggested:

> I'd say the content of the culture is very unique. You know, there's plenty of other places that have culture handed down orally from generation to generation... that you know have a lot of culture contained within the music and stories... yeah the way the culture is formed and passed on and stuff is not that unique but actually the content and how important it is to the people in the province is in a way...

Despite the fact that these young Newfoundlanders are acutely aware of their own culture, the majority feel that it is disappearing rapidly. The students offer a variety of reasons for this loss; some blame the government and the loss of the fishery, while others blame Americanization and globalization. In fact, Americanization and globalization are seen as significantly affecting Newfoundland, especially rural Newfoundland, and this is an opinion shared by both rural and urban students. In fact, seven rural students and four urban students noted the influence of a North American culture and globalization on the Newfoundland culture. As one rural student noted, "I think that the good parts of our culture, the resourcefulness, the friendliness, that's going... we're letting that slip away because we're succumbing to the influence of a foreign culture on television and stuff..."

Indeed, this perceived loss of culture seems to be an important issue with both subgroups. There may also be a sense of shame related to Newfoundland culture as some suggested that Newfoundland culture was something to be proud of only in Newfoundland. As one respondent noted:

> I don't know a lot of times you can be sitting around at a party I'll just sort of go off on these little things but you can be at a party and put on some Harry Hibbs or something to try to get some people... nah that's stupid music, that's this and that or whatever... people kind of like turned traditional Newfoundland folk music...

[209] This question was omitted inadvertently.

Other respondents noted that the loss of culture was related to other things such as the loss of the fishery; with the loss of the fishery so goes the Newfoundland way of life. This speaks volumes to the important role that the fishery plays in defining the identity of not only rural students but urban ones as well. As one student noted, "so with the fishery gone, our economic identity is basically gone and with that identity our culture based on our identity as fisherfolk and it kind of all crumbles from there, kind of crumbles from the top because the whole existence of Newfoundland is based on the fishery..."

There also seemed to be a sense of fear within their words as Newfoundland appears to becoming more integrated into the North American way of life. These students felt that being a Newfoundlander added something special to their identity, something that other Canadians could not possibly understand. With the influence of North America comes a belief that, over time, Newfoundland could end up just as another Canadian province. Others felt that the loss of culture is related to the modernization that Newfoundland experienced following Confederation. This modernization, in the eyes of these students, appears connected with the fishery; as one student noted, "...the traditional way of life... it's become more modern now so... as in the fishing industry people are moving away from it because there is no work so you have you're you know forty-something you know going back to school learning computers and that..." It appears that globalization, Americanization and modernization are impacting Newfoundlanders in ways no one has fully considered.

5.3. Territoriality

When asked about their views on Newfoundland, 9 of 13 (three were not asked the question) respondents offered some type of emotional response or indicated some

degree of emotional connection with Newfoundland. This response or connection was oftentimes expressed in terms of pride; if the respondent did not specifically mention pride in their response, it was clearly evident as they tended to express a fond connection with a particular area.[210] As well, the natural beauty of Newfoundland seems to play a part in building this emotional connection or response. In fact, the one student who clearly indicated that he was not attached to Newfoundland did positively express his views on Newfoundland's beauty: "I'm not really attached to Newfoundland. I like some of the scenery, the naturist stuff; I like Terra Nova National Park" Those individuals who did not express an emotional response or connection did, however, speak to the importance of culture, hospitality, safety, smallness, and history as being important factors in their view of Newfoundland.

For the three respondents who indicated that they traveled extensively outside the province, a sense of familiarity and safety were important attributes in their vision of Newfoundland. It also should be noted that the one student who moved around Newfoundland a lot as a child spoke of the importance of community; he noted that many of his aunts and uncles are now returning to Newfoundland after working for many years on the mainland. Of course, there is no particular reason to believe this sentiment would be different anywhere else; however, it does demonstrate the degree to which individuals are emotionally attached to the province. In fact, one interviewee indicated that he planned to return to Newfoundland after working for some time on the mainland. This level of emotion can help explain why Newfoundlanders defend their 'homeland' with vigor.

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[210] This observation was based on the non-verbal cues recorded during the interview, for example, the individual's intonation would slightly increase or they would smile when discussing the topic.

Indeed, the connection that young Newfoundlanders have with their hometown is significantly different than the one they express with Newfoundland. In reference to their hometown, they often referred to the influence of family, schools, friends, security, culture and history. Indeed, these views overlap significantly over gender and location. The greatest difference however appears to be related to the emotional response and connection expressed by these students when discussing Newfoundland as their home.

While their hometown obviously provides an emotional response for them, it appears that the sentiment reflects a broader connection with Newfoundland. Not only do they see their town as home but they also see Newfoundland as their home. Comments like "I've traveled an awful lot actually and it makes me realize how much I love Newfoundland"; "to be a Newfoundlander first... it's just you know... it's again like the place where you grew up, the place where you're from"; "Newfoundland is my home and I honestly feel that I wouldn't feel comfortable anywhere else..."; and "...when I got off the plane and came back to Newfoundland I was just glad to be there... I didn't miss it until I left..." This connection is but one part of the identity puzzle.

5.4. History

The most consistent theme throughout the interviewees was the fact that the respondent views were highly inconsistent when asked their opinion on the most important aspect of Newfoundland history. The individuals offered varying ideas on what constituted the most important element within Newfoundland history.

Table 5.2: Most Mentioned Newfoundland Historical Events

Historical Event	Times Mentioned
Fishery	5
Confederation	3
World War One/Beaumont Hamel	2
Colonization	2
English Rule	2
Ending of Responsible Government	1
Squires Revolt	1
Offshore Oil	1
Discovery	1

It is interesting that the fishery and Confederation were cited the most, but this might be related to the fact that many interviewees spoke of an older, simpler time. It appears that they almost would like to see Newfoundland return to her roots: "I think because we're isolated and because we come from, you know, fishing, not so the rush, rush atmosphere... I think people like, I don't know, they connect more or something, they feel because we have a unique history and we have a different accent I think people feel more like each other" or "...maybe just the time we're living in, you know, it's always easier to look back upon better times, even if they weren't better but to grasp onto the better parts of those times and bring them forward..." Indeed, the idea of a return to simpler times may help explain why some Newfoundlanders seem to have a perennial sense of longing with their homeland.

However, while the interviewees may not have agreed on the most important event in Newfoundland history, two important themes did emerge from the data which will be discussed below: the sense of struggle that permeates throughout Newfoundland history and the idea of a 'small-h history' rather than a 'big-H history'. The idea of struggle was the most important theme throughout their discussion on history. Indeed, this sense of struggle seems to be an integral part of the Newfoundland way of life. Newfoundlanders have long struggled to survive in Newfoundland's harsh conditions and

to build a life on an island which did not offer much beyond the chance to start over from the poverty of England or Ireland. As two students clearly noted:

> ...struggle... it's the one word that will always come [to mind]... in Newfoundland it was basically you against the natural world for the long haul really...from just establishing yourself here right up to the fight for government, representative government, responsible government...

and

> the people who lived here went through thick and thin and still went through it if you had... like so many people here devoted their life to one resource and their entire life surrounded completely on the fishery and everything stemmed off of that...

Another important emergent theme was the fact that many of the respondents spoke not about the impact of 'big-H history' but rather the impact of 'small-h history' on the lives of Newfoundlanders. For these youth, Newfoundland history was not about monuments or parks but rather more about how communities were affected, lives made and lives lost. This idea of small-h history was the most important part of Newfoundland; it was more about the impact of historical events at the local level. As one student poignantly noted Newfoundland history is:

> ...smaller, it's ...closer to home... like you can trace it back to yourself somehow... It's not just Christopher Columbus did this... It's not monuments, it's not plaques somewhere... It's in you, like it's your grandparents... It's living in Bell Island... It's not just what you read in a book... It actually has significance [to you]...

or

> I think it's not so much about like, you know, one event, like it's not about John Cabot coming over, and all that... I think it's more about the idea that these small communities...had to work together [to build a better life]

These respondents both generally agreed and seemed gravely concerned that Newfoundland is losing part of its history in some form or another. Some of the respondents were not overly aware of Newfoundland history such as dates and facts while others felt that the history of the province was not shared. Of the sixteen respondents, nine expressed views that Newfoundland history is, for the most part, not

widely known among other Newfoundlanders.[211] In their opinion, the history of rural Newfoundland differs significantly from urban Newfoundland; as a result, there is no 'common' history. Their responses are curious give the many significant and obvious historical events that have impacted both rural and urban areas.

This view may be explained by the fact that some of the respondents felt that there is no formal instruction in Newfoundland history, especially in the schools. Furthermore, the lack of a required history course in the schools may help explain why the urban students in the sample were more likely to believe that Newfoundlanders were generally ignorant of their history: "I'd say that Newfoundlander's are pretty ignorant of their history. It's just the impression that I get, I mean, I just think that if you were to ask someone 'what year Newfoundland joined Confederation?' they probably wouldn't know..." In fact, the lack of formal history education and the general feeling of ignorance could help explain why the respondents feel that Newfoundland is losing part of its history. As one student noted, "I don't think it's shared in school... I think it's disappearing quickly...very rapidly..."

Indeed, while the urban respondents felt that Newfoundlanders were ignorant of their history, it was also the case that rural students place more emphasis on the importance of history than urban students. In fact, this view was also shared by urban students: "I think different Newfoundlanders have a very different idea of what Newfoundland history is. People from rural Newfoundland tend to have a much stronger sense of heritage."[212] As well, some of the respondents felt that the rural and urban parts of the province had different types of history. In fact, it was also suggested by some

[211] One person did not answer the question but instead spoke about Newfoundland pride.
[212] In this context, the interview is using heritage to mean culture.

respondents that each community had a different type of history. If these respondents felt that history differed dramatically from community to community, this too may help explain why they felt that their history was unshared. As one student notes, "I think every part of Newfoundland has a different history that every community has something different... I think every different area has something different..."

Some of the respondents also felt that the older generation of Newfoundlanders appeared more in tune with Newfoundland history than the younger generation. This is a curious distinction as it parallels the students' views that globalization and Americanization are eroding the Newfoundland way of life. As one student noted:

> I think this problem [Newfoundlanders not knowing their history] is actually probably going to die out because the last generation of people who were Newfoundlander's before Confederation are, I think their idea of history is a lot different than my view of history because my view of history includes the Battle of the Plains of Abraham... so I think that in a sense like there is a generational divide because you know they were born in a different country than I was even though it's the same province.

Indeed, as young Newfoundlanders become more generally North American, their sense of identity as Newfoundlanders may also diminish. This may also be important given their views on the lack of a formal Newfoundland history course in the school system.

5.5. Pride

For the one student who indicated that she was more proud to be Canadian than a Newfoundlander, there appeared to be an inherent sense of shame associated with being called a Newfoundlander. She stated that:

> I would say I am more proud to be a Canadian because the general acceptance of Canadians is more than, say Newfoundland, even within Canada. You go anywhere else, Canadians are just held in a very high regard whereas anywhere else in Canada, Newfoundlander's are not necessarily are...

Furthermore, one student indicated that he was not proud to be either a Newfoundlander or a Canadian. It appears that he has a significant amount of disdain for the decisions made by past and current political leaders:

> I'm not proud to be either. I can't imagine anybody being particularly proud to be a Newfoundlander with all the incredibly bad moves we've collectively made. I can't imagine anyone being proud of being a Canadian. In Canada, we don't have a democracy, we have a pseudo-democracy; if we had a democracy, you could pick a leader who had morals.

Interestingly, these two students also share negative views of Newfoundlanders. The rural female has a very stereotypical view of Newfoundlanders as she argues that a typical rural Newfoundlander is a fisherman driving around on a ski-doo (an urban Newfoundlander [townie] is stuck-up) while for the urban male, Newfoundlanders are overweight and heavy drinkers. Indeed, it is not surprising that both these individuals do not see themselves as typical Newfoundlanders.

There were also a few who indicated that they were proud to be both a Newfoundlander and a Canadian. While they recognize that a distinct Newfoundland identity exists, they still feel more Canadian than Newfoundlander. These individuals cite Canada's humanitarian commitments, its social conscience, and Canada's role as a peacekeeper as important elements in defining their identity. As one of the students noted:

> I guess you could say both for different reasons... well I am proud to be a Newfoundlander because the way that we are different, and we've, you know, worked hard to make a living out of this province and we continue to work hard to make it sustainable...I think, as a Canadian because that's where much of my identity comes from... well just as much as from being a Newfoundlander because Canada, after that, takes part in the international stage, that enacts certain domestic and social policies...

For those students (eleven out of sixteen) who indicated clearly, and often with conviction, that they were a Newfoundlander first and foremost, their sense of pride appears rooted in the bond that they have with the province. Indeed, this is important

given the primordial connection that many scholars believe is an important element in the development of a nationalist sentiment. It is also interesting to note, given the previous discussion, that two students in this sample specifically stated that there was no shame in being proud to be a Newfoundlander. As one noted:

> I'm a proud Newfoundlander...you know if people ask me I'm a Newfoundlander... where's that to? Canada... you know it's always Newfoundlander first for me right...you know I got nothing to be ashamed of...I am Newfoundlander first...

Table 5.3: Sense of Pride

	Newfoundland First	Canadian First	Both Equally	Neither
Male Urban	2		1	1
Female Urban	3		1	
Male Rural	4			
Female Rural	2	1	1	

Indeed, this difference of opinion is not associated with location or gender. It is also interesting to note that for those who indicated that they were equally proud to be a Newfoundlander and Canadian, it was done so in comparative terms. In others words, for those students, they were a Newfoundlander first inside Canada but a Canadian outside Canada. Yet, for the students who indicated they were a Newfoundlander first, their geographic location was irrelevant.

5.6. Neo-Nationalism

There appear to be mixed views with regard to Newfoundland's ability to do better materially if it had more control over its resources. Indeed, this economic concern may help explain why so few students support outright separation and those few who do support the idea of separation did so with some hesitation. Rather, their responses indicate a desire toward more autonomy for the province within the current federal system.

The respondents cite the problems with the fishery and offshore oil as the most important reasons for Newfoundland having more direct control over its affairs. Indeed, some interviewees have suggested that if Newfoundland had more control over the fishery and the oil and gas industry, the province would be in a better financial position: "I don't know... I think that if we had a little bit more economic control, there'd be more confidence or maybe stop this brain drain that's going on in our province". Furthermore, some of the respondents argued that more economic control would give the province a boost both in terms of the economy and the population.

For those individuals who felt unsure as to whether or not Newfoundland having more economic control would make a difference, their hesitation was strongly linked to a lack of confidence in those who hold power. In other words, Newfoundland would do well economically if the provincial politicians took more time to develop the resources rather than sell the province out for short-term political gains. As one student noted:

> I think it might... they [politicians] tend to sell out resources to get fast money to pay off stuff but if they actually took the time to develop it then it might sustain longer and probably end up making more money in the long run but I can't see that for some reason... I don't know I guess it's just the money needs to be there and that's how you do it.

There were also some individuals in the sample who feel that Newfoundland would be worse off with more economic control. Indeed, these individuals appear to share this view with those who are unsure about Newfoundland's ability to better manage its economy. These students felt that Newfoundland is too politically immature to take on such a task; furthermore, they are unconvinced that Newfoundland politicians have the necessary management skills to do better than the federal government. As one student argues "God, no, no... if we [the province] had more economic control, we would just do more of the wrong things." Other respondents cited the problems and disadvantages that

come with Newfoundland's geographic location as an impetus to better resource management.

Equality for the province is also a recurring theme for those individuals who cited the province as their first choice in serving their interests. This may help explain the origin of neo-nationalism among the sample. They either felt that Canada had to treat all provinces equally or alternatively, they argued that Newfoundland was discriminated against. As an urban female and a rural male respectively noted, "...the federal government is more about trying to equalize provinces, trying to you know calm tensions" and, "none of the above, but if I had to pick, I'd say provincial. Federal, we're the black sheep of Canada, you know... we're not represented right, we're not treated right, we're not treated equally kind of thing..."

The students interviewed also have differing views on the type of economic issues that are facing Newfoundland. There are the perennial issues (fishery, oil and gas, Churchill Falls) but it not surprising that some of the students interviewed from central Newfoundland cited forestry as a major economic issue facing Newfoundland. The students also felt that Newfoundland was not getting its fair share and that Canada was partly to blame. This is interesting given the mixed views they had toward Newfoundland having greater economic control over its resources and suggests that while young Newfoundlanders, at least in this sample, are cognizant of the problems that plague the province, they also have little faith in provincial politicians to correct them. Indeed, this may result from past economic problems and may help explain why some students referenced the idea of the right person coming along to lead the province. Overall, it appears quite possible that some degree of neo-nationalism could develop in

Newfoundland. In fact, it could be argued that its basis is already present given the sense of inequality that some of these students feel at the hands of the federal government.

It was surprising to find that from those who felt that Newfoundland would not do well economically on its own also felt that the provincial government was one that best served their own interests. However, it may be the case the students differentiate between politicians as government and the province as government. Hence, it is conceivable then that they could have seemingly contradictory opinions. Ironically, some students suggested that neither level of government best served their interests, although when pressed, they chose provincial.

Table 5.4: Best Government

Best Served By:[213]	Cited
Federal	7
Provincial	11
Municipal	2
None	2

The most obvious conclusion is that the students did view this question in terms of how a particular level of government served their interests. This would explain why their view of government is related to how it impacts their lives – for example, citing a municipal government. Nevertheless, for the most part, there seems to be a strong consensus that the provincial government has had the most impact on their young lives, and for those five students who cited the federal government, it was due to more altruistic reasons[214]. This bears close resemblance to the reasons given as to why these students, save for one, felt more pride in being a Canadian than in being a Newfoundlander.

[213] This table represents the choices of the interviewees when asked 'which government best served their interests?' There are more responses than interviews as some respondents gave multiple answers or responded that both levels of government were equal in their view.

[214] The reference to altruistic meant that respondents noted that Canada tended to be unselfishly concerned with and devoted to improving the welfare of other countries.

5.7. Civic/Ethnic Nationalism

It is interesting to note that none of the respondents felt that birth was the sole criterion for being a Newfoundlander and the respondents provided numerous examples where this was not the case. Indeed, while most felt that being born in Newfoundland was an important part of their identity, it certainly did not make them a Newfoundlander. As one rural student noted, "most people, even if they don't live here, but if they, say, were born here, they consider themselves a Newfoundlander, first and foremost... I guess it all comes down to the individual whether or not they want to be considered a Newfoundlander. If they don't want to associate themselves with it, if they are just here for a job or whatever, then maybe not necessarily but if somebody, to me, wants to be considered a Newfoundlander and accepts the culture in general..." For these respondents, this suggests that the influence of culture is a more important element in making one a Newfoundlander than birth.

While the respondents noted that acceptance of and participation in their culture was seen as the necessary criterion to be considered a Newfoundlander, they also felt that interaction with the community as well as espousing the typical characteristics of a Newfoundlander were central to their identity.[215] However, one student argued to the contrary, noting that "if you're born in Newfoundland, you're an automatic Newfoundlander... doesn't mean you represent their traits or characteristics, from what I see as the characteristics but you're a Newfoundlander nonetheless..." Some of the respondents also felt that Newfoundland provided for a special bond for each person and this increased their sense of identity with the province. Indeed, for a few, a sense of longing also played a role in making someone a Newfoundlander. In fact, this view was

[215] Some of the characteristics noted include helpful, friendly, honest, generous and stubborn.

also espoused by the lone interviewee who did not feel proud to be either a Newfoundlander or Canadian. He noted that:

> If you love your home, and this is where you want to be, and you hate the idea of leaving, well then you're a Newfoundlander of if you're gone, if you live in Alberta but, at least once a day you think 'I wish I was back in my grandma's kitchen and it was Thanksgiving, turkey time, you know, that's where I want to be. If that's where you feel you're spirit belongs, then you're a Newfoundlander.

For the few who were asked to define the characteristics of a 'true Newfoundlander', birth and a strong sense of pride were the most important aspects.[216] While a general conclusion cannot be drawn across all the interviewees regarding their views on the criteria for a 'true Newfoundlander', it does suggest a higher level Newfoundlander in which birth and openly expressed pride are the major criterions. As one student suggests "...when you're out around you say 'are you a true Newfoundlander?'... you say 'yeah' and bang your fists on the table, you know that type of person... true Newfoundlander is someone whose proud to be a Newfoundlander... you know someone that is just proud of who they are, where they came from..."

The data suggests that young Newfoundlanders in the sample view acceptance of and participation in Newfoundland's culture as an important aspect in being considered a Newfoundlander. The youth feel that birth, while important, is not the only requirement; however, to be considered a 'true Newfoundlander' birth and a strong sense of pride are the most important criterions.

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[216] The question was asked after a respondent noted that there was a difference between a Newfoundlander and a 'true Newfoundlander'. Supposedly, a true Newfoundlander represents the ideal and is characterized in the lyrics "we'll rant and we'll roar like true Newfoundlanders, we'll rant and we'll roar on deck and below."

5.8. Cultural Nationalism

Cultural nationalism defines a nation through shared culture and membership in the nation is neither voluntary (one cannot instantly acquire a culture) nor hereditary (children of members may be considered foreigners if they grew up in another culture). Indeed, the former may help explain why some Newfoundlanders feel that children born outside Newfoundland are not 'true Newfoundlanders'. But for some students in the sample, becoming an 'honorary Newfoundlander' is important while for others, growing up in certain parts of Newfoundland does not necessarily make one a Newfoundlander:

> "I really don't think young people that were born here in St. John's or in Mount Pearl really have any idea of what a Newfie is... I mean they call themselves Newfoundlanders, they're Newfies but out around the bay or even outport Newfoundland is really what Newfie culture is all about..."

Regardless, the key aspect of cultural nationalism is the fact that it is shared and, for many of these students, there is a sense of shared culture with other Newfoundlanders. When asked if they felt that they shared their cultural with other Newfoundlanders, eleven of fourteen felt that they did (two were not asked this question). As one urban student poignantly noted:

> I guess there's the heritage or the history, the language for sure... I mean even if you're from town and you're trained in their schools, and you watch the news every night and you try to assimilate and you go somewhere else... they know that you're a Newfoundlander from your speech.... And I probably think the iconic things that we associate ourselves with you know... if you're away from any amount of time and you see a picture of Signal Hill or someone fishing or, I don't know, a house being dragged across the harbour or something you can get a little sick for home so...

Scholars note that culture is oftentimes shared through cultural markers such as song, poetry, literature, clothing and food. Indeed, the majority of the students interviewed suggested that the culture itself is rooted in music, rituals, stories and songs. When asked to describe the Newfoundland culture, one rural student suggested it was:

> Beautiful... the music, the language, everything, it's... everywhere you go everyone knows that if there's a group of Newfoundlander's there's going to be a good time no

> matter where people are... it's just Newfoundlander's are know for having fun... the culture is different and beautiful like I said and that's well known... don't need to be said by me for people to know that..."

Furthermore, both rural and urban students appear to be staunch defenders of their culture: "if someone from the mainland came down and [made fun of Newfoundland], it would be rude, like you know what I mean, it would be blasphemous, like they would get stoned before they'd make it into a conversation, it's that type of thing..."

5.9. Political Nationalism

Only a few students felt that threatening separation would have an impact on Newfoundland-Canada relations. The general feeling is that Canada and Canadians would view it as an empty threat unlike what comes from Quebec. Despite the fact that Quebec has a distinct culture and language as well as a federal and provincial political party dedicated to separation, the general consensus among the students was that Quebec separatism tended to breed resentment in other parts of Canada. Indeed, they also felt that this sense of resentment would also develop against Newfoundland if the province attempted to separate. As a few students noted, "I think it would cause a lot more resentment towards Newfoundlanders as a whole because it probably wouldn't happen... I mean we see now how most Canadians view Quebec, they resent them for their separation...", "I don't think because it really didn't get Quebec anywhere... I don't know too much but it wouldn't get Canadians to look at us in a better view..." and "Canada would definitely look towards Newfoundland negatively, definitely there's no denying it, there's no doubt about it..."

The respondents also noted several other reasons why the threat of separation would be viewed as an empty one. While they argue that Newfoundland's population is too small to mount a serious campaign, they also believe that Newfoundland is more

dependent on Canada than Canada is on Newfoundland. As one student noted that if Newfoundland threatened to separate Canada would probably say "...'well that's great, so we won't be spending so much money on you' so they would either want to kick us out." Indeed, this interviewee offers a 'be careful what you wish for' scenario for Newfoundland separatism. Furthermore, many students argued that Newfoundland's economy would not be able to sustain an independent country.

It is interesting to note that those who feel that it would have an impact believe that Quebec has gotten much mileage from playing the separation card. However, they are not so confident that Newfoundland would be as likely to receive the 'please don't go' feeling that was offered Quebec in 1995. One of the key observations that the interviewees made about Quebec separation was its perceived success. The students argued that if the threat is not viewed a viable one within Canada, it would just be ignored. This would also lead to an increased sense of resentment towards Newfoundland. As one student noted, threatening separation:

> ...might [effect how Canada treats Newfoundland] but it depends on how seriously perceived the threat is... because, I mean, Quebec has indeed gotten a lot of extra attention and treatment out of threats of separation but I view Quebec's threat as being a lot more serious than a threat from this province...

There were only a couple of students who felt that the province might be better off as a separate nation. However, they did add a couple conditions noting that it had to occur at the right time and be led by the right person. They recognize that it could be plausible given that Newfoundland has many resources.

Only five students were asked if they felt that separation could be a viable option for Newfoundland. Four unequivocally felt that separating was not an option given that:

(1) Newfoundland is not politically mature (1);
(2) Newfoundland does not have the economy to support independence (3);

(3) There would be an issue with the Clarity Act (1);
(4) Lack of education, especially in rural areas (1);
(5) Really no need to separate (1)[217]

The one student who believed that it was a viable option outlined a number of issues which could impede a successful transition to an independent nation. He also suggested that Newfoundland could either rejoin Britain or the United States; however, he recognizes that the window of opportunity is quickly diminishing due to the depletion of Newfoundland's resources. He notes that "there are a lot of factors but I think all in all when its all said and done we'd be better off if we weren't a part of Canada but its almost too late now..."

5.10. Political Activities

The majority of students interviewed have no formal political involvement as a young adult. This includes involvement in a political society (such as PC MUN) or membership in a youth political wing (such as Young Liberals). This is important for this discussion given the political demands that nationalism requires. The fact that majority of the individuals do not any political involvement may help explain why nationalism is not an important part of their lives.

There were, however, a few who did indicate formal involvement in a political party (campaigning, holding membership). It is not surprising that the vast majority of the students, save for one, indicated some degree of involvement in non-political activities both as a child and as a young adult. It appears that these respondents, as a child, were heavily involved in sports, civic organizations (such as Brownies and Cubs) and volunteering. Indeed, the level of civic engagement appears not to have decreased as they

[217] Number in brackets represents number of times mentioned as a reason why separation would not be a viable option.

enter into adulthood. The opposite is true for political involvement as a youth; those who indicated that they were involved as a child also indicated that it did not carry over into their adult lives.

Those who lacked formal political involvement also readily engaged in political discussions on a regular basis. They indicated that they most often discussed politics with their friends, family or classmates. This is interesting given that one would expect a certain degree of political involvement given the fact that these individuals spoke at length about their political discussions. As one student noted, "Yes, you mean like two hour fights on the phone, yeah... well, it's just home all the time and there's politics talk... even with my friends... that talk is always political no matter where you meet you know George Street three o'clock in the morning, it's politics oh yeah..." and when asked about her political involvement, "well, I was... yeah, I mean I was, I'm not anymore..." There appears to be little correlation between the respondents' interest in politics and support for nationalism. Given that the majority of respondents were involved to some degree in civic activities both as a youth and an adult, it is difficult to argue that this involvement influenced their opinions to any great degree with regard to nationalism.

6. CONCLUSION: REQUIEM FOR A NATION?

For many years, political pundits, scholars, historians, sociologists have debated whether or not there existed a sense of nationalism among Newfoundlanders. Indeed, this was a question that has always been intriguing: if everyone says a sense of nationalism exists among Newfoundlanders, then why has it not been politically expressed? This was the framework upon which this thesis is built. By interviewing young Newfoundlanders, it was believed that one could see if they were more likely to espouse nationalist leanings. Of course, when the study began, it was anticipated that political nationalism would be the focus. However, through research, it was discovered that other variants of nationalism existed. This revelation was important in seeing nationalism as more than about seeking independence.

Cultural nationalism seems to be the most obvious explanation for any Newfoundland nationalistic sentiment. Newfoundlanders in general seem willing to support a patriotic cause (such as Premier Williams' battle with Canada over offshore revenues in 2004), but appear reluctant to move beyond the political safety net that cultural nationalism offers them. While this sentiment may be incorrectly termed cultural nationalism, the evidence from the interviews suggests that at least young Newfoundlanders from this sample are cultural nationalists. The evidence suggests that they are willing to overtly express their identity and they feel that they share several cultural markers with other Newfoundlanders. In fact, the most obvious connection is reflected in their views on the preservation of their culture.

Noting that they feel that they are losing their culture to various outside forces (Americanization, globalization), they are however divided over how Newfoundlanders

should go about preserving and protecting it. Contrary to Gellner, some young Newfoundlanders believe that it should be left to the individual, while others felt that it is the state's responsibility. This latter opinion is consistent with Gellner's view that the state must sustain and protect the culture. State protection of culture is a key argument in Gellner's theory. The students also linked their idea of culture to their way of life. This may help explain why they feel that they are losing part of their culture as they recognize the traditional Newfoundland way of life (by which most meant rural communities organized around the inshore fishery) is also disappearing. They seem to speak of Newfoundland in nostalgic terms, as if they no longer feel that Newfoundland is the same as it once was. In fact, this seemingly lost connection may help explain why political nationalism is not important to them. This is to say that there is no 'nation' left to preserve but rather the 'nation' is nearly lost. However, perennialists would argue that while the nation may be lost, its essence remains. As such, by rekindling the fires of nationalism, the nation would arise from the ashes like the mythical phoenix.

There is some evidence to suggest that young Newfoundlanders are neo-nationalists. While only one individual suggested that Newfoundland should consider its own tariffs to protect its domestic products, many did argue that Newfoundland should have more control of its resources such as oil and gas and the fishery.[218] Indeed, they also suggest that had Newfoundland retained control of the fishery, its collapse may not have been so devastating. It is interesting to note that many young Newfoundlanders in this sample felt that Canada was taking economic advantage of the province yet this has not resulted in any sort of strong nationalist sentiment. It is important to note that this is

[218] It should be noted that Newfoundland's ability to collect tariffs on goods entering the province would be *ultra vires*, that is, outside the province's Constitutional capabilities.

different from other parts of the country such as Alberta given that Newfoundland was once a self-governing Dominion, just like Canada.

Their views are mixed on whether more control would result in a stronger economy or an increase in population. They seem to agree, on some level, that Newfoundland politicians are not politically mature enough to make the decisions needed to ensure the province's sustainability. They recognize that old-style politics is still very much a part of Newfoundland's political identity.

Ethnic nationalism is considered especially virulent given that governments oftentimes use it as a means to ensure the ethnic continuity of the state. This is the case in such places as Sudan where one group seeks to control territory based purely on ethnic considerations.[219] However, there is no evidence to suggest that the interviewees envision a Newfoundland in which only 'true Newfoundlander's' live. Rather, they see a province that is rich in diversity and they stress that it is important to include others in the different Newfoundland traditions. Of course, some could argue that this is a light form of assimilation in which outsiders are encouraged to embrace the culture but without the underlying force. It should be noted that since Newfoundland has had little immigration, it may help explain why the Newfoundland identity is so strong. A homogenous base, with little diversity, would ensure that the culture remained the same from generation to generation.

While many of the young Newfoundlanders in this sample clearly indicated that they were proud to be a Newfoundlander, there was no indication that they subscribed to the ethnic nationalist view. While some felt that being born in Newfoundland added to their identity, they did not feel that it was the sole criteria. This is important for the

[219] It should be noted that religion also plays an important role in the Sudan case.

development of nationalism given that Gellner suggests that the ethnie and the polity must be congruent. Does this lack of ethnic nationalism suggest that young Newfoundlanders do not see themselves as an ethnie? The answer is no. Ethnic nationalism speaks more about one's connection to the state than their connection to one another. Ethnic nationalism demands that citizenship be ascribed by birth; only children of 'citizens' can be considered part of the polity.[220] It does not presume that one cannot be part of an ethnie if they do not have a polity to sustain it. As a result, this question remains open.

Young Newfoundlanders in this sample seem more apt to subscribe to a creed of civic nationalism. They feel that anyone can become part of the culture by living here; birth is not a major criterion; in this, they are like the Scots, Catalans, and Quebecois. In fact, they even suggest that some of those who were born here could not be considered a Newfoundlander as they fail to embrace their culture. Civic nationalism places less demands on its citizenry than ethnic nationalism.[221]

As noted earlier, when people speak of nationalism, they are generally referring to a desire to seek self-sufficiency or self-determination for a particular group that may constitute a nation. Young Newfoundlanders in this sample have very little desire to separate from Canada; however, that does not mean that the sentiment will not develop. Many of the respondents cite the economic problems that Newfoundland would face as an independent nation; as a result, they are apprehensive about supporting independence. Some nationalist scholars would argue that nationalism based on economic reasoning is

[220] The term citizen is used loosely here. It is meant to refer to any child born to parents of a particular ethnie, regardless of whether there is a polity to sustain it or not.
[221] It is also important to note that of the few who were asked about the idea of the 'true Newfoundlander', they suggested that birth was a major criterion. It is difficult to draw a definitive conclusion regarding their idea of the 'true Newfoundlander' because so few respondents were asked this question

not nationalism at all. Rather they would argue that nationalism is built upon a sense on commonality and kinship among a group of people; all other considerations are to be considered extraneous when a group seeks to constitute a nation. It is interesting that economic or political inequality is oftentimes seen as a trigger for independence. Yet, while there is significant evidence to suggest that young Newfoundlanders in this sample feel economically and politically segregated from the rest of Canada, they do not feel that separation is a viable option.

Rather, as noted previously, the respondents seem more inclined to support a renewed federalism or a 'neo-nationalism light'. They argue that Newfoundland should control more of its resources, ironically because of its history as a former Dominion. Yet, they appear unwillingly or perhaps politically unable to demand such a change. Quebec seems to have benefited from such a tactic as they have both the political support and power to do so while Newfoundland, with its seven Senate and House of Commons seats, does not enjoy either the political support or power. While Newfoundlanders revel in the new Atlantic Accord, history will probably note that this was not the result of the work of a brilliant negotiator but rather simply a matter of circumstance. With a minority federal government in power and a federal election only a vote away, the prime minister could not afford to alienate any supporters in the province.

This thesis has attempted to determine whether or not young Newfoundlanders feel that they have a unique identity. The evidence is overwhelming in that regard. However, there is little evidence to suggest that young Newfoundlanders subscribe to any particular nationalist creed. More than that, one cannot say.

For some nationalist diehards, the answer to whether nationalism exists would be an emphatic yes! But the data here suggests that this is not the case. The degree to which Newfoundlanders wear their pride on their sleeves is striking (such with the support of Danny Williams during the debate regarding the inclusion in the equalization formula of non-renewable natural resources). Perhaps that is the answer: Newfoundland nationalism will be nothing more than extreme Newfoundland patriotism. While political nationalism demands a certain degree of political engagement, patriotism only demands a deep love of one's homeland. While patriotism can exist without nationalism, nationalism withers without patriotism.

As noted earlier, patriotism, unlike nationalism, does not demand a political expression nor does it require the nation have a state. The data from this project certainly appear to support this argument, given that the young Newfoundlanders in this sample do not see birth as the primary criterion for acceptance into their culture. Yet, the data are inconclusive as to whether Newfoundlanders constitute an ethnic group, despite having a unique identity. This raises an important question: can a group be a nation without a defined ethnie? Anthony Smith would argue that the distinction between ethnic communities and nations are, at times, often slippery and ambiguous.

Furthermore, there are also other types of nationalisms that ought to be considered, most notably, neo-nationalism or what some scholars have termed 'regionalism'. Neo-nationalism is attractive to many because it allows for the expression of a nationalist sentiment without the problems associated with seeking one's own state.[222] The evidence here suggests that young Newfoundlanders are, to some degree,

[222] The term state is used here rather than nation because a nation can exist without a state and the end result of political nationalism is to create a state to support the nation.

neo-nationalists. They do feel that Newfoundland is not getting its fair share from Ottawa and it appears they want more control over Newfoundland's resources. It is interesting that they focus on resources rather than say seeking more political influence (such as an equal and elected Senate which conceivably could give Newfoundland more political power). One possible explanation here is that previous and successive premiers have used the province's resources as a 'saviour' for Newfoundland. In the words of former Premier Brian Peckford, who spoke about Newfoundland's oil reserves, 'have not will be no more'.

While young Newfoundlanders in this sample could be some form of the neo-nationalist, their views could also be classed as merely strong patriots. They are willing to support the cause to a certain degree, but baulking at the thought of having to move beyond patriotism to achieve an outcome they perceive to be fair. As in previous disputes with Canada, it appears likely that Newfoundlanders would protest their unequal treatment at the hands of the federal government, but when a response demands an action, they would relent.

This assertion is important as it suggests that young Newfoundlanders strong identity and attachment to place have not morphed into political nationalism. There are three possible explanations for this. Unlike Quebec, Newfoundland has not had a party or a leader who has promoted the virtues of independence or sought to protect the 'Newfoundland identity.' In fact, despite their ideological differences, the Parti Québécois and Liberal Party of Quebec both support the protection of the Quebec francophone identity. Some Newfoundland premiers, such as Peckford, have hinted at independence, but when challenged, he quickly backed away. Furthermore, there is

currently no political party whose policies advocate neo-nationalism or independence. There was a Newfoundland independence party but they folded shortly after the Supreme Court decision in 1984 and the Newfoundland and Labrador Party, while advocating a more neo-nationalist approach, did not garner much support in the 1996 provincial election.

A second possible explanation is the influence of North American culture on Newfoundland. John Calhoun argued a similar point in his doctoral thesis. Although there seem to be disagreement regarding his conclusions,[223] his point regarding the negative influence of North American culture on Newfoundland appears substantiated by evidence from the respondents in this thesis. As noted earlier, several of those interviewed indicated that the Newfoundland culture was slowly being replaced by one influenced by a North American one. At least in Quebec, the French language provides a barrier against the influence of a foreign English culture.

A final explanation deals with the lack of Newfoundland cultural and historical studies in the school system. Since Confederation, Newfoundlanders have been taught Canadian history, of which Newfoundland is a chapter. If they were taught Newfoundland history as a separate subject, it is possible they would have a greater connection with the province. Both Gellner and Deutsch would argue that, in order for nationalism to develop, the masses must be educated about their culture. As a result, without a specialized cultural or historical class, young Newfoundlanders would not embrace the 'imagined community' that is paramount to the development of a nationalist sentiment.

[223] The issue is that his conclusions are nearly 40 years out of date.

Does this mean that the Newfoundland 'nation' will wither and die? Does it mean that Newfoundlanders will simply accept their fate as now a part of Canada and relinquish their identity in favour of a North American one? The respondents in this thesis seem to feel that the markers of the Newfoundland identity: outports, mummering, folktales, fishing, language, to name a few, are slowly being replaced. In fact, if the Newfoundland identity continues to erode, Newfoundlanders may find themselves preparing a requiem for a nation.

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Appendix I: Interview Questions

1. To begin with, I'd like to know a little bit about you.
2. Is there anything about [your community] that has special meaning to you?
3. Is there anything about Newfoundland that has special meaning to you?
4. What to you is a typical Newfoundlander?
5. Do you see yourself as a typical Newfoundlander?
6. Do you think the typical Newfoundlander is changing?
7. What was it like growing up in [your community]?
8. What does [your community] look like?
9. Has growing up in [your community] had an effect on your way of life?
10. Do you think Newfoundland history is shared among Newfoundlanders?
11. Is there anything about the Newfoundland language that you feel makes it different form other languages?
12. Do you think the Newfoundland language creates a bond?
13. How would you describe the Newfoundland culture?
14. What do you think are the most important aspects of the Newfoundland culture?
15. Do you feel that Newfoundland culture is shared with other Newfoundlanders?
16. What are some of the things that you feel are distinctly associated with Newfoundland?
17. What do you feel are some of the symbols that associated with Newfoundland?
18. What to you is a typical Canadian?
19. Do you see yourself as a typical Canadian?
20. What is a typical Newfoundlander?
21. Do you think that Newfoundlanders differ from Canadians?
22. What is the state of the traditional Newfoundland way of life?
23. Do you think the province should do more to protect the traditional way of life?
24. Which government best serves your interests?
25. Are you more proud to be a Newfoundlander or a Canadian?
26. What do you think are the major economic issues facing Newfoundland today?
27. Do you think if the provincial government had the power to make sole decisions it would help solve some of the provinces problems?
28. Who can be called a Newfoundlander?
29. What does the phrase true Newfoundlander mean to you?
30. Are you involved in any political activities or groups?
31. Are you involved in any non-political activities or groups?
32. Is political discussions part of your normal routine?
33. How do you feel about Newfoundland's place in Canada?
34. Do you think Newfoundland's place in Canada can be improved upon?
35. Do you think threatening separation would have an effect on how Canada treats Newfoundland?
36. Do you see separation as a viable option for Newfoundland?