

ROMANCING ‘THE ROCK’: PROBLEMATIZING NOTIONS  
OF WELCOMING IMMIGRANTS AND CULTURAL  
DIVERSIFICATION AMIDST STRONG NEWFOUNDLAND  
IDENTITY STRUCTURES

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# Abstract

Using Critical Discourse Analysis in a critical realist framework, I review the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador's immigration strategy, CBC programming on immigrants, and the Lanier Phillips story. I explore how notions of the 'true Newfoundlander', 'newcomers' and 'settlement' are constructed. The contexts in which real or manipulated foundational myths of the Newfoundland experience are constructed often shows 'Newfoundland culture' as both a business and an often prescribed series of character traits and way of life developed in reaction to certain constructs of the 'outsider'. Current narrow definitions of 'economic', 'social' and 'cultural' development, combined with homogenizing terms of 'uniqueness' and the persistent myth that all patriots who move away do so reluctantly, place immigrants in exoticized and marginalized positions whose 'welcome' may be limited and dependent on their ability to assimilate and act as proponents of these constructed images. This is offered as one reason why many immigrants may move, alongside non-immigrants, for reasons other than economic. This thesis illustrates a need for deeper study into the immigrant experience and a more emancipated discussion of how new people can be allowed to participate productively, justly and equitably in this province.

# Acknowledgements

I don't know why I started this thesis except that I know I wanted to write. And, I suppose, I wanted to write about Newfoundland and Labrador – a province I have loved and hated at the same time. I feel very much a part of what goes on here, no matter what others think, and even when it frustrates me.

I naturally have to thank my wife, Lorraine, who has had to put up with more than just the academic side of me. Thanks to my kids, Nick and Rebecca, for accepting that I should pursue this, and to other family and friends who showed an interest.

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## Abbreviations:

**ANC** – Association for New Canadians

**CBFA** – *Come back from away* – phrase meaning a person who was born in Newfoundland and Labrador, spent some time away, and then came back to the province.

**CFA** – *Come from away* – Phrase meaning a person who was not born in Newfoundland and Labrador.

**RIAC** – Refugee and Immigrant Advisory Council

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# Prologue

## Notes about class and belonging

I have lived, worked and socialized in Newfoundland and Labrador with people from the province and other parts of the world for many years. I became familiar with the varying levels of comfort and integration people are able to attain in this province. I should know: I have had the same varying levels of comfort and integration.

There are two reasons for this: the first is that I was born in a different province; the second, and more profound at times, is whether I like the right things, speak correctly, and act like a ‘Newfoundlander’. I was, or still am, a *come from away* (CFA) to Newfoundland. This complicated distinction is made because my first seven years were spent in other parts of Canada with my parents. My acceptance depends really upon the magnanimity of the ‘Newfoundlander’ with whom I am communicating and, occasionally, whether I feel a need to belong at the time. That my parents were from here did not gain me automatic acceptance because my parents had gained the complicated distinction of being *come back from aways* (CBFAs): meaning that having lived away from the province for some time, they may possibly have lost their ‘Newfoundlandness’ (See: Kelly, 2010, p. 24). The longer I stayed did help. Much like the teacher, Sean, says in the *Land and Sea* production in chapter 5, it’s not as difficult if you arrive at age seven: I could adapt.

But delineation did not exist simply because of being a CFA or CBFA, though that existed at times. More had to do with other class distinctions and types of interest. We lived in a middle class house, around the corner from a lower income neighbourhood and on the border of 'gang territory' (Hunt, 2011). We had to be careful who we socialized with and where. Initially, groups of kids from any neighbourhood played baseball together in the common field but, as we got older, there was more fragmentation.

I usually had no difficulty occasionally visiting friends from lower income families. But, school friends often differed from my at-home friends, and delineation was more rampant earlier. Many school friends were bussed in from other areas: the 'baymen' from outside of town, for example, though they were not always from so far away. There were the people from *somewhere else*. These were odd distinctions, I thought, especially since these people were usually white and English speaking, from 'the bay', from mainland Canada or the United States. Meanwhile, my Chinese friend in grade school was not as much from 'somewhere else' though I rarely went to his home; his family had owned a restaurant in St. John's for two generations. Perhaps his grandfather was from 'somewhere else', but not him.

During high school, my friends were from Ireland, Toronto, Saskatchewan and Newfoundland. The father of my best friend in the neighbourhood was from St. Anthony but his mother was from South Africa. By high school, everything had become fairly cliquish. I was beginning to become disassociated from many people mainly because of interests: my group was *weird* because we were into the arts, but *OK* because some of it was rock music; we were not the best academic students or the worst; we were not



particularly well-connected or well-off, but we were fashionable and fairly worldly; we played on the school ball teams and then acted in the theatre group; played chess in French class and rocked out at parties.

We were part of a *cool* crowd, I was later told, but I had not felt so much *cool* as distant: there seemed to be little interaction between the vast majority of students and *us*. Perhaps it helped that, though *different* – and we had no trouble being so - we were not condescending. I was a Newfoundlander in the simple geographic or citizenship sense of the word. I also considered myself fairly cosmopolitan; to be ‘with it’ for me was to be aware of what was going on at home *and* abroad. But many of the interests I expressed, though hardly exclusive, were the sort that would often put me on the outside of various other groups of ‘real Newfoundlanders’.

There had never been pressure to be a ‘real Newfoundlander’ at home. Nostalgia was discouraged in my family who remembered as many bad times as good in Newfoundland. My family had some elements of ‘tradition’ and some elements of ‘modern’; I was encouraged to dwell mostly in the present (an interesting anomaly it will turn out in successive chapters). I belonged here; I belonged elsewhere; always open to new ideas. I was particularly encouraged to mingle with many different people, from here or otherwise, from town or from the bay, from different social classes. The family could easily have cloistered itself amongst the elite of the university and medical professions. But my parents, themselves from modest economic backgrounds, including one from ‘the bay’, insisted that would not be the case. Perhaps my parents knew I had to be socially flexible to survive in Newfoundland.

Because of my experiences above, I often become frustrated with much of the manufactured or mythological cultural images consistently bantered about, by local people and otherwise, which describes the history, identity, and consequent accepted behaviour of the 'true Newfoundlander'. I had many years to learn the intricate lessons of how to belong to Newfoundland and not necessarily give up interests or succumb to whimsical demands made by patriots. Meanwhile, I am one of the first to defend myself and others in this province against whimsical, derogatory comments about 'us' as a generalized entity.

It is also for these reasons that I became very interested in the plight of what are now being called 'newcomers' to the province. Though immigration to Newfoundland is not new, in the early 21<sup>st</sup> century I found myself selling airline tickets to business owners in Labrador who were recruiting people from India and the Philippines to work at McDonalds. Newfoundland had always imported professionals but this was different. How could the province have gone from not having enough basic work to not having enough basic workers?

## What will happen to new people?

Two things came to mind. First, I had witnessed the way foreign people could be thought of and treated by some in Newfoundland and Labrador – these Indian and Filipino people were moving to a community of mainly white skinned, Anglo Saxon origin people to work in low paying jobs: how would they be treated? Second, I had personally experienced how much accountability had been apportioned to outsiders for

current economic and social woes. There was the resultant mistrust of the ‘outsider’ who did seem to advocate the ‘Newfoundland’ way. I needed to know how the government intended to treat this new phenomenon; how they considered new people would fit into this often depressed and potentially condemnatory atmosphere.

### **Tolerance and isolation**

Shortly after my family arrived in St. John’s, my father introduced me to people from Ceylon. Other family friends hailed from the United States, Germany, China, or England. I met people of Lebanese, Nigerian, Turkish, Greek, Italian, Portuguese or other descent. I had a simple view of cultural relations as a child: racism simply meant hating ‘others’, segregation was like American slavery. Everyone was the same inside and people’s differing cultural viewpoints were not often part of the discussion. That it was easy for me - a white male heterosexual Westerner – was not considered.

There had always been more immigrants in Newfoundland than even I had thought. During a going away party thrown by a Nigerian friend, I learned there were many more black African people in St. John’s and Newfoundland. How did they view their relationships with ‘proud Newfoundlanders’? I had felt most Newfoundlanders were fairly open-minded, but this view was challenged during the late 1980s when a monk who had worn saffron robes on our main streets proclaimed Newfoundlanders were racist. I wondered how he meant this. Had he mistaken our gawking curiosity for malice? Were we being insensitive or was he being culturally arrogant?

Yet, I continued to come in contact with people who had problems in Newfoundland. Educated Armenian and Polish professionals could find no decent work. Former Russian government officials were learning to operate heavy equipment to gain employment. Others worked many hours at pizza restaurants for less than minimum wage because they were afraid of being deported if they complained. Other East Europeans complained of crime amongst their comrades and of similar forms of exploitation because of their tentative citizenship status. A Cuban man trained as an electrical engineer began to cut hair for a living. I realized that many of these people essentially took what came to them, worked where they could, and otherwise stayed somewhat isolated.

That having been said, I had been back and forth to Toronto a few times and had noted how Newfoundlanders seemed to be slotted and isolated there. Whenever someone heard I was from Newfoundland, besides the occasional derogatory comment, it was assumed I wanted to know where the others lived. One particular national store hired almost exclusively Newfoundlanders in its suburban warehouses because they 'were such good workers'. They housed them in a downtown long term stay hotel; a small Newfoundland ghetto on Carlton Street. I realized the employers likely gained a lot from this arrangement: the Newfoundlanders were ensconced with 'others of their kind' and thus were likely both grateful and more controllable.

### **Waves of immigration and the economy**

The overall success of immigrants, particularly those who seek refuge and general non-professional work here, has always been in accordance with the state of the

Newfoundland economy. That means that, since the economy of Newfoundland has rarely been very strong, success has also been limited (Summers, 1994; House, 1999). Before the turn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, immigration has been encouraged generally to fill positions at the university or in medical professions. Most were non-visible minorities or those Indian and Asian people who generally rank higher on the scale of accepted visible minorities because of the length of time they have been moving to and living in Canada (See: Aydemir & Skuterand, 2005). People in Newfoundland who could identify as visible minorities against the general homogenous 'white-skinned local', in other words, people of colour, Asian, or Indian, were still often second or third generation Canadians rather than first generation immigrants (Abma, 2011).

Otherwise, immigration had been limited to a small group of Lebanese people escaping problems in their region during the early 1900s; British and Americans from the post- World War II economy; financiers and professionals from Smallwoods' building of the university and business institutions in the 1960s; a few escaping South Vietnam after the communist takeover. By the year 2000, there have been waves of professional oil engineers from the United Kingdom and otherwise, while the university is still filling seats with many foreign students.

The year 1990 saw an influx of people from Poland and Bulgaria as the Soviet Union was breaking up and people's livelihood and security amongst the new regimes was being threatened. Many were housed for several weeks in hotels along Kenmount Road in St. John's (Moore, 2011). They were not particularly welcome. To then, most immigrants had been professional and likely did not have to worry much about their own

economies at least. This time was different: “the new arrivals have put a heavy burden on Newfoundland's social services, which are already stretched by an unemployment rate of over 15 percent, the highest in Canada” (New York Times, 1990).

As Goss Gilroy (2005) says later in chapter 4, many in the province were not aware of such people. When they were, they did not necessarily accept them. Tilley (2010) says that she had to leave the province to pursue an education which nourished her interest in working against inequities between people. Newfoundland did not present a particularly diverse society for her and many others.

### **Dealing with strong ‘Newfoundland culture’**

Unlike Tilley (2010), I did see many of the new people who were moving here because of my exposure to the university and my work in the travel industry. But, like her perhaps, I had also begun to wonder whether, given my own experience, these people felt accepted. I had had my own sense of being an outsider. I was often reminded by some that I had still not become a very good ‘Newfoundlander’. I did not seem to have ‘the culture’. New people are inundated with discussions about ‘our culture’, what it is and how it can be kept up. I even find myself trying to describe ‘us’ to new people. How much of it is true, however?

This dilemma is constantly discussed and put through the historical, folklore and literary mills. As a public school teacher in the 1980s, I had to teach *Newfoundland Culture*, to a number of Vietnamese refugees and two Malaysian girls in my class. They had to learn about, for example, Newfoundland’s ‘sense of fatalism’ (expressed often in

the phrase, 'I s'pose that's all you can do, b'y'. See: Matthews, Kearley & Dwyer, 1984): something I personally felt was a real problem in Newfoundland's shaky economy - something these kids simply felt was pretty boring. Meanwhile a less wealthy Jamaican entertainer, because of stereotypical views of his cultural background I suspect, was regularly rumoured to be recruiting women as escorts for his native country. Here I was teaching people from other countries stereotypical characteristics of 'Newfoundlanders' while other Newfoundlanders promoted stereotypes about 'shady coloured folks from the Caribbean'.

The 'sense of fatalism' is not the only discursive narrative manufactured in Newfoundland and Labrador. The local CBC clings to the *Fisherman's Broadcast* because, they say, locals demand to hear it. The format is to review the activities and attitudes of the Canadian Department of Fisheries (usually misguided and arrogant), the few fishery owners (usually exploitive and duplicitous), the provincial government (usually desperate and duplicitous), and the various unions and actual fisherfolk (who actually know the truth to everything but cannot get anyone to listen). 'The Broadcast' takes up about 12 % of overall local radio programming and approximately 50% of special or focused programming (<http://www.cbc.ca/fisheriesbroadcast>). Since before the 1992 cod moratorium, the industry has accounted for about 4 to 6% of the provincial GDP, and has employed progressively fewer people ever since (Roy, 1997). Though the industry still contributes many dollars to the economy, the fisheries receives more focus than any other industry including the so-called prosperous new developments that will contribute more. More insidiously, it perpetuates very old Newfoundland narratives: the

abused fisherfolk struggling against authority and big business; the people of the bay against the urban townsfolk; healthy doses of lament for the past and crystal ball gazing because the present is so challenging.

Speech is another measure of belonging and, like Corbett (2010b) says, I, like many, have various ways of speaking. I was once told that I sounded like a Dubliner – according to this man, they ‘have a more neutral accent than most Irish because they have people from all over the world living there’. Since I had experienced many people from many different places, and had done a lot of theatre and public speaking, my accent was somewhat neutralized. I do have some inflections and phrasings similar to others in Newfoundland. I have to be careful when speaking casually sometimes because I can easily lapse into some local dialects and do not want to be accused of being condescending to others because my accent seems less than *genuine*.

When someone tells me I don’t sound like a local, I sometimes feel I must explain myself. The more I try to explain, however, the more eclectic and foreign I start to sound. This often ends up with a statement from the interlocutor that I am still not a ‘true Newfoundlander’. This pronouncement also comes when people realize I can understand a number of other accents which other local people ‘have no time for’. One work colleague loved that she could automatically send any foreign sounding person to me for help; she ‘could never understand them’.

But being a ‘Newfoundlander’ seems to demand more than simply following certain speech patterns, and I cannot always play *that game*. For example, I do not find ‘goofy-Newfie’ signs and sayings particularly funny, not because I am insulted but



because they are tiringly unfunny; I do not like the answer ‘that’s all you can do, b’y’ when it suggests that someone has stopped trying; I usually find it silly when someone winks at me and says ‘how’s she goin’ me old trout’; I like some folk music but not many that unnecessarily lament the romance of yesteryear or an unquenchable thirst to go ‘a’roving’; I don’t eat salt fish and brewis (mushy lumps of bread) with pork fat anymore; I don’t ‘got to get me moose’. It is not because I think poorly of people who are or who were in those situations. It is that I worry for our future when I see what can be either negative or simply unhelpful character traits lauded in a defensive, compensatory, truculent, romanticized manner.

I can only imagine how difficult it was for a jazz musician I met in Toronto who hailed from central Newfoundland. Rather than cry together in our beer, he promptly told me how he couldn’t have gotten out of Newfoundland fast enough and had no plans to return. His only true friend, a St. John’s fellow with similar tastes, would visit him in Toronto - not the other way around. Of course, this made me think twice about why I was there casting people of various colours and backgrounds to do a jazz show for a new supper club in St. John’s. Would the locals buy it: the show *and* the whole idea of an upscale supper club? Local theatre people complained that we had not hired enough local actors, though many of them had played stages and TV sets across Canada, and that the show was ragtime-oriented rather than Newfoundland. Many of the audience liked our show, but the club has gone out of business - the size of the population, and the waiving economy at the time simply did not support either for long.

There is a strange dichotomy between local and modern or outside arts and culture. ‘Newfoundlanders’, who work here or away, build thoroughly un-Newfoundland-like castles by the sea and play on new golf courses; they wear the cool styles of the world, ball caps peaked forwards or backwards with sunglasses perched on the peak; they drink Coors Light and play K-Rock. However, many of these rock radio stations religiously broadcast ‘Newfoundland shows’ on Sunday morning. ‘Newfoundlanders’ listen to this while they pick up coffee from teenagers at the donut shop who adopt American street language (yo, das four dollahs fiddy tree, ah-rite?) while serving their customers.

A university student lamented to Baker (2006) that no-one seemed to want to listen to Harry Hibbs:

I don’t know, a lot of times you can be sitting around 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 off traditional folk music... (p. 73)

The verbiage itself is very plain, young, universal American-style English (‘I’ll just sort of’; ‘this or that or whatever’; ‘kind of like’) with few old style Newfoundland underpinnings. Like when I went to parties in early university years, these students prefer to listen to fun music beating at top volume rather than a poor recording of an ‘old-fashioned country style singer’. Harry Hibbs is now very dated music – not being interested does not mean that you are less of a patriot.

## **The questions that designate**

People who come here from elsewhere, here temporarily or to stay, till contracts run out or better opportunities arise, experience incessant questioning (Nolan, 2007; Thompson, 2010). This includes: ‘where are you from’ which, while initially rises from simple curiosity but which also assesses class, ethnic structure, and whether there is a need to defend territory (Jackson Anderson, 2012); ‘why are you here’ or ‘how long are you here for’ which may certainly lead to a resentment that a person is staying for too short or too long a time (Bassler, 1992; Thompson, 2010); the third, mentioned by a person whose origin may have been Canada or the Caribbean or both, ‘how do you like it here’, which can only be answered positively or there can be trouble (Atlantic Metropolis Centre Research Conference, 2012). Jackson Anderson (2012) goes on to quote an immigrant person’s description of these questions as being “an ‘acupuncture of the soul’ —small, continuous pricks, but without therapeutic value” (p. 180-181).

This is my story at times. I spent a particularly long year teaching on an island close to St. John’s but difficult enough to get to in the winter that I had to stay there over the week and fly or helicopter out on the weekend – none of the expenses reimbursed. I would be docked pay if I missed time and ‘local’ teachers would grumble about having to fill in. If we complained, we were resented. Yet, when it became obvious that some of us were quitting at the end of the year, a couple of the teachers were heard to say, ‘It’s a shame that all the good teachers leave.’ Our service was needed but we were treated warily and begrudgingly because we did not think enough of their community to move

there; a frustratingly self-exacerbating paradox of resentment grew between ‘us’ and ‘them’ (See Edmundson, 2001, re rural wariness of outsiders).

## The current Newfoundland environment

### **People move or get stuck**

Newfoundlanders are not all fisherfolk, even if it had been prosperous for some, and many lives do not begin and end in the coves despite their beauty. People move for more reasons than simply the poor economy. People leave in search of more than what Newfoundland can offer despite its best efforts. They want to mix with other people in other places, in search of artistic and scientific intrigue, of new experiences that challenge avid minds. Newfoundlanders have always migrated (Bassler. 1992; Nolan, 2007). Newfoundland and Labrador has often been a stepping stone or a beginning point to somewhere else – there are more of ‘us’ away than there are at home. Nolan (2007) would even have us believe that Eric the Red was the first example of a migrant: the Vikings had to move, he says, because the Beothuks hampered Eric’s attempts to settle. This sounds like the first attempt to blame someone else for problems that Newfoundlanders have living in what can be climatologically and economically challenging surroundings.

This is also the beginning of the lament that everyone who moves are either forced to do so or they are unpatriotic: a complex paradox for many ‘Newfoundlanders’. I can get patriotic when ‘our’ premiers fight with ‘the Feds’ over ‘self-sufficiency’ of the

province. I feel everyone should be given the opportunity to experience the refreshing wind off this particular part of the Atlantic Ocean. I liked eating and drinking tea in the woods even if I don't get to anymore. Some of the music and art and literature and theatre out of here is absolutely brilliant and I feel privileged to have been involved at times. I have cried in my beer in a Toronto pub: dying to go home because my family was there or because I had an interesting project awaiting me. When I am busy with interesting things, it is a fine place. But I love the world and I love the diversity of experience that it offers past that of this Newfoundland home. Sometimes when I am *home*, like Kelly (2010), I simply feel *stuck*.

### **Globalisation and moving workforces**

My feelings are not new and they are not mine, alone. The paradox continues for younger people as it did for me. Things have changed considerably in the first decade of the twenty first century with blossoming offshore oil fields and huge deposits of minerals to be mined and smelted in both Newfoundland and Labrador (Vale, 2002). Migration from Newfoundland had already become more global. Newfoundlanders have opened colleges in the Middle East and Asia; individuals from here provide management and inventions to oil and gas companies in Europe and the Middle East; communications companies have built phone centres in Africa; Newfoundland lumber companies have built housing frames to build suburbs in Chile; people sell water and manufactured goods internationally. Newfoundland musicians and artists have travelled past the confines of government sponsored television and radio stations. People from Newfoundland and

Labrador have in a sense been at the forefront of the international workforce moving throughout the world, both on the contributing and receiving end.

### **The new economy**

This 'globalized economy' can look very ugly, however. My travel since 2000 introduced me to more insidious forms of economic and social segregation. I saw endless exploited workers in the UAE, Qatar and in Saudi Arabia. Conversely, Middle Easterners in Manchester were having great difficulties fitting into their new cultural climate. I could see for myself how economic and cultural migration, from country to country and from rural to urban environments, was playing out. When I lived in Saudi Arabia I experienced the racist way newcomers could be treated. All expatriates, whether from the West or from Pakistan, were treated with some suspicion. I was questioned 'do you like it here?' Many were interested in whether we considered them peaceful and accommodating, yet many could be very arrogant because they were in control. Most *Western* expatriates are put into special segregated buildings 'for their own safety', but more so they can do whatever it is they do, away from local citizens. I had more freedom and chatted when I could with the Pakistanis, Bangladeshis, Filipinos and the other foreigners who essentially did all the work in Saudi Arabia - they lived in their own neighbourhoods or compounds.

This *global economy* has presented interesting challenges to Newfoundland and Labrador as the province sends its own work teams into the world and hires the same type of teams as end up in the Gulf States to fill local restaurants and fish plants. Our current

system of subsidized labour with seasonal layoffs is no longer considered good practice for the provincial government, so wages stay low and local people decide to move or to simply stay unemployed on Federal insurance claims (McCarthy, 2011). Thus Filipinos, some who are trained at home as civil engineers, work at donut shops in Labrador because they are willing to take the work (Soroka, 2010). Fish plants have imported people to process fish because it is cheaper and easier than dealing with the wily local unions and possible re-location demands, etc. (Rollman, June 5, 2012). While many Newfoundlanders continue to move throughout the world for consistent, meaningful and / or well-paying work, again like the Middle East, Newfoundland seems to need someone to take care of the place while they're busy: housekeepers and maids, doctors, homecare workers, and dependable people to work the cheap service jobs. However, there is nothing magnanimous about filling these positions with immigrants. The question is more pronounced, as it should be for anyone: what real compensations will people from Newfoundland offer those 'newcomers' who dedicate significant portions of their lives to take care of the business that we cannot or will not (Apple, 2003).

### **Staying the course?**

How can people in Newfoundland be paradoxically so susceptible to the world and the *global economy* and still purport to be so much the same as 'we were back then' – simply righting the wrongs of the past? The problem that looms is that Newfoundland's 'cultural values', meaning here the homogenous heritage that Newfoundland sells to tourists and the province's own migrant workforce, seems more important than any

individual's social, cultural and capital value. Maddening is the constant juxtaposition of the need to progress and diversify in all fields against the need to stay the same so our tourism industry can continue to grow and so that 'we don't lose sight of who we are'.

As said earlier, this topic confronts every new person who arrives here; it is propagated on government websites for immigrant labour and remains rooted in the *questions that designate* above ([www.facebook.com/nlimmigration](http://www.facebook.com/nlimmigration)). The myth of 'Newfoundlanders' as constantly friendly, fun-loving, hearty, unique, hospitable and other marketable adjectives is sometimes all that is sold to 'outsiders'. Accordingly, everyone plays a fiddle or accordion; everyone smiles toothy grins and talks Irish-like wisdoms. Newfoundland is sold as a final frontier of honest downhome-ness in the urbanizing world, regardless of whether perpetuating this image still catalogues many average Newfoundlanders as socially, economically, or academically challenged.

I am convinced that many 'Newfoundlanders' feel they will still own 'the real Newfoundland' no matter how many new people arrive. It is not just that Newfoundland tourism needs to keep some people clinging to the rocks to bring tourist money in. Piles of money have been pouring into the province from 'Newfoundlanders' who work in Fort McMurray and otherwise, for example, and fly home to their families every three or six weeks. They too have a vested interest in maintaining *the good old days* (Bowering-Delisle, 2008). Newfoundland acts as the mother keeping the home fires burning (See: Janks, 1997); the sons and daughters will move back home when 'the money's made' or they plan to retire.



# Introduction

## The need for this study

The themes raised in the prologue prompt the need for this study: these question of whether I can claim to be ‘a Newfoundlander’ if I do not embody all of the prescribed traditions; whether a person can change or live elsewhere and remain ‘a Newfoundlander’; can anyone from elsewhere ever really ever become one (rules of citizenship aside) regardless of what they do. When a province deliberately sets out to invite people to live here, what stake in this tightly woven social fabric is actually being offered?

During my first glance through the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador immigration strategy, I was immediately intrigued by this statement:

Government is committed to work with partners to ensure a ‘welcoming’ society for immigrants, which goes beyond being friendly or hospitable...

This will involve awareness building throughout the province of the contributions immigrants make and the value of a more diverse society...

(Govt. of NL: Diversity, 2007).

Striking was the use of the inverted commas because it seemed to both designate this as a sole necessity for successful relationships, yet question the ubiquitous myth that ‘we are always welcoming’ (generally meaning friendly, hospitable, etc. See: Janks, 1997; Luke, 1995). I began to consider my own experience with feeling *welcomed* and *belonging* and wondered how successful this strategy might be.

I still fear that new people will not easily feel ‘at home’ or any more accepted than in the past until more people already here consider more carefully the nuances of ‘our own’ and of the ‘new person’s’ individual identities. This thought actually tries to acknowledge a greater diversity of talents within this society rather than diminish talents and accomplishments to simply being those of ‘Newfoundlanders’.

Secondly, I do not wish to question the sincerity of those Newfoundlanders who may generally be good people and who sincerely hope they can remain friendly, helpful and welcoming to new people who move into their communities. However, considering a somewhat checkered history with racial tolerance, and the problems that have already arisen during this current immigration experiment, there is no reason to assume that problems cannot be similar to those that have occurred in other places where various populations are blending (Aydemir & Skuterand, 2005).

Finally, I feel that the potential for some problems is being dismissed in a pragmatic, defensive, and even a naïve manner. Many may still prefer to simply build on touristic claims that ‘Newfoundlanders are wonderful people’ and, being so, there will be no need for concerns. This leads me to briefly summarize initial findings I made when considering this study.

### **New starts – old questions**

When I first proposed this notion of feeling like an immigrant in my own place, and of suspecting whether ‘Newfoundlanders’ were uniformly and truly welcoming, I was surprised at how many people told me similar stories. My neighbours from Quebec and

Nova Scotia told me of the first year of their new life here: it took ages for them to actually be invited out for coffee or a meal. Friendliness was in a grocery line, but not in a home. A teaching colleague from Newfoundland shared my experiences and promptly told another colleague from Quebec that this was an irritatingly cliquish place and she often felt isolated. Another friend from Nova Scotia is often told she and her daughter ‘look Spanish or something’, because she is not as white as many Newfoundlanders. So I am not the only ‘white’, ‘local’ or ‘Canadian’, ‘English as a first language’ person to feel this strange problem of not quite fitting in.

Given this type of experience above I imagined how people from Africa, India or South America, for example, might feel. Questions arose. How much do people in Newfoundland people consider their own experiences with moving away when considering those who move here? Many people can be enthusiastically patriotic to their new place, root for the local teams, and try the new foods. But how much do people have to change or give up or put up with to be considered ‘one of us’? How much will they miss their original home and feel isolated?

The reality of economics in the modern world puts immigrant populations in dangerous positions. Appadurai (2006) suggests that there is nothing about an immigrant, whether visible or not, that won’t stand out:

...we need the ‘minor’ groups in our national spaces – if nothing else to clean our latrines and fight our wars. But they are surely unwelcome because of their anomalous identities and attachments. And in this double quality, they embody the core problem of globalization itself for many

nation-states: it is either necessary (or at least unavoidable) and it is unwelcome. It is both us (we can own it, control it and use it, in the optimistic vision) and not us (we can avoid it, reject it, live without it, deny it, and eliminate it, in the pessimistic vision). (p. 44)

I started reading and attending meetings. There are already troubling signs here. During a recent meeting of the Coalition for Regional Diversity (Refugee and Immigrant Advisory Council, 2013, 02), a representative of the Association for New Canadians (ANC) intimated that many schools were reluctant to accept workshops on diversity issues because, with no foreign students specifically registered in their schools, they felt they were unaffected. Meanwhile, during a short stay at the hospital, one of my Muslim students would have to be satisfied with using the floor at the side of her hospital bed to pray—no-one mentioned she could use the prayer mats in the ecumenical area downstairs (See also: Reitmanova & Gustafson, 2008). People from the Community Youth Network, who generally help disadvantaged and vulnerable youths gain a better footing in the community, recognized that marginalized and bullied immigrant youths might soon be found amongst their clients. However, there are still few support services such as adult basic education and English classes for refugees and others - even less for temporary foreign workers even though many have “...the same settlement needs of other newcomers; as workers, they often have additional specialized needs to ensure fair treatment by employers and recruiters” (Refugee and Immigrant Advisory Council, 2013, 02; Refugee and Immigrant Advisory Council (RIAC), 2011). It seems then that many people do not really have a sense of what it means to have diverse needs.

Banting and Kymlicka (2010) and the Canadian government reports suggest that immigrants fit into our traditional societies better than in Europe because we are more encouraging and appreciative of their participation and contribution. However, we already see migrant labourers abused in other parts of Canada as in other parts of the world (Toronto Star, 2011). The university, the medical profession, and similar operations have welcomed quite a number of people from elsewhere, but these people have often been relatively cloistered by economics and class or profession. Jackson Anderson (2012) and Kelly (2010) have already documented how many foreign doctors and other immigrants can often be isolated in smaller Newfoundland communities. African citizens and Middle Eastern students have told me, personally, of racially motivated comments, fighting, and sexual assault in St. John's. New people have caused and been the victim of crime here: Saudi students have been arrested on drug charges; Nigerian women have been bullied by their male counterparts; Africans in general have been exploited by strip clubs and restaurant kitchens. So what makes many Newfoundlanders think that we are more ready to welcome new people this time?

### **Is there any need to talk about this? We seem to be doing fine**

I also received genuine perplexed questions as to why I was worried. Both Corbett (2010a) and Lund (2002) report on the pervasive denial across Canada that there is anything but welcoming and acceptance of different people. Lund (2006) suggests that people need to 'Rock the [racist] education boat'. Some may consider the question a little early for academic pursuit here (see: Clark, 2009), but I have also detected local

reluctance to pursue hard questions and even a mistrust that it can be done objectively or in a 'desired manner'.

Most local university research has been on questions of logistics of planning a welcoming community (For example: Walker, 2011). Publically, people at the Refugee and Immigrant Advisory Council (RIAC) have done studies on problems immigrant people have adjusting to local workplaces (Refugee and Immigrant Advisory Council. (2013). Ndiritu (2008) documented the experiences of other African women who had moved here, finding that there was a considerable adjustment made by many women in their activities and social contact. Reitmanova & Gustafson (2008) warned of potential problems helping foreign people because of communication barriers. Tellingly, Gien and Law (2009) found that:

Several members of three groups of respondents (newcomers to NL, those who left NL and international students) cited poor weather, racism and discrimination, isolation, lack of multicultural environment, high cost of living/low pay, great distance from the rest of Canada as deterrents to settle in NL. (p. viii)

Other academic studies which begin to actually address identity issues and integration problems seem to be done by Newfoundland scholars for universities outside of Newfoundland (Clarke, 2009; Jackson Anderson, 2012; Thompson, 2010; Thorne, 2004). My own attempt to survey true immigrant attitudes or impressions of Newfoundland through asking very open questions was questioned by academics: "why are you so concerned; we seem to be doing a pretty good job" and "what if you get the wrong answers?"

There are signs that conclusions are being made on somewhat biased data. For example, a government person was called to task at a recent conference (Atlantic Metropolis Centre research conference, 2012) by a U.K. immigrant vehemently begged to differ with a government panellist: ‘local people bloody well do accuse foreigners of taking their jobs, I should know’. At that same conference, one research project carried out through the ANC found it comforting that refugee kids reported they find it better here than where they had come from – a report which might be taken to task because the data, taken by the institution that was supporting the young people seems self-fulfilling and even manipulative. I also became concerned as to whether negative results were possibly sequestered from the public view. An organizer of a public conference that was being taped for the government (Canadian Heritage & Association for New Canadians, 2012) suggested that participants might have said something different if they had known someone in the public might listen and record their comments.

## Purpose

It is easy to dismiss troublesome concerns by saying everything is alright or that everyone has a place to express themselves somewhere. But self-serving or private study promotes complacency in addressing further more potentially troublesome study. My interest is to challenge generalizations about our successes and failures so that people might recontextualize ideas and activities in a more inclusive manner. This might provide a basis for people from elsewhere, as well as from here, to belong to a more diversely defined and thus more inclusive environment.

This thesis will examine some of the discourses and cultural myths that define notions of ‘Newfoundlanders’ and ‘people from away’ as distinct, collective entities. These identity positions can draw upon and nurture discourse which is often exclusive and marginalizing, and, in turn, contradict or problematize both the belief in the collective Newfoundland identity as being ‘welcoming’, and any desire or policy which hopes to encourage equal or just integration with immigrant populations.

I am building upon the following assumptions that arise from the introduction:

1. Much of the currently articulated collective identifications of ‘Newfoundlanders’ and ‘immigrants’ manifest a post-colonial attitude wherein many identifying as ‘true Newfoundlanders’ are trying to throw off those outsiders who ‘controlled and ruined Newfoundland in the past’. Touting histories of struggle and natural spirit, such people are often preoccupied with resurrecting past glories because, as Bannister (2002b) suggests, a present is unknown. The ‘real Newfoundland’ has not yet been achieved – we are only struggling with past foibles or manipulations.
2. Many notions of Newfoundland identity are manipulated by the social and economic dependence upon a ‘Newfoundland diaspora’ which is constantly reminded that they must wish to return to traditions that were begrudgingly abandoned, or by the ‘outsider’ as one who must wish to visit a place of consistent natural beauty and friendliness.
3. The notions of 1 and 2 lead to a mistrust of CFAs or CBFAs when it is suspected they may be trying to import ‘foreign enlightenment’. Conversely, ironically and problematically, both CBFAs and CFAs are branded anti-Newfoundland when



they attempt to maintain traditions and environmental integrity that

'Newfoundlanders' may interpret as getting in the way of convenience, modernity and progress. As a result, defining myths of 'Newfoundland' most often put people designated as 'true Newfoundlanders' in positions of power over outsiders, especially those who try to change 'us'.

4. 'Outsiders' and 'newcomers' are often painted as weaker individuals until they are aware of 'who we are'. Then, they must embrace this without question.
5. While many local people may distinguish between new immigrants and the other 'outsiders', it is quite probable that the new immigrants are considered by many as malleable assets ('foreign workforces', 'care-givers', or 'people with money to invest') used to further a past-seeking nationalist cause, rather than as true partners in developing a more vibrant, outward looking, inclusive, globalized society. Their welcome possibly has a time-limit, especially if the repatriation and retention of more 'Newfoundlanders' becomes successful.
6. Definitions of the 'Newfoundland identity' and those of 'newcomers' are fleeting. As Barthes (1972) suggests, myths disappear as soon as they become tangible. To build upon Law (2004), the definitions of people or recounting of events are allegories held up to measure the response of 'others': in this case, poverty, struggle, resistance to colonization, and otherwise.

## Critical discourse analysis, critical realism, scope

“Integration is a learned competence”, said Commission for Racial Equality chairman, Trevor Phillips (2005), who suggested Great Britain was ‘sleepwalking our way to segregation’. The critical realist deconstructs what notions of ourselves we may have, not simply to destroy illusions but in essence to open our identities up as being more diverse than acknowledged, and formed and manipulated by outside forces as much as by simple desires to be and act a certain way (Lawson, 2004). This will be discussed more in chapter two.

In this thesis, I use a Critical Realist framework to consider how, “...in social theorising..., we might conduct causal explanatory projects” (Lawson, p. 18), that distinguish our *actual* identity and situation that is defined within a given contextual environment rather than by common (mis)perceptions. Critical Realism recognizes the various elements within society that interact with each other and negotiate positions of power. Certain social structures, governmental, legal, economic and otherwise, are expected to play certain roles at times. The critical realist should consider their perceived mandates, how these have developed, what effect they have had, and how others have affected it (Lawson, p. 16). Since these social structures and identities are built by and for some people who react with other people and structures, perceptions of each person and institution are malleable and may be distorted (Jaeger, 2001).

Lawson (2004) suggests further that to discover precise reality and to predict what comes next might entail having to study everything in the world (p. 19). I cannot, of

course, look at every element of society. However, as discussed more in chapter three, I shall use Critical Discourse Analysis as a method to analyse official documents, various media and the arts, within a critical realist framework, to make some observations and conclusions about perceived identities.

The documents to be studied represent three genres of communication and discourse. The first includes the publication entitled *Diversity – ‘opportunity and growth’* produced in 2007 by the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador to outline the province’s immigration strategy. This will be considered in relation to the Arts Strategy and the official multiculturalism policy published at similar times. From these documents, I hope to attain indications of how the relationship between local and immigrant people is to be viewed; whether as simply a business venture or as a lasting relationship. I expect that, since policies are meant to be definitive, I may find indications of how the provincial government views each person’s identity and placement within the Newfoundland environment.

The second piece includes an episode of CBC’s *Land and Sea* series entitled *Southern Shore Sri Lankans* that was broadcast during 2011 and 2012 at roughly the same time as other media coverage of potential concerns with doctors and nurses in central Newfoundland and fish plant workers in Bay de Verde. These programs are generally popular because they present a romantic image of Newfoundland and its people. Despite the high production quality, it may be questionable as to whether the coverage of any particular topic is balanced or favours illustrating the Newfoundland experience in such ways as many who watch it would prefer it be defined. As such, I expect to gain insight

into how the local and the immigrant person are portrayed and what those who portray the popular 'Newfoundland' identities may mean by success or failure in immigration and integration. I shall also include a consideration of a group of smaller presentations on the experiences of 'newcomers' fitting into the local environs. Overall, I expect to find indications of whether local people feel there are certain things a new person must adopt or believe to be considered equal, and whether indeed the profile of the immigrant and the Newfoundlander portrayed in the immigration strategy in the previous policy rings true in actuality.

The third genre of study will include the eulogy for Lanier Phillips written for the Canadian *Globe and Mail* (Sullivan, 2012). The story of Lanier Phillips developed over the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century and has been said by some to define two main aspects of the 'Newfoundland' identity: first, 'Newfoundlanders' are not racist and; second, 'Newfoundlanders' are constantly brave, generous and hospitable. Sullivan's obituary discusses the arts and 'cultural' coverage of this event. The play *Oil and Water* by Robert Chafe (2012) is mentioned as a specific rendition of this event. I will also consider this play in the context of the overall development of other political, educational, social and artistic media at the time wherein I hope to discover other certain myths and idealisms about the Newfoundland identity. I shall cover more rationale for these texts in chapters 2 and 3.

# Questions

I shall use four initial questions with a series of sub-questions to guide the analysis. These will not constitute all the questions asked because, as Wodak (2001) says, questions arise from the text(s) which, when asked, help to bring new ideas and discourse to light (See also: Janks, 1997, p. 341).

The first question is: *What are the myths and characteristics constructed to identify 'Newfoundland' and 'Newfoundlanders' to 'us' and to 'others'?* Underneath this, I ask: a. how is language and discourse used to construct these myths and characteristics; b. are these forward looking or do they redevelop tradition in efforts to restore an idealized past?

The second question is: *What elements of the Newfoundland experience contextualize the forming of these identity structures?* This larger question should consider: a. what purpose is served in the stories we tell; b. what intentions and challenges are encountered in building or rebuilding these identities; c. considering the theory of Manuel Castells, Stuart Hall, and others, what motivates pieces of our nationalistic identity structures?

The third question is: *How have identity structures of the immigrant been constructed for this current enterprise?* Here, I will also consider: a. what does current discourse expect of immigrants to Newfoundland; b. are these expectations and definitions marginalizing; c. do these identity structures, strategies, expectations, and goals put Newfoundlanders into potentially exploitive or discriminatory situations?

The most important final question is: *Do these discursive structures trouble stated goals to enter into fair and equitable relations with new people who arrive in Newfoundland?* It is important to demystify this discourse so as to open more meaningful considerations and discussion between the people involved. Thus, I hope to demystify terms, myths and images above, such as that of ‘welcoming’ and other linguistics and discourses, so as to help achieve stronger, more equitable and just integration.

## Limitations

There are certain limitations to this study. I shall confine myself to the subject of the notion of ‘being a Newfoundlander’ versus notions of the ‘newcomer’ or ‘immigrant’ person. While it is very important to realize that the development of identity images have an historical element, I shall not delve too far into the history of these individual or collective images over the ages per se. The purpose is current and deliberate. I need only look to the past in order to confirm that Newfoundland history has been commandeered, accurately or inaccurately, to serve or alter various discourses. A final point on history is that I am only advocating on behalf of those people who have taken up residence over the last little while or have yet to come. I cannot provide a documented history of those who came quite some time ago.

Hall (1980) suggests that I cannot reach a definitive conclusion. My conclusions will come through a hermeneutic process that sees conclusions unfold from the material; I cannot simply arrive at empirical or deductive conclusions (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). The

conclusion depends on the linguistic characteristics found in the discourse studied critically in the context of history and other social factors. It is interpretive rather than definitive.

Lawson (2004) suggests that the study of economics, for example, is often the study of predictions that did not come true. That is, economic outcomes are dependent upon a large series of events, attitudes and other elements that are beyond prediction and which consequently render the ability to forecast accurately rather fleeting. So, too, can I only hint at conclusions about why people, whether born here or not, keep moving away. Perhaps this is the role of the Critical Discourse analyst towards the future: to provide reasonable, studied opinions and *reality* checks along the way to what others are doing and saying.

I cannot redefine who any one individual or group of people actually is instead of what they claim to be. I can illuminate what they may not be, or may want to be, at least in action and image (Jaeger, 2001; Janks, 2005). There will always be allocations of power (Janks, 1997), so there cannot be a definitive way of saying what society is and will become as power and relationships will change.

To summarize this introduction, the first three questions lay the foundation for answering the fourth question. I hope to expound that the most recounted collective notions of ‘being a Newfoundlander’, as with many other groups, follows a nationalistic identity structure which fluctuates, certainly, but which still attempts to distinguish or purport perceptible ways a person should think and act to be included within that group. To illuminate these various identities, and by enquiring into the history and context of

such notions, I wish to promote flexibility in our assessments of who a person is or was or can be at various points (Lawson, p. 4). In the critical realist dialectic to be discussed in chapter two, just as one element of our intricate lives affects the other, the changing of one will cause the others to change. With this reasoning, the Newfoundland collective identity must change because individual identities and other various elements within our society are changing. It is well that this change be accepted with more flexibility – with fewer illusions about who ‘we’ are and stubbornly must remain.

## Chapters

In the next chapter, I shall discuss theories of identity: how they develop for individuals, how they develop into groups and nations, and how they interact with each other. I shall discuss how power is wielded between individuals and groups, and how nationalistic sentiments grow as a means to delineate and protect one group from another, and to express power or to provide resistance against other real or perceived expressions of power. I shall finish with a brief overview of the how critical realism provides a useful framework under which texts can be studied within their contexts or environments and within the genres they represent.

Chapter 3 will discuss the methodology of Critical Discourse Analysis. I have mentioned that, while I study one or two particular pieces of text from documents, I compare the discourse from these documents to other pieces from the same genre or from other genres. I shall discuss how to consider the interaction of texts and discourse of these pieces to illuminate more elusive underpinnings and more accurate assessments of the



placements of power amongst individuals and their institutions. I study each piece by raising certain questions of history, social theory, economic theory and other disciplines.

Chapters 4, 5 and 6 constitute the main analysis. The fourth is the study of the immigration policy engineered to meet the challenge of Newfoundland's need for new labourers and professionals, and to address 'demographic challenges' as defined by the government. The fifth chapter studies the *Land and Sea* episode which though not specifically commissioned, seems to provide the profile of the immigration process that the provincial government encourages in the immigration strategy. Here, I trouble claims made about the ease in which people mingle with 'others' in this province. The sixth is the study of the development of the Lanier Philips story from a joke to the myth representing the essential kindness, generosity, and bravery that is said to be within 'all Newfoundlanders', and which thus provides foundations of identity which are said to put us in good stead for the immigration flow. Again, more will be said in chapters 2 and 3 about the choice of these texts. Certain summary observations will be combined in chapter 7 to try to answer the four basic questions raised above. Chapter 7 will also endeavour to raise new issues that may be considered for further review.

## Chapter 2 – Analysing discourse

In this chapter, I discuss theories of identity: how individuals adapt to their communities, how they develop into groups and nations, and how they interact with other identities. This will include the consideration of how language, institutions, history and other symbols of identity are manipulated to define which people belong to certain groups, and thus what power certain individuals or groups wield over another. I shall consider some political characteristics of nationalism and ideals, inclusion and exclusion, which are at the forefront of this study of power between many Newfoundlanders and immigrant people(s). I shall finish with a brief overview of the how critical realism provides a useful framework for the study of texts within the genres they represent and within their contexts or environments.

Discourse is not simply language, though discourse is often expressed through language. Language is a tool of discourse. “Language is not to be considered an isolated system of either symbols or mental rules, but a system used in a specific setting and for specific communicative purposes...” (Piqué-Angordans, Posteguillo & Andreu-Besó, 1995, p. 49). Discourse defines individuals, groups and nationalities. Critical Discourse Analysis, for this study, will not simply be a study of the specific language and pictures in the pieces of text and video I have chosen. It will also be the study of the setting(s) which affected the discourse and the purpose(s) the discourse was meant to serve (Jaeger, 2001).

I shall first discuss how discourse arises with the purpose of understanding how it begins to conflict with other discourse to establish relationships of power.

A person grows into an environment. The person tries to adopt the language, the subtle codes, and proper gestures and activities needed to survive within that immediate environment. These tools of communication form part of what Gee (1989) calls an *identity kit* - of which each person has a primary kit. All others the person adopts, as they work to enter and belong to various professions or other new environments, are secondary, tertiary, etc. There are naturally multitudinous identity kits, and a person must learn the nuances of a different person's or group's identity kit to belong within that new community. A person often adopts various identities to survive in various surroundings as they learn to not only 'talk the talk' but 'walk the walk' of their profession, their neighbourhood, their business environment or other such environs (See also Corbett, 2010b). But the person with a different primary identity kit may never master the identity kit of the new community as well or as naturally as the primary holders of that identity kit. Gee (2000) recognizes identity development then as a response to the power of natural forces, institutional authorities, rational discourse, and experienced affinity within various groups.

Bourdieu (1989) talks similarly of *habitus*: the way in which we are placed within and respond to our social, material and institutional surroundings. According to Ricoeur (1996), there is a natural way of reacting when there are any more than two people in the world. He loosely suggests that, as long as there is no third party involved, I am me and you are you and vive le difference! In other words, with two people, we can agree and

there may be equality and space but, with three, there seems to be a need for people to form majorities to protect what become ‘mutual interests’. By doing this, Ricoeur is defying the efforts some people make to deny that there can be strong political sense built on ‘difference’ (See: Bissoondath, 2004). As soon as there is another person, there is the potential to form consensus or a group - perhaps a group that tries to position that themselves as acting on behalf of a *greater* good. A person can reach out to many people to form a ‘we’ and a ‘they’, such as we see with people of nationalist regimes and with religious diaspora.

People attempt to define similarities and differences, real or imagined, in terms of shared experiences which include language, symbols, arts, histories, and various labours that might fall under the labels of *habitus* or *identity kits*, but which are more often popularly expressed as notions of *culture* and *nationality* and *individuality* (Anderson, 2006; Castells, 2010). Discourse represents the way that people and groups of people think and act and speak, as well as the art and architecture and products they make (Jaeger, 2001). The language and symbols of discourse define identities of people as an individual, as a part of a group and as a part of a nation. Gee (2004) expands upon this:

By a “Discourse,” with a capital “D” (Gee, 1990, 1992a), I mean people coordinating and being coordinated by (Knorr Cetina, 1992) - in thought, word, deed, feeling, values, interactions - other people, things, technologies, as well as material, symbolic, and institutions resources, at certain times and places, so as to assume particular “recognizable” identities (e.g., as a Los Angeles African-American street gang member, urban tagger, Chomskian theoretical linguist, particle physicist, a feminist

of a given type, a regular at the local bar. or a member of the bar, or “just one of us” where “us” may have many? few, or no formal labels). (p. 33)

Discourse is not objective. It not only defines people, it defines their placement within their social worlds: how ‘I’ or ‘we’ or ‘they’ are positioned in the world in relation to ‘others’. Gee (1999) suggests that, “Grammar simply does not allow us to speak or write from no perspective” (p.4). Wodak, de Cillia, Reisigl, & Liebhart (2009) say of any linguistic representation that:

...in various dialogic contexts, discursive practices may influence the formation of groups and serve to establish or conceal relations of power and dominance between interactants, between social groups and classes, between men and women and between national, ethnic, religious, sexual, political, cultural and subcultural majorities and minorities. (p. 8)

What is most important with critical discourse analysis is to determine where *power* is placed in society through discourse and the activity that results from it. This power may be latent or virulent, as the discourse describes essentially how one identified person or group considers the other and what control one may have because of that. Such notions are too often generalized, essentialised and distorted in ways that support perceived challenges to power and security

For Bourdieu (1989), this was particularly important when studying various class and racial struggles for example. Groups of people belong within a different habitus and express power over others using their own codes and symbols as a form of social capital. By doing this, groups also single out and marginalize certain characteristics of another

person's habitus in what Bourdieu calls 'symbolic violence'. In many instances, the state, which claims to be the embodiment of the public interest, can subtly or blatantly protect the dominating social capital over others within and without that society. In more extreme cases, ruling individuals can proclaim themselves as the embodiment of the state, possessing those things which define what is acceptable and, thus, unacceptable (Bissondath, 2004; Bourdieu, 1989; Law, 2004). So it is that individuals, groups or institution of power can both define what codes, discourse or other requirements are necessary to belong to their identity structure, and alter or manipulate these to continue to exclude people who may have begun to acquire the original discourse.

Expressions of power are not always known to the person acting within the environment (Fairclough, 2005, p. 922), and so the second important mandate of critical discourse analysis is to be emancipatory so as to encourage better discussions of equity and justice. Because it becomes difficult to predict what realities will affect future environments and actions, and because many do not realize the product of various discourses, the project of conducting causal, explanatory projects is important, because "...such considerations point to questions of power, democracy and legitimacy" (Lawson, 2004, p. 19). If a person does not know or understand the background to their position in society, then they can become, or are already, segregated or more easily exploited.

In his study of Malaysian politics, Abdullah (2004) uses Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA):

as a means of describing, interpreting, and explaining the socially constituted and constitutive nature of discourse as social practice [and must]... crucially include the discursive provision to empower the

oppressed and the dominated in that 'discursive practice may be effective in transforming, dismantling or even destroying the status quo. (p. 127)

Therefore, by problematizing seemingly stalwart notions of Newfoundland and immigrant identity structures raised in this study, I am re-opening the discussion as to how well people may really blend and cooperate. This reasoning is supported by Lawson (2004):

...because all human beings are both shaped by the evolving relations (to others) in which they stand as well as being differently (or uniquely) positioned, it follows that all actions, because they are potentially other-affecting, bear a moral aspect, and also that any policy programmes formulated without attention to differences, that presume homogeneity of human populations, are likely to be question begging from the outset. Certainly, programmes of action that ignore their likely impact on the wider community are immediately seen as potentially deficient. (p. 19)

In other words, unless the goal is to maintain power over others, I hope to guide people past strict and stagnant definitions of identities, predictions of the future, and simplistic policies that may be born of perceived but ill-considered 'inevitabilities', 'necessities', and 'expediencies', real or imaginary, that hamper justice and equity.

## Critical Realism

To return to the importance of context, discourse does not act alone. It takes someone to enact or exemplify a discourse – it needs to be involved with action in order

for the meaning of it to become recognized (Jaeger, 2001). Discourses feed from each other or try to override another. Discourse crosses physical and imaginary boundaries to guide people despite institutional, economic, religious, social or political elements evident in one's immediate surroundings. For example, despite living in more predominantly Christian environments, more Americans are actually converting to Islam in response to local negative imaging of Muslims and to what they see as unjust American aggression in the Middle East (Al Krenawi & Jackson, in print). Similarly, the discourse that is exemplified in the hip hop lifestyle and music born of American slums is adapted by young people in South East Asia to meet their peculiar surroundings (Pennycook, 2007). Their actions are made meaningful in how the discourse is understood, adopted, reconstructed, applied, and responded to in these new environments. In turn, new discourses are constructed as a response or in relation to these initial discourses.

A quote by Wodak et al. (2009) begins to describe a theoretical framework under which discourse must be analysed:

[Critical Discourse Analysis] ...assumes a dialectical relationship between particular discursive acts and the situations, institutions and social structures in which they are embedded: the situational, institutional and social contexts shape and affect discourse, and, in turn, discourses influence social and political reality. In other words, discourse constitutes social practice and is at the same time constituted by it. (p. 8)

If discourse represents the language and identity of one, and expresses a relationship of power over others, and this discourse is the result of dialectic between



motivations, actions, and social context, it is important to discover how these discourses are expressed. I must consider where they may have come from, who and what has guided them, whom or what they are guided against, and whether they have been effective.

I am introducing the critical realist framework for critical discourse analysis. Critical realism goes further than Wodak et al. (2009) to employ an analytic duality that recognizes a difference between a natural reality, constituting what exists as scientific or as social structural reality, and an actual reality, constituting the action of the individual within various contexts (Fairclough, 2004, Law, 2004). Fairclough (2001) prefers to call this interaction *dialectic* - a *semiosis* - and tries to avoid using the word *discourse* because it is so often misunderstood as simply a dialogue between people for example. He defines semiosis as "...an element of social practices which is dialectically interconnected with other elements - in the terminology of dialectical theory, it is a 'moment' of the social" (p. 121). Considering it as such allows me to discover whether the particular discourse is part of a more overwhelming discourse as well as who or what is pushing that along; whether the discourse is a departure from prevailing discourse; whether the discourse is a minor change or major attempt to change prevailing discourse, and; whether it works. The critical realist's study of discourse would locate the analysis of discourse "...within an analytically dualist epistemology which gives primacy to researching relations between agency (process, and events...) and structure on the basis of a realist social ontology" (Fairclough, 2005, p.926); that is, that real natural and social structures will affect certain actions.

Fairclough (2005) recognizes that people are guided by these: "...more or less durable and stable articulations of diverse social elements, including discourse, which constitute social selections and orderings of the allowances of social structures as actualisable allowances in particular areas of social life in a certain time and place" (p. 922), (the implications of this crucial time and place element will be discussed in Chapter 3). These social structures have as their underbelly distinctive and shifting networks of various events, organizations, and discourses that form themselves into, to use Fairclough's words again, 'marketized' institutions (p. 923). These need not be hard and fast: Lawson (2004) recognizes the structure of traffic laws as an example of real laws that are rarely followed to the letter and so represent only one tangible facet of the overall *actual* social law under which most have agreed to abide; what is actually real is the dialectic between these laws and the resultant responses and actions of people.

This theoretical framework supersedes others which are still important to consider - each raise important aspects of discourse: language, institutions, history and its related social psychology, mythology and ideology, and the State. For example, the simple study of linguistics and subtext of a discourse or text, even though language is amongst the most subtle and oft-used forms of expressing or manipulating discourse, is not always sufficient. Nor do I follow completely a *dispositive analytical* view of Foucault and others, though it is important to discuss the power of institutions that persistently weaves its way into the subtexts of identity and designations of status. The *discourse historical* point of view emphasizes the importance of the historical perspective in the development of discourse - events of history being strong motivators of people's ideas and ideals

(Wodak & Meyer, 2009), though I shall also consider subtle psychological motivations behind reinventing history and mythologies to manage social challenges (Barthes, 1972; Castells, 2010; Wodak, 2001a). I shall now break these elements down more.

## Language

Language is not just an intentionally communicative social behaviour; it also involves a cognitive process: the cognitive process of encoders who pattern their discourse in terms of their knowledge of the linguistic repertoire available to them, and the cognitive process of decoders who interpret the message manifested in terms of their shared understanding and memories of past communicative events. Everything remotely related to communication, all options available in the linguistic code itself, all meanings, all registers, and all culturally held ideologies that are linguistically relevant, are stored in the minds of language users (Given, 2008, p. 18. See also: Stuart Hall, 1980).

Language is used as a tool of identity and power in personal and national settings. Castells (2010) builds upon the theory of imagined communities presented by Anderson (2006) when he hypothesizes that language is the most formidable designator of identities and the boundaries which grow between these identities:

Thus, after all, nations do not seem to be “‘imagined communities” constructed at the service of power apparatuses. Rather, they are produced through the labors of shared history, and then spoken in the images of communal languages whose first word is we, the second is us, and,

unfortunately, the third is them. However, I would make the hypothesis that language, and particularly a fully developed language, is a fundamental attribute of self-recognition, and of the establishment of an invisible national boundary less arbitrary than territoriality, and less exclusive than ethnicity. (p. 56-57)

In this statement, Castells first implies the designations established between speakers of English, speakers of German, speakers of Arabic, and so forth. Anderson (2006) gives numerous examples of European aristocracy officially adopting the local language so that locals will accept their rule. But there is never one single ‘English’, for example, when I talk of discourse and social placement. Castells is also referring to the delineation and segregation expressed the development of ‘we’, ‘us’ and ‘them’. I shall discuss the delineation of people and groups through language distinctions and, then, the consequent categorizing of individuals into distinctive groups. Then I return to the further problem of raising English specifically as ‘the language of the nation’ or ‘the universal language’ (I will return to the problems raised with Canada’s official languages being English and French later in chapter 4).

### **Delineation of people and groups through language distinctions**

People use different language in different situations. Corbett (2010b) refers to the differences between *wharf talk*, *home talk*, and *school talk*, as examples of three different mannerisms of speech a person might adopt to better fit into the immediate environment. People adopt different words and accents to suit the environment (Baker, 2010); vocabularies grow with more experience, with education, and with moving to places with

different accents. Corbett (2010b) later talks how teaching academic language to rural and isolated peoples allow people to move more easily, but new academic circles and languages that arise can still isolate that person from certain social circles (See also: Tilly, 2000).

Power is assessed, negotiated and expressed through a person's language, accent and lexicon (Corbett, 2010b; Gee, 1989). One person assesses the status of the other, who belongs in which social, cultural and economic category, and is consequently able to exclude the other from their own categories. In other words, differences in language designate discourses of class and age difference, ethnic and national origin, levels of education and of profession (Pennycook, 1994). Because of various perceived slurs against the capacity of many Newfoundlanders to speak the same way as other Canadians, many Newfoundlanders are very defensive and concerned about how an 'outsider' views the varying accents and lexicon of specific Newfoundland manners of speaking. They prefer that a new person learn to accept 'the language' (See for example: [www.facebook.com/nlimmigration](http://www.facebook.com/nlimmigration)).

Indeed, many Newfoundlanders try to reverse potential discrimination by insisting on recognizing only 'our language' as acceptable; implying any number of the ideas that 'we were here first, we know this and you do not, we have experience which is different than yours, we communicate things differently, you're not one of us till you cater to us in some way' (Corbett, 2010b). People in Newfoundland recognize already how their dialects and discourse can segregate *baymen* from *townies*, upper class *townies* from lower class *townies*, and engineers from fish harvesters. People can not only designate placement through accent and idiom: it is designated by dress, choice of cars or trucks, or

other such symbol or nuance that can help label an individual. Jackson Anderson (2012) and others throughout the study here will refer to this phenomenon when they refer to the positioning questions of origin and situation often asked by many Newfoundlanders of anyone who displays ‘difference’. Despite all this, as with the kings above (Castells, 2010), a new person may learn the local mannerisms simply to placate the locals; they may still rule the factory.

### **‘You’ and ‘I’, ‘we’ and ‘they’: categorizing ‘uniqueness’ within social environments**

The use of pronouns easily distinguishes those who do one thing versus those who do something different. Who is included in such pronouns as ‘us’ and ‘them’ becomes extremely important. My study here must discern the subject and audience of each piece, as well as the intent to catalogue or distinguish one person from another. This will usually be found in the use of the words ‘we’, ‘they’, ‘us’, and similar. I must be careful to discern not only the use of these words in the texts and communications I study, but in my own use of these words as I write. For example, traditional English school upbringing taught me to use the word ‘we’ to induce a friendly and collaborative feel to the writing, as if I and my readers are all in the work together. However, by doing so here, I make my readers culpable for the ideas I present, often presenting ‘we’ as being the ones in the know as opposed to ‘them’. As well, to use ‘we’ as in ‘we Newfoundlanders’ necessarily lumps us into the same distinguished grouping that I wish to problematize. The only time I can use the word ‘we’, without quotation marks, is to designate a group that actually does include ‘I’ and a number of other identified cohorts who do the same things as me, agree with me, and have no other important agenda to belonging to that group I also

belong to. Similar care should be taken that the words ‘they’ and ‘us’ are problematized, as many readers more immediately recognize how these words also segregate people in outside groups to which they may not belong. Indeed, it is often a dismissive gesture because the differences between people have not been thoroughly considered. Thus, when ‘they’ do something to ‘us’, I have to be very careful to decide who belongs to each of these groups and why (Fairclough, 2004; Hall, 1997).

I cannot use the categorical term ‘Newfoundlanders’ without inverted commas as this does not include all people who find themselves in this area, regardless of their origin or identity, at this time and who all exhibit the same opinions or characteristics. Similarly, this raises the problematic use of categorical adjectives such as the word ‘unique’ when talking of ‘I’, ‘we’, ‘they’ and ‘us’ or ‘Newfoundlanders’. ‘Uniqueness’ is often used as a word to segregate: to dub certain people as unique is to place them in a group that is different from a normative or other, often negative group. For example, a phrase such as ‘Newfoundlanders are a unique people’ can easily imply that there is an unmistakable distinction between all of ‘us’ and ‘them’ – even more, something which ‘we’ must all share if ‘we’ want to actually be unique and belong (Wodak et al., 2009, p. 27). Stuart Hall (1996) suggests that “Instead of thinking of national cultures as unified, we should think of them as constituting a discursive device which represents difference as unity or identity” (p. 617).

It is worth using lengthy quotes from Abdullah (2004) to illustrate problems with the use of ‘we’ and ‘they’ that are similar to what will likely arise in many of the texts I look at. He comments on the following prime ministerial speech:

The idea before was that people should become 100% Malay in order to be Malaysian. We now accept that this is a multi-racial country. We should build bridges instead of trying to remove completely the barriers separating us. We do not intend to convert all the Chinese to Islam, and we tell our people, the Muslims, 'you will not try to force people to convert' . . .

Of this quote, Abdullah (2004) says:

The pronoun 'we' in the first half of the excerpt appears to refer exclusively to the Malays as the dominant ethnic group, quite clearly so in the second sentence, ambiguously so in the third sentence, and rather patently so in the clause 'we tell our people, the Muslims'. In fact, the ending quote is an invocation of a basic precept of Islam that exhorts peaceful coexistence with other faiths, but the fact remains that the Prime Minister's use of the collective pronoun in this ambivalent way serves as a 'language of consensus . . . which disguises differences'

(Fairclough, 2000: 160), and hence projects a populist image. (p. 126)

Using Islam to define 'Malaysian' is, to raise the spirit of Barthes (1972), akin to mythology – just as is the term 'uniqueness'. Other such adjectives in this study will include 'friendliness', 'welcoming', and so forth. Such terms are used to designate the mythology of 'Newfoundland's uniqueness' (Fairclough 2004).

### **'English is the universal language – and ours too!' Unsettling benchmarks**

Pennycook (1998) affirms that English is the language of the elite in any country: it is the language that the elite in each colonial country were taught in order to discuss control of the remaining population; in order to rise above the crowd, a colonial citizen



would have to learn English (See also: Ferguson, 2002). Closer to home, Dianne Grant (2010) asserts that the use of English as the language of education in Northern Labrador separated those who spoke English from those who did not, and thus from those who had the money and power in the community (Pennycook, 1998). Throughout all, there was the discourse that English was the proper way for business to be conducted as it was the language of those who were bringing civilisation and the riches of commerce to their worlds (Ferguson, 2002).

People discriminate by using English as a benchmark when they set inflexible standards that don't really apply to local and global mandates. There is a myriad of adaptations and nuances to the type of English spoken anywhere, and the future of English is not guaranteed as Crystal (2003) points out when he ponders what might have happened had Bill Gates been born Chinese. Wade Davis (2003) refers to our linguistic arrogance, suggesting that there is no solid evidence that shows English is necessarily superior in any way as a language, and variances in all language always reflect the environment in which they are found. The more recent spread of English has been through economic necessity and dominant media. Yet, English steals from other languages: *baksheesh*, *joie de vivre*, *gulag*. Crystal (2003) suggests the expansion of internet, and I should add the growth of Bollywood and similar phenomena, can help preserve other languages and further challenge English as either the most desirable or most homogenous language. There is no reason to think that we may not end up with the language of *Blade Runner*, a strange blend of Japanese, German and Spanish. There is

already *Spanglish*; Singaporeans pepper their English with Chinese or Malaysian words (BBC 2001, 2012; Bruno, 2011, Pennycook, 2007)

Kellner (1998) and Ellsworth (1989/1994) suggest that a person lacking English or French in Canada is viewed as a problem, those who don't speak the language well are often treated as marginally; they cannot learn the discourses they need to succeed and so become a burden (Fleming. 2010). If we have put these linguistic and other barriers in their way, and require them to contribute to our well-being, it becomes the immigrant's right to be given every opportunity to learn our complete language (Van Ngo, 2009). More, suggests Fay, Lytra & Ntavalagkou (2010), our institutions must recognize "...the complexity of national identity and the complexity of the collective lingua-cultural resources of all of the countries" (p. 587). Using a lingua franca does not mean that everyone will now tell the same stories; we too need to know what people are saying or at least trying to say, not how they are saying it in English.

Fleming's (2010) observes how the Canadian Language Benchmarks 2000:

...tend[s] to describe being Canadian in terms of normative standards, including various forms of social behaviour that imply the existence of a dominant and singular culture to which second language learners have to conform (p. 589). [The system] ...views English language learners as having rights and responsibilities that pertain primarily to being (a) good client, customer, patient and student... but not as a worker, family member, participant in community activities, or advocate.... (p. 595)

This importantly seems to designate only those who speak English ‘properly’ as eligible for full inclusion. The marginalization and exploitation that can result from such an understanding is multifaceted, though I need only give a few important examples here.

As has already been said, to learn English does not necessarily allow the person an opportunity to express their feelings and understandings freely. However, there is ample evidence that many people in the Middle East, for example, mistrust learning the English language because it gives access to the discourses of Western societies which many would want to filter out of their daily lives (Crystal. 2003; Kharmani & Pennycook, 2005). Importantly, the professions of social work and of psychiatry or psychology have been seen as championing particularly Western understandings of the relationship between self, the family, religion and society. Forms of expression in one language do not always translate well in English and thus there can be misdiagnoses. I have mentioned earlier how Reitmanova and Gustafson (2008) found that a number of immigrant women to Newfoundland felt that staff and professionals in health situations did not understand their foreign client.

Similarly, the Workers Action Centre in Toronto was not able to address my casual enquiries because they are so busy trying to clear up terrible cases of exploitation of immigrant workers (email correspondence). This simply substantiates the fears expressed by many people in Canada, that immigrant workers do not know what rights they have – despite their knowledge of ‘the language’ , the do not understand the discourse of worker’s rights as other Canadians might. Nor might they understand that an

employer does not necessarily have the ear of government immigration officials who can easily send them home to their country of origin (Aydemir & Skuterand, 2005).

Rodriguez (1982) retells his dilemma as a Spanish speaking child in California: he gave up his relationship with his extended family and other Spanish speakers to gain the perfect grasp of the English language. He recognized the linguistic barriers kept him from political and economic success in California. In doing so, however, he laments the loss of what he remembered as a more musical language, the society of his extended family, and part of what he felt was some of his heritage. Is this what we expect of the children of Newfoundland's immigrants?

Finally, can a person from elsewhere be fully included in our business world when we have such difference in language and style (Gee, 2000). We set up special English schools to teach business English, but nationalized and internationalized testing is still accused of perpetuating economic and social dominance (Apple, 2003; Lund, 2006; Rumble, 2007). If we rearrange and redefine our dominant social capital amidst a fanfare of progressivity and development, definitions of proper English and business style are likely obsolete by the time they are catalogued; those with less or foreign social capital simply cannot catch up (Apple, 2003; Bourdieu, 1989).

I shall now discuss further the products of language and symbols: the institution as well as the histories, mythologies and ideologies that are invented to serve the various groups of 'we' and 'they' that have already been designated in this discussion of language as above. Then I shall discuss the institution of government which has trouble with such words as 'tolerance' and problems with definitions of culture and mandates.

## Institutional power: Foucault, Nietzsche, Ricoeur, Jaeger

Jaeger (2001) presents the concept of the dispositive based upon the work of Michel Foucault (Wodak, 2001b), and suggests that there is usually one discourse under which all others fall and to which they are related. In *Discipline and Punishment*, for example, Foucault (1995) argues that all aspects of text and institutions are set up to perpetuate or move along the concept of discipline and punishment which is relevant to the time. Relatively few things happen in the world of justice without the influence of these overall dispositives, though some texts or events may initially seem to be departures. If it seems a departure, it may indeed be that the seemingly unrelated texts fall under a larger dispositive. For example, from Foucault's discourse on sexuality, Bussolini (2010) suggests that 'marriage' as it is related to kinship and inheritance, and divergent sexual relationships which may seem a departure from this, may both still be considered under the wider dispositive of 'alliance' (p. 89). This idea suggests a number of important things that should be looked for in relation to text and I shall try to lay them out in two parts here and one later.

Foucault (1995), Ricoeur (1996) and Jaeger (2001) suggest two problematic types of institutions for me which bear examination. First is as I have mentioned: those institutions set up to recruit, promote and process people (such as immigration boards, hospitals and employment agencies). Here, power is wielded through the definition of who is allowed to belong here, how a person is to find and accept care in medicine and education, and who is allowed to work. Foucault (1995) discusses in *Discipline and Punishment* the architecture of prisons as a representation of the dispositive 'discipline'.

Prisons adopted the idea of a panopticon that saw the jail keeper in the centre of the prison and a series of jail corridors emanating from that centre. The expectation was that the prisoner would have the feeling that they may be watched whether it was true or not. Thus institutions can seem to pose a threat to a person's well-being beyond the actual or real situation that exists.

The second, less tangible, are the cultural institutions which wield strong traditions and ideals related to strong doctrinal upbringings as powerful definitions of identity. Selby (2012) refers to the apartment buildings in a Paris suburb as resembling a panopticon where young people of Algerian Muslim origin feel they are being controlled by the prying eyes of their elders in the apartments above. When we conceive of a neighbourhood or a building which consists of many people from similar origins, it becomes apparent that the identity of the people is being controlled, from within and without, not by established political or governmental institutions but by social or even cultural discourse or institution. While the buildings may represent architectural symbols of power, the power is found in the cultural or social discourse. Ricoeur (1996) cites the power of the French Catholic Church, an institutional discourse made up of language, symbols and actions which exercised a great control over many different people. It is as much a state of mind as it is the architectural and iconic honorifics.

The discourse of 'Newfoundland' identity occasionally enters this second institutional realm. I can distinguish ideas and language that arise in the study that are used to develop notions of 'Newfoundland' as a cultural institution and 'Newfoundlanders' who belong to it and who command and demonstrate the 'proper' Newfoundland discourses. This will help in my consideration of what images might be

portrayed of ‘others’. Such mythical institutions may seem innocuous or harmless to notions of being open, fair and inclusive but the psychology of such allegiances to tradition and culture are as strong as those of more tangible social institutions that people sanction.

## Psychological underpinnings

I have already suggested that the idea of nations and who belongs is invented by people with a desire to define purpose or to protect oneself. I shall give an example and then summarize leading theory. Bussolini (2010) talks of Foucault’s “...theory of power, and the ontological Nietzschean underpinnings of his analysis...”(p. 88). There is more to this discussion, but Nietzsche did consider: “...our entire instinctive life as the development and ramification of one fundamental form of will...” - the will to *power* (Nietzsche, 2010, p. 22). I do not wish to analyse Nietzsche’s whole ethic here but what Nietzsche did do, purposely or not, was lay foundational ideas in which libertarianism, neo-liberal capitalism, anarchism, and many other modern ‘...isms’ might find solitude.

Nietzsche discusses the fate of those who are left behind by the noble savage who pursues the will to power more freely. He italicizes the terms ‘Good and Evil’, thereby dubbing them manufactured ideas and a dispositive for the way in which these people think and act. More, however, he turns traditional religious or moral concepts of ‘good and evil’ on its head by suggesting that those left behind become resentful of those who are more successful and we see the invention of the ‘Evil’ part of the discourse. Once the

successful have been demonized, the downtrodden become the only “good” people in the world, forming a rather pathetic herd:

What they would gladly attain with all their strength, is the universal, green-meadow happiness of the herd, together with security, safety, comfort, and alleviation of life for everyone, their two most frequently chanted songs and doctrines are called "Equality of Rights" and "Sympathy with All Sufferers"--and suffering itself is looked upon by them as something which must be DONE AWAY WITH. (Nietzsche, 2010, p. 25)

It will regularly be said in this study that many Newfoundlanders absorb difference into more hegemonic identities built upon desires to define and control, to legitimize and dominate, to resist outside influence and survive those who manipulated them (Castells, 2010; Halls, 1996).

However, people may negotiate space within their environment first, but this space must grow. There is not simply personal space, there is global space. There are not simply local concerns, there are outside concerns that become a part of this negotiation (Hall, 1997). People in Newfoundland may certainly be negotiating their own local space, but it must be relative to some degree with what happens in other parts of the world. The government policy in chapter 4 speaks of the inevitabilities of the global economy and the international field of immigration as tangible items which demand a response. At such points, it is prudent to consider how reactive identities built upon the resentment of those who have succeeded here and elsewhere, can become simply stultifying and, particularly locally, confrontational and domineering (Kelly & Yeoman, 2010; Tilley, 2010).



## History, mythology, allegory and rhetoric

Wodak et al. (2009) refer to the three temporal axes of national identity that consists of the past, the present and the future (p. 26). Nation building requires developing myths: tales of woe and success that describe our past (Barthes, 1972; Castells, 2010; Thompson, 2010). Nations must have common goals, and strong adjectives describing personal attributes become shared by the group. Nations pick their way through their language and commoditize it, as other pieces of a culture, for common social, economic and political aims. Nations catalogue and archive their cultural pieces and then cull those examples of trials, tribulations, glory and success that serve the purpose of identity building as above. Here, suggests Wodak et al (2009), "...origin, continuity/tradition, transform - ation, (essentialist) timelessness and anticipation are important ordering criteria. Spatial, territorial, and local dimensions (expanse, borders, nature, landscape, physical artefacts and intervention in 'natural space') are likewise significant..." (p.26). Here in Newfoundland, there are plenty of symbols, such as the pink, white and green 'Republican flag' (Rollman, June 13, 2012), and special foods. The foundation of 'history' that supports such symbols is never solid. The popularity of the flag, for example, has emotional rather than historical designation; one of many that could have been chosen despite, or perhaps to spite, the official flag (Lambert, 2008).

Wodak and the Vienna School feel that the weight of history is important to consider as people build upon events as well as upon discourse. So, by studying this history, they introduce the culpability of a person who makes decisions based upon what they know and understand of the environment (Wodak et al., 2009, p. 32; See also:

Fairclough, 2004; Jackson and Hogg, 2010; Wodak and Meyer, 2009). As a result, there is more of a "...circularity between social action and social structure" (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p. 23), which includes the action from the top down, an institution or dispositive driving activity, reacting to action from the bottom, i.e., the actions of people formulating new structures. To accomplish this analysis, the Vienna school combines Critical Discourse analysis with critical theory and vigorously studies the historical context in which the discursive text has been produced. This vigour also includes a consideration of how language and thought was perceived at the time of the event and how, much like when discussing speakers of different languages, perceptions and understandings change in translation and over time (Wodak et al., 2009, p. 7-8. See also: Hall, 1979)

In this study, I argue that history has been recontextualized and retold through the years (Bannister, 2002b). Stuart Hall (1997) adds, "The past is not waiting for us back there to recoup our identities against. It is always retold, rediscovered, reinvented. It has to be narrativized. We go to our own pasts through history, through memory, through desire, not as a literal fact" (p. 18). This rewriting produces new mythology and allegory to serve new purposes. Bannister (2002b) says that "All societies need myths to sustain them" (p. 185). I shall therefore discuss what mythology and allegory is before demonstrating its use in local rhetoric.

In his work on mythology, Barthes (1972) talks of recontextualizing an image or a message – myth is, in a sense, a type of discourse or message that, in his words, "...cannot possibly be an object, a concept, or an idea; it is a mode of signification, a form" (p. 07). The myth comes from the same semiosis of language where a *signifier*, the understanding of a subject as it is in image, or the idea of the concept or idea, is related to

a concept, or the *signified*, thereby creating a new *sign*. The image from Newfoundland that comes to mind is that of the wizened face of a typical Newfoundlander which originally was simply a signifier of a difficult environment. However, when that same face smiles in a tourism advertisement, the signification is of a whole new romantic image of naturalness, genuineness, of all Newfoundlanders being seafarers. Of course, most wizened people have no particular intention of portraying any of these images through their countenance.

Myth, Barthes (1972) suggests, is most often used by the right wing in politics, who Fairclough (2001) and others might call the neo-liberals or new capitalists, or Marx would call the *bourgeoisie*. He means by this *right wing*, the person able to manufacture better rhetoric that convinces people they are included in some great scheme. For example here, the rhetoric which says ‘Newfoundland is prepared because we are all welcoming’ seems to be both inclusive and reassuring. Rhetoric takes control of the interlocutors. If they hesitate to believe the speaker, they may give up the chance to become and remain these ideal people - worse, they may be denying others to be such people (Barthes, 1972, p.150).

Of course, we always get tripped up in our myths. Referring back to Fairclough (2004) and Barthes (1972) and their discussion of *uniqueness* and other such adjectives, Castells (2010) illustrates how nations adopt words to appeal to what people feel is part of their personal identity and goals. For example, there is a difference between an ‘individual identity’ and a state which is ‘individualistic’, the second naturally renders the first individual vacuous as it they cannot be both equally (p. 7). A person can be tolerant, and a collective decision may be a tolerant one. However, they are not the same as each

other. This reconsideration of the adjectives that describe Newfoundland's foundational and other myths will be considered.

Finally, Lawson (2004) addresses the issue of mythologies and national stories when giving his interpretation of allegories. Many such stories relate the development of desirable character traits and success against all odds. They are told as allegories, wherein a specific story, in this thesis the story of Lanier Phillips for example, can become an allegory for all people in similar situations. The actions of one person become those of the group and how they respond to the rest of the world (p. 88-89). The thought is not always understood - it is ambiguous and ambivalent – at one moment being relevant and lost again.

Allegory is necessarily, then, about piling different realities up on top of one another. It is about the apprehension of non-coherent multiplicity. It is about split vision. Or ways of knowing in tension. (p. 98)

Meanwhile, it can have other applications and manifestations as it grows to reflect other aspects of a person's social interests: "...Their psychiatric state. Their lack of breeding. Or their ignorance" (p. 98).

Barthes' (1972) theory is useful when considering that most material that will be studied in this thesis has purpose: to convey identity and desire using the images and understandings that we may already have developed - the signs which have been passed down through the last few decades (Doty, 2003). Premier Dunderdale (2012) provides a perfect example of rhetoric by defining foundational, segregating and stagnant myths of the past, the present, and the future, blended with virtuous collective adjectives:

We are reaping the benefits of seeds sown by our forebears as they struggled to eke out a living against unimaginable odds. From them, down through the generations, have come the characteristics that define us as Newfoundlanders and Labradorians: optimism, tenacity, resourcefulness, work ethic and a fierce pride in this place and its greatness. Today we stand tall and proud on the shoulders of those who've come before us, knowing that we have not squandered their gifts, but invested them to give our children a brighter, more secure and prosperous future. Generations to come will look back on this decision as the dividing line between short-lived riches and sustainable, renewable wealth.

The premier's rhetoric demonstrates the construction of a foundational historical myth: describing where 'we' have all come from and what 'we' have always wanted. It raises four important points about Newfoundland nationalism that challenge people who will come to live here: the first is related to the history and mythologies that define 'Newfoundlanders' while segregating others; the second is how such histories, perceptions and mythologies make it very difficult for an immigrant to gain agency in this province; the third is that rhetoric is colonised by outside world visions which are not necessarily appropriate; the fourth is that people can become stagnant in a defined past that leaves little room for the flexibility to change.

To the first point, much of Newfoundland nationalism seems to take a reactive stance against an historical past which is perceived as predominantly negative and suppressive of the 'true Newfoundlander'. Thompson (2010), Castells (2010), Hall (1996)

and Bannister (2002b) identify this as one of the major motivations for forming strong national images. Thompson identifies Newfoundland and Labrador as exhibiting nationhood without being an official state or necessarily holding separation as its goal - though that has indeed been an interest to some over the past 50 years (Bannister, 2002b; Peckford, 2012; Rollman, June 13, 2012). This sentiment is probably due to constant economic problems that are seen to have preyed upon personal desires for liberation, self-sufficiency, definition and purpose (Bannister, 2002b; Thompson, 2010; House, 1999; Summers, 1994). Newfoundland polity and media are rife with resentment towards outside rulers, first from the British Isles, from Irish business leaders, from Canadians, and from others (Bassler, 1992; Bannister, 2002b; Summers, 1994). Premier Dunderdale (2012) also stated in the rhetoric above that: “For the first time in a very long time, the legitimate aspirations of the people of this province have been heard, considered and acknowledged as important”. This speech further demonstrates a persistent preoccupation of some in the province as to how ‘we’ are doing versus ‘outsiders’ who seem to be taken more seriously (Cohen, 1975; Thomson, 2010). However, this discourse both manipulates the power towards a specific group of people, the ‘we’ who struggled so hard, to position ‘us’ against those who did not participate or, worse, who worked against ‘us’ as part of the ‘unimaginable odds’. What does this say of those who raised issue with the development, who were not involved by virtue of their profession, class, age, ability – of those who had to move because there was nothing here at the time for them?

Second, this approach to history renews the idea that ‘we were here first’. The only person given agency in Dunderdale’s speech is the person whose ancestors were ‘from Newfoundland’. Similarly, however, such a view of history commandeers the

contribution of any ‘other’ person as being simply a tool of or hindrance to the vindicated who deserve the riches by virtue of their ancestry. Apple (2003) notes that most of North America has been built through an immigrant’s sweat, yet we are still hesitant to let them stay here; an idea alluded to by Godfrey Baldacchino who suggested ‘let’s face it, we would rather have all of our own people come back and take the new jobs’ (Atlantic Metropolis Centre Research Conference, 2012). Even Banting and Kymlicka (2010), considered very optimistic multiculturalists, admit that native born citizens who have strong national identity or pride (read here: usually those who came after the aboriginal population) distrust immigrants who threaten their identity. Both history books used by the Newfoundland school system tell us that our history really began with the arrival of English and Irish immigrants (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador Department of Education, 2010; Matthews, Kealey & Dwyer, 1984), which, again noting the sad dismissal of aboriginal claims, questions whether current nationalist desires by locals, as Doty (2003) describes, can ever fully accommodate the newcomer (See also: St. Denis, 2007).

Third, it can be noted that much of this rhetoric reflects capitalistic economic terminology. Fairclough (2004) says that, a discourse can be populated or *colonized* by language, myths, and symbols used in other discourses to make the current discourse more palatable or saleable. Most analysts, Fairclough (2004) and Wodak (2001) for example, draw reference to one ubiquitous phrase used in much of modern society: the ‘knowledge based economy’. In our marketing society, this knowledge is manipulated or recontextualized in various texts and images for particular purposes: to convince people to buy products, to accept certain policies over another, to lay out business and educational

plans, to promote multitudinous points of view. With the plethora of communication devices and capacities, more and more people can register their ideas and argue their points of view. This ‘knowledge based society’ is really, then, a series of discourses comprised of ideas, texts, images and actions that surround, promote and manipulate our various endeavours (Fairclough, 2005; Jaeger, 2001).

In the speech from the premier, the aspirations of Newfoundlanders and their government have been economic; everything has been an investment, gifts have not been squandered and riches are the goal; everyone has a good work ethic, optimism, resourcefulness, etc. Fairclough (2001) specifically talks of the “new planetary vulgate of business management”, where, for example, the language of business supersedes the need or desirability of anything else. The future is being sold here as an investment, yet the past is the foundation that is stagnant. In the Newfoundland case, for example, ‘culture’ is a product described in tourism marketing terms because now we must sell it to others for Newfoundland to remain solvent. Yet this product is an edited culture (See: Overton, 1994).

Our discourse on immigration has also become colonized by economic speech which serves to marginalize and oppress many immigrants. Such rhetoric and discourse often redefines immigrants as being economic units in a stratified social-Darwinist global society (Clary-Lemon, 2003). We are “...institutionalizing the logic and assumptions of their [neoliberal right-wing] approach to people and to their dominance” (Apple, 2003. p. 112). Clary- Lemon (2003), Gillis (2010) and Goodhart (2008) all warn of people and corporate multiculturalists who tend to view poorer immigrants as part of the construct that is ‘the international poor’, thus painting Canada as a saviour nation. Support for



immigrants falls into the pocketbook of manageable, more whimsical, charitable activity. Some tend to justify the shortfalls in our obligatory commitments to immigrants by reminding us that they are still doing better than where they came from: a claim Van Ngo (2009) in particular asserts is definitively racist (See also: Lund, 2002; Rumble, 2007; Gillis, 2010).

The fourth concern is whether constructed histories allow flexibility for actual results (Hall, 1996), rather than set immutable foundations for either resentments or vindictiveness as implied above. Martusewicz (1997) suggests that a personal history can never be accurate. New experience builds upon pieces of our past and colours our memory of different parts of our life. History is never complete: only parts of a person's past are carried, all are challenged by new experiences and can only occasionally ground or soothe a person. No person can go back to the same house by the river in which they grew up (if it still exists) and expect to be the same person, the house to be the same house, the flowers to still be there. A person who tries to stay in one state of mind is actually degenerating – one rewrites their personal history or it does not grow. A person's view of the world and position in it becomes jaded in nostalgia and, thus, equally as unreal (See also: Kelly, 2010).

I have already mentioned the nostalgia that tourism can breed. Newfoundland is naturally marketed as a wonderful destination, and it is easy at times to forget other local realities. But such stagnation is also found in the narrative that suggests Newfoundland people never want to leave to go to work or pursue other fortunes elsewhere. According to Premier Dunderdale (2012):

Newfoundlanders and Labradorians yearn for this place [and, fortunately]... a fundamental shift in our history has occurred in recent years, and we are no longer compelled to leave to provide for our families. Now our aspirations can be met here at home, and as of this day, we may never be forced to leave again.

Such discourse, still totally untrue as shall be seen, again rewrites everyone's personal history to define the primacy of a Newfoundlander's birthright over someone who comes from elsewhere. It is not good for anyone to move ahead, everything is best here.

## The role of the State: segregation and limits to 'tolerance'.

The concerns expressed here bring to the fore the role of the most prominent institution supported by most people: the State itself. Since this study begins with a look at government policy, it is important to measure what role the government may be seen to have in the relationship between local person and newcomer. Importantly, it should be recognized that the state is normally seen to represent the desires of the people – it is paramount in its definition of 'the public interest' and thus expected to form policy to accommodate immigrant population(s). Both Hall (1996) and Martusewicz (1997) recognize the element of desire in building a personal identity, and Doty (2003) translates this idea into the development of national identities and the state as the reflection of that identity:

This non-place that immigration so insistently points us toward is precisely where desire lurks; within anxieties about order, divisions between the inside and the outside, insecurities over who belongs and who does not. This is where desire does its productive work. This is where we must look for “the state”. (Doty, 2003. p. 6)

Desire places demands on the state to be at least ostensibly accountable. All people, not simply immigrant populations, must find ways to connect to their surroundings. But I have also demonstrated how language and rhetoric inflicts the symbolic violence that Bourdieu describes on many people; again, not simply the people who are new to this province (Goodhart, 2008). For the purposes here, the State is the designated authority and so must tolerate by virtue of being the ruling instrument of ‘the people who are already here’. What the State has and offers refugees and immigrants is considered the correct standard that meets what refugees and immigrants need. Janks (1997) says that when local people imagine that “‘nothing is all they’ll [refugees in particular] ever have unless we extend a helping hand” fundamentally devalues the knowledge, skills, and values that they have to offer (p. 41).

It is much more difficult to register the true economic and linguistic means by which we always exclude people by altruistic definitions and, as mentioned above (including everybody without looking to difference) rhetoric. These phrases, viewpoints and policies that come from our elected representatives that are ‘enlightening’ and ‘inspiring’ and ‘reasonable’ should always be checked as they so often perpetuate more consistent marginalization of both ‘our own’ and of ‘others’. As Ricoeur (1996), “...the

state should have no concept of its own good” (p. 195); it is at this point that the government begins to assume its moral and intellectual dominance.

Either way, the State implements ‘the people’s’ tolerance, and so must be answerable somehow. With regards to foreign people, however, Clary-Lemon (2003), and Doty (2003) agree that government policies become “...very slippery from simply being friendly to foreigners to a too narrow definition of financial and political constructs” (Goodhart, 2008, p. 4). The government suffers from problems of language as well. Hall (1997) suggests in a way similar to Fairclough (2004) that terms as ‘being friendly to foreigners’, like ‘unique’, ‘belonging’ and ‘welcoming’, ‘economic need’ and ‘proud Newfoundlanders’, are often used much like the terms of universal capitalism - platitudes to assure Newfoundlanders that they have what it takes to succeed - a “girding of the loins” before undertaking a project, the future of which is far from foretold (Hall, 1997).

Policy must be labelled as ‘tolerant’ or ‘fair’ when it may not be; it cannot be too specific for fear of ostracizing other interests. This term ‘tolerance’ becomes troublesome however as it demands that cultures and groups be defined. Thus, tolerance can be an interesting way to actually control people. One cannot *tolerate* if one is not somehow superior. If I tolerate, then I am claiming to *understand* ‘them’; if I can understand ‘them’, then I can control or tolerate ‘them’. By doing so, members of our cultural mosaic are nudged into vulnerable sectors categorized by social and potentially exclusionary characteristics (St. Denis, 2007; Lund, 2006, Bissoondath, 1994/2004; Clary-Lemon, 2003; Lund and Carr, 2010). This in turn allows us to single out those who make mistakes. Tolerance, according to Bissoondath (1994/2004), allows people to get on with

their lives, while conveniently and quietly leaving those same people open to criticism during difficult times. Doty (2003) concludes that statecraft is all about racism. Apple (2003) and Willinsky (1998) reiterate the idea of our multifaceted identity, reaffirming that race is a social construct designed to segregate, and it is absurd to reduce people to cultural essentialisms (Manji, 1997/2004; Apple, 2003; Gregg, 2006; Derrida, 1993). This relates both to Newfoundlanders and to new people who come to the province. To succumb to cultural profiling, adds Bissoondath (1994/2004) "...is to abdicate one's full humanity in favour of one of its exotic features, ethnicity" (p.129).

Yet, many people exploit their cultural profile as a crutch or an excuse for acting certain ways or acquiescing in less than satisfactory conditions (Bissoondath, 1994/2004). Ignored people tend to segregate themselves as much as segregated people. Gregg (2006) decries how many immigrants in Canadian populations live as ill-defined, hyphenated multicultural citizens. They become African-Canadians, or Chinese-Newfoundland and Labradorians, instead of simply a person with a multitude of entities who happens to live here. This is true for many immigrants and for many Newfoundlanders who may also bathe in such narrow cultural distinctions especially within other parts of Canada.

This has implications for both immigrant people to Newfoundland, and for those who may consider themselves 'Newfoundlanders'. Just as immigrant people can be segregated from the 'Newfoundlanders', Newfoundlanders can be segregated from each other, and foreign people can be segregated from each other, because some people become seen to *better exemplify* the culture than others. This concept of a natural order, where we are all entitled but one group is more unique and tolerant, leaves any activity up

to whatever extra-jurisdictional economics or diaspora politics the person claims to follow, however ill-defined or reactive that might be (Hall, 1997). Yet, this leads to the breakdown of community justice and equity as shall be discussed shortly.

As a result, policy that seems to be fair and open can still discriminate in more insidious ways. First, a government may put up obvious laws that are not overly tolerant to expatriates even when considered fair by nationals. Gunkel and Pitcher (2008) and Skrobanek and Jobst (2010) describe studies in Germany where Turkish Muslim youth showed they could demonstrate increasing tolerance of homosexuality, contrary to their initial tradition, with better integration into German society. Conversely, however, they also describe how these same youths develop a counter culture that contain "...counter-resources in the symbolic struggle for recognition" (p.469). Here linguistic and institutional barriers often prevent non-Germans, in this case, to gain secondary education and meaningful employment. Smith and Ley (2008) helpfully suggest that labour unions and other counter cultures are developed against symbolic violence that a group feels is exerted against them.

Second, however, a government may ignore the rights of one person in the name of cultural freedom and relativism. This allows some groups to discriminate amongst themselves in the name of cultural freedom even against more universal or democratic moral orders. Such deference to natural selection is done in the same way that the government relegates action to the uncontrollable free market and the global economy (Fairclough, 2004). Bulmer & Solomos (2009) suggest that left liberal people are less likely to either openly discriminate or protect the equality of any individual ethos.

Without a government that leads, local people can still assume superiority over immigrants by virtue of assuming the moral or cultural high ground. People will still divide into groups, as Bourdieu, Gee and would expect, and persecute others for not accepting tangible or intangible 'standards'. But, universalizing difference and ignoring potential cultural clashes "...risks letting wrong be done to the most fragile in the name of liberty and risks a return to intolerance under the cover of moral order" (Ricoeur, 1996, p.201). Hussain (2008) describes three *conscious States of Goodness* which, though originally called liberal, socialist or populist, became Nazi Germany with Nazi *weltanschauung* and *lebensraum*, totalitarian Russia with its communist ideal, and even colonialist Britain and its *Pax Britannia*. These states would deliberately relegate groups to their own ghettos through racial stereotyping that clashed, in their sense, with the more acceptable moral order. Hussain continues that such extreme examples of controlled racism have caused liberal democratic countries to be extremely hesitant to define or impose any government ethos that recognizes difficulties that can arise between people. However, Ian Baruma (2006) and Ayaan Hirsi Ali (2007) add that the resultant cultural symbolic violence unchecked has led to the social economic and political fracturing of Dutch (and other) society into new identities in rivalry to the so-called Dutch multicultural identity. This is the form of self-segregation again that Bisoonath (1994/2004) discusses above.

Problems will also occur when a government constructs policy based upon essentialist images of difference or situation. St. Denis (2007) would remind us of how badly many Canadians labeled and segregated most aboriginal people: first requiring assimilation and then, in an effort to right wrongs, assuming every native wanted to move

back to their newly sanctioned territories. Lavallee and Poole (2010) describe the circumstances of native people in Toronto who are ostracized from their 'group' because they do not accurately represent the culture. A reverse racism now begins. What happens when a native person in the streets of Toronto is actually more interested in studying biochemistry in the Galapagos rather than returning to the heartland of British Columbia, the person from India does not want to contribute to the Indian independence day celebrations, or the person from Buchans, Newfoundland, has no sense of music and would rather teach in Korea.

## From local to global - imagined communities and belonging

I wish to show finally how nationalist ideals are challenged by the breakdown of ideological and national boundaries and the growth in the power of diaspora originating in other parts of the globe. In doing so, I intend to emancipate not only the plight of immigrant people who come to our shores, but Newfoundlanders themselves who resort to past images and manufactured nostalgia as guidelines for the future. This is not to deny that many general ideals are not worth pursuing – a clean living environment, safe neighbourhoods, and generally friendly relationships between people – but that these aspects need to be worked upon consistently rather than be assumed to exist already. Within a changing society, there may be a lot of hostility towards the Newfoundland 'nationalist identity' if we ignore its foibles and pitfalls, or towards the immigrant population if there is an economic downturn. Whether many Newfoundland have good



general attributes or not, some people in Newfoundland also have a long legacy of racist cultural pretensions (Bassler, 1992; Thompson, 2010).

Newfoundland and people in it will change, should change, and have changed a lot over many years. Derrida (1993) says that:

What is proper to a culture is not to be identical to itself. As things change so rapidly that we cannot live in the past or even in present. To what 'cultural identity', must we be responsible? And responsible before whom? Before what memory? For what promise? (p. 90-91).

The huge labour forces that move across the world, building skyscrapers in Qatar, and extracting oil in the Alberta tar sands have no nationalistic connection necessarily to where they work. People in Newfoundland should not ignore the ever more expanding and complex cultural and social identities that Appadurai (2006) and Castells (2010) say people carry with them where-ever they go. Bulmer and Solomos (2009) refer to the powerful influence wielded by these diaspora; these pieces of home that people bring to new places must influence the degree of participation in our new societies (Martusewicz, 1997).

It must be asked who is being served by pandering to nostalgia and homesickness. Thompson (2010), Thorne (2004) and Bowering-Delisle (2008) all describe the exporting of Newfoundland ethnicity to some expatriates who create enclaves of 'our kind' and resultantly fail to integrate into new surroundings. Many people build and nurture a comradeship based upon an 'imagined culture' that transcends what fractured and segregated society may have actually existed back home.

...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. ... it is as a community, because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep horizontal comradeship.

(Anderson, 2006, p. 6-7)

All people face a dilemma of how to self-identify within new surroundings. Jopke (2005b) may argue, local “society figures no longer as a collective personality... but as a site of commerce and cooperation among free and equal individuals, for which one’s nationality is lastly irrelevant” (p. 51). He is not so much lauding the situation as asking us to accept a paradox: how does one truly belong to any place or group where, in our global neo-liberal economy, people who traditionally belonged as entire persons to at least their part of society are now expelled completely and only given re-entry to certain segments of society?

Wodak (2001) adds that:

Struggles and contradictions characterize our modern world and Western societies. Nowhere is homogeneity to be found. On the contrary, ideological dilemmas (Billig, 1991), fragmentation (Hall, 1996) and multiple identities seem to be the answers to the challenges of globalization and neo-liberalist economies and ideologies... (p. 63)

Rodriguez (1982) says that holding ones original cultural identity sanctimonious in a new country leads to regressive self-segregation. But even when people do live with

‘their own’ in enclaves that reflect certain backgrounds, people in Newfoundland cannot simply ignore their needs and rights (Ali, 2007; Baruma, 2006). There may be an awful temptation to give a new person at least a temporary job and somewhere to live, and then say ‘job done’. Joppke (2005b) found that up to 94% of white Britons said they socialize only with ‘their own’. Gregg (2006) says 69% of Canadians want immigrants to assimilate completely.

This is not good enough. In the global scale, Anderson (2006), Hall (1996), Giddens (2003) and others talk of how nationalism as a binding concept for communities is losing much of its purpose amidst the more pervasive concepts of global capitalism and a reactionary growth of transnational diaspora.

It is the spread of consumerism, whether as reality or dream, which has contributed to this "cultural supermarket" effect. Within the discourse of global consumerism, differences and cultural distinctions which hitherto defined identity become reducible to a sort of international lingua franca or global currency into which all specific traditions and distinct identities can be translated. This phenomenon is known as "cultural homogenization".  
(Hall, 1996, p 622)

Fairclough’s Planetary Vulgate is the language of these pervasive ideals, and it is through the spread of discourse that includes much more than simply words that imagined communities are formed (Anderson, 2006). Castells (2010) understands:

...the process of construction of meaning on the basis of a cultural attribute, or a related set of cultural attributes, that is given priority over

other sources of meaning. For a given individual, or for a collective actor, there may be a plurality of identities. Yet, such a plurality is a source of stress and contradiction in both self-representation and social action. This is because identity must be distinguished from what, traditionally, sociologists have called roles, and role-sets. (p.61)

Sabry (2010) recognizes the pressure from outside influences that cause people to turn backwards to traditions rather than to adapt:

In a traditional society the obstacle to progress is not entirely internal; rather it is a resultant, composed of an outside influence, always manifested as a threat, and a reaction peculiar to the society in question. If the outside pressure persists or intensifies, traditionalisation also intensifies. That is why all the static models proposed by the sociologists – models that do not take into account this factor of outside pressure – must show tradition as an insurmountable obstacle'. (p. 123)

In Newfoundland, a new community is being built. The government and more people in general must take part. Goodhart (2008), somewhat like Ricoeur (1996) earlier, emphasizes the administrative and potential equalizing function the official nation might serve. Castells (2010) adds that we must learn from different enclaves, that ethnocentric approaches are not so relevant with the global interconnecting and cultural intertwining of our societies:

It is possible that from such communes, new subjects – that is, collective agents of social transformation – may emerge, thus constructing new

meaning around project identity. Indeed, I would argue that, given the structural crisis of civil society and the nation-state, this may be the main potential source of social change in the network society. (p. 70)

This may certainly mean that a fresher *weltanschauung* must arise from the success of people who are here now and will join us. Goodhart (2008) is prepared to suggest that not to have some form of nationalism is, perhaps mirroring Hussain (2008), an “...anachronistic hangover from a more brutish era” (Goodhart, 2008, p. 4). He is making the same point as earlier - that it is natural to expect certain duties, laws abundance, and social contributions from each other and to be mutually proud of personal and community accomplishments. This is a continuing process. Differences should not be ignored. But each cannot be relegated to his or her own culture and each given a venue to be ‘be cultural’ when necessary. Nor can the credit for work and success be placed on the entitled few who, as Premier Dunderdale did above, claim their ancestors made mythical contributions to what are often intangible successes. Achieving a just and equitable pluralism takes more effort.

## Texts to be studied

In choosing the pieces to study, I was guided by Fairclough (2004) that the veracity of a study is partly based upon a responsible or judicious choice of subject material. According to Thomson (2010) it should probably represent a variety of genres, political, media, artistic, and so forth, as each may offer a different view of the problem.

Each piece that I choose has a history, and the range and diversity implied by each should provoke effective and thorough perspectives on the problem.

Noth (1995) says that "...any selection is an implicit evaluation, since it implies the rejection of all nonselected [sic] items" (p. x). I can only choose material that I feel represents a problematic view of identity and other people, but I do not set out necessarily to discredit the piece or use it to disprove other discourses. The point is to use each piece against others in the genre, and one genre against the other, to test how it fits into general discourses. This serves to trouble simple understandings and reveal hidden or subconscious agendas, new elements of power, and other recontextualizations which seem to serve specific purposes or ideals. I shall briefly introduce each piece and genre to be studied here.

The first piece, discussed in chapter 4, is the 2007 immigration strategy of the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador called *Diversity – 'Growth and Opportunity'*. It will be studied with the new Arts policy and multicultural statement that was issued by the government within the same time frame and which complement or raise questions that trouble certain assertions in the strategy. As Gee (2000) suggests, this strategy will lay out what power, status, and degrees of acceptance are to be awarded to each player. Since it is true that since "...social goods and their distribution are always at stake, language is always "political" in a deep sense" (p. 7), a study of this piece will demonstrate how the government views the project of immigration, its role in it, and whose interests they are seen to serve. I wish to determine whether the plan outlines a reasonable framework for action or whether it simply stalls from defining measurable

activity because of perceived social pressures and imagined cultural or traditional images of Newfoundland and the identity of its people.

Chapter 5 will explore the *Land and Sea* episode entitled *Southern Shore Sri Lankans* in relation to shorter radio profiles of immigrants who have managed to settle in Newfoundland. The Government of Newfoundland and Labrador actually suggests in their 2007 strategy that this type of media be encouraged. However, this production was done in 2011 when the media finally realized how many jobs were opening up in Newfoundland that were not being filled by locals. At the same time that this generally positive propaganda was being produced however, the news itself was reporting many problems in Newfoundland's economy, with the fisheries and with equitable wage structures in particular, as well as problems with foreign doctors and nurses that could be said to challenge any ideas that immigrants would always be welcomed. White (2003) suggests that "from the perspective of 'reading the past'... news reports, as examples of particular genre types, are set up to construct particular value-laden versions of the past" (p. 62). In both the documentary and news genres considered, I will raise the issue of some Newfoundlanders who consider outsiders as invaders and who rue changes that may occur or have already. Concerns about ghettoization will also be raised as some workers seem to be automatically segregated, both systematically and geographically, by virtue of the nature and status of their employment.

Chapter 6 will begin with a study of a eulogy that was written for Lanier Phillips, one of a number of men rescued from a shipwreck in 1942, by Joan Sullivan for Canada's *The Globe and Mail* newspaper in 2012. I shall illustrate how the story of this man

changed in Newfoundland from it being an ignored joke to being a symbol for positive characteristics to be found in Newfoundlanders. Amongst these will be a look at a CBC article of 2009 on Bill Cosby's discussion of the story, a review of the original published rendition in Cassie Brown's *Death on the Ice* of 1979, and consideration of the play *Oil and Water* by Robert Chafe which was first produced in 2011. Various other renditions and pieces of the Newfoundland 'culture' that Sullivan considers are considered in the background. These expressions of Newfoundland social cultural attributes form a body of "...social, physical and material forces..." and Ricoeur (1996) says of people(s) that "...they only get to know themselves as groups (as a particular organization of individual and social interests, of sameness and difference) through cultural activity, through aesthetic judgement" (p. 111). I shall argue in this chapter that the story of Lanier Phillips developed from being a simple story of survival to an allegory for Newfoundland and Labrador and finally a myth in the way Barthes (1972) describes.

## Conclusions

I have shown what trouble a person has with their own internal identity and with recognizing their affiliations with other people. The foundation of such identity structures is built predominantly on the negotiation of power and thus positioning within a specific environment. Complex discourses of class, economy, education, race, ability, language, history, mythology, political will, and so forth, encircle our identity and cause the identity to grow and respond to others. Nationalist discourses set themselves up with the language, symbols and myths that always act as unifying forces but seem naturally to be a



form of opposition to others (Barthes, 1972; Castells, 2010; Hall, 1996). By introducing the problem with using ‘we’, ‘they’, ‘unique’, and other such words, I introduce problems of categorizing people and institutions which serve to segregate people.

However, people cannot totally ignore difference. Wodak et al. (2009) would encourage: “‘difference-sensitive inclusion’, that is, equal pluralistic coexistence of various ethnic groups, language communities, religious communities and forms of life” (p. 9). Many may expound this idea but, yet, many may not actually pursue it (Fairclough, 2004). The purpose of the State purpose, for example, is often seen to be the protector of the local identity. They are naturally placed in a superior position of tolerating – it may accommodate outside discourses and identities immigrant people may have but it obliged to place its own citizens above ‘others’ (Bissoondath, 2004; Clary-Lemon, 2003).

Finally, I discussed how developing global discourses cross natural and political boundaries to render a number of traditional identities moot. Newfoundland has been no exception here (Thompson, 2010), and we have developed the myths of ‘our past’ and of ‘our people’ against those of the ‘other’. National identities are also becoming muddled in the post-modern world with the growth of other forms of transnational and cultural identities. But with the lack of another unifying ethos, people here may not be satisfying a need to belong (Kelly, 2010). The consequent growth of reactive populist nationalism, exemplified already by some of the political rhetoric from the premier, is counterproductive, however, as it further challenges or hampers the building of strong, just, inclusive communities (Ricoeur, 1996; Joppke, 2005; Bourdieu, 1989; Bissoondath, 1994/2004; Gregg, 2006; Skrobanek & Jobst, 2010; Goodhart, 2008).

The next chapter will review how I intend to analyse the texts. I hope to raise questions and conduct short discussions between the texts to determine what is actually meant by various statements and how this may trouble Newfoundland's collective capacity to be inclusiveness.

## Chapter 3 - Methodology

In this chapter, I discuss the methodology of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). In particular, I discuss how lexical usages can be analysed; how, for example, the nuanced definitions of various words destabilize and change the more ostensible meaning of the text. I consider how text should be studied in association with other text in the same piece, and with discourse from the same genre and from other genres, to illuminate the underlying discourse of the primary text which may otherwise remain hidden or unclear. Finally, I discuss why each piece should be considered by raising questions from various disciplines of history, social theory, economic theory and other disciplines. The main purpose throughout is to assess the placements of power amongst individuals and their institutions.

Critical discourse analysis takes the study of linguistics and spreads it across the social sciences (Given, 2008). It does not simply analyse the grammatical and linguistic structure of the text as that, according to Fairclough (2005), would limit the interpretation of what effect the text has upon its environment or what purpose or developments of history may have caused the text to be written. This relates to Gee's description of *discourse* as referring, first, to 'any instance of signification, or meaning-making, whether through oral or written language or nonverbal means' and, then, adding the critical element (Given, 2008).

Gee (2005) compares a discourse analyst to a physicist: both wish to discover “...deep explanations of how language or the world works and why they work that way” (p. 9). Fairclough (2004) continues that there are:

...articulations of discourse with non-discoursal elements. ‘Discourse’ subsumes language as well as other forms of semiosis such as visual images and ‘body language’, and texts (the discoursal elements of social events) often combine different semiotic forms (e.g. the texts of television characteristically combine language and visual images, and in many cases music or various ‘sound effects’). But the use of the ‘term ‘discourse’ rather than ‘language’ is not purely or even primarily motivated by the diversity of forms of semiosis; it primarily registers a relational way of seeing linguistic/semiotic elements of social events and practices as interconnected with other elements. The objective of discourse analysis, on this view, is not simply analysis of discourse per se, but analysis of the relations between discourse and non-discoursal elements of the social, in order to reach a better understanding of these complex relations (including how changes in discourse can cause changes in other elements). (p. 923.

See also Lawson, 2004)

Referring again to chapter 2, I am distinguishing discourse from language and, in the spirit of Fairclough (2004), further distinguish between the terms ‘text’ and ‘discourse’, to designate ‘text’ as that piece or object of meaning-making, including a page, a conversation, a film, a picture, or any communication that is given and received

that is being analysed. For example, in the immigration strategy to be studied, the actual written policy is the text or the item to be studied; the discourse is the ideas and concepts that the text is meant to state or reflect; there may be more texts that contribute to that same discourse.

Analysis of the 'text' constitutes the first part of a critical analysis of a 'discourse'. Critical Discourse analysis usually recognizes three tiers to social life: the micro, the macro and the meso levels. Everyday events that occur at the micro level, that being discourse that operates across various institutions and persons and, in a post-structural way, are built upon various human actions and identities, have a relation to various social structures on a macro level, those various types of social capital and structures that are already developed to serve particular social discourses, which, in turn, are related to mediating social practices, those produced to serve the broader ideological aims of political or economic entities for the purpose of broadening and entrenching them, at the meso level (Given, 2008; Luke, 1995). Language is considered "a set of structural possibilities from which certain orders of discourse emerge at the level of social practices" (p. 145), but which in turn receives influence and produces or reproduces response which contributes to those social practices. This is the reason, says Fairclough (2005), that a critical realist approach is appropriate to this methodology.

Put more simply:

The planes of experience of Communication Linguistics describe the actual communicative event as a dynamic process that happens in a 'real' instance of time and space. The three planes of experience relevant to the

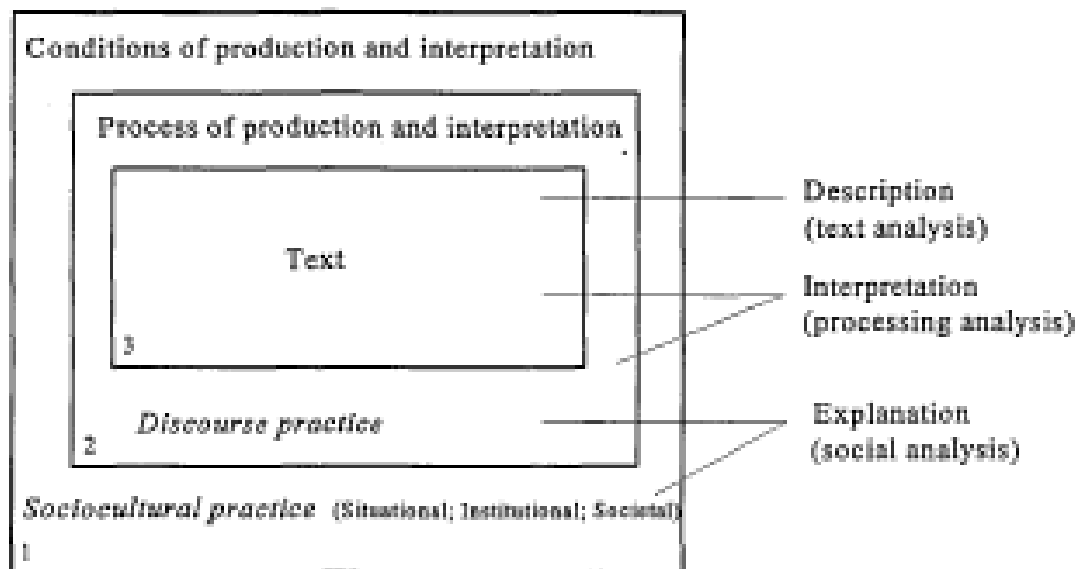
communicative event are situation, discourse, and manifestation.

(Malcolm, 2010, p. 126)

Janks (1997) uses a simple table by Fairclough (2005) to organize the interrelationships between all of these elements. The first is sociocultural practice which is made up of situational, institutional and societal elements which account for conditions of productions and interpretation (the context in which the discourse is made). The second is the actual process by which the object text is produced (verbally, spoken, broadcast...) by persons, received (heard, seen, read...) by other persons, and received, interpreted, and acted upon). This section contains the concept of purpose in Fairclough's 'text' (which might include Wodak's idea of culpability) because no text can stand alone free from any motive or purpose, deliberate or inherent, from the person(s) who devised it (Fairclough, 2005). Nor is text received passively. In fact, most text is composed with the intent to cause (re)action of some sort and there is always a cyclical nature in this discourse between the composer and receiver. Finally, there is the text itself; the descriptive work derived from Systemic functional linguistics and phasal analysis (Halliday, 1985; Malcolm, 2010).

'Texts' can be very small. Given (2008), Janks (1997) and Fairclough (2001) recognize that a larger text may contain many smaller identifiable segments, movements, phases, or 'chunks' that represents a complete discourse containing all three levels of discourse mentioned above (See also: Luke, 1995; Malcolm, 2010). There is an identifiable sequence of thought in each piece of text. Portrayals and claims follow an identifiable order. Small amounts of text can represent large scale expressions of a

‘cultural logic’" and take "...for granted assumptions about historical and human agency, social and natural causality" (Luke 1995, p. 7). Malcolm (2010) suggests that this seems logical in the way that a brain often works: divulging or understanding ‘packages’ or ‘chunks’ of text which can be placed side by side in a larger text, each ‘chunk’ representing an interpretation of gender relations, cultures and cultural groups, wars and other major historical events, and civic and political structures (p. 14. See also: Luke 1995).



**Figure 1.** Fairclough's dimension of discourse and discourse analysis.

As a result, careful choice of a research topic does not necessarily yield coherent objects of research. Rather texts that are chosen must be made from a judicious overview of available texts that represent the problem (Fairclough, 2001). I can choose one or a series of texts, small parts of larger texts or larger texts that contain smaller texts, as

‘objects of research’. These ‘objects of research’ are compared to other texts to determine veracity, purpose and meaning (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992).

Despite what may be beneath the surface, texts can be loosely separated into *genres*, each representing a particular way of acting and interacting in social situations such as consulting, discussing or interviewing, romance and wooing, or storytelling. Luke (1995) suggests that all genres can be analysed in terms of their sequenced structures of propositions, their textual macrostructures. Further, these genres can be divided into *styles* that represent particular types of ‘management’, or ‘teaching’, or ‘leadership’ for example (Fairclough, 2005, p. 925).

## More on the texts

I have chosen texts that represent three genres. The first is the genre of policy-making by the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador. Second is the genre of news and documentary reporting of the fate of immigrant workers in Newfoundland. Finally, I look at the genre of arts and storytelling in the story of Lanier Phillips as an important allegory from the story of the *Truxton* and *Pollux* disaster. Each genre has a slightly different purpose as its underpinning, and each is produced by different people to reach similar or different audiences in different ways. Each genre carries within it, however, a variety of styles in which each could be practised.

Each of these texts presents a generally positive and purposeful face to the general public. I start with the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador’s immigration



strategy because it should define the background of the province's current need as well as the way in which the government views the project of 'diversifying' our public; with inverted commas because this word is not easily defined by the policy. The immigration strategy is meant to represent important and competent efforts that the government is making to accommodate the flow of immigration that has increased with the demand for skilled labour and to increase our population in general. Within the first 10 pages of the introduction and first four 'goals' the writers manage to state who they wish to immigrate here, the reasons, and the basic attitudes they have of them, the Newfoundland public and the other people and institution who will be involved with the process.

Given (2008) continues, "Studies looking at media representations of minority groups may examine newspaper articles, transcripts of television debates, and/or radio interviews" (p. 147). The second 'text' is a television documentary that tells the story of a family who moved 'successfully' from Sri Lanka to the Southern Shore of Newfoundland. The third compares media in the form of articles, plays, stories and emails. In keeping with the theory of the previous chapters, and the purpose of critical discourse analysis, my purpose is to trouble the contentions of these texts because they present truths that should automatically beg the question; 'what is the alternative that is not discussed' (Janks, 1997).

Thus, in the second text, amidst the success documented in the first place, I ask what trouble has there may actually have been and whether this documentary accurately reflects the general experience of immigrant populations and provides a positive framework for their successful integration. Similarly, where the Lanier Phillips story is

positioned to first present a positive image of the man himself and of the people in Newfoundland and Labrador who were instrumental in providing him assistance, it later develops into an allegory representing a fight against discrimination and the humanity that it is hoped lies latent within all Newfoundlanders. Both stories of generosity come at a time during anticipated economic prosperity and a feeling that a more positive image of Newfoundlanders must be generated amidst a time of political upset between Newfoundland and other Canadian governments. Newfoundlanders are fighting against their negative imaging from outsiders against the backdrop of a devastated fishery and reviled sealing industry for example. Again, then, I must ask whether the portraits of Newfoundlanders and positive immigration stories are completely accurate and constructive.

## The roots of power expressed in texts

As discussed in chapter two, discourse is about power and positioning of people and institutions in relation to others (Fairclough, 2001; Wodak, 2001b). By so doing, people(s) begin to understand their own and others' situations within social settings that may not initially be obvious. Readers might take the action necessary to change such discourse or simply to emancipate themselves from the segregation imposed by such discourse. (Wodak et al., 2009)

If, according to Luke (1995), "Texts are taken to be social actions, meaningful and coherent instances of spoken and written language use [and]... their shape and form is not

random or arbitrary” (p. 6), then I must ask what the purpose of each piece of text is, who is saying it, who is to receive it, and who will be affected by it. If, as Given (2008) contends: “Researchers working within this [CDA] strand have identified systematic ways of using language to discursively construct sameness or difference (‘us’ vs. ‘them’) that are deployed in racist or nationalist discourses across contexts” (p. 145), then statements of truth must be tested for the germs of power that has catalogued people through the use of pronouns and of other generalizing words.

Such determinations are not immediately obvious as, for example, a person or group may be segregated by virtue of being ignored in discourse which affects them despite their exclusion in the discussion. Discourse might also be one of collaboration or of refutation which would imply that some were gathering against others: One more powerful group may still solicit a secondary group who may together be ignoring or suppressing a third important party. (Janks, 1997, p. 329. See also: Given, 2008). Expression of power may not actually hold weight where, for example, some Newfoundlanders attempt to counter the discourse of Newfoundland and Labrador being the poor cousin of Canada with the discourse of being proud independent spirits, despite their sometimes overwhelming dependence upon Canadian government subsidies (Bricker & Ibbitson, 2013).

Considering again the concepts of Gee and Bourdieu in particular, Luke (1995) suggest that a close consideration of genres and styles recognizes that various ‘types’ of discourse carry with them certain conventions that have already marginalized some people over others. He describes the difference in schools where teachers and

administrators act as the “gatekeepers of mastery of discursive resources”, and, as such, can decide what is acceptable to be considered ‘an educated person’ in this particular society (p. 6). This will be important especially when considering government policy statements that may not be in language that is accessible to the actual subject of the policy: i.e., in this case, the immigrant or the refugee.

Finally, I mentioned in chapter 2 that Fairclough (2004) suggests that powerful discourse can be hidden under the various styles of the text that represent seemingly irrefutable mandates such as ‘efficiency’ or ‘natural order’ (See also: Bourdieu, 1989) . To determine how manipulative such discourse may be, it is also important to determine what access the receiver has to the other side of the question or frankly to any questions that could be asked to test or to clarify (Janks, 1997, p. 338).

Power can be expressed within texts in four different ways:

### **Deliberate**

A deliberate statement of truth, though tenuously based, can be accepted as true simply because it is said by an authority or it is what the receiver of the discourse wants to hear. People may accept platitudes about ‘our identity’, ‘others’, and ‘what we can become’ because they are positive or self-affirming. However, just as Doty’s (2003) suggests of reality and desire, once ‘we’ are defined, the image becomes fleeting again. The same is true of a sense of ‘morality’ and ‘justice’: the definitions are very murky. People often pursue ‘social justice’ more readily when their own personal status is secure (Gillis, 2010).

‘Justice’ and ‘fairness’ become convenient buzzwords, not because they are fully understood but because a situation should not be otherwise. However, the same people who pursue ‘justice’ and ‘fairness’ are equally motivated by ‘necessity’ and ‘inevitability’ that justifies ‘what has to be done’ (Fairclough, 2003). This leads me to the second form of expression.

### **Inherent**

Statistics suggest that racism may be increasing in Canada. (Abma, 2011) But, what do we recognize to be racist or marginalizing practice? Joppke (2005a) says policy makers have replaced specific racial distinctions in immigration laws and similar with demands for better language capacity or other requirements that inherently give some people advantage over others (Gillis, 2010; Joppke 2005b). Such requirements are said to make ‘good economic sense’ or other such truth. Foreign workers cannot bring their family with them because it would cost the public too much. Though “...social inclusion is a ‘high mark’ for where we want to be,” we often discourage the entrance of a worker’s family who might help each of these people integrate more comfortably and with more dignity (Derwing and Krahn, 2008; Apple, 2003; Gillis, 2010; Goodhart, 2008; Rollman, June 5, 2012). However, as above, the discourse of ‘economic sense’ overrules ‘compassion’ and ‘social justice’. The worker becomes simply an economic tool.

Rumble (2007) says exclusion is inherent in our neo-liberal economy, trendy and affordable dilettantism, “...a flash of colour and a dance” (Goodhart, 2008), and otherwise an academic construct (Bisoondath, 1994/2004). The American Federation of Labour (2007) denounced the Alberta government who allowed 12 year olds to work in

bar kitchens. Albertans were prepared to accept any vulnerable person who will do the dirty work that Canadian adults would not do (Goodhart, 2008; Freiler, 2008). Doty (2003) says that the term 'immigrant' is rarely being used to designate anyone but a third world person. In Alberta for example, that could mean developing a collocation between the words 'kitchen worker' and 'immigrant' and, thus, implying a vulnerable minority.

### **Binaries of the missing**

Similar to inherent placement of power, Law (2004) mentions a major binary between that of 'presence' which implies 'absence'. In other words, when we speak of who is being positioned and protected in a particular discourse, it must be asked who is being ignored and not protected. It is possible that everything that is not included in a discourse is repressed.

Janks (1997) suggests reviewing the text as if none of the assertions are true and everything has been left out. Law (2004) uses such reasoning when he suggests that the initial 'meaning' may not seem to exist in the 'mess' of opposites or binaries perceived in a situation that seems to be 'all wrong'. If the analyst does not at least initially see a mess, the analyst is not asking the right questions or is not looking hard enough.

I wish to be careful in the use of binaries however. Post-structural critique suggests that structure comes only from the study of numerous, and fluid binaries that do not stop growing. This is set against a positivist critique that assumes there is an existing structure and it simply remains to be found through empirical means. Remembering Hall (1996) and Lawson (2004), critical realism says that certain institutions do exist in a

knowable form at a certain moment and can provide some tangible basis against which dialectic can be formed. As such, I am mid ground between complete fluidity and structuralism (Fairclough, 2005, p. 928). This is useful because there remains a noticeable reality or even social pattern (such as with Social Darwinism) against which people may react; yet there is the understanding that there always nuances to these reactions – different ways to try and accommodate or change that reaction – ways in which we are expected to act versus how we actually act (Lawson, 2004, p. 15. See also: Fairclough, 2004, p. 922; Rumble, 2007).

### **Colonization of language**

Colonization of language happens in many ways, and will be discussed yet again when speaking of intertextuality and interdiscursivity shortly. Here, I am saying again that the style and language of ‘expertise’, for example, can often be used to justify and excuse certain statements that should not, in fact, be excused (Fairclough, 1992; Fairclough, 2003). Similarly, language from another discipline in a discourse that does not normally use it signifies a place to begin to ‘read against the text’ (Janks, 1997, p. 331). Returning to the example of not allowing families to join temporary workers, where policy makers may more often refer to their own family in personal and spiritual terms, such as ‘mutual support’ or ‘spiritual union’, other people’s families are referred to in economic terms such as ‘efficiency’ or ‘convenience’ which are more definable and thus manageable.

This example is important because it displays language used in many discourses that serve to dismiss objections from other disciplines or points of view. Capitalist

enterprise is often seen as a major motivation for critical Discourse analysis, because, as Fairclough (2001) asserts, “discourse analysis has an important contribution to make to research[ing]... the neo-liberal political project of removing obstacles to the new economic order [which] is discourse-driven” (p. 6). This, he says later, has led to “globalisation leading to poor management of social welfare” (p. 6. See also: Rumble, 2007).

Having noticed this idea of colonisation of language, it may be interesting to review the power real economics plays in the discourse of the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador which has decided to import people from other countries to the province and yet seem unable to employ many local people. There are two conflicting problem here because while people in the province may be grateful to have skilled workers to help make the economy stronger, there may be other sentiments that work against such goodwill. This returns me to the idea of Castells (2010), Hall (1996) and others who suggest nationalist sentiments arise from differing motives, and some Newfoundlanders, even while the economy is said to be strong now, may instead imbue an overriding local narrative that ‘Newfoundland’ has borne the brunt of colonial and ‘other outside’ forces which wreaked havoc upon our self-sufficiency and progress (Bannister, 2002b). An interesting question may be why buzzwords such as ‘friendly’ and ‘welcoming’ can be more predominant than ‘good employers’ and ‘prosperous’ when enticing immigrants.



## Method

Considering the multitude of genres and styles, there is no one specific methodology that can work for all analyses (Gee 2005; Fairclough, 2003; Wodak & Meyer, 2009). That is not to say that methodology is simply cherry-picked: "...the core operationalizations depend on linguistic concepts such as actors, mode, time, tense, argumentation and so on," and, being as such, a completed list of linguistic devices relevant for CDA cannot be given in advance because their selection depends upon the specific research questions asked initially and throughout the analysis (Wodak & Meyer, 2009).

### **Considering the context**

While there may not be one specific methodology for CDA, I must still follow simple outlines which begin with discovering and describing the context in which each overall text is found or placed. Widdowson (2011) breaks this context down into four elements:

1. Space: what is happening in relation to what may be happening elsewhere, and will there be effects from one upon another (discussed in chapter two). This would also consider natural geographic areas with specific topographical features and its geographic and topographic relationship with other regions.
2. Time: can something happening now have been the case earlier. For example, there have been changes in the ways in which certain racial 'types' or cultural

actions can be named or described. Wodak et al. (2009) attempt to discover how people in a various time periods may have viewed an occurrence or practice that is different to that of a different, retrospective, point of view held by the composers of an 'object of research'.

3. Situational context: consider the institutions and actors in the environment in which the text has been derived.
4. Cultural context: consider various traditions or understandings that may be held in varying degrees by people who identity with various groups.

Of course, these contextual elements are interwoven and each has varying degrees of import in the understanding of the text. (See also: Fairclough, 2005; Janks, 1997, p. 338).

While I shall discuss intertextuality shortly, it is important to reiterate the idea that each piece of a larger text may have a different context. Thus I must attempt to discover the purpose for the inclusion of each in the larger text (Fairclough, 2001; Janks, 1997; Malcolm, 2010, p. 14). This also implies that the study of context is continuous and while I may begin with an initial analysis, various contextual elements will continue to be discovered and developed throughout.

Finally, we have already mentioned the positioning of the text within a certain contextual environment. However, when talking of agency and power, there is also the question of how the text and tone is placed in relation to people within the text and to others ignored or forgotten. Is it a self-defensive or explanatory text because something seems to be lacking? Does it objectify a person, a group or a condition? Has this position changed from how things might have been in the past or became in the future? What signs

of deference to one or another person(s) or institution(s) are made in the text that shows this positioning (Janks, 1997)? Finally, is this positioning different than what it should be, and what purpose is accomplished by doing this? Janks studies the image black South African woman who initially seems to be worrying about aging. Since fewer people in African societies fear aging as much as those in *Westernized* societies such as was in white South Africa, this woman's worry seemed odd until Janks realized that the woman was not worrying about *her* aging but the aging of her charge - she would likely lose her nanny job when the charge became older (Janks, 1997, p. 340).

Words have a way of making an entry at certain points and sometimes replacing a word that had been used earlier. Similarly, for example, in their analysis of a statement to do with the discussion of how Austrian identity is portrayed in education policy, "the Socialist Minister of Education is accused of neglecting 'the Austrian cultural identity' in favour of a multicultural identity" (Reisigl, & Wodak, 2001, p. 160). In other words, the phrase 'Austrian cultural identity' was not used, even though that was in fact the topic, and seemed replaced by the more controversial 'multicultural identity'.

### **Culling through the text**

Texts are used, within certain disciplines and genres, in ways to convince the interlocutor that the text is valid. This implies three things: first, that I systematically consider what I understand to be certain 'conventions' of the style; second, that I consider the anomalies that start to surface immediately; third, that I ask questions of even the most seemingly conventional of statements. According to Luke (1995), I am considering

how words and phrases represent the field in which the text is placed, the tenor of the piece (in relation to its environment), and the mode or the style, function and position. “By establishing reading positions, texts can interpolate readers, situating and positioning them in identifiable relations of power and agency in relation to texts” (Luke, p. 3).

Further, to accommodate the visual aspects of the analyses in the textbooks and television representations, I shall employ Phasal Analysis (Malcolm, 2010) that has built on SFL to include ways to consider and analyse visual elements of a message. Visual cues can be taken from simple things such as call out boxes in pamphlets or policy statements. Here I must also consider what may be looked at first from both cultural and psychological points of view: the English language is read from left to right so English as first language people tend to look left first. Arabic as first language people may do the opposite. In a magazine advertisement or on television, many look at the middle first because the reader may simply intend to look at, not read, the advertisement. Similarly, the centre of the television is usually the main focus in a presentation (Janks, 1997, p. 334) while theatrical staging also has many stronger and weaker positions. Finally, visuals are used to present calming effects or to generate images that complement the textual, contextual and sub textual elements of the language.

My first point of entry into the object or research will be somewhat arbitrary and usually with only my own purpose in mind (Widdowson, 2011) – I must be prepared to find new things later. Janks (1997) says that I can see how far I can get with a first theory of the text, gleaned likely from an initial overview of the whole text or discourse, and then try to fill in the gaps and unanswered questions and hypotheses raised from that

limited entry point. I am ultimately looking for patterns from which I can establish hypotheses about how the discourse is working (Widdowson, 2011). An initial reading of the text, for example, causes me to ask ‘why something has been said’, ‘why a specific word is used’, and who is ‘we’ and ‘they’ and the other pronouns. Many new questions will come directly from that initial analysis. While they are being answered, other questions come about which require diving back into the text again.

I can question the language by accessing theory from other conventions and disciplines to draw new theories which in turn can be tested against the text. Thus, I can approach the text from multiple points of entry since my first approach was, as mentioned, from a random point. This point likely had a certain bias, and I may be convinced or unconvinced at any point because of the effectiveness of the text or my initial bias. Therefore, Wodak et al. (2009) and then Janks (1997) tell me to ‘read against the text’ or, in other words, ‘estrangle’ myself from my own bias and that of the text.

Janks (1997) continues:

Looking at a text critically is not very difficult when we disagree with it—when the positions that it offers to us as readers are far removed from what we think and believe and value. In cases where we begin from a position of estrangement or alienation from the text it is easier to read against rather than with the text. (p. 330)

This estrangement from either perspective must come into any analysis as Janks (1997) continues: “Estrangement without engagement is a refusal to leave the confines of

one's own subjectivity, a refusal to allow otherness to enter. Without the entry of the other, can we be said to have read the text at all?" (p. 331).

## First impressions

This first structural analysis considers the contexts discovered above in relation to the finer analysis of actual grammatical structures, rhetoric, context, point of view, clichés and other forms of speech used, and more (Wodak, 2001a) In the beginning therefore, I shall look for and catalogue the multitude of possible linguistic and structural techniques that might fall within the Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) of M.A.K. Halliday which is adopted in many ways by Fairclough (2004) Wodak (2001b). Widdowson (2011) provides the most complete list of elements to consider in my first perusal of material. I should take note of all references: who is speaking to whom and in what situation. What people or things are being represented in the text in whatever manner: visual, oral, in script or virtual? There may be fictitious elements involved for some purpose, and, as already suggested, people who have been deliberately left out or simply forgotten (Janks, 1997, p. 334; Malcolm, 2010, p. 5)

I should then consider the force in which each element is presented as that will also provide some idea of what degree of importance each person or element is given in the discourse. The composer can assign power to a person(s) or institution through the degree of responsibility for action each is recognized for (Widdowson, 2011). The writer can take responsibility for the text as well by the way active or passive voice is used. Finally the composer might choose to represent the subject's tone by choosing an

appropriate genre or style or choose to give an opinion by choosing a less orthodox style or genre (Janks, 1997; p. 337. See also: Luke, 1995; Widdowson, 2011).

The persuasiveness of the text is seen in the method in which the composer chooses to assign agency. Whether the information is conveyed as a fact, a possibility, or an opinion can often make a difference to how it is received (Given, 2008). Any communication comprises endless contextual and sub-textual meanings, and just as many meanings are interpreted and (re)acted to by various interlocutors of different traditions or cultures.

However, a composer may not always be aware of such contextualization and subtexts of their text. Widdowson (2011) and Wodak et al (2009) ask whether the composer has been indoctrinated into the beliefs that are being expressed in the text, whether the ideology expressed is deliberately subliminal perhaps, or whether the writer actually does not seem to recognize what is being said. Either of these determinations is helpful in assigning culpability or designating the manifestations or effects of various discourses into the social environment.

Having covered a number of assumptions found within the text as a whole, the power, positioning, agency, mode, tone, ideology, persuasiveness, and so forth, the analyst should now turn to specific lexical choices and grammatical representations that tell more about what is actually being said underneath the surface (Luke, 1995).

## Playing with words and phrases – a closer study

Since standard words, phrases or images might be drawn as a ‘known idea’ from elsewhere to illustrate a different point in the current text, I must ask what the new use is (Fairclough, 2004) and where it came from. Here is where, for example, I can determine how certain signifiers are reused to accomplish a different sign: as Janks (1997) suggests, the specific word or visual selections from elsewhere are juxtaposed (sequenced or laid out) with others to suggest new thoughts (p. 329); as Barthes (1972) might suggest, the sign that has been constructed in one context is used with a new signifier (method of articulation - the current context, meaning and purpose of the text) to create a new sign which Barthes (1972) now calls a myth or which Law (2004) calls an allegory.

In general, lexical analysis discovers words and phrases which can be organized under three main titles: lexicalisation, nominalization and pronominalisation. These are naturally inter-related.

In Luke’s (1995) example of *lexicalisation*, he refers to how an ‘invasion’ that is experienced by a group of native people in North America, for example, may simply be called ‘colonisation’ in the textbooks published by people in the country from where the invaders originated. I might question why the word ‘newcomers’ is being used in the provincial government’s immigration strategy instead of more conventional words such as ‘immigrants’ or ‘refugees’. Janks (1997) refers to how ‘squatter camps’ are now ‘informal settlements’ in South Africa and suggests that:



Different lexical selections can signal different discourses (colonial, liberal, labour discourses). Most texts are hybrids, which draw on more than one discourse. I argue that the specific hybridity of this text provides evidence for values in transition. It shows the tenacity of existing discourses at work in society and the struggle of alternative discourses to emerge. Textual instantiations capture the clash of discourses and demonstrate ideological forces at work to produce a different hegemony (p. 335).

One of two things is happening here. First is that someone has used a word or group of words to mean something different than what it really is. An example might be when someone uses 'mothers' rather than 'women who have babies' thus implying that the reference is not just to any woman who has a baby (the technical definition of the word) but more likely to those who plan to actually raise the child. The composer has simply exchanged words or phrases which have taken on negative images or specific connotations for completely different words that, often by virtue of them actually having little meaning at all, have no such connotation (Brinton & Closs Traugott, 2005). Such occurrences happen as well with adjectives or adverbs, where Wodak (2001) questions the use of 'premature' in the phrase "the curbing of 'premature conferring of citizenship'... When..." she asks, "is naturalization 'premature' and this 'conferring' legally acceptable?" (p. 89).

*Nominalization* is most often the shifting of a verb to a noun form where, by doing so, the noun begins to take on new meaning both linguistically and grammatically. This

practice might pacify a particular verb for instance which resultantly places agency upon a different group or takes it away from anyone altogether. By changing a verb that describes an activity that has become unpalatable, for example, into a noun, the activity may possibly (or hopefully) become more palatable because it now suggests that the action happens without specific intent.

As Fairclough (2004) continues, nominalisations, much like in lexicalization above, have ‘distanced meanings’ (p. 926). The context is taken away and the word begins to stand alone without a sense of time or space or any person responsible for its implied action (See also: Janks, 1997). The word ‘globalisation’ is often used in relation to the growth of an uncontrolled free market, but using this nominal takes the onus off the people who are actually doing the globalising and makes these people simple cogs in an inevitability that has no controllers (Fairclough, 2003; Wodak, 2001b).

Nominalization transforms processes and actions into a type of pseudo-entities, but at the same time has potentially (re)constructive effects on organizational identities and social relations. Analysis of nominalization in organizational texts constitutes one case where a specific and focused form of linguistic analysis can be connected to questions about social construction in organizations. (Fairclough, 2004, p. 926)

In this way, social institutions like to describe activities in such a way as to disclaim any control over various activities and images.

Pronominalisation, as mentioned in chapter two, is the use of pronouns to define where people are placed in the social power scheme (Those who have jobs, for example,

in chapter 4. See: Janks, 2005, p. 335). Pronouns can be compared to proper nouns where important people may be named while unimportant people become referred to simply as unnamed pronouns. The foibles of one can be transferred to many more with the change from 'he' to 'they'. Just like the 'mothers' and 'women who have babies' above, some pronouns can often be more positive and inclusive, as in 'we', and others more negative and dismissive, as in 'they'. Conversely, a pronoun might soften a negative dismissive blow precisely because it does not use specific or proper nouns. (Janks, 1997)

I can also look, therefore, at connotations and euphemisms (Janks, 1997; Widdowson, 2011). Remembering Doty (2003), 'immigrant' can begin to connote people with whom there are 'problems'. Wodak (2001) note that "... 'foreigners' have different cultural habits of cooking, eating, dressing, celebrating and playing music" (p. 91), and many people might simply wish that they stopped being 'foreign' when they get to 'our' shore. The use of each word implies a subtext – the words are chosen with purpose.

Anomalies and changes in the lexus of a discourse are often picked out through specific grammatical techniques that establish *transitivity*, for example, between one person and another person or thing. The actor in a particular discourse may be related specifically to another person or thing, seen or unseen, which changes how the interlocutor understands that person. Adjectives, adverbs, and other such words might be used to describe an adult in such a way that they are made to look like a dependent child. There may be such frequent mention of one person with another such that the two become inseparable and, because we lose the individual identity in the duo, one is considered

useless when alone (Rogers and Hammerstein) or both are demonized because of their link (Jekyll and Hyde) (Matthiessen, Lam, Teruya, 2010).

This is similar to certain cohesion devices or collocations that tie one word to another, naturally or unnaturally, to ensure that meaning is made explicitly or implicitly (Given, 2008). These collocations may be used negatively or positively; it can simply be the frequent use of seemingly neutral words together often enough that they take on different meaning (Widdowson, 2011). For example, a word such as ‘cause’, though neutral, most often collocates with negative words such as ‘harm’ or ‘pain’ and, so, when put together with a word such as ‘joy’ might actually have the effect of giving ‘joy’ a negative meaning (semantic prosody – see ref van Lawick & Oster, 2008). Some cohesions or collocations are made at times to imply something is true (as in ‘It is true that...’) or obvious (as in ‘Anyone can see that...’) when in fact this truth or clarity has not necessarily existed. Further, such collocations can help to place something in the foreground or the background. (Janks, 1997, p. 337, Luke, 1995; Widdowson, 2011)

Finally, Widdowson (2011) talks of Grice’s maxims

- The maxim of *quantity*, where one tries to be as informative as one possibly can, and gives as much information as is needed, and no more.
- The maxim of *quality*, where one tries to be truthful, and does not give information that is false or that is not supported by evidence.
- The maxim of *relation*, where one tries to be relevant, and says things that are pertinent to the discussion.

- The maxim of *manner*, when one tries to be as clear, as brief, and as orderly as one can in what one says, and where one avoids obscurity and ambiguity.

When either of these maxims seems to be broken, the effectiveness of the text becomes less. This often relates somewhat to the tone where, for example a text is too short and thus too curt or brusque to actually inform the interlocutor. It seems to dismiss what is required of the text, in the context in which it is delivered, and thus has little effect.

## Making meaning

The conclusion made from the first part of the analysis is called ‘immanent critique’ (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). I must now consider how the text works within the social and global context. In chapter two, I mentioned the various schools of thought on how such links occur and how they affect institutions, groups and the individual. Teun van Dijk (2001) and van Leeuwen (2005) insists that there be a multidisciplinary approach (as has been mentioned) that considers the theoretical framework but then might require the use of sociological theory or historical context within which to analyse my findings.

Luke (1995) suggests that, considering that texts can represent many forms of social action, we should consider what is pragmatic, what purpose and effect ‘narratology’, for example, has on its audience, and other theories of speech and semantics. M.A.K. Halliday (1985) shows how linguistic forms can be used to analyse relationships that arise due to class, gender and culture, and the power that is vested in

each. I do not simply add one position to another, because discourse is motivated in a complicated world by many complicated factors (van Leeuwen, 2005; Wodak et al., 2009).

These understandings and anomalies may not always be obvious. I must therefore try to destabilize the text. “When the sign is unstable it is possible to see the workings of ideology. Ideology is at its most powerful when it is invisible, when discourses have been naturalised and become part of our everyday common sense” (Janks, 1997, p. 341) I must develop a broader scope of questioning, and besides re-entering the text numerous times as mentioned previously, there are a number of other ways to do this.

### **Checking the history**

Instabilities in the text arise naturally from checking the historical accuracy of its statements. Text may be very convincing because it can weave truth in ways mentioned above. Wodak (2001) gives examples of such weaving of truth in their analysis of an educational policy statement in Austria. It was stated that educational success in Austria lowers as the number of children who do not speak German as their native language increases, though there were no historical figures to actually back this assertion. Janks (1997) credits the Austrian school’s concern with describing various understandings and attitudes within the context of their specific time periods; in other words, texts and their production and reception are manifestations of the discourse and processes of the time which were regulated and constrained by that social environment (p. 329). It was what the public wanted to hear.

## **Intertextuality**

Most important, I must determine how the text fits in with others around it (Fairclough 1992). I have already referred to how there may be various discourses within one text because of the tendency for longer texts in particular to contain a number of phases or chunks of information. I begin to question how these work together; why one idea may change substantially later on in the text. In the process of intertextuality, I am opening a dialogue between various texts that precede and come shortly after the text being studied. From this, I begin to note the history of various terms and references, how one is answering a question of another, what effect the studied text may have had on others.

Janks (1997) discusses the use of intertextuality as a way to dig out transitivity, for example, which she feels can be deeply hidden in a text under study. It is helpful to see how a person may be tied to another by carefully deconstructing the various parts of the texts and comparing the display of a person from one piece to another. During the process of intertextuality, the analyst will attempt to demystify the “manifest or latent, possibly persuasive or ‘manipulative’ character of discursive practices,” and then begin to bring the text back out into the social realm (Wodal, 2001, p. 65).

Fairclough (1992) names three types of intertextuality: “...*sequential intertextuality*, where different texts or discourse types alternate within a text...; *embedded intertextuality*, where one text or discourse type is clearly contained within the matrix of another; and *mixed intertextuality*, where texts or discourse types are merged in a more complex and less separable fashion” (p. 281).

He further refers to texts as being able to transform prior texts and restructure existing genres or discourses to generate new ones (this will come up again shortly). He speaks of horizontal intertextual relations where one text refers to the previous text and possibly anticipates the next (often in conversations or in a series of correspondences), and vertical intertextual relations where the studied text relates to the immediate or distant contexts over time and within parameters of its genre and styles. So too is intertextuality manifest or explicit, or constitutive or more implicit in the way that the text has been produced. Finally, Fairclough (1992) refers to the degree of heterogeneity of the text in relation to others, whether there are oddities between texts that make one stand out, and the ambivalence that can occur when a piece from one text, for example, is reconstructed in the studied text but the new voice or meaning is now clouded.

### **Interdiscursivity**

Intertextuality picks up anomalies within the text, but it is interdiscursivity that may give even more clues to the stabilities and instabilities of the text being studied. This is now where the purpose of studying other texts from the genre comes into play. Wodak et al. (2009) say that I must catalogue my notations on the use of certain words or phrases within the text, the use and frequency of references, the use of various words that designate points of view and opinion, specific fields of action or disciplines which are being reflected in the speech. However, I can usually only understand whether the speech has been colonized, what various contexts of thoughts are being represented, and the effectiveness of certain parts of the discourse on other people and discourse by actually



studying the other discourses. In other words, says Fairclough (1992), the analyst now needs to remember the transdisciplinary nature of critical discourse analysis (see also: Fairclough, 2005, p. 923). In fact, says Fairclough (2005), there are "...many social researchers... wish to undertake discourse analysis without a background in linguistics or language studies, and it is one good reason for developing transdisciplinary collaboration in social and organizational research" (p. 926).

The comparison of texts to other pieces in the same genres and to other materials is known as interdiscursivity (Fairclough, 2004). Barenreuter (2005) offers a particularly good example whereupon he compares articles from four Swedish newspapers to discover how the identity of "Europe" had been constructed in Austria during concerns over immigration amidst a revival of fascism during the 1990s. By doing this, Barenreuter was not only able to distinguish between Austrian and European identities; he was also able to analyze a discursive structure of how Sweden defined itself in relation to the Austrian and European identities.

Much like Lawson (2004) suggested about critical realism, Fairclough (2004) says that: "The 'interdiscursive' analysis of texts... may contribute to changing the character of and relations between social practices" (p. 925-6). This acknowledges the existence of 'pre-structured causal powers' of social agents which are in turn dependent upon similar or different social agents. Thus I have added the critical element to the analysis by trying to determine the shift in the relation between these various causal elements and determining their degree of influence in each order of discourse upon the text, as above, so that I can note the changes and the symbiosis of new meaning in the discourse.

## **Deconstruct and reconstruct – Contextualize and recontextualize**

This completes an interesting circle of analysis. I have chosen a number of various ‘objects of research’ and begin a dialogue between these various texts and discourses from different genres. I shall enter each from a random point of entry with my initial questions as outlined. I shall then analyse each piece of each text to catalogue the use of words and phrases which seem to have meaning, all the while noting potential anomalies etc. that seem to show up. Then I shall look again, asking new questions that have been raised from the texts itself, but now noting some issues that are raised from within the pieces of text in one overall group of texts. This may in turn raise new questions as I open up intertextuality and interdiscursivity (Fairclough, 2004). In essence, then, I return to Fairclough’s diagram above where relationships are discovered between each tier of the three orders. I go back and forth between them simultaneously rather than sequentially so as to stress these interconnections (Janks, 1997, p. 330).

The task of critical discourse analysis is both destructive and constructive. Luke (1995) says:

In its deconstructive moment it aims to disrupt and render problematic the themes and power relations of everyday talk and writing. In its constructive moment, it has been applied to the development of critical literacy [and the capacity]... to critique and analyse discourse and social relations.... (p. 6)

Fairclough (2004) adds that text is always being recontextualized. Having deconstructed the text, I am left with questions as to where each piece came from and how it should go

back together. I begin to recontextualize each ‘object of research’. This approach also elucidates “...processes of establishing, negotiating, and legitimizing space-times and relations among space-times” (p. 110). It becomes more crucial than ever to look broadly afield at times because of the withering away of many borders of identity and nations that are happening at least communicatively (Castells, 2010; Giddons, 2003; Hall, 1980).

I shall look for what, as Wodak & Meyer (2009) suggest, are (re)construals of the past or, as Barthes (1972) and Lawson (2004) and others might suggest, are signs resignified to have new mythical or allegorical meanings (See also: Fairclough, 2004). From the cyclical process I discover micro theories and test them against larger macro theories and meta-theories. An accumulation of similar micro theories may change a larger theory or, as Foucault might do, I might find an even larger dispositive which engulfs all the theories.

In summary, I shall use Critical Discourse Analysis to unwrap themes of identity and nationalism which will more than likely follow the line of myths or allegories about ‘us Newfoundlanders’ and ‘immigrants’, and about the ways in which each is expected to (or hoped to) act. Each text will be subject to reading and rereading as new texts and discourses arise. I look at what words and phrases may seem to mean immediately and what meaning may be underlying them when considering more closely the purpose of the speaker and the intended interlocutor. These meanings will often be put in both immediate and historical context to illuminate their origin, their purpose, or in fact what deviance there may be from overriding discourse of the time. By considering these texts both intertextually and interdiscursively, I hope to reconstruct deeper understandings of

the interrelationship between various identities that are being represented. Returning to the emancipatory aspect, I am successful when I have exposed the texts to vigorous, though inevitably incomplete, critique such that the positioning of power of the various people and institutions concerned, especially those which seem hidden and should not be ignored, becomes clearer. This may be progressive and emancipatory for some while others, including myself at times, may feel more exposed. I start in the next chapter with a look at the immigration strategy put forward by the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador.

# Chapter 4 - An immigration strategy for Newfoundland and Labrador

In this chapter, I introduce the policy that purports to outline how the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador will work with immigrants who are being vigorously recruited to work and live in the province. Through a close consideration of the language and specific definitions, I will begin to illustrate how each party concerned is to be positioned with what degree of power. I raise problematic definitions of the social and cultural identities of ‘Newfoundlanders’ and of ‘immigrants’. These warn of potential problems arising over what stake new people are to be afforded in the changing social environment. I shall contextualize these problems and demonstrate how the government seems to cater to possible social fears by commoditizing the immigrant so that control can be maintained over how they settle and interact within Newfoundland. This begins to set the background for a discussion on whether Newfoundland people are considered ‘welcoming’, or whether they perceive a real need to be so.

The Government of Newfoundland and Labrador introduced its immigration strategy in 2007 following in the footsteps of both regional (the Atlantic Provinces) and provincial discussion and policy initiatives across Canada (for example, in Alberta, 2005). There is nothing magnanimous to this invitation: neither the country nor the province wants just anyone. A strict point system is in place to reward ‘...applicants with higher levels of education, job experience, and language skills (i.e., English and French)’ (Smick, 2006, p. 2). The motivation is mainly economic: those regions with new or

burgeoning economies do not have access to a locally-born skilled workforce and so the most productive people possible are desired.

The dichotomy between the optimistic and reasonable business-like tones of this immigration strategy, introduced amidst the realities of the Newfoundland economic, social and cultural contexts, present the potential for discrimination or exploitation discussed often throughout the next chapters. The province's tax base has consistently been small because of sporadic employment for the population and diminishing returns from former subsistence industries such as the fisheries and pulp and paper (House, 1999). It is still fairly vulnerable. As well, Newfoundland has never encouraged large amounts of immigration because of this poor economy. More, even while Newfoundland now has a booming economy, there are still people leaving because of sporadic employment contracts and lower wage structures (McCarty, 2011; Taber, 2013). I shall consider this more in Chapter 5.

I shall study the first 10 pages of this policy, the two appendices A and B, and the overall look of the policy. The look of the document is important as it sets a businesslike tone to characterize and support the content of the document. The first four pages illustrate how the government views the position of the government and the public, the context which demands that new people must move here, some of the participants in the policy, what principles are necessary to follow to be successful, fair and just, and how the new immigrant is to be viewed and accommodated. The next six pages elaborate how the government intends to attract desirable immigrants, how they might be encouraged to stay, and, interestingly, how Newfoundlanders must behave towards immigrants. The first

appendix specifically sets out what benefits there are for the province in encouraging immigration. The second appendix designates initial target countries from which the government hopes the first immigrants will come. The remainder of the strategy will be reviewed intertextually as it becomes necessary (Fairclough, 1992; Janks, 1997).

An explanation of the use of inverted commas throughout is important. They are used in the strategy document to single out specific terms that bear definition. I will specify this and show how it is often problematic. Otherwise, I shall use inverted commas to distinguish words which have been used in the texts and which carry specific or assumed discourse, contextualization or designations within the discourse that is being presented. I often re-quote these words or phrases as they become recontextualized in intertextual or interdiscursive conversation with other parts of the document or from other texts (Fairclough, 2004).

## First impressions: A visual overview

The immigration strategy from the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador is of the *business and marketing policy* genre and delivered in an *expository* and *managerial* style. Normally business plans should lay out what needs to be done, what amounts of money should be spent, who should get what support and what each party involved is expected to do. Various time-frames in which specific activities should take place are considered as well as ways in which productivity should be measured. Most importantly, a good business plan should have a realistic positioning of the product (in this case ‘Newfoundland’) amongst the others (Hull, 2013; Stanford University). However, from

chapter 2, it is realized that because the government acts as the public authority, its policy usually must be appealing and diplomatic to the people who the government is supposed to represent (Doty, 2004). As expected perhaps (Fairclough, 1992), the policy is colonized by current business language – in the table of contents alone are words such as ‘target levels’, ‘administrative structure’, ‘key partners’, ‘next steps’, ‘accountability’, ‘reporting’, and ‘appendixes’ - that looks and sounds impressive.

The front cover introduces the most important discourse that the government of Newfoundland and Labrador wants to imbue to the public: *Diversity – “Opportunities and Growth”*. The word ‘diversity’ is to be strongly collocated to both ‘opportunities and growth’ because the second phrase is placed in inverted commas (Luke, 1995; Janks, 1997; Widdowson, 2011). Where, grammatically, inverted commas might normally designate ‘opportunities and growth’ as a euphemism for something else, or as a citation of an authority’s phrase, here the two inseparable words become one desirable noun phrase to signify ‘future prosperity’ (Widdowson, 2011). ‘Diversity’ must be seen to beget ‘opportunity and growth’ and, conversely, it could be assumed that a lack of such may continue to leave such facets of the Newfoundland society seriously challenged. The current homogenous population is obviously economically, socially and educationally outdated with less opportunities and growth (Corbett, 2005; Law 2004).

The document is offered humbly as ‘an immigration strategy’, either as one offers a present, ‘a gift for you’, or as a strategy that may need to be changed (Widdowson, 2011). Rereading it as if the government must ensure that the policy is supported, to say ‘an immigration strategy...’ does suggest that the government may be aware that



something may need to be fixed. There is evidence inside that the policy may not be considered binding – placing culpability for its success on the authority of many outside people including the Government of Canada (Wodak et al., 2009).

The table of contents seems to contain what a reader might expect: obligatory comments from the premier and the minister in charge of the issuing department, the *Introduction*, the *Context*, *Guiding principles*, the *Role of the federal government* and, finally, the *Elements of the strategy* which is subdivided into smaller headings. Each heading corresponds to a ‘goal’ number and statement in the text which is consequently followed by a two-sided table with the headings *What we will do...* and *How we will do it...*. Each part of the text is generally written in short paragraphs, often of only two or three sentences. There are many short business-like bulleted statements. The contents acknowledge the various discourses of special interest groups: women in need, the francophone population, labour, education, and healthcare. This visually implies that the government has ostensibly approached the strategy in a professional and socially responsible way which legitimizes the proposal and makes it difficult to counter. Business is considered to supersede other social elements (Fairclough, 2001).

Pictures help to divide the policy into manageable sections and attempt to complement the ideas that are presumably in the text. There are pictures throughout the text of scenic parts of Newfoundland, or they are ‘strategic’ pictures such as of a mosque (Govt. of NL: Diversity, 2007, p. 5). Outdoor pictures are taken in St. John’s locations probably because of convenience, though the policy states immigrants are needed throughout the province.

Most pictures are of people of various ages and ethnic backgrounds being friends, families, students and workers. The most prominent picture, because it is in the top left before the first title word, is of a health professional - still one of the priorities of the government (Govt. of NL: Diversity, 2007, p. 15). The next two pictures are of technological and skilled people. The remaining seven from the middle towards the bottom are pictures of families and friends and students. Everyone in the pictures are of at least a middle class economic standing; there are no pictures of poorly paid donut shop workers or of nannies to higher income families, though these people constitute a prominent portion of the workers being imported. This exclusion suggests that the policy may not recognize these people (Janks, 1997; Law, 2004).

One family picture is of 'white' people, while the other may be slightly mixed between 'white' and Latino perhaps. As suggested by Bulmer and Solomos (2009), and Gillis (2010), these people may not have as much trouble in a predominantly white population. People with more colour, however, are part of office or school atmospheres. Otherwise, there are pictures of smiling immigrants, foreign students, and three friendly local white people working at an Atlantic Provinces recruitment fair somewhere.

One particularly notable picture, however, is of four African women in what are likely dresses and head coverings native to their place of origin. They look decidedly separate from the people in all others pictures where people are wearing more mainstream Western style clothing. This picture becomes troublesome later as the reader is told that Newfoundlanders can 'experience other cultures' in such a way as to isolate them from us (Govt. of NL: Diversity, 2007, p. 1. See: Bisoondath, 2004). Similarly, two pictures of

young foreign students stand out because they look to be simply visiting the touristic sites of St. John's rather than actually mingling with local people.

By singling foreign people out in this fashion, the picture is not serving the idea that all people in Newfoundland should try to live and work together, regardless of dress and other distinguishing feature. This is furthered by one more troubling picture of a family of Asian origin who are posing in front of a Christmas tree. Though the family may be a Christian family, is it possible that this picture is intended to show that foreign families can assimilate to Western cultural values (Banting & Kymlica, 2010; Blake 2003; Corbett, 2010; Gregg, 2006; Phillips, 2005)? It is also noticeable that no local people are sharing this event with them just as, considering the rule of *what may be missing*, no 'local' people are celebrating a 'foreign' ceremony with an immigrant family (Janks, 1997; Law, 2004).

## Background, initial tone and impressions

I shall now take a look at the specific language in the text. This immigration strategy of 2007 came after two year series of meetings in which were discussed the contributions past immigrants have made to the province, the current rationale or merits of attracting immigrant people to the Atlantic Provinces, and the opportunities and challenges that could be expected from increased immigration (p. 1). In business, 'strategy' means a plan of action to bring about certain goals (Business Dictionary.com) - in this case, the influx and retention of new people who will contribute to "...economic,

social and cultural development” (p. 1). Though there are very few details as to who was consulted, for example, there is the impression that there need be no more deliberation.

However, though the style and tone of the policy is of business and management, a closer reading of the document reveals more vague and confused statements. Terms such as ‘diversity’, and ‘immigration’ are nominalised; ‘social and cultural development’, ‘stakeholders’, and others terms are casually used. This renders their use either problematic or without real meaning (Brinton & Closs Traugott, 2005; Wodak, 2001a). What should be a more concrete plan of action becomes instead a resolve to discuss things further. While the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador is acting as the authority in one sense, the policy continually defers to others who may be more capable or who give authority to the government. So, what is said to have already been understood and accepted, if we are to believe page 1 of the introduction, seems insufficient to completely empower the government to proceed in a knowledgeable fashion.

Page 1 lays the foundation for three main discussions: first, the participants of the policy and how they begin to interact with each other; second, how the strategy is placed within a more problematic local context suggested by Ibbitson (2004) as being ‘too poor and too white’ and; third, the problematic ways in which terms like ‘diversity’, ‘culture’ and ‘development’ are defined and used in such ways as to delineate immigrants from local people so they can be controlled. I shall first introduce the main participants in the policy and some initial aspects of authority. Then I shall discuss the problem of the context presented in the strategy before breaking the more realistic context into two

streams: the problem of being ‘too poor’ and the problem of being ‘too white’. Finally I shall open some intertextual discussion to demonstrate further distinctions between ‘us’ as ‘the people in Newfoundland’ and ‘them’ as ‘the newcomers’, which can lead to the commoditization and control of the immigrant in this Newfoundland environment.

## Main participants and ideas on power and authority

The first two paragraphs of the policy introduce most of the main players and already begin to offer a perspective on who is acting on behalf of whom. However, more of these impressions are gleaned from the introductory four pages and through the remaining text.

### **The government, the province, Newfoundland and Labrador**

There are two ways these terms are used in the introduction. The term ‘province’ (10 times), or ‘Newfoundland and Labrador’ (6 times – once as the government of Newfoundland and Labrador), if it does not announce what it will do, is the recipient of directives from ‘stakeholders’ or contributions from immigration or immigrants. There is transivity between the government and the discussions with, and ensuing authority from, the ‘stakeholders’ (Luke, 1995; Janks, 1997; Widdowson, 2011), the vast majority of whom agreed with what the discussion papers had in them (Govt. of NL: An immigration strategy – discussion paper, 2005; Govt. of NL: What we heard, 2005). The reader can only presume the stakeholders have the public authority to direct the government.

Similarly, though, the government can also take an inherent authority from being principled and being businesslike (Joppke, 2005b).

### **Newfoundlanders and Labradorians**

Newfoundlanders and Labradorians (in any form of the phrase) are mentioned only four times specifically in the entire policy: once when the policy states how they should behave towards immigrants and three times when it talks of Newfoundlanders living away who should promote the province to immigrants or who can be repatriated when the economy allows it.

The term ‘people’ or ‘person’ is generally missing from this document. This tells two things: that the immigrant is commoditized, as will be discussed, and that the government takes authority not from ‘people’ but from ‘stakeholders’ mentioned below (Law, 2004; Reisigl and Wodak, 2001). This might also explain why the government seems somewhat tentative as it does not seem to want to address what may actually happen amongst the actual ‘people of Newfoundland and Labrador’.

### **Stakeholders**

It was the stakeholders who approved the rationale for developing the strategy (Govt. of NL: Diversity, 2007, p. 1), and they wield an inherent authority to empower others to do things on their behalf (Reisigl and Wodak, 2001). The majority rules as the “...vast majority of stakeholders expressed support...” (p. 1), and this lexicalisation says

that whatever objections there may have been were of no particular importance (Luke, 1995).

There is no delineation of one stakeholder being more important than the other. There are ‘community stakeholders’, ‘education stakeholders’, ‘municipal stakeholders’, and ‘key immigration stakeholders’. It is possible to distinguish who they are not as they are related transitively with institutions such as the “...Rural Secretariat, the Regional Development Branch of the Department of Innovation, Trade and Rural Development, and regional economic development boards (Govt. of NL: Diversity, 2007, p. 3. See: Janks, 1997; Luke, 1995; Widdowson, 2011)”. As well, however, ‘employers’ or the ‘general public’ are also separate and subordinate to ‘stakeholders’ (Govt. of NL: Diversity, 2007, p.9). ‘Stakeholders’ are not partners, which would include professional associations, regulatory bodies, or business and industry like above, but ‘stakeholders’ are related to partners (p. 28). This lack of clear definition also means there is also no culpability to stakeholders. Thus, the term becomes rather meaningless, simply meaning ‘those who empowered the government in this particular decision’ (Brinton & Closs Traugott, 2005; Luke, 1995; Wodak, 2001a).

## **Immigrants**

The place of the immigrant is most important to this study, and I will review how the immigrant is commoditized and controlled shortly. For now, I wish to consider the discourse that ‘immigrants’ contribute positively to the economy of Government of Newfoundland and Labrador. The assertion of this categorical truth delineates

‘immigrants’ as more desirable and more manageable ‘economic capital’ category than ‘others’ like refugees and visitors who fall under the more general term ‘newcomers’ (as will also be discussed later. See: Janks, 1997; Widdowson, 2011). Using mainly Grice’s maxim of quantity (Widdowson, 2011), I shall first describe important desirable aspects that distinguish these people favourably from ‘others’.

*Immigrants are productive skilled entrepreneurs or labourers.*

Newfoundland values immigrants (or ‘immigration’) over others because they are skilled labourers or have investment capital. The reader is given seven examples of businesses with which people born elsewhere have been involved in some form; one paragraph is devoted to the immigrant health professionals who have been recruited to fill positions in mainly rural Newfoundland; another paragraph states that you can likely find an immigrant person employing people in any region of Newfoundland (Govt. of NL: Diversity, 2007, p. 1). This history chooses to ignore other very unsuccessful incidents with foreign investment (Janks, 1997); the success of some people is a symbol of the myth that *all* immigrants are valuable (Barthes, 1972).

*Immigrants open foreign markets and sell Newfoundland and Newfoundland goods to others*

Immigrants also provide links to the global marketplace that help local entrepreneurs improve their export potential (Govt. of NL: Diversity, 2007, p. 1). The lexical choices here even cast immigrants as ‘resources’ to take leadership roles and promote their success to others like them (p. 5; p. 7. See: Luke, 1995). They will sell



products to the countries they come from and take Newfoundlanders with them on business projects.

*Immigrants bring diversity and population growth.*

The attraction of ‘diversity’ in the socio-cultural sense seems only to be a secondary benefit to economic ‘diversity’, even though diversity is stated on the title as underpinning the whole strategy. The lack of cultural diversity is what more often accounts for immigrants moving on (Govt. of NL: Diversity, 2007, p. 3). But of the seven paragraphs on the first page, six talk of economic benefit and only one talks of an oddly stated equation between ‘immigration’ providing ‘population growth and diversity’ (Widdowson, 2011).

They [the stakeholders] also noted the side benefits of population growth and increased diversity that would come from increased immigration, which would stimulate general economic, cultural and social development of communities. (Govt. of NL: Diversity, 2007, p. 1)

I shall destabilize this oddly dismissive manner of stating this need shortly (Janks, 1997).

*‘Immigrants’ are not the same as ‘newcomers’*

The use of the term ‘newcomers’ and ‘immigrants’ bears discussion to discover whether there is a lexical difference noticed in the use of either (Luke, 1995; Janks, 1997). ‘Newcomers’ are welcomed through the preamble to Goal 3 in *Welcoming newcomers*, but this ends when the provincial government acts in *What we will do*. This is similar in the *Integration and Retention* section. It seems initially the provincial

government deals with ‘immigrants’, while ‘newcomers’ are associated with the services of the Association for New Canadians (ANC), for example, and with ‘welcoming communities’.

A transitive study suggests that this lexical choice of the government seems to deliberately imply that ‘immigrants’ have an economic purpose while visitors and refugees may not - notwithstanding tourists and business visitors of course (Luke, 1995; Janks, 1997; Widdowson, 2011). A look at other discourse reveals that the term ‘newcomers’ is taken from the Government of Canada’s tool-kit of ideas (Fairclough, 2004; Wodak et al., 2009): it rarely appears in other documents from the provincial government (National Working Group on Small Centre Strategies, 2007). ‘Newcomers’ can include refugees or others who come here by accident, such as the people to Gander during the 9/11 or tourists or Lanier Phillips. Refugees are ‘federal-assisted’ and segregated as such in the sentence that says the Refugee and Immigrant Advisory Council, without nearly the institutional stature and influence as the ANC, is notably steered by refugees and only gives advice to refugees (Govt. of NL: Diversity, 2007, p. 8). There is no talk of refugees being desired and useful – they are powerless and the federal state is their benefactor (Bisoondath, 2004; Doty, 2010).

‘Newcomers’ are integrated into labour markets (Govt. of NL: Diversity, 2007, p. 1; p. 29) only. ‘Newcomers’ may be harder to deal with than immigrants because they have more thought and empowerment. They more often settle and integrate; they are welcomed; they stay or move on. ‘Newcomers’ may find it difficult to live here because of not finding jobs (p. 8) – implying that newcomers are not always sponsored.

‘Newcomers’ must show a commitment to ‘adapt’ (used two times) while Canadians adapt to them (used once).

‘Immigrants’ (or the nominalization of ‘immigration’ as will be discussed) are more often subject to processing and retention - immigrants are a little more controllable. There are more often services that settle and integrate immigrants, or retain them if they initially want to leave (Govt. of NL: Diversity, 2007, p. 8; p. 23; p. 28) – there is less thought and less choice. Unlike newcomers who have trouble with work, Newfoundland or stakeholders, deal with ‘immigrants’ who have jobs. ‘Immigrants’, then, are desirable units - an economically sound investment which is managed.

## **Communities**

The term ‘community’ is most often used as an adjective to ‘government’. Otherwise, there is ownership in communities: ‘our’ is used once in the universal manner, ‘our communities’ (Govt. of NL: Diversity, 2007, p. 17), and French speakers have a ‘francophone community’ (p. 25). When ownership is expressed, it is very problematic.

For example, the community is quickly separated from the immigrant as a user of the commodity: communities can ‘utilize the immigration programs’ to help. ‘Immigration’ is a faceless economic subject that can be accessed and controlled (Govt. of NL: Diversity, 2007, p. 5), much like a youth summer-employment program. There is nothing to imply that there is any obligation from the community (Janks, 1997; Widdowson, 2011). In fact, immigrants do not have any stake in the community. As I shall review again shortly, the one time the possessive ‘their’ is used to describe the

community in which immigrants actually establish themselves implies a possible separation from ‘our’ communities (Govt. of NL: Diversity, 2007, p. 7), much like the term ‘francophone community’ is used above.

More troublingly, ‘community’ (used 73 times) is distinguished from a ‘welcoming community’; eight of the ten times in *Welcoming communities* (Govt. of NL: Diversity, 2007, p.7). ‘Welcoming communities’ are designated by the Canadian government as the type of community that is ‘ready’ to integrate immigrants (National Working Group on Small Centre Strategies, 2007). Because nothing more is said, the unfortunate implication is that there may be communities that will not accept immigrants (Janks, 2005; Law, 2004; Widdowson, 2011).

### **Boards and agencies**

The Leslie Harris Centre, Rural Secretariat, the Regional Development Branch of the Department of Innovation, Trade and Rural Development, and regional economic development boards are all set up with the intention of fixing the economy of Newfoundland. They are separated from the collective term ‘stakeholders’ to quantify the larger degree of importance and justify the government’s action as discussed under *Authority and processes* below. The Harris Centre in particular is a relatively arms-length research centre which disseminates summaries of consultations and research to these other secretariats and boards (See for example: Gien & Law, 2009; The Leslie Harris Centre of Regional Policy and Development, 2004). Their power is inherent as they are government appointed or supported (Apple, 2010; Janks, 1997).

## **Refugees**

A transitive study has shown that refugees are distinguished powerless charity persons (Luke, 1995). It is not clear whether they can add diversity or whether they have skills or money (Law, 2004). The irony is that a great proportion of the people profiled in government publications and CBC programs as successful business people and settlers in Newfoundland were once refugees of some sort, not recruited immigrants (Govt. of NL: Profiles, 2006)

## **Association for New Canadians (ANC)**

The ANC is the facilitator mainly of federal government policy (Jaegar, 2001); a ‘settlement’ institution mandated to help refugees and immigrants settle in Canada. Funded mainly by the federal government, it is a valuable employer of Newfoundlanders (Govt. of NL: Diversity, 2007, Appendix A). They are seen to have power because of their expertise: first over the provincial initiatives as their publications and language, but not always discourse, populates many of the provincial government’s documents (Association for New Canadian, n.d.); second, over all refugees and immigrants both openly and inherently (Doty, 2010; Janks, 1997; Luke, 1995; Widdowson, 2011). They facilitate access to economic, medical and other assistance, and administer the language benchmark tests that decide what level of ‘competence’ an immigrant or refugee has (Fleming, 2010).

## **The Refugee and Immigrant Advisory Council (RIAC)**

Though ‘immigrant’ is clearly in the name of this council, according to this strategy, this council simply “...advocates on behalf of refugee claimants in the province and offers advice and support” (Govt. of NL: Diversity, 2007, p. 8). This again seems a deliberate placement of this organization and its members in a powerless position – they have likely not been consulted (Doty, 2010; Fairclough, 2003; Reisigl & Wodak, 2001). Later, their 2009 report pointed out how daunting it was for many immigrants and refugees living in Newfoundland to access information, services and jobs that depend so largely on computer literacy. This is a typical example of the local discourse and possibly public services being inaccessible to the new person despite a certain competence in the language (Fleming, 2010). Further, the RIAC 2013 conference annoyingly brought it to the public’s attention that most jobs were filled through social networks, and that even poor service jobs in restaurants and hotels demanded too high a level of English skills. These methods and demands of employment indicate a reluctance to allow anyone considered foreign to work here; however, the racism is masked in unfair language requirements and through the quiet employment of people who belong in established social circles and thus know the discourse necessary to adapt (Gee, 2001; Refugee and Immigrant Advisory Council, 2013).

### Authority and processes

I discussed in chapter 2 that an institution can wield power because of its public status, such as with the State, or inherently because it represents acceptable discourse (Doty, 2010; Fairclough, 2003; Jaeger, 2001). In this strategy, power can emanate from ‘others

with expertise' and the authority of 'good business practice' carried out by the government of Newfoundland and Labrador in its processes, consultations and inevitabilities. Thus I am designating the authority of 'experts' and the existence of 'processes' as being prime discursive manipulators in this strategy.

### *Authorities*

Journalists and experts are used three times as authorities, lexically taking the place of a weaker and possibly more culpable observation or statement (Luke, 1995). Experts make poignant statements for example about the problematic distinction between being 'welcoming' and simply being friendly (Govt. of NL: Diversity, 2007, p. 2; p. 7).

A more quiet authority is the expert group who did much of the homework for the government: Goss Gilroy (2005). Much of their findings were put into a report used in consultations with 'stakeholders' (Govt. of NL: An immigration strategy – discussion paper, 2005; Govt. of NL: What we heard, 2005). Some important interdiscursivity should be reviewed (Fairclough 2004; Wodak, 2009).

Not all were stories in the Goss Gilroy (2005) document were of success. The immigration strategy ignores this history. The final immigration strategy reflects a number of Goss Gilroy's ideas but tellingly few of the problems:

However, many also observed that the broader community is not all that aware of immigration or connected with immigrants. This impacts on the level of integration and belonging that immigrants experience. It is not

seen as a question of good will, but more a question of opportunities for education and awareness to generate a depth of welcome... there has generally been a low key approach to promoting awareness of immigration and multiculturalism in the province and of forging linkages among cultures... The Association for New Canadians has quietly and effectively established working relationships with a wide variety of organizations to help them in their settlement services. There is some limited financial support for multicultural education projects through Canadian Heritage, but none for ongoing operational funding for organizations. There has been no comprehensive examination of attitudes towards immigration and multiculturalism in the province. “Mainstream” arts and cultural events in the province have a limited multicultural presence. Multicultural organizations and leaders are engaged whenever specific individual issues arise, but they are not engaged at senior levels in policy and program development. (p. 36)

Remembering Resigl & Wodak (2001), that the history of the decided lack of engagement between the provincial government, immigrants and local people is not mentioned suggests that this is not seen as a problem – the government does not want to say to the public that they are less culturally aware than they should be; it has difficulty in designating how cultural differences will not only be tolerated but supported (Bisoondath, 2004; Clary-Lemon, 2003; Lund, 2006; Lund & Carr, 2010). Goss Gilroy’s word, ‘awareness’, was adopted by the strategy but the strategy only states that the key to



increasing this awareness and engagement is simply ‘to increase’ it - with no particular commitment to investment of real time, money, definite activity, or assessment (Widdowson, 2011). Nor is there anything in the strategy to designate any support for artistic and cultural expression of the new population other than government representatives showing up at multicultural events (which are still funded externally). So it is that the positive wisdom and terms (‘awareness’ for example’) of the Goss Gilroy document colonizes the strategy (Fairclough, 1992; 2003), but not the problematic public context (Law, 2004).

### *Processes*

Throughout the strategy, ‘immigration’ is referred to as a process separated from the people who are comprised in it. It is a business ‘field’ wherein competition exists (p. 2). It remains the only process that can address issues such as population growth (Appendix A) and economic, social and cultural growth (p. 1). ‘Immigration’ is a nominalisation which instigates action – no people or immigrants are involved (Fairclough, 2004). The province sees immigration as inevitable and this excuses the way in which the policy is colonized by business terminology (Fairclough, 1992; 2003; Janks, 1997). The government tries to evade culpability by implying that, since immigration happens anyway, the province and the people should simply enter the ‘field’ constructively or be left behind (Fairclough, 2004, Wodak et al., 2009).

Secondly, consultations authorize and legitimize action. Most, eight of thirteen, occur with stakeholders. There are nine consultations by page 9. For example:

Throughout the consultation processes for both a provincial innovation strategy and labour market development, the topic of immigration was raised with the general view that increased immigration will foster innovation, create new businesses, and help to address current and projected skills shortages. (Govt. of NL: Diversity, 2007, p. 8)

On page 1, the reader is told simply that a ‘paper’, the one representing all the consultations and meetings, recognized the contribution that immigrants have made to the province (Govt. of NL: Diversity, 2007). It also outlined the rationale, opportunities and challenges. Transitively, the strategy is therefore legitimized by no other authority than the process of its conception and construction (Luke, 1995; Janks, 1997; Widdowson, 2011).

Forums (not necessarily public) are used to justify things twice, while a meeting does this once (for example, the 2005 Rural Repopulation Forum held in Moncton in: Govt. of NL: Diversity, 2007, p. 3). Finally, action must be taken in cooperation with other groups as is clearly laid out under the guiding principle: *Collaborative* (p. 4). The partners, like stakeholder, seem to take the place of any public assistance or input (Luke, 1995).

#### *Provincial Nominee Program (PNP)*

This frequently named process is the instrument through which all labour shortage problems will be solved. This is what communities and stakeholders use to get immigrants. It is what can allow temporary work forces to exist, yet it is an extremely

slow process ([www.cbc.ca/nl/landandsea](http://www.cbc.ca/nl/landandsea)). This programme discriminates between those who are recruited by it and those ‘others’, refugees and other visitors, who must be dealt with differently. It stands separate from the strategy so that any discriminatory aspect that may be reflected in the process does not have to be discussed (Law, 2004).

### **The federal government**

The *Role of the federal government* section is mysteriously placed after the main context and ideas for the action plan is introduced. It essentially implies that the federal government is the instigator of this enterprise wherein the federal Citizenship and Immigration Canada department “...sets the annual numbers of immigrants and refugees that Canada will accept” (Govt. of NL: Diversity, 2007, p. 4).

However, this text should be destabilized (Janks, 2005). To this point, the strategy has simply said that the federal and provincial governments will work with each other. Placed so distinctly here, however, the section seems to act as a disclaimer (Widdowson, 2011). It places the onus on the federal government; Newfoundland cannot do anything about numbers and other rules because Newfoundland does not pay the bills. The final implication is that the Newfoundland government may have very little knowledge and very little agency in this immigration process. The result is in an odd lexicalisation in the last sentence of the section which says “Newfoundland and Labrador will work in partnership with the federal government in implementing its immigration strategy” (Govt. of NL: Diversity, 2007, p. 4. See: Luke, 1995). Whose strategy, at this point, is ‘its strategy’?

A rereading shows the great influence of federal mandates on the document (Janks, 1997): the ‘women at risk’ section in the strategy can be attributed to the Government Assisted Refugee program that specifically designates women as being particularly vulnerable (Canada, 2011); the negligible francophone communities in Newfoundland and Labrador receive funding from the federal RDEE program (to be discussed).

An interdiscursive conversation is important here (Fairclough, 2004; Wodak et al, 2009). What becomes important here is that the federal government can be blamed if things change: as it already has with Employment Insurance regulations that challenge the understanding of seasonal employment in Newfoundland (CBC News, 2012, 05 25), while changing the acceptance strategy for temporary foreign workers. By doing this, the federal government is said to be challenging the ability of Newfoundland businesses to keep operating because their positions can only be filled by the readily available and cheaper labour from abroad (CBC News, 05 10; Weir, 2013).

More, however, this delineation of governments perpetuates the Newfoundland nationalistic tradition whereupon the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador can shift the blame for undesirable policy and mismanagement to the Government of Canada (Castells, 2010; Thompson, 2010). The evident discourse, I have suggested in Chapter 2 (Foucault, 1995; Hall, 1997; Wodak, 2001a), is much like a dispositive that controls the reactive stance of Newfoundland’s ‘cultural identity’ discourse: the placement of Newfoundland and Labrador within Canada is one of reluctant cooperation, and, besides, many Newfoundlanders may rather not have immigrants fill any positions here if at all

possible. Thus, to wholeheartedly support immigration as anything but a federal scheme might question the province's commitment to expatriation of those 'Newfoundlanders' who have been forced to move for work. Indeed, 'immigration' is intertextually or transitively part of the trident of 'immigration, retention and repatriation' whenever 'population growth' is mentioned in the strategy (Govt. of NL: Diversity, 2007, p. 3; p. 26; p. 29; p. 31. See: Fairclough, 1992; Luke, 1995; Janks, 1997; Widdowson, 2011). Interdiscursively, immigration is often ignored in, for example, provincial statements on retaining youth (Creating a province of choice, 2009) and in the Muskrat Falls (2012) speech from chapter 2.

## Why Newfoundland can't keep immigrants

I wish to address the two main benefits that the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador feel immigrants contribute. The first is the economic benefit; the second is to 'bring population growth and diversity'. Though immigration is needed in many parts of Canada to maintain declining populations because of low birth rates, Newfoundland and Labrador is in a somewhat different situation (Bricker & Ibbitson, 2013; Dyer, 2010). Troubling is that more people are still leaving Newfoundland and Labrador than are born here or move here (CBC Newfoundland and Labrador, 2012; Higgins, 2008). I have already said in the introduction that Newfoundland is too poor and not diverse enough economically, socially and culturally, to keep people who are born here; let alone encourage new people to move here (Ibbitson, 2004; Bricker & Ibbitson, 2012; Nolan, 2007; Tilley, 2010). This immigration strategy either recontextualizes or ignores outright

this paradox, however, by hiding it within the larger narrative of Canada's declining and aging population (Fairclough, 2004).

Throughout the document, it seems that 'diversity' cannot beget 'opportunity and growth' until Newfoundland actually gets some more of this 'diversity'. The normal lexicalisation of these words makes it appropriate to ask what kind of 'diversity' Newfoundland may really require (Luke, 1995). Does 'diversity' simply mean a variety of economic opportunities, mainly for local people, or does it mean a society that has people of many different backgrounds. The latter, says the document, is needed to help new immigrants feel more at home (Govt. of NL: Diversity, 2007, p. 3), but the rather obvious statements that 'immigration will add to population growth and diversity (p. 1)' troubles how 'diversity' is being defined (Luke, 1995). This destabilization of the meanings of 'Population growth' and 'diversity' suggests that they are commodities that fall under the discourse of Newfoundland's 'economic goals' (Fairclough, 1992; 2003; Luke, 1995; Janks, 1997). As such, the flow of new population can be stopped and the immigrant segregated to places where 'others like them' live (Appasurai, 2006; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Joppke, 2005a; Pennycook, 2004). I shall now discuss the problem of Newfoundland being 'too poor' and 'too white' and how this contributes to the government's depersonalization and consequent control of the immigrant.

## **White and Poor – the difficult contextual reality neatly hidden**

That Newfoundland needs more population is only one aspect of the real contextual challenges manifest in the Newfoundland economy and social makeup. This observation is left to an outsider, John Ibbitson (August, 2004), to say in the strategy:

In an August 2004 article entitled “Why Atlantic Canada Remains White and Poor”, *Globe and Mail* columnist John Ibbitson stated “Atlantic Canada will only emerge from relative economic decline when it finds ways to persuade at least some of the people arriving in Canada from Beijing and Bombay to move there.” In the same article he notes that immigrants are the lifeblood of Canada’s economy and society. (Govt. of NL: Diversity, 2007, p. 3)

The government recontextualizes the problem presented by Ibbitson (2004. See: Fairclough, 2004), the paradox presented in his title, to highlight simply that Atlantic Canada needs people from Beijing and Bombay to fix economic challenges and population decline. Ibbitson did present the paradox after acknowledging the reactive nationalism of “Many Atlantic Canadians [who] get upset if you tell them that their region is far too white” (See also: Castells, 2010; Thompson, 2010):

There is a chicken-and-egg quality to immigration patterns. Half of all immigrants who settle in Toronto cite the proximity of family and friends as the chief reason they select that city. About a quarter say the availability of work was the most important factor.

But because Atlantic Canada has too few jobs and too few immigrants, immigrants don't want to move there. And because they don't move there, Atlantic Canada remains white and poor. (Ibbitson, 2004)

Simply put, then, the inordinately homogeneous economic and/or socio-cultural environment in Newfoundland has already led hundreds and thousands of people of any background to leave Newfoundland for other opportunities. In Atlantic Canada, there is every possibility that immigrant populations in Newfoundland may fare only as well as the Afro-Americans did many years ago in Nova Scotia: they were marginalized and ghettoized without really gaining access to better work, education and other opportunities that were dominated by a distinctly 'White-English' economic and social elite (Corbett, 2010a).

Ibbitson (2004) wishes to highlight that, though statistics demonstrate the profound commitment most immigrant (and refugee) people have to being successful in a new home (see also: Banting and Kymlicka, 2010; Gregg, 2006), the governments in Atlantic provinces are unable to provide necessary guarantees of an economic and cultural environment that allows minorities to not feel exposed and vulnerable to exploitation and segregation. From Ricouer (1996) and others in chapter 2, economic stakeholders will not address this issue; the work towards real cultural and social diversity must be up to the government and people of Newfoundland, yet it is difficult to justify this (Goss Gilroy, 2005). This paradox helps to explain the unstated impression throughout the strategy that, though the provincial government knows Newfoundland must become less 'white', it is too poor to justify defining 'diversity' as anything more



than an economic commodity (Luke, 1995; Janks, 1997; Widdowson, 2011). To recontextualize the title of this strategy here: diversity can only be product of economically sound ‘opportunity’ and incidental ‘growth’ of our population that will cause ‘diversity’ (Fairclough, 2004). I shall now review being ‘too poor’ and ‘too white’ more closely.

### **We are too poor- Appendix A**

By the time of this strategy, the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador had begun to call the province a ‘have province’ (Ibbitson, 2004; Peckford, 2012). Given this discourse, if new money is filling government coffers, the strategy’s mandate is simply to fill jobs and address demographic concerns. This can possibly explain why any further discussion of the benefits is placed in *Appendix A* and simply cited on page 2. The chances are better that it will not actually be referred to (Lawson, 2004; Fairclough, 2004). Glanced through quickly, the reader sees a simply laid out list of points, marked by bullets and headlines and colonised by lots of business buzzwords. On closer reading (Janks, 2005), *Appendix A* belies an underlying tone of desperation which negates the opportunistic vista presented in the main text (Widdowson, 2011). The following is a short summary of Appendix A:

*Immigration will help to enhance the economic, social and cultural growth of the province in a number of ways*

The maxim of quantity will signify what is in fact important (Widdowson, 2011). Of the thirteen ways listed here, only one says ‘Enrich the province culturally’. Two

benefits mention the new skills, innovation, creativity and entrepreneurship immigrants bring which are personal attributes that an immigrant cannot lose. The remaining benefits are strictly for the benefit of people already here; including tax money and federal government transfer payments that they generate (presumably for health and integration services).

International student enrollment is stated twice as very important. First, the government hopes they will move here afterwards if they have skills Newfoundland needs. Second, Newfoundland can offer “...a high-quality, comprehensive post-secondary education system in our Province, despite declining domestic demographics...” because of immigrant tuition (Govt. of NL: Diversity, 2007, p. 17). This statement is destabilized by the interdiscursive knowledge that problems exist within Newfoundland’s school and college system (McCain, Mustard & McCraig, 2011), and so questions arise as to how the government can faithfully advise immigrants that high quality education exists in the remote parts of Newfoundland where many immigrants will be expected to educate their children (Fairclough, 2004; Janks, 1997; Wodak, 2001b).

*Immigration can help to address some demographic challenges (e.g. declining and aging population, low birth rate, and out-migration)*

Of note is that ‘out-migration’ is actually mentioned here; the Minister is the only person to have used the term otherwise (Govt. of NL: Diversity, 2007, p. iii. See: Wodak et al. 2009).

*Immigration is an important element in addressing specific skill shortages (e.g. rural physicians, other medical professionals, and university Faculty) and supporting development of a skilled labour force.*

It is clear that the government cannot take anyone who does not fill a specific role as stated by the nominee program, even if it would still be nice to have a diverse population. The strategy itself says that investment has been difficult to get in this province because of the lack of skills and population in certain areas (Govt. of NL: Diversity, 2007, p. 23. See also: McCarthy, 2011). As well, it actually seems that the strategy may even prefer to have the immigrant invest in us - it is mentioned three times under the first benefit (if we include that the immigrant will open up foreign markets for local businesses) and twice here.

*The provision of settlement services to government-assisted refugees and immigrants is an employment generator for the province.*

This exemplifies the normal provincial dependence upon federal government subsidies to employ even its own people. Immigration will not only be cost effective (part of the *Principles* section, Govt. of NL: Diversity, 2007), it will generate more jobs that are paid for by someone else. Notable as well is the distinction between refugees, who are federally assisted, and immigrants, who are employed.

## **Summary**

Why does the main text understate the real problems evident in *Appendix A*? A closer reading of this appendix shows that the government cannot pay

its own bills, fulfill stakeholders' economic dreams, or even keep schools and other services of decent quality running to attract immigrants if they don't come here in the first place. The lexicalisation changes from the more assertive language that promotes an unflinching discourse of a prosperous future ahead, to more passive language in *Appendix A*. Increased immigration only vaguely 'helps to enhance... growth', 'can help to address some... challenges', or 'is an important element in addressing' certain problems (Luke, 1995).

Considering Fairclough (2004) and Wodak et al. (2009), this more unsure discourse reflects the prominent narrative of Newfoundland's lack of success in the past with those outside entrepreneurs who many Newfoundlanders feel took advantage of provincial subsidies to ruin Newfoundland's economy rather than contribute to it (Hiller & Martin, 2006; Newfoundland and Labrador Heritage Web Site, 2006; Peckford, 2012; Wright, 2003). This may explain why the document says nothing at all about what constitutes an immigrant investor and whether there is any government investment. It simply refers the reader to other stakeholders or programs that may already have their budgets, or to programs such as the Provincial Nominee Program (PNP) to lay out what the requirements are.

According to Tsuji (2008), a foreign entrepreneur in Newfoundland should have more net worth and liquid investment capital than those in any other province except British Columbia: up to \$750,000 net worth with a minimum of \$200,000 to invest with or without a local partner. While the discourse in the strategy is simply that immigrants contribute to 'our' economy and 'our' culture (Govt. of NL: Diversity, 2007), the

discourse in the PNP requirements for an investor suggests that the province is not interested in a poorer but clever person who invests their small life savings or family contributions in a small business (Fairclough, 2004). Few people in economically, but certainly not intellectually, impoverished countries are worth that much money. But since many people from these poorer countries are also often of a different colour, are these high expectations also intended to place an inherent racial barrier upon immigration (Corbett, 2010; Hooks, 2000; Lund & Carr, 2010; Pennycook, 1994)? Any other immigrants are put into a sponsorship situation and, despite what contribution they may give as temporary workers, the government can determine whether they have the 'net worth' and 'credentials' to become citizens (Apple, 2003).

Finally, the *Guiding principles* say that the provincial government is accountable and cannot waste resources. Nor would it ask people to come here if gainful employment did not exist for them (Govt. of NL: Diversity, 2007, p. 3). It is also important though to remember that Newfoundland wants to keep its own from moving to the rest of Canada and would also like its own back from there (p. 3). Part of being accountable, then, seems to include the assurance that Newfoundland does not lose control by taking too many newcomers when, as *Appendix A* suggests, there is economic woe and, as suggested in the culture section (p. 23-25), there is a home culture to maintain. This is a good preamble to introduce the more insidious problems of being 'too white' (Apple, 2003; Lund, 2006).

## **We are too white: diversity, culture, social and cultural development**

It is much more difficult to deal with the label of being ‘too white’. Such a label specifically designates a ‘white’ homogeneity that may exist in mainly European or North American enclaves that have not experienced the same influx of people of various ethnic or cultural backgrounds as in other population centres. However, being ‘too white’ also implies a potentially or implicitly racist inability or lack of motivation to become less culturally obtuse when working with others or transcending traditional identity models. Critical race theorists say that ‘white’ people often do not seem to recognize that ‘white’, like any other colour, reflects many cultures and traditions. Yet ‘white’ people often enjoy more social power by default; they cannot learn to accept and work with difference as they would have ‘non-white’ people do with them (Fanon, 2008; Hooks, 1992; Lund, 2006).

There seems to be little interest in blending Newfoundland’s culture and society with ‘theirs’, and this could be what will keep Newfoundland ‘too white’. The terms ‘social development’ and ‘cultural development’ normally imply so much more than some new person throwing a new dance or recipe into a pot (Goodhart, 2008). However, there is little indication that immigrants will be invited to contribute to social ideas or planning in Newfoundland, or to the base of traditions and beliefs that change in a society as the blend of people changes (Joppke, 2005b).

The definition of ‘diversity’ is left wide open. It can be used simply: the government hopes to serve “...the needs of an increasingly diverse population” (p. 9). It can be more specific in one of the most altruistic phrase of the document: “...a provincial

policy on multiculturalism which will encourage the fostering of harmonious relations among people of diverse cultural and ethnic backgrounds” (p. 7). It can simply mean a diverse workforce which in any other document would include people of various genders, sexualities, religions, ages, skills, pay scales, and/or cultural backgrounds (p. 5; 16; 29). Otherwise, it means economic diversity: “Increased immigration can bring new business, investment capital, skill transfer and access to foreign markets, elements that are essential to grow and diversify regional economies” (p. 23). Nowhere however, is there a good definition of ‘diversity’ that says ‘real people of many colours, cultures, and backgrounds will be blending together in this heretofore generally homogenous society’ (Luke, 1995).

As well, though Newfoundland’s need for social and cultural development may be synonymous with its need for economic development, the terms ‘social’ and ‘cultural’ have very specific meanings in this policy which raise questions as to how many Newfoundlanders may look at themselves and immigrants. These terms are separated as well from an understanding of what diversity means. By avoiding this more cultural definition of ‘diversity’, and limiting the scope of cultural and social development, the government can also avoid the discussion of whether the local population can adapt (Law, 2004; Luke, 1995; Wodak et al., 2009).

### *Social development*

From the strategy, the idea of ‘social development’ in Newfoundland seems to refer to the problem, especially in rural Newfoundland, of not filling professional positions that are available (Govt. of NL: Diversity, 2007, p. 1); even while such services are constantly cut back anyway because of limited funds (consider the change in nursing

positions mentioned in the chapter 5. See: Fairclough, 2004; Widdowson, 2011). Social development has to do with the redevelopment of such services as the economy rebuilds: it means employing immigrants in ‘social’ professions (p. 1; 17; 22; Appendix A) or, troublingly, it means the financial contribution that a foreign student makes to our educational budget to keep our schools operating (p. 20; Appendix A). Immigrants are not necessarily included in decisions that are made in this regard.

### *Distinctions between ‘culture’ and ‘diversity’*

Even more exclusionary are the notions of ‘culture’, ‘cultural development’ and the ‘diversity’ that will be found in it and will be added to it. Since ‘diversity’ and ‘cultural development’ is designated as a product of ‘immigration’, up to six times in the first two pages, this suggests that the current ‘culture of Newfoundland’ may only accept the influx of other discernible cultures as a peripheral addition. This is substantiated by the one short paragraph of two markedly simple sentences which designate specifically what is meant by ‘culture’:

They [‘immigrants’, not ‘people’] bring diversity, *and* [my italics because ‘the conjunction suggests that diversity is different from what follows] the opportunity to experience other cultures, their food, their music, their art” (Govt. of NL: Diversity, 2007, p.1).

If ‘diversity’ is somehow distinct from ‘culture’ it is difficult to imagine how ‘diversity’ contributes to ‘cultural development’, which stakeholders say they want, unless ‘development’ means, much like the idea of ‘social development’ above, that there



will be more ‘cultures’ added to Newfoundland that may still lead distant and separate lives (Law, 2004; Luke, 1995; Widdowson, 2011). In this strategy, ‘culture’ means a distinct groups of people and this is limited to people displaying ‘their’ customs, separate from ‘ours’, or to them investing in ‘our culture’. These definitions tend to suggest that the Newfoundland collective ‘culture’ is more resolute and ‘distinct’ than flexible.

Interesting as well is the discourse of ‘distinction between cultures’ implied in the use of the term ‘cultural awareness’ (Fairclough, 2005). The only time people actually need ‘cultural awareness’ (to truly stand back and appreciate different ways things may be done. See: Quappe & Cantatore, 2005), is when the government recognizes that different people will work together (Govt. of NL: Diversity, 2007, p. 9; p. 29). In this government document ‘awareness’ implies more simply the understanding that we are different (p. 14. See: Luke, 1995; Widdowson, 2011).

The *Guiding principles* section offers the only holistic approach to the process of immigration: it “...addresses the needs of the entire immigrant family and recognizes the economic, social, and cultural contributions immigrants make to *the* (my italics because of the following distinction between the province and *our* cultural diversity) province”. However, immigrants’ contributions are distinctivized in the *Respectful* section that follows:

Government is committed to maintaining and promoting respectful and productive working relationships with all citizens and residents of the province, while recognizing the distinctive contributions of Aboriginal

peoples and immigrants to our cultural diversity (Govt. of NL: Diversity, 2007, p, 4)

Two problems arise from this statement. First, ‘distinctive’ is similar to ‘unique’ which, along with recognizing the experiences offered by seeing *their* food and *their* culture and so forth in practice, simply keeps each person in their separate category (Fairclough, 2004; Luke, 1995; Wodak, et al., 2009). It is difficult to determine what the clause above means other than that Aboriginal people and immigrants are to be singled out as ‘distinctive’. This designates ‘Newfoundland culture’ as the definable norm (Iacovino, 2013; Siddiqui, 2012). From a conference on immigration and integration, Kazemipur (2013) stated that immigrants appreciate having their practices legitimized in the general public, not specifically distinguished or labelled. Here, the government is guaranteeing that they will be supporting all ‘citizens and residents of the province’, while, conversely, purposefully delineating Aboriginal people and immigrants –this may not be malicious but it does keep track of difference (Given, 2008; Widdowson, 2011).

Second, the government curiously speaks of ‘our cultural diversity’ that already exists. It is important to point out the timely use of the word ‘our’ when referring to ‘cultural diversity’ (Janks, 1997). The new Arts Policy (2006) also suggests that ‘we’ have ‘diversity’:

One of the true strengths of the culture of Newfoundland and Labrador is its diversity. The Government of Newfoundland and Labrador knows that fostering the continuing evolution of this characteristic is essential. (Govt. of NL: Arts, 2006, p. 24)

This interdiscursive conflict is enlightening as it further defines the provincial government's discourse on 'our culture': Newfoundland both has 'diversity' but needs it (Fairclough, 2004; Wodak et al., 2009). However, the only people who seem to make Newfoundland's culture diverse are the aboriginals. This problematizes the statement that this diversity is strong because it can hardly be said that the inclusion of aboriginal people in 'our cultural diversity' was easily won or is strong. Even now, shift managers are being disciplined for strong racist slurs on Labrador worksites (Johansen, 2013; Montague, 2013).

Considering what is missing (Law, 2004), the Portuguese or the Asian populations in Newfoundland are not included in this 'diversity'. The words *England, Ireland, France, English, Irish*, or *French* are also not used, but, as already suggested in chapter 1, they are the default culture in the province's history books (Bannister, 2002b).

More, the use of 'our' suggests that 'diversity' is a distinct characteristic of the 'culture of the province'. This implies that it is an intellectual state of mind rather than a quantitative adjective for the culture. 'Diversity', then, designates the culture of Newfoundland and Labrador (read: people) where white, mainly English, Irish and possibly French people, are 'diversified' simply by acknowledging 'other' people exist. This characteristic would be better stated as 'tolerance' or 'acceptance', rather than 'diversity' (Bisoondath, 2004; Ricouer, 1996). However, from chapter 2, tolerance or acceptance are less definable and controllable, especially given that Newfoundland continually distinguishes 'our' diverse culture from another (Bisoondath, 2004; Clary-Lemon, 2003; Lund, 2006; Lund & Carr, 2010). Lexically, 'diversity' should only be a

quantifiable item, with adjectives such as ‘more’ or ‘less’ or ‘well’ – it does not describe the state of integration or acceptance (Luke, 1995).

This strange delineation between ‘Newfoundland’s culture’ and ‘diversity’ is furthered in the 2008 multicultural policy which was put out from the same ministry as the immigration strategy and the Arts policy: “Equality of opportunity for all... embodies rights and responsibilities of all, including people of diverse cultures” (Govt. of NL: Policy, 2008, p. 4). Here, the provinces’ culture is again the default. The person who comes from a diverse society is implied to be diverse themselves, which does not logically follow. The other society, and thus the person, is diverse because they are different than ‘Newfoundland culture’ (Luke, 1995; Janks, 1997; Widdowson, 2011, Wodak, 2001b). This distinction is made again where, under *Inclusive citizenship*, the reader is told that “Culturally diverse people possess a wealth and variety of human talents and experience with great potential to contribute to the economic and social development of the Province” (Govt. of NL: Policy, 2008, p. 4). Lexically, it is difficult to describe a person as culturally diverse, though they may have diverse talents. However, the Newfoundland and Labrador government will accept their misnomer of ‘diversity’ as a personal characteristic that is different than ‘others’ and can simply be added to the social and economic pot – but not necessarily the cultural pot (Goodhart, 2008; Luke 1995).

This ‘diversity’ is part of economic capital, then, rather than cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1989; Gee, 2001). ‘Newfoundland culture’ is distinguished in the Arts Policy

(2006) as the product of one important economic sector in Newfoundland: tourism (See: Overton, 1994):

The mandate of the Department of Tourism, Culture and Recreation is to strengthen economic growth and employment in the tourism industry, foster creativity through the arts, preserve and interpret the province's natural and cultural heritage, and promote active living through recreation and sport. The Department has several strategies which provide guidance and a balanced approach to preserving the province's past and protecting our natural and cultural resources, with the potential to create jobs and develop economic opportunities. (Govt. of NL: Diversity, 2007, p. 23)

Newfoundland deliberately controls its 'culture' (Doty, 2010). The province's 'natural and cultural heritage' only includes 'us', which means 'Newfoundlanders from the original origins' alongside the Aboriginal people (Luke, 1995; Janks, 1997; Widdowson, 2011). The government would certainly appreciate an immigrant to fill one of the positions in the hotel sector and encourage more people from their country of origin to visit; it is not interested in them demonstrating any part of 'their culture' (Govt. of NL: Diversity, 2007).

The Arts policy also suggests employers in the arts sector can "Use the Provincial Nominee Program to recruit world class artisans who would contribute to cultural enrichment and provide access to international markets" (Govt. of NL: Diversity, 2007, p. 24). Again, 'they' are contributing to 'our' cultural enrichment. These artisans will teach 'us' to be better at 'our' culture (Janks, 1997; Widdowson, 2011).

The government must control this term ‘culture’. The immigration strategy has advised that ‘diversity’ has value and benefits; people in the province must become aware “...throughout the province of the contributions immigrants make *and* (my italics) the value of a more diverse society” (Govt. of NL: Diversity, 2007, p. 4). The province “...seeks to build awareness of the benefits of immigration *and* (my italics) diversity” (p. 30). ‘Our culture’ is put on display for tourists; ‘their culture’ is put on display for ‘us’. As I consider more transitive and intertextual ways in which the individual becomes commoditized and controllable, it will become more evident that ‘diversity’ becomes almost a place for the people of new cultures to go home to and find some people like them (Fairclough, 1992; Janks, 1997; Luke, 1995; Wodak, 2009). The discourse that ‘diversity is desirable’ does not really translate to positive action in the social realm. This leaves a situation much like Ali (2007), Baruma (2006), and Husain (2007) warn of in chapter 2, where the government remains uninterested or unaccountable for what actually happens to immigrant labourers after work (Jaegar, 2001; Fairclough, 1992; Reisigl & Wodak, 2001).

## Commoditizing the individual

### **Immigration as a function with commodities rather than people**

The word ‘immigration’ has no meaning when used as the subject of the phrase ‘Immigration contributes to...’ –people do not contribute; rather it is a process (Brinton & Closs Traugott, 2005; Wodak, 2009). Great numbers of immigrants are immediately marginalized and controlled through the impersonal use of ‘immigration’ as a pronominal

(Fairclough, 2004). It is much easier to set quotas for faceless and nameless commodities. Policies, practices and processes can be mastered; people cannot and, so, this policy rarely uses the word 'people' (Luke, 1995; Janks. 1997). As well, the specific word 'immigrant' is most often used as an adjectival noun meaning 'investor', an entity that hires people or fills hard-to-fill spots, or something that the federal government takes care of (Luke, 1995; Widdowson, 2011).

There are many examples. 'Immigration', not 'people', increases the tax base in *Appendix A*. Stakeholders support 'immigration', the process, but quickly qualify that their priority is to attract entrepreneurs and 'those' - the word 'people' or 'immigrants' is not used in this paragraph - with skills not available in the province. 'People' do not move from one place to another, nor do they contribute to or benefit from anything. It is only the process of 'immigration' that repeatedly addresses issues such as population growth and demographic challenges. The term 'immigrant', used eleven times in the two pages of the Introduction, is a commodity which brings things like diversity or does things that Newfoundland needs. The term 'immigration' is used as a noun (8 times) and as an adjective to describe the strategy (6 times) in the same two pages (Govt. of NL: Diversity, 2007). Otherwise, immigrants are 'they' or 'those'. The term 'person', 'persons', or 'people' is used only fourteen times throughout the entire policy: four times in Appendix B when stating there are many people waiting to immigrate from a region; once in the Premier's message talking of what good people 'Newfoundlanders' are; once more when talking about 'local people'; once talking universally of 'all people'; once as Aboriginal peoples; once as 'we will encourage skilled people' which could include anyone; once

when describing some immigrant women as being “persons in need”; once used with students who are separated from the others immigrants, and once where Ibbitson (2004) says “...people from Beijing or Bombay...”. Grice’s maxim of quantity, and the lexicalisation of the word ‘people’ versus the word ‘immigrants’ or ‘immigration’ suggest that the policy does not want to discuss the plight of real people who might come here (Fairclough, 2004; Luke, 1995; Janks, 1997; Widdowson, 2011).

Such depersonalisation means, first, that stakeholders and others can easily tease out the entrepreneurs or those immigrants that can fit into any ‘hard to fill’ (inverted commas in the policy) positions. Conceivably, these undefined ‘hard to fill’ jobs could, again, mean any ill-paid and/or exploitive jobs like *nanny* and *donut shop worker* that local people will not take (to be pursued in depth in chapter 5). International students are similarly depersonalised:

International students... bring cultural diversification to our institutions and communities, offer opportunities for our students to learn about and experience other cultures, and help to better prepare our youth to compete in the knowledge-based global economy.

International students are arguably the best immigration pool for this Province. The global demand for education, and the inability of many developing countries to meet the training needs of more than a fraction of their student populations, creates great opportunity to increase our enrollment numbers. (Govt. of NL: Diversity, 2007, p. 17)



International students are considered units which ‘bring cultural diversification’, another commodity, to the school. It is something they ‘bring’ besides the money Newfoundland needed to keep quality in the school. These units help ‘our province’, ‘our institutions and communities’, ‘our youth’, ‘our students’ and ‘our enrollment numbers’. Meanwhile, ‘our students’ can learn about and experience ‘them’. Thus international students are not people but something found in the middle of one of a series of ‘immigration pools for this Province’. Educating them is an opportunity for ‘us’, not for ‘them’.

The second benefit is that immigrants can be more expendable. Of eleven times the word ‘immigrants’ is used in the first two pages, they contribute to ‘our’ province or economy three times, once to the province’s ‘cultural development’, and once to ‘diversification’ – the latter two which an immigrant person probably cannot help but contribute to. Otherwise, it is usually an adjective. Meanwhile, the term ‘immigration’ also contributes. In fact, no matter how they are referred to, immigrants or immigration (and foreign students) usually contribute or is a benefit to ‘us’. Considering the logic of Fairclough’s (1992; 2003) ‘business vulgate’ and that of inevitability (Wodak, 2001b), when immigration is a business function, the commodities should contribute to ‘our plan’ and not take from us anything more than what is a necessary investment. This is much like any other immigrant who (as in chapter 2 and: Apple, 2003), when their purpose is obsolete, run the risk of being disposed of like any other piece of economic capital.

## Controlling and segregating the immigrant

### **Even if people do come, they will be controlled**

Again, by dehumanizing the whole process, it is controllable (Fairclough, 2004; Luke, 1995; Janks, 1997; Widdowson, 2011). This makes it easier to imply that no people, whether immigrants or newcomers, will actually live here, will take up residence in Newfoundland, or even stay here. Instead, according to the policy, the language of what would happen to people is changed (Luke, 1995, Wodak, 2001a). Immigrants are ‘retained’, they are ‘handled’ by various services, they are the focus of ‘...settlement and integration services...’ (Govt. of NL: Diversity, 2007, p. 4 & 9).

It is important to consider more about the definitions of ‘diversity’ in tandem with that of ‘home’, ‘settlement’ and other words and pronouns that are used in these first ten pages. I am considering mainly the policy’s fourth goal which is to increase and retain immigration which I shall consider interdiscursively and intertextually with its federal counterpart and other parts of the provincial document (Fairclough, 1992; 2003; 2004; Luke, 1995, Widdowson, 2011). A similar definition of ‘diversity’ in the Newfoundland policy makes it possible to put different people in different places than where local people live: “Experts note that a welcoming community is one that respects diversity *and* (my italics) makes newcomers feel at ‘home’” (Govt. of NL: Diversity, 2007, p. 7). Looking at the transitivity within the text (Fairclough, 2005), communities are not always welcoming but those that are respect diversity. As well, a local person can respect diversity without actually making newcomers feel at ‘home’. Similarly, the lexicalization of the word

‘home’ in inverted commas causes definitive problems (Luke, 1995; Janks, 1997). The writer may simply wish to imply the adjective ‘comfortable’ or ‘settled’ as in the phrase ‘A house is not a home until....’ Regardless, it does call attention to the idea that many people have different versions of what they call ‘home’. By specifying here, this home does not need to be in the same places as ‘other’s homes’.

From another reading of the text (Janks, 1997), some who say they feel at ‘home’ may only be waiting until they find a better ‘home’. I consider this statement intertextually with two others statements (Fairclough, 1992; 2003): first, immigrants “...move on to other cities where there are more members of their respective ethnic communities” (Govt. of NL: Diversity, 2007, p. 8) and; second, immigrants move “...to join family and friends in provinces that have more population diversity” (p. 15). These two racist statements raise two issues.

First, as Clements says: “its chief sin [dividing people into their ‘ethnic’ communities] is that it can make people who use the word forget that ethnicity - differences in speech, look, national origin, cultural behaviour - covers all of us” (p. 1). People in Newfoundland can keep their own ethnicity and blame it upon the ‘other’ person if they don’t adapt (Wodak, 2001b). The immigrants are committed ultimately to ‘their respective ethnic communities’ (Burama, 2006; Boirdieu, 1989; Gee, 2001), not ‘ours’. Indeed, the document does not ever seem to be able to pinpoint where ‘home’ is. They settle into ‘their’ new homes (Govt. of NL: Diversity, 2007, p. i; p. 1) or ‘their’ new communities (p. 5; p. 7), or ‘their respective ethnic communities’ (p. 8; p. 15). Although

saying ‘their’ may have been meant to suggest the discourse that ‘our home is becoming theirs as well’, the use of the pronoun of ownership here is segregating

Second, the government and the people of Newfoundland and Labrador are absolved of culpability as illustrated in an interesting and unfortunate juxtaposition of sentences in the policy quote below (Janks, 1997; Widdowson, 2011). Immediately after saying that some people have to move to places where there are more people of their own ethnicity, the document says:

In the field of immigration, the common term used for the process of receiving and integrating newcomers is ‘settlement’. The term ‘integration’ is used to describe the process of involving immigrants in their new community. Integration is a two-way process that involves commitment on the part of newcomers to adapt to life in Canada, as well as commitment on the part of Canadians to adapt to new people and cultures.

Throughout the consultation process, many stakeholders noted the necessity of ensuring that adequate services are available to newcomers. The province’s capacity to settle and integrate immigrants should be a determining factor in how many newcomers to attract. (Govt. of NL: Diversity, 2007, p. 8)

This is a reversal of the statistics in Ibbitson’s (2004) piece which suggests that friends and family are more important than employment. The policy has already stated that immigrants who cannot find work are forced to move, whereas those without friends

and family simply ‘don’t feel accepted’ because they need to live with their own ‘ethnic community’. Such stereotyping relieves local people of any blame. To accept that some simply move on to live with their own takes the onus off people in Newfoundland to be culturally accepting – they need only to tolerate and have the inherent power to ignore difficulties (Ali, 2006; Bissondath, 2004; Burama, 2006; Bourdieu, 1989; Joppke, 2005a; Lund, 2006; Ricoeur, 1996; Wodak, 2001b).

A further disclaimer in the provincial document follows in the statement that integration is a two-way process. It is almost an exact duplicate of the line in the federal government’s immigration toolkit publication:

“Integration” is the term Canada uses to describe the process of enfolding and involving immigrants in their new community. Integration is a two-way process that involves commitment on the part of newcomers to adapt to life in Canada, as well as commitment on the part of Canadians to adapt to new people and cultures.” (National Working Group on Small Centre Strategies, 2007, p. 66)

The provincial document leaves out ‘enfolding’ or other such terms of embracement as in the federal document. Because the previous paragraph in the provincial document has already used the phrase ‘their respective ethnic communities’, the use of ‘involving immigrants in their new community (Govt. of NL: Diversity, 2007, p. 8)’ in the following paragraph raises questions again as to whether this means ‘their own ethnic community’ elsewhere, ‘their own’ here, or the ‘Newfoundland community’ which they may indeed want to claim some ownership over (Bourdieu, 1989; Clements,

2012; Wodak et al., 2009). Each term becomes lexically too broad to include everyone and thus absolves some (Janks, 1997; Law 2004; Luke 1995).

The thought that immigrants must remain beholding or move on is reflected in the *Responsible* section of the guiding principles:

Government is committed to a responsible approach in attracting and retaining immigrants who will contribute to the social and economic development of the province and who will benefit from settling in Newfoundland and Labrador. (Govt. of NL: Diversity, 2007, p. 3)

The immigrant here is the recipient of Newfoundland's beneficence as the province adopts the power to decide 'who will benefit' from settling in the province. Doty (2004) talked of the demeaning practice holding inherent power over the immigrant in the position of being a grateful benefactor, just as Ricouer (1996) says a State should have no idea of its own goodness. This statement plays into that part of the Newfoundland public who would be concerned about their power and whether the immigrant should be thankful to be here. If a person is not deemed to benefit, what will be the consequence?

In considering the Canadian and Newfoundland documents interdiscursively here (Fariclough, 2004; Wodak, 2009), I find other difficult problems that arise from the way definitions are redefined and recontextualized from the Canadian to the Newfoundland policy statements. For example, shortly before discussing the two-way process of acceptance, the Canadian government also says: "the common term used for receiving and integrating newcomers is 'settlement'" (National Working Group on Small Centre Strategies, 2006, p. 65). But in that same paragraph, the federal document also suggests

that there may be some small ethnic communities that exist from previous immigration waves. The federal government's purpose is to suggest that people from this community can act as a *cultural bridge* to help the new people to feel more comfortable overall; it is not to automatically relegate the new people to live with these people as the provincial documents suggests (Widdowson, 2009).

There are other differences in the definition of 'settling' and 'integrating' between the federal and provincial policy. Two paragraphs in the provincial strategy bear familiarity to the federal tool kit (National Working Group on Small Centre Strategies, 2007):

"Resettlement" is a term in international usage that is frequently used to describe the process of settling refugees in a new community as a "durable solution" for them.

The term 'resettlement' is specifically for refugees, but since the Newfoundland government ignores refugees, they talk of 'settlement' as if it too is a strange term: "In the field of immigration, the common term used for the process of receiving and integrating newcomers is 'settlement'" (Govt. of NL: Diversity, 2007, p. 8.). This may be, though the word hardly needs as distinct a definition as 'resettlement' (Brinton & Closs Traugott, 2005; Wodak 2001). As well, in 'resettlement', the federal government is referring to people who had already been settled elsewhere and forced to move and resettle. The person's intent was not to have been 'resettled'. Importantly, the resettlement is not 'ours' or 'theirs' but hopefully 'a solution' that can last (Janks, 1997; Widdowson, 2011). Reading somewhat against the text (Janks, 2005), to introduce 'settlement' as a technical

phrase almost seems to suggest that, much like ‘home’ earlier, it is not easy to say that new people will actually settle here. Therefore, I can query whether the word is set aside as a euphemism of sorts to possibly imply ‘temporarily’ or ‘somewhere other than with us’ (Doty, 2010; Luke, 1995; Wodak, 2001a).

Finally, the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador does not include a paragraph similar to the federal counterpart which distinctly mentions that “ ‘Assimilation’ is a term not favoured when talking about settlement practices and their results even though some academics may use the term” (National Working Group on Small Centre Strategies, p. 2007, p. 66). Does the idea of assimilation not seem as undesirable by Newfoundlanders?

That new people might easily be ghettoized in Newfoundland is also exemplified when the Newfoundland policy implies that ‘stakeholders’ may lexically view ‘settlement’ or ‘integration’ as simply meaning to provide adequate services. ‘Services’ might be qualified by ‘different’, or ‘theirs’, or of ‘lesser but adequate’ quality. ‘Services’ may simply mean more of what is already here, extra places to sleep or larger sewer systems – it is not clear whether they are everyone’s services or whether they are specific to the immigrants. Of course, such services can be taken away again in budget cuts (See Bourdieu, 1989; Joppke, 2005a; Luke, 1995). Intertextually this is likely what guided stakeholders who were convinced that ‘immigrants create opportunity’ but had to limit numbers to how much the province “...could accommodate and integrate... [‘integrate’ shortly becomes clarified to mean] integrated into the local labour market or [to reiterate ‘accommodate’ perhaps] for whom we can provide adequate settlement



services” (Govt. of NL: Diversity, 2007, p. 26. See: Fairclough, 2004; Wodak, 2009). Of course, ‘settlement services’ are often federally funded as well, remembering the ANC and their English language schools and federal transfer payments. Considering Law (2004) because ‘social’ settlement seems to be missing, it is possibly not an issue (See also: Reisigl & Wodak, 2001).

Again, it appears that social settlement may not be wanted. I return to the emphasis that immigration be understood as only one part of a forum’s decision that “...all three elements [immigration, population retention, and repatriation] are important for economic and population growth” (Govt. of NL: Diversity, 2007, p.3). If immigrants need only be a temporary solution, the interpretation of ‘benefit from settling’ is manipulated and more entitled Newfoundlanders move home or stay and use the facilities originally created for the immigrants who may move on (Apple, 2003).

It may seem an unfathomable thought that immigrants may live in bunkhouses or with ‘others of their ethnicity’, were it not the contextual case that this is exactly what is happening in places like Labrador City and Baie de Verde (Chapter 5 will deal with this. See: Fairclough, 2004; Janks, 1997; Janks, 2005). Here the discourse of immigrants contributing positively to economic potential, ‘demographic challenges’ and ‘population growth’ does not imply any real concern about their future here as an equal citizen. The contextual elements here suggest instead that immigrants are a temporary solution that will keep the province and the social services intact for the kids of those Newfoundlanders who come back or choose to stay because of the new economy (Law,

2004; Luke, 2005; Janks, 2005). I turn now to the plan to convince more immigrants to come here and to stay.

## The Action Plan

### **Awareness building: Foundation for propaganda?**

There is no question whether immigration is a good idea – the objections of the few stakeholders were never quantified and are forgotten - it is simply a matter of locals not being aware of this truth:

Government recognizes the need to increase awareness throughout the province of the benefits of immigration and the role it can play in economic and social development, in both urban and rural areas. (Govt. of NL: Diversity, 2007, p. 5)

By virtue of it not being talked about (Law, 2004), there will not necessarily be any constructive discussion of potential problems that were referred to in chapter 2.

In fact this particular section of the strategy lays the foundation for what can be a very one-sided propaganda campaign. In the first place, business, municipal stakeholders, and teachers and school boards will be offered workshops to increase their awareness of the benefits. This simply reiterates the information above and explains how to use the PNP system available. It is said that the education system will have its multicultural education policy updated, though to date this has not happened. Is it that there is little concept as to what that should really entail, or a reluctance to accept that immigrants

should actually stay, or the feeling that students are benefitting already from our superior system as suggested in chapter 5 (Bissondath, 2004; Doty, 2004; Said, 1997). There may also be little will to change the acceptable ‘Newfoundland culture’ narrative being pulled through our curriculum (Wodak, 2001b; Jaeger, 2001) - this will be highlighted in the *Attraction and promotion* section.

An equally bias proposal, “...engage local media to promote the benefits of immigration...” (Govt. of NL: Diversity, 2007, p. 5), uses a powerful but objective media to sell this understanding (a reason I study the *Land and Sea* episode in chapter 5, though there is no indication that the program was commissioned). Otherwise, there is little extra money to be spent: to “publish profiles of successful immigrant entrepreneurs who are creating employment opportunities in the province” is easy as this had already been published (Immigration Policy and Planning Human Resources, 2006). This publication included a number of notably white or certainly less visible minorities. Of the two visible minorities, the Vietnamese people had actually been refugees and had struggled for seven years with the decision to stay. They finally started a successful tailoring business - an example much like the Zakanovs in chapter 5 to follow. Such immigrants are often marginalized and underemployed because of their poor command of language and their status as wards of the State (Fleming, 2010) – they finally start something on a shoestring budget wherein they manage to succeed. The other visible minority is a successful Tanzanian person who was brought here initially as a doctor but who managed to start a thriving business in eastern Newfoundland.

Unfortunately the province has little information from those who left (Kazemipur, 2013). Immigrant people have been and can be successful, and it cannot hurt to encourage positive images of people who come from many backgrounds to Newfoundlanders. But will negative press about poor experiences between locals and immigrant peoples be suppressed? Will media simply acquiesce in positivity? How balanced will publicity be about the role of local people, for example? Positive information need not be balanced with equally negative, but the conversation should be frank and accurate. Nor should the conversation always be led by governments, committees, and ‘others’ who are successful. They can simply make the discussion easier, like Bisoodnath (2004) suggests, so ‘we can all go home’ at the end of the day. Success is not simply a *fait accompli* to market.

## Attraction and promotion: What is accurate?

Goal 2 is to attract people’s attention to the existence and benefits of Newfoundland, though to this point there has still been no statement as to what those benefits are. Unfortunately, there is a potential for misinformation or discouraging information. Rereading intertextually, this is borne out in the second action under *What we will do*: “Provide accurate information on the province, highlighting its *potential* [my italics] as a desirable destination for prospective immigrants”. According to *How we will do it*, there will be little accuracy; it is ‘strategic’ information from photographs of mosques, temples and health facilities—it must also be assumed that the government knows what is wanted (Fairclough, 1992; Janks, 1997). It might be assumed that the economic challenges presented within *Appendix A* will not be mentioned. Nor will the

social and cultural challenges from the first four pages be included. The word ‘accurate’ becomes misleading (Brinton & Closs Traugott, 2005; Widdowson, 2011, Wodak, 2001b). The reader is left to understand that only positive things can be said about the destination of Newfoundland; even though the outcome is only now a ‘potential’, can the reader expect that the program could fail because truly ‘accurate’ information was given?

The lexicalisation of the word ‘accurate’ in this second goal is problematized when considering, first, what ‘accurate’ could mean in the case of defining identity structure felt by many ‘Newfoundlanders’, and what people in Newfoundlanders might ‘accurately’ prefer to have said (Janks, 1997; Luke, 1995). I shall highlight these before discussing briefly how what seems an inclusive consideration of languages and various people in the province actually contextualizes potential prejudices through what the consideration excludes (Law, 2004).

### **Who we are – how we view ourselves**

Unfortunately, so-called ‘accurate’ statements can reflect beliefs and images of ‘ourselves’ that may actually discourage immigration. For example, I refer to a section of a generally earnest website for the town of St. Anthony developed presumably from the government’s immigration initiative discussed here (Govt. of NL: Diversity, 2007, p. 30). Strategic photographs are shown of grocery stores alongside truthful descriptions of many Newfoundland foods. However, the description discusses the enhanced content of pork fat and moose meat, and touted as a diet which “...befits a people historically plagued by hardship...” (<http://www.town.stanthony.nf.ca/portal.php>). Many people in the region still eat this food but there may be many who do not – people with health or religious

interests, for example. Further, the people in the area are distinguished as having a “...culture that is closely linked with the traditional importance of fisheries” and, though the fisheries are depleted, “...the influence of the fishing culture has remained...” The community or provincial identity is singularly recontextualized as having been “...built upon the foundation of when it was an independent dominion” (Bannister, 2002b; Castells, 2010).

This description of a somewhat mythical Newfoundland culture with a highly symbolic diet is likely to appeal to more local people than potential immigrants (Barthes, 1972). In fact, the writers of this material above even left the phrase “unique culture for tourists to experience” on the immigration webpage. The curtain masking the reality of the communities from the tourist image of the region must be let down at some point, however (Overton, 1994). There are still many attractive aspects of a rugged rural atmosphere which may appeal to people, but this cultural image has been set up rigidly as the ‘distinguished’ default against which ‘others’ will likely be measured (Bissondath, 2004; Castells, 2010; Fairclough, 2004). Lawson (2004) might suggest that this is more a myth to control who comes or what is expected of them when they do.

## **Appendix B - Where immigrants should come from**

Goal 2 refers the reader to *Appendix B* which specifically sets out who the province would like to entice first. I base a number of observations on the principle of how naming specific groups of individuals excludes others (Law, 2004; Reisigl & Wodak, 2001). Of the eight targeted recruitment regions in *Appendix B*, only two do not

mention that there are specifically groups of English speaking natives. Language, then, is a primary concern. Those already speaking English are both cheaper and more readily incorporated into the landscape (Gee, 2001; Pennycook) – when considering that people must already have attained skills to work here, it may also be considered that these people may more often come from ‘whiter’, or slightly more developed and more ‘westernized’ regions (Aydemir & Skuterud, 2005).

Accordingly, the first target is England and Ireland which recontextualizes the older tensions between the religious and economic classes (mentioned further in chapter 5) and accentuates the attractiveness of gaining more people who represent our default culture (Bannister, 2002b; Fairclough, 2004; Thompson, 2010). Of the ‘non-white’ communities, India and China are traditional ‘colonial’ targets for educated and English speaking immigrants (Apple, 2003). The first unusual region is Korea because there is not an English speaking population. However, there has been a lot of English being taught in Korea, many Korean people are studying in Canada, and the rest of Atlantic Canada has had success, says the appendix, so they must be a safe bet (Luke, 1995).

More interesting is that only African people - at the bottom of the list - who speak English are welcome; the discourse likely being that usually it is more educated and wealthier Africans who speak English (Pennycook, 1998). French speakers, however, may come from St. Pierre and Miquelon; it is not even considered that a considerable number of Africans speak French (Aydemir & Skuterud, 2005; Pennycook, 1994). This anomaly suggests two things: either that there is not much interest in having black Africans, remembering as well that there are white English speaking Africans in South

Africa, Zimbabwe and similar former colonial outposts (Pennycook) or; that the inclusion of French in the target is actually simply a gesture to the requirements of the Canadian mandate to encourage French discussed below (Brinton & Closs Traugott, 2005; Wodak, 2001b).

Reading this text a different way (Janks, 1997) and considering it intertextually (Fairclough, 1992; 2003), another question comes to mind as to whether there is a colour barrier implied here. There have already been both coloured and white African people in Newfoundland as health and other professionals. They are all able to speak with English speaking Newfoundlanders and do not have to speak French. It is said that the prospects of integration are good, but is this for both white and coloured people? Is this prospect of good integration equal for a person of colour, or is it that a coloured African person moving to Newfoundland is assumed to mingle with the few other coloured African people already here (Bourdieu, 1989; Fairclough, 1992; Fairclough, 2003; Janks, 2005)?

### **Using language as a requirement**

In fact, designating French as a desirable language is likely only because of the bilingual policy of Canada. From Newfoundland's heritage web site, the French-speaking population accounts for less than one per cent of the Newfoundland population according to 1996 Statistics Canada figures and:

...those who claim only French as their mother tongue do so despite the fact that they are all more or less bilingual. Even the province's proximity



to three of the last vestiges of France's presence in North America, namely Québec, Acadia and the islands of St. Pierre-Miquelon, has not been enough to keep the French fact in Newfoundland from remaining largely ignored. (Butt, 1998)

There are special separate financial incentives from the federal government to garner more French people to live and invest in Newfoundland as in other francophone parts of Canada (RDÉE Canada: Réseau de développement économique et d'employabilité). Therefore, this target is a nod to that Federal incentive - it being the case that most French people here would end up like those already here: having to learn English (Butt, 1998).

The designation of English and French as Canada's official languages did not really anticipate that by 2011, there would be one fifth of Canadian people speaking non-official languages in their homes and that the fastest growing language in Canada would be the Filipino language often referred to as Tagalog (Bricker & Ibbitson, 2013; Dyer, 2010; Pennycook, 1998; Statistics Canada, 2006; Statistics Canada 2012). The 2006 statistics said that there are 650 people in Newfoundland who speak French at home, while there are 4905 people who speak 'non-official' languages at home (Statistics Canada, 2006).

## Are we welcoming or not – the tool box

Finally, I wish to discuss the question whether Newfoundlanders are welcoming as is implied or conceived in this particular text. This is expressed in the third goal,

*Welcoming Communities*, and intertextually through the first four pages (Fairclough, 1992; 2003). Under the *Principles* section:

Government is committed to work with partners to ensure a ‘welcoming’ society for immigrants, which goes beyond being friendly or hospitable. It means welcoming immigrants into our communities, our workplaces, our homes, and our lives. (Govt. of NL: Diversity, 2007, p. 3-4)

I must now ask why the word ‘welcoming’ is put in inverted commas and can only surmise that the term is meant to define more than the terms ‘friendly’ or ‘hospitable’ which are not in inverted commas (Luke, 1995). The second line says that ‘It’, which is presumed ‘the act of welcoming’ means welcoming (no longer in inverted commas) immigrants into every facet of the Newfoundland society: communities, workplaces, homes and lives which, because it is reiterated each time, ‘ours’ (Widdowson, 2011).

This deeper difference here is found in the discourse of ‘tolerance’: to put ‘welcome’ in inverted commas says that Newfoundlanders must not simply tolerate, as they do tourists. They must welcome newcomers as one of ‘their own’ (Bisoondath, 2004; Clary-Lemon, 2003; Lund, 2006; Lund & Carr, 2010; Ricoeur, 1996). What has happened is that the term ‘welcoming’ has been problematized to separate ‘we’ from ‘them’ – it defines what degree of ‘tolerance’ there must be on ‘our’ part, much as putting the term ‘home’ in inverted commas had suggested that ‘ours’ and ‘theirs’ may remain definitively different (Widdowson, 2011). Though this directive is placed in the policy as that of a knowing and caring government (Ricoeur, 1996), I have already shown that desire or

even cultural knowledge to face this challenge of ‘welcoming’ foreign people may actually be lacking (Bissondath, 2004; Doty, 2010). Like the assurance that immigrants should be encouraged to move here, the term ‘welcoming’ is again attributed to experts and ‘partners’; thus allowing the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador to distance itself from culpability (Govt. of NL: Diversity, 2007, p. 7; See: Fairclough, 2004; Jaeger, 2001; Wodak, 2001b).

Similarly, using the nominal ‘awareness building’ absolves the government of saying that Newfoundland might be ‘too white’ (Fairclough, 2004). Throughout, these terms like ‘welcoming’ and ‘awareness-building’ are often collocated with the implied term ‘too white’ (Luke, 1995; Janks, 1997; Widdowson, 2011). As a result, the policy starts to suggest that Newfoundlanders may not necessarily be ‘welcoming’ nor be aware that they are not. It is possible that only ‘people whose awareness is built’ throughout the province, will recognize an immigrant’s contributions and the value, not of the people themselves, but of the commoditized ‘more diverse society’ (Luke, 1995; Widdowson, 2011; Wodak, 2001b).

In fact, the provincial government would more likely want to be remembered as promoting the historical mythology: “Newfoundland and Labrador has a rich history of welcoming newcomers,” which is “...strength on which we can build as we move forward with an immigration strategy” (Govt. of NL: Diversity, 2007, p. 7. See: Bannister, 2002b). Despite expert wisdom, the provincial government is simply going to “to encourage Newfoundlanders and Labradorians to welcome immigrants” (p. 7), with no inverted commas, much like a parent tells a child to be polite (Widdowson. 2011).

Again, the policy does not seem to want to delve into real social concerns: all such potentials are shrouded in more simple business-like phrases (Fairclough, 2004). More, people who have no desire to mix with outsiders do not have to be truly ‘welcoming’ because this can be left for institutional ‘interested communities’ who can become ‘welcoming communities’ with ‘welcoming committees’ (See: Jaeger, 2001, about institutions designed to promote discourse). Immediately after the government constructs the notion of a ‘welcoming community’, the reader is told there is “...a ‘tool box’ of ideas for small communities interested in the attraction and retention of newcomers...” (. Govt. of NL: Diversity, 2007, p. 3), which will presumably fix any lack of ‘welcomingness’.

Further to this problem of defining ‘welcoming’, there seems to be little commitment by the provincial government to being personally active in the process of ‘welcoming’ someone. Remember above that much of this has been left to one institution, the ANC, and various committees - not necessarily to any average Newfoundland citizens. The degree of commitment from the government has been waived again (Jaeger, 2001). For all the active statements of ‘ensuring’ under *What we will do* in the *Welcoming communities* section, the government commits to publishing a booklet about settlement - though even most of these are published federally by the ANC (Creese, 2010; Newfoundland and Labrador Association for New Canadians, n.d.; Refugee and Immigrant Advisory Council, 2009). These could be helpful though the books are in English only and may not be fully understood. As well, an “Immigrant Support Network” will be established which, despite the capitalizations and quotation marks which suggest a possible official blueprint exists, is never really defined and thus its success cannot be

measured. Debatably, the network has never been truly effected (Refugee and Immigrant Advisory Council, 2009). Meanwhile, a *Facebook* site was put up but it is not particularly active (<https://www.facebook.com/nlimmigration>). One section of the *Facebook* site includes a series of phrases that ‘Newfoundlanders’ use, thus suggesting that ‘we Newfoundlanders’ are all the same, despite our dialects and differences in background, and may require ‘others’ to know these phrases to truly belong (Bannister, 2002b; Castells, 2010; Pennycook, 1994).

As has been mentioned, many new people may not have the technical savvy to maneuver an English website (Refugee and Immigrant Advisory Council, 2009). The provincial government does not pay much heed to this. So that it can actively ‘ensure’ that immigrants are “...aware that their economic, social, and cultural contributions are valued” (Govt. of NL: Diversity, 2007, p. 7), the government commits to publishing an altruistic statement on multiculturalism which “will encourage the fostering of harmonious relations...” between everyone (p. 7). From chapter 2 (Fleming, 2010), however, this activity does not serve the immigrants as the discourse is inaccessible (Govt. of NL, 2007: Creative). The Statement is full of legalistic speech that keeps the document linguistically inaccessible to many people from here or afar. Such policy is made instead to assuage the local sensibility of having done the right thing (Bourdieu, 2004; Joppke, 2005a).

## Discussion

The divergence between the promotion of the word ‘diversity’ as a needed commodity and the actual achievement of a diverse social, cultural and multi-talented society in Newfoundland which is equitable and just for all members looms large when considering the immigration strategy above. The lexicalisation of such words as ‘cultural’, ‘social’, ‘diversity’, ‘home’ and ‘welcoming’ make it cumbersome for honest and definite conversation as to what really happens when different people live together and expect a modicum of acceptance and inclusion in exchange for their contributions (Abdullah, 2004; Fairclough, 2001; Goodhart, 2008; Janks, 1997; Luke, 1995). I suggest that there exists too much nostalgia, which includes the desire for all expatriates to return, along with uneasiness about intentions of many ‘outsiders’, for many ‘Newfoundlanders’ to be comfortable with the change that would come from real social diversification (Kelly, 2010). As a result, outsiders are more often considered as tools for a purpose that remains much more chauvinistic and controllable. The current economy of Newfoundland may be blooming and there may be a chance for vindication of the past echoing in the discourse of the current premier (in chapter 2). Being as such, there may be more interest in keeping the commitment to ‘newcomers’ limited. Against what Goss Gilroy (2005) suggested, the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador seems content with carefully distinguishing ‘Newfoundlanders’ from ‘new people’ in such ways that ‘newcomers’ can be marginalized in ways similar to aboriginal people(s). In that fashion, given the propensity of the government here to relegate ‘newcomers’ to simply moving on when things get rough, there is little to see what commitment overall the government has to

long-term justice and equality of opportunity for ‘newcomers’ to this province.

Unfortunately, this makes the invitation to move to Newfoundland more impersonal and exploitive. I shall briefly summarize these point raised in the immigration strategy.

### **State of nostalgia in Newfoundland**

It may be difficult for many Newfoundlanders to deal with the thoughts of a changing Newfoundland economy and culture which, though it has been uncomfortable, is at least familiar. This can lead to a great complacency, mired in nostalgia that is evidenced in the St. Anthony webpage and in misleading statements about our rich history of welcoming, our diversity, and of how important many people may feel the French and the Aboriginal people are to the Newfoundland society (Barther, 1972; Castells, 2010). These people are implicitly part of our society, but that does not imply that they have been treated well by other Newfoundlanders (Martin, 2004; St. Denis, 2007).

From the images of St. Anthony and otherwise, it does not take long to realize that many Newfoundlanders may be stuck in moments of nostalgia that may carry them through an uncertain present. These ideas can be held up against anyone new to this province (Castells, Bannister, 2002b, Kelly, 2010; Lawson, 2004). Newfoundlanders can feel guilty about leaving and uncomfortable when they are here. People from Newfoundland speak of an “ambivalence to be here where I was not entirely at home and to be away where I could be more at home with myself” (Kelly, 2010, p. 17. See also: Bowering-Delisle, 2008). Here, sometimes, there are no jobs, no friends, no fulfillment. Elsewhere, there is guilt.

The narrative is clear that the province and many of its people would prefer the return of locals – accounted for by the consistent collocation of *immigration* with the words *repatriation* and *retention*. Tilley (2010) says that “the migration story performs a normalizing function on the inequitable social relations that structure the transnationalist economics of global capitalism” (p. 22). It is perfectly natural then for people to move somewhere for work but many Newfoundlanders feel otherwise (Bassler, 1992). Many Newfoundlanders living away have had a profound effect on the neighbourhoods in which they have settled (see chapter 5). Yet, this does not seem to transfer to a tangible acknowledgement that new people in Newfoundland will desire to truly express new and / or different ideas and have them appreciated. There seems to be a detachment from the ideas that Newfoundlanders have when they are away from home and what new people here will have.

Tilley (2000) and Bowering-Delisle (2008) notice that there are those originally from here who find it difficult to settle well in other places because they feel marginalized and even forced to assimilate. Some are worried they will be resented back ‘home’ if they feel comfortable ‘settling’ elsewhere (Kelly & Yeoman, 2010; Thorne, 2004; Tilley, 2010). It is helpful to consider these great concentrations of Newfoundlanders who settle near other Newfoundlanders in Scarborough or Cambridge in Ontario, Calgary, Edmonton or Fort McMurray in Alberta, and similar regions in British Columbia. Many can cling to every piece of designated Newfoundland ‘culture’ to the point that their children do not feel they actually belong to Newfoundland, to wherever they were born,



or to where they live now (Bowering-Delisle, 2008; Moore, 2011; Palmer, 2010; Thorne, 2004).

### **Fear of outsiders – making it easy**

As Ibbitson (2004) says from the top, it is difficult to say anything the public does not want to hear. This will be discussed more in the next chapter but, as Kelly (2010) suggests, those Newfoundlanders who have lost a sense of purpose and success in Newfoundland have often developed an attitude that is "...xenophobic, blaming and resentful of CFAs" (p.29). If many already resent outsiders for ruining our economy and making us move away, it is difficult to see how each new person will be wholeheartedly 'welcomed'. For these reasons, discourses that arise seem alienated at times from the actual context that Newfoundland finds itself in. 'Newfoundlanders' have been dubbed in the strategy as a poor, homogenized ethnic group who would otherwise be content to live here with 'our own'. Interesting here is that the government even shifts blame for that unwanted observation to an outsider.

This may be another reason the government seems to portray the whole exercise as being relatively easy without the need to address potential problems of 'unwelcoming'. There are many tool boxes, partners and experts. The government adopts ideas that others have seen as a good ideas. Definitions and activities are often imported from other federal and regional directives and forums. The government does not even consult with refugees or immigrants, like Goss Gilroy (2005) did, except through a federal agency – the ANC. They will simply use good stories and tourist brochures to encourage other immigrants to

come. As suggested in this policy and as shown in chapter 5, media will simply promote success stories that, as will be discussed, build or reiterate myths and images of our society. The whole action is excused as a response to the competitive field of immigration, globalization and basic economic principles (Fairclough, 2004). Everything looks positive. The strategy continually uses words like *increase*, *grow*, *benefit*, *prosper* and *prosperous*, *benefit*, *opportunity* (Luke, 1995; Widdowson, 2011).

The government has also broken everything down into controllable commodities that place the onus upon other organizations, stakeholders, partners and the immigrants themselves to work through. Immigrants are divided into ethnicities apart from us: we ‘experience’ them, they ‘benefit’ from us. Immigrants can also be segregated by class and profession; elements of this which are seen in *Appendix B* (Goss Gilroy, 2005; Rollman, June 5, 2012). ‘Immigrants’ have jobs or professions - distinguished from federally-assisted ‘refugees’, even while noting that the ANC generates federal jobs for Newfoundlanders. Meanwhile, if immigrants don’t fit in, they can move on. ‘Diversity’, then, is just to placate other immigrants.

By contextualizing the need for new population under the same framework as the rest of Canada, the discourse is separated from the real context of the province’s poverty and homogeneity. The policy sets up an illusion: the government is being instructive rather than deliberative. Everything is already done regarding infrastructure, whatever Newfoundlanders are doing simply needs to be enhanced: we are building on being strong traditions; we are already diverse.

Such vagary leaves people in the province with very little culpability. As long as ‘integration’ and ‘settlement’, ‘welcoming communities’, ‘homes’ and other such definitions are picked out and clarified, the government has principles, there is plenty of awareness, and there are welcoming committees, everything should be fine. Whatever needs to change is left for the partners, groups, stakeholder and committees. They will determine what ‘culture’ and ‘home’ means and provide adequate services. All aspects of this process, diversity, culture, settlement, education and so forth, are controllable because they are defined and separated. The contribution of immigrants will be recognized online and in booklets while we experience their culture and take business advantage of their ties to their home of origin.

Meanwhile, as will be considered again, ‘newcomers’ are still in a dependent situation, as none, including federally-assisted refugees, move here without some means and sponsorship. They are a solution. From Appadurai (2006) and the discussion of tolerance here and in chapter 2 (Bissondath, 2004; Ricoeur, 1996), an immigrant will always stand out. From the strategy, the province can choose who will benefit from living here. ‘Newfoundlanders’ have all power: ‘we’ are doing immigrants a favour. So far, however, there does not seem to be too much beyond reiterating employment guidelines that suggests Newfoundland is willing to protect these minorities and their desires in meaningful ways (Doty, 2003; Ricouer, 1996)

**Is commitment only cursory and temporary?**

Finally, this vagary suggests the commitment to an immigrant may be reluctant and temporary. Much of the action is recycled from somewhere else. There is not much local contextualization that has taken place. The only official program that will be introduced will be the labour market integration programs for newcomers (newcomers and labour integration are collocated). Otherwise, awareness needs to be increased of the benefits of these new people (Govt. of NL: Diversity, 2007, p. 9). ‘Awareness’ being an inanimate state of being, there is no real integrating going on here. As suggested earlier, it could be that increased awareness of difference may actually provoke a desire that the immigrant either assimilate or be marginalized.

Action is mainly left to committees and institutions - not necessarily to any average Newfoundland citizens. The degree of commitment from the government has waived between then and now as well. It is hard to measure the effect of a discourse because nothing is really instituted (Jaeger, 2001), and therefore the wonder is whether the discourse that Newfoundland wants to ‘welcome’ immigrants is genuine.

Contradictions abound. The import of saying that people need to be more ‘welcoming’ is offset by saying the same people have a long tradition of it. Newfoundland needs ‘diversity’ but already has it. The government’s main action for awareness-building is ‘to increase awareness’; the main action for attracting immigrants is to promote Newfoundland as a desirable destination (Akbari & Sun, 2008); the main action for ensuring there are welcoming communities is to make “...sure communities are aware of the importance of being welcoming” (Govt. of NL: Diversity, 2007, p. 7); the

main action for integrating and retaining immigrants is to “improve the retention rate” (p. 9).

As mentioned in the introduction, very little local study has been conclusive about what success there has been. However, will there be interest if there is? There is already the disclaimer in the power of the federal government here. If the strategy does not work, it is possible that the provincial government may blame the federal government much like is done for other trouble. In fact, by carelessly mirroring the federal government’s words in the section about mutual adaptation between immigrant and local citizen, the onus for adaption to the immigrant is still placed upon the ‘Canadian’ in general rather than the ‘Newfoundlander’ specifically.

Finally, to reiterate Ricouer (1996) and others, when left alone, the chauvinism of a stronger group easily becomes the guiding principle to whether different groups will get along. In the chapters to come, I will show other examples of a general cultural chauvinism on the part of some Newfoundlanders, and the willingness of the government to support this. I shall continue to show everyday class distinctions that are made between all people here. I will explore how, to be accepted in the province, people from elsewhere may do better if they are dependent upon Newfoundlanders or exoticize Newfoundland as local people would do themselves. This further troubles the ideas many Newfoundlanders may have of generating real economic, social and cultural development as much as it does notions of all Newfoundlanders being truly welcoming.

## Chapter 5 - Profiling newcomers: ‘Rare but beautiful’?

In this chapter, I problematize a number of conclusions and assumptions that are made about immigrants integrating into Newfoundland environment(s). In general, the pieces of media herein present successful images of integration which, whether deliberate or not, inherently carry the message that there is little reason to be concerned. In particular, I consider an episode from the *Land and Sea* series presented by CBC Newfoundland and Labrador. I will compare that with a number of other short radio presentations and highlight some initial anomalies or clichés, inherent or stated outright, that trouble the understanding of what it takes for a person to settle in and be considered a ‘Newfoundlander’. I review a number of contextual elements that may be left out of the story but which trouble these impressions of general ease and comfort portrayed here in the immigration process and in the Newfoundland way of life (Law, 2004).

This is done in part by opening interdiscursive and intertextual comparisons between the scripts and various news events covered during the time period of these presentations (Fairclough, 1992; 2003; 2004; Janks, 1997; Wodak, 2009). I then question whether it is advisable to consider bonding with immigrants on the basis of the shared experiences of discrimination, as raised by some ‘newcomers’ who have worked and studied here. Finally, I consider whether there seems any demonstrated interest in what new people may be able to add to the social, cultural and even economic fibre of the Newfoundland environment. By highlighting the more real economic and social contexts into which these people are ‘settling’, I hope to illustrate that many people(s) may instead

fall prey to local resentment, ghettoization, and a possible time limit to their being welcome.

## About *Land and Sea*

I will start by discussing the genre and tone of the *Land and Sea* series. Then I shall discuss a number of ideas that come together to form images of ‘people from away’ against what are touted as typical and ‘unique’ Newfoundland settings. Finally, I will show how the placement of such cultural mythologies as comparative norms which support unequal and discriminatory positions of power (Lawson, 2004).

*Land and Sea* is telecast in Newfoundland on a weekday evening and nationally on Sunday in the late morning. It has been a stalwart of Newfoundland productions since 1964 (<http://www.tidespoint.com/videos/landandsea.shtml>). Though the episode studied here is not the first to tell of people from other countries settling in Newfoundland, it might arguably be the first to highlight a family sponsored under the PNP labour recruitment incentive in the previous chapter. These programs are telecast a number of times; this one having been shown at least four times: February 5, 2012, June, 2012, Sept, 2012, and April, 2013

*Land and Sea*’s mandate is what drives the program’s nostalgic style (Fairclough, 1992; Luke, 1995):

...Land and Sea has brought you stories... from those who celebrate life living close to nature, who promote and protect their culture and traditional ways of doing things. There are stories of success and sometime failures

that portray the unique way Atlantic Canadians deal with the challenges and pleasures of living on the east coast. (<http://www.cbc.ca/landandsea>)

Already there is a binary between those promoting so-called traditional ways of living in Newfoundland and the Atlantic Provinces and those who have possibly turned their backs (Bannister, 2002b; Kelly, 2010; Law, 2004; Lawson, 2004). The paragraph suggests an imposed nostalgia for the past - mainly stories of success, only sometimes failure. Clearly, the mandate of *Land and Sea* is to protect this as yet un-specified but lauded and ‘unique culture’ from some perceived threat (Keough, 2007; Wodak et al., 2009).

The *Land and Sea* series is popular locally but, televised nationally, it can administer doses of nostalgia far beyond the province to expatriate Newfoundlanders (Bowering-Delisle, 2008). The tourism department can also be pleased with the fabulous touristic camera work that counteracts outside hyperbole about Newfoundland welfare and hotheadedness (see chapter 6: Moore, 2011; Wente, 2005). The pride in specific images of Newfoundland is evident throughout the production’s romantic storytelling tone – the visuals, music and scripting of the production as well as the choice of subject.

### **The art of storytelling – tone and mood**

This piece is from the documentary genre in the style of storytelling. However, it is the mood or tone of the piece that makes the discourse most problematic as it seems to ignore real questions in the interest of maintaining the mood – that of ‘quiet and beautiful success’ (Janks, 1997; Luke, 1995; Widdows, 2011). The opening sequence is a recap of



more important phrases from the interviews interspersed with scenic shots meant to lull the audience into a comfortable receptive state for storytelling (Janks, 2005; Malcolm, 2010). Over a little calm Newfoundland-like music and a gentle tinkling of little chimes, the visual cuts to the host on a Newfoundland beach who tells us of the ‘rare and beautiful’ blend of cultures that is the topic. All sets the tone for good things to come.

This phrase, ‘rare but beautiful’, sounds inviting or attractive, but the meaning is fleeting and requires some interpretation (Janks, 1997; Luke, 1995; Wodak, 2001b). The host cannot mean that a culture blending with another is rare. Similarly, the word ‘but’ seems to suggest that if cultures do get blended, it may not be beautiful. A more positive reading of ‘rare’ would be ‘something not much seen in Newfoundland’. The phrase ‘but beautiful’ can only be read as ‘it would be nice to see more because it is beautiful’ if this phrase is to make sense. The phrase complements the pictures: the complete discourse being that ‘the producers wish to show the audience something that doesn’t happen often - people of different cultures blending together in various and beautiful ways in this beautiful place’.

Like the camera work, adjectives and scripted images are designed to add to ‘rare’ and ‘beautiful’. They contribute to the calm and comfortable storytelling tone of the production but, again, carry little meaning.

1. Of Cape Broyle: *“If you’re looking for quiet living....”*
2. Of the automotive centre: *“There’s old smooth riding classics, and new tank-like wheels, luxury vehicles and all kinds of trucks. Even local medics depend on D1 Automotive to get them where they’re going.”*

3. Of the Sri Lankan men working: *“The two men now work side by side tackling every brake, motor, engine and tire problem that rolls in through the garage doors.”*
4. Of the happenstance of the whole situation: *“On the other side of the world, in Sri Lanka, mechanic Raju Armajuwa Durage was looking for a job.”*
5. Of Newfoundland: *“That rugged description of Newfoundland was appealing enough...”* (to get someone to move here).
6. Of why the Sri Lankans came: *“Kumara was looking for a new experience...”* (a good one, of course, which the viewer assumes he got).
7. Of Cape Broyle, Irish people, and religion: *“As you’d expect in an Irish community, most prayers here are heard under the roof of a Catholic church.”*

These are generalized statements which colonizes the discourse to suggest that everything mentioned here are ‘everyday events that should happen in Newfoundland’ (Fairclough, 1992; Janks, 1997; Luke, 1995). However, these sometimes jarring statements seem anomalous to the context of many people’s daily lives especially in smaller communities around Newfoundland.

Having set the tone and the mood, I wish to study certain topics that are raised throughout the script. By questioning lexical definitions and statements of truth against other statements within the text or against other discourse, I shall illuminate some problematic assumptions that seem to be made about immigrants and Newfoundlanders and experience in Cape Broyle (Janks, 1997; Luke, 1995; Widdowson, 2004).

## Why people move to Newfoundland

Though this television piece is not sponsored directly by the provincial government, it tends to fulfill many of the predictions or desires that the immigration strategy outlined (Doty, 2010). From the script, the Sri Lankan workers and their families will benefit from our schools, for example, and from being in Newfoundland. The family has naturally brought culture and diversity which people learn from. A simple book of images and descriptions, possibly in a tourism guide to Canada, promoted the desirability of Newfoundland to Raju. People who had already moved here helped welcomed the new people and the first Sri Lankan person encouraged another from his country of origin to live here. The audience is told that all was generally simple and beneficial.

However, there are few references to what was left behind in Sri Lanka and no discussion of the difficulty any family must have leaving their country of origin for an unknown length of time (Appadurai, 2008; Doty, 2003 ). This belittles what problems these people may have experienced in Sri Lanka; the implication possibly being that now they are in Newfoundland, these problems are not important (Bissonath, 2004). Though never discussed, these people left a family home, possibly amidst traumatic experiences, to move to an island on the other side of the world (de Silva, 1999). However, the narrator says only that a mechanic, Raju Armajuwa Durage, was simply looking for a job and a ‘new experience for everybody’ (Janks, 2005).

Raju and the narrator may represent two potentially different discourses (Bourdieu, 1994; Gee, 2001; Luke, 1995). I should consider potential discourse presented by Sri Lankan refugees imprisoned in Vancouver during this time (Aulakh, 2011;

Dhillon, 2012; Fairclough, 2004): that the need to leave Sri Lanka causes one to do many dangerous things. Is this what a clearly uncomfortable Raju is trying to discuss with the narrator on screen when explaining his motivations for moving? He seems, amongst other things, to desire the opportunity for his daughters to be educated, but his speech is generally slow and it is not discernible what else he may wish to say. It seems evident that he is not accomplishing the desired narrative for the narrator, and the narrator actually interrupts and finishes Raju's sentence to say '...a new experience'. Raju obligingly agrees with a smile and a chuckle. The narrator then suggests that Raju and family were enticed by descriptions of 'this rugged place'. Raju's need for work and the difficulty that must exist in leaving any home situation, threatening or not, is manipulated into the narrator's discourse that Raju and the families had a simple and obvious desire for adventure (Luke, 1995; Widdowson, 2011):

It's important to Raju to keep special Sri Lankan traditions alive, but he left Sri Lanka for work because it was more important to him to take care of his family. He wanted to expose them to different experiences outside his country.

This is a rather orientalist explanation - a term coined by Edward Said (1979). Orientalism refers to the inability of a western person to distinguish or acknowledge anything specifically different between people from anywhere east of roughly the European Mediterranean coastline and the Eastern European Alps. A person who is too comfortably western-centric is able to notice and understand little more than colour difference and 'western-ness' versus 'non-western-ness'. Orientalists assume people can

easily give up these mysterious traditions when pursuing better work, education, family situations, and implicitly better experiences in the Western world (See also: Bissoondath, 2004; Doty, 2003).

The issue of safety as an enticement is twice overlooked by the narrator – here and in the radio script studied shortly. Both Raju and his colleague, Kumara, suggest that there were a number of choices, including the Middle East, Europe, or other parts of North and South America. Nasomi, when interviewed, says “I guess they [her parents] think that I’m safer here too”; implying that she thinks she is. These threads might weave a larger story starting with an account of the terrible civil war in parts of Sri Lanka and the family’s hope to be safer in any distant part of the world – not specifically this island (de Silva, 1999). Instead a Newfoundland oriented narrative is conceived of like-minded, hard-working, family oriented people wishing to join a whimsical search for adventure in a rugged but beautiful land – which is of course the land of the *Land and Sea* mandate: Newfoundland. This, according to the above, is far more important than many Sri Lankan traditions (Appadurai, 2006; Said, 1977).

## Benefits of being in Newfoundland

Since this family is painted as having no significant past, it may be tempting for some to think that the family who simply wanted an adventure got a pretty good deal. This certainly puts the family’s benefactors in a powerful position (Bissoondath, 2004; Doty, 2003; Joppke, 2005a). Cape Broyle and St. John’s are painted as imagined communities where there are many benefits such as the story-like job at the auto repair

shop and the wonderful scenic images onscreen (Anderson, 2006). A tone of serenity permeates the narrator's mention of the quiet life in Cape Broyle and the suggestion that "Weekly drives [along this route]... are common among city dwellers looking to escape the noise'. St. John's is imagined, then, as a big noisy city, and there are many benefits to this "sleepy Newfoundland outport of about 500 people." Despite the real educational problems implied in chapter 4, it is no problem here: "an education is at the top of their list of priorities... and so, Nasomi and Anu enrolled in school in the neighbouring community of Ferryland".

Business is booming for both the auto repair centre and the fish plant where Raju's wife, Jayanti easily managed to get a job where she participates in a "...uniquely Newfoundland experience... [with] all kinds of seafood [which she is] getting ready to be shipped all over the world". It seems the Sri Lankans see much more opportunity than those 'others' who Lawlor, the auto repair shop owner, says "...used to come and then just move on, sometimes we'd have them for one year and then they'd find a job somewhere else," so they can live, "...closer to banks and schools and everything else." More, it is said that: "Life in a small place hasn't limited Nasomi's plans for the future". She is ready to travel and take on the world. Further, "Nasomi might only be 13 but she already sees what this small community has to offer."

The explanation of what she sees is in the next scene wherein Nasomi states why she feels she is a Newfoundlander: "...I can understand what people are saying and I like the weather. I don't want to leave here. Made a lot of friends. The neighbours are really nice and here I get to go wherever I want...."

This segment is highlighted twice in the piece: Naomi has either envisioned or been told what imagined necessities are necessary to be a 'Newfoundlander'. Yet, as discussed in chapter 2, such simplified traits of identity and belonging cannot easily designate inclusion in a categorized group (Bisoondath, 2004; Bourdieu, 1989; Ricouer, 1996). As well, I will show through the text that the experience and needs of these people from Sri Lanka is being painted differently than many locals - these traits were not enough to keep locals from staying here (Fairclough, 1992; Janks, 1997; Luke, 1995)

## Friends and welcoming – who helps people settle

Labelling people(s) abounds in this narrative as has already been seen with the comment about Irish people praying in Catholic churches. Nasomi is a 'Newfoundlander' because of her statement above, but also because Andy Perlis from Boston has said so earlier. These distinctions are problematic, however. In an Orientalist manner, Andy mistook the Sri Lankans to be from India yet assumes he still understands them (Said, 1979). Andy is apparently able to also distinguish how a person becomes a Newfoundlander - perhaps using similar distinctions that 13 year old Naomi has used (Said, 1979). But Andy has been living in Newfoundland longer than the girls - why is *he* not referred to as a Newfoundlander? He is designated as a Bostonian. His wife is still called British though, with research (Janks, 1997; Wodak et al., 2009), she is found to have lived and worked in Boston since 1992 (Hawkins, n.d.). It must be assumed then that this cultural bridge is likely between 'Eastern' and 'Western'; especially since we know nothing of where in Sri Lanka these people lived. Conceivably there may be many

transitions to go through: from ‘bigger city’ to ‘small isolated community’ for example, but these are not addressed.

Combing through the text again, there arise overall questions of the degrees of welcoming and tolerance that exist in Cape Broyle, and whether important friendships have been made (Bisoondath, 2004; Fairclough, 1992; Janks, 1997). For example, there is a healthy patriarchal approach seen in Perlis who is like another father; grooming the Sri Lankans into ‘Newfoundlanders’. The auto repair shop owner, Lawlor, has been cast in a role of community patriarch who recounts the reasons for coming and going in the community. He says of the Sri Lankans, “They’re just like family, really good people, right?”, yet social associations are strikingly absent from the program. ‘Just like family’ can simply be a patriarchal term to suggest he needs to take care of them and can control them like children (Janks, 2005).

In fact, the only contact that we see between the Sri Lankans and Lawlor is during the once a year boating trip when “...the South Shore Sri Lankans get together with all the friends they’ve made.” These friends are apparently some Sri Lankan people who live in St. John’s, the Bostonian and the Briton. The daughters have some friends in their school, but the only shot of the girls playing after school is of them alone. The audience is introduced to a young girl, Kathleen, who is working with Nasomi on an assignment. Kathleen says of her friend Nasomi that she thought it would be interesting to have a friend from somewhere else and, in the words of the narrator, “...she can’t contain her curiosity.” This is, of course, exactly the observation that many immigrant and refugee people make about Newfoundlanders: that their interest is based upon curiosity



(Goodhart, 2008). However, as mentioned and evidenced later, when that wanes, a lasting relationship may still prove to be fleeting (Jackson Anderson, 2012).

A review of how the men get along with fellow workers, the customers, or the management on a day to day basis might be more informative. They apparently work all day with no breaks (to be discussed shortly). Jayanti, the wife, is "...keen to be involved in work going on in the community", but this is understood here to simply mean that Jayanti works at the fish plant. Again, the fish plant manager only talks of Jayanti's wonderful work ethic. With research through school bulletins (Janks, 1997; Wodek et al. 2009), Jayanti has also volunteered to work with fundraising and other school events (Baltimore High School, 2008; 2012). This is where cultural blending might be better explored (Apple, 2003; Lund, 2006), but it does not seem important beyond CBC's simple statements of truth? As a result, the narrator's talk of 'friendships made' become clichés that are true simply because they are said (Fairclough, 2004; Wodak, 2001).

This statement also raises concerns because of what is not said (Law, 2004): "Andy and his wife said they received the warmest welcome from the Southern Shore people when they settled here. He just wanted to follow that example and extend the same courtesy." Though this is a nice gesture, this phrasing troublingly suggests that Andy and his wife were welcomed by locals, but it may have been left to Andy to welcome the Sri Lankans (Janks, 1997; Luke, 1995). Was it the case that the locals ignored the new people this time?

Sean Walsh, a teacher, does confirm that the kids at least were embraced. He is not surprised. He shows a more interesting understanding of immigration and migration.

He raises the fact that many people from here go elsewhere and that many people here are descendants of people who migrated here not too long ago. He also shows an understanding of the segregation of class and origin that can naturally exist in Newfoundland – I shall return to him shortly.

## Education and Language

Nasomi's phrasing and accent shows that she talks as frequently with local people as with Andy Perlis - she is learning the talk of her environment (Gee, 2001 Corbett, 2010b). Andy is attributed with having taught them English, yet Perlis' accent is nowhere near the same. Perhaps this is why Andy is still considered a Bostonian in the documentary (Corbett, 2010b). Similarly, there is not as much accent detected in the Sri Lankan parents, though Jayanti does pronounce 'cod' or 'codfish' more like people surrounding her may do. Of course, speaking the language is not necessarily the only way one is admitted into a community (Bourdieu, 1989; Hall, 1980).

Andy Perlis is also singled out as being the only person to have taught the girls "...everything he knows about life in rural Newfoundland." Without him, the girls say, they'd be lost. In a well-rehearsed manner, Nasomi says first, "I wouldn't know half the stuff I knows [sic]," followed by Anu, "I wouldn't even know how to speak English," followed by Nasomi, "I think I would've failed most of my classes," and finally by Anu again, "And I think I wouldn't have won in the speech." No other person in the school or in the community is given credit for helping the girls.

Apparently though, “This new environment has brought a different way of learning to Anu and Nasomi, than they might have experienced in Sri Lanka.” Again the viewer is not enlightened here and so might consider again that the ‘Newfoundland’ way must be better, regardless of the context (Bisoondath, 2004; Corbett, 2008). Chitrakar (2009) says that Sri Lanka has one of the better education systems in South Asia, but girls from poorer families must often leave to contribute to the household. None of this is considered; ‘a different way of learning’ is left either as meaningless or, worse, a racist suggestion (Brinton & Closs Traugott, 2005; Wodak, 2001a).

As was predicted in the immigration strategy (Govt. of NL: Diversity, 2005), everyone is learning from each other. Some of these are rewarding lessons: Anu’s teacher says “Anu has set a powerful example for her classmates, one about overcoming obstacles and determination”; the narrator says that the girls are “...part of the teaching that goes on in Ferryland too - lessons on acceptance and about appreciating difference.” This is positive, of course, but there is still the lingering use of the phrase ‘experiencing other cultures’ which resembles the concept of labelling presented in the previous chapter (Goodhart, 2008; Rumble, 2007).

## More about culture and difference

There is a scene at the end of the program of people going on a boat ride. It is meant to summarize what success has taken place, yet the juxtaposition of the image with the narrator’s verbiage confirms stereotyping about prayer and other ethnic difference that has been haunting this piece throughout. The image is meant to assert that strange

mixtures of people can get together. However, the people are troublingly introduced as being either southern shore Catholics (presumably meaning the two white people who are not from Britain or Boston), Buddhists (assuming again, the people with more colour who are presumed to all be the Sri Lankan friends), a Bostonian (who the audience has met) whose religion is apparently not important, and a British wife (it is assumed the fourth white person) whose religion is also of no interest. A final sweeping statement is made about cultural difference which brings me back to the troublesome nature of the initial statement 'rare but beautiful': "Their differences are obvious, but it's their similarities that draw them together on this beautiful summer day." This causes me to enquire as to what is so obvious and different in this picture.

The statements of difference include Kathleen Ryan's, Nasomi's friend, use of the word 'culture' much as is found in the immigration strategy: as a commodity. She says:

I would like to visit Sri Lanka and like to learn the language and see where Nasomi used to live. It's interesting to learn about where they used to live and their food and their culture and everything.

From chapter 2, many conceive cultures as separate and distinct, even if they are still ill-defined (Bisoondath, 2004; Doty, 2010). Here the word 'culture' is a measurable noun - a person may or may not have varying amounts - it is separate from language, food, and abode.

For example, food seems to be a particularly distinguishing difference between the Sri Lankans and the Newfoundland people. Kathleen is curious about Sri Lankan food. So too is the *Land and Sea* narrator. Accordingly, the narrator sets mythological binaries that

distinguish (Law, 2004; Wodak, 2001a). The audience is told that most families in Newfoundland eat bacon and eggs and fishcakes on Saturday mornings. Idyllically, they do not cook them, they wake up to the smell and the sound of them cooking; stirring a soothing maternal sense of being cared for. Conversely, Sri Lankans eat ‘poppers’: a type of pancake made with coconut. They are cooked, according to the visuals, by the father – a patriarchal image which relates to the earlier image of the father who makes the decisions - despite wanting to keep traditions alive, for example, he was the one who brought them here because of work (Fairclough, 1992; Janks, 1997).

The narrator asks Jayanti if she likes fish. Fish plants, the viewer is told, are a uniquely Newfoundland experience - is fish also unique (Fairclough, 2004)? Is it also presumed that all Newfoundlanders like all fish? Of course, fish is a part of the diet in many parts of the world like Sri Lanka and, naturally, not everyone likes all kinds of fish. But it is unique here, a symbol perhaps (Bannister, 2002b; Castells, 2010). Jayanti apparently only likes cod but not crab or capelin. The question is made clearly to distinguish; is it the case that when she likes the rest, she’ll be a ‘true Newfoundlander’ (Lawson, 2004)?

Religion is another distinguishing part of culture. The program shows Jayanti awkwardly worshipping at her shrine alone at home. Of course, many Buddhists do worship at home with special shrines whether the community has temples or not (Khantipalo, 2013). But, there is no proof of anyone else worshipping. Is it noteworthy that we do not see the others in the Sri Lankan family praying? Can we assume from the

lack of comparison that everyone else's prayers "...are heard under the roof of a Catholic church" (Law, 2004; Reisigl & Wodak, 2001)?

The obvious differences between people and similarities that are bringing these people together are less clear. The only real similarities seem to include that people in Sri Lanka have brothers with computers, family houses and dogs. Most dress in basic 'Western' attire. All of the people in this production are pleasant and seem happy; many have very engaging smiles and all are generally articulate.

However, the only 'obvious' differences on this summer day above can only be colour and, one supposes, gender. We have been told of a few differences in religion, food and language but none of these are immediately evident. Every minimal difference has to actually be deliberately pointed out. These people are exoticized and separated through such simple distinctions. Further, however, the viewer might begin to ask how the simple similarities above have drawn them together. They are indeed different people, but a closer look at the contextual elements of Newfoundland will lead to illuminating power that exists here and in other parts of Newfoundland - where simply the difference of 'not being from here' may lead to marginalization and exploitation now and in the future (Doty, 2003; Fairclough, 2004; Joppke, 2005a; Law, 2004).

## Contextual problem

I shall now point out some of the contextual background that begins to trouble the notion that new people moving to Newfoundland may fit into communities as easily as it

is said these Sri Lankan families have. I wish to pursue the different discourses of identity, the contrasts between the Sri Lankans who live in Cape Broyle and the ‘other’ people who live there (Bourdieu, 1989; Gee, 1989). These discourses are rooted in the economic, social and political context in which this ‘settling’ has taken place (Law, 2004). The complacent reiterations of Newfoundland-centric opinions, and myths, along with the deliberate ignoring of more real contexts, only perpetuates the already strong power that is held over immigrants by this Newfoundland hegemony and their discussion of who belongs (Bissoondath, 2004; Doty, 2010; Fairclough, 2004). As will become apparent, the idyllic image is held as a standard into which new people must fit somehow in order to be accepted completely (Lawson, 2004). If there cannot actually be a homogenous group in a changing society, the high standards of ‘Newfoundlandness’ being expressed is used as a method of control against the change brought by ‘others’ (See also: Bourdieu, 1989; Joppke, 2005b). I shall introduce two main parts of the current Newfoundland context: first, the economic situation that demands immigrant work teams to live here even while people of Newfoundland move to get better jobs or remain underemployed and; second, the existing segregating social systems already within Newfoundland that is the product of birthright, geography, economic status, professional status, and otherwise. The first context will be discussed by exploring three recent economic experiences in Newfoundland. The second will be introduced though discussing other radio coverage of immigrants in tandem with this program, and then summarized towards the end.

## **Jobs and wages**

The Government of Newfoundland and Labrador and business leaders have said that the province needs many immigrants to take the new jobs in its many new development projects. This is in keeping with the narrative that the general economy of Newfoundland is sound and that a revival should be underway. However, industrial sites are to be far removed from the actual communities of Newfoundland and Labrador (For example: <http://www.vbnc.com>; <http://vinl.valeinco.com> ). This often leads to the creation of unnatural, less settled frontier boomtowns rather than the revitalization of older and, from chapter 4, sometime dying communities. This challenges any notion that old traditional values can exist in new or revitalized economically inflated social societies. This is extremely evident in the changes that have occurred for example in more remote communities where Newfoundlanders are said to have demonstrably affected the socio-cultural environment in Fort McMurray as they had in similar centres (Bowering-Delisle, 2008; Palmer, 2010). Certainly, the concept of ‘ownership’ and similar nationalist ideas of ‘we were here first’, can be aggravated by the defensiveness I have suggested already underpins some Newfoundland and Labrador reactive nationalism. This leaves the immigrant workers exposed and vulnerable (For example: Appadurai, 2006; Apple, 2003; Castells, 2010).

I shall review three examples of where tensions between various groups of foreign workers and the current Newfoundland population may arise: the development of Labrador nickel and power projects, the development of the nickel processing plant in Placentia Bay area of Newfoundland, and the general failure of the fisheries in



Newfoundland. Throughout these short discussions, I am renewing the problem from chapter 4 of Newfoundland being too poor and too white to develop easily into a culturally diverse society.

### **Taking the jobs local people won't take**

The *Land and Sea* program under study was produced in the same year there was renewed coverage across Canada of how desperately Newfoundland needed new workers. However, the real economic contextual dilemmas should be considered (Fairclough, 2004, Lawson, 2004). Newfoundland still has one of the highest unemployment rates in Canada and the lowest participation rate (percentage of population employed or actually looking for work. See: Government of Canada, 2013). It is said that that many Newfoundlanders don't have the right skills, or like Corbett (2008) might suggest, the currently correct skills, to fill those new jobs. But foreign work teams are also filling new fish plant jobs that unemployed local people supposedly do have the skills for.

A look to the fair market wage levels published by the federal government offers a first clue (Government of Canada, 2013). Notably, a heavy equipment operator in Alberta should expect to be paid almost twice the amount of money per hour than a similar worker in Newfoundland. Such economics has contributed in keeping the Newfoundland labour force being in much the same situation as many labour forces. Much like any team of workers from less-developed (and thus lower paid) countries, Newfoundlanders move to work in Alberta or similar for at least twice or more the salary they could make at home. Many are provided accommodation and transportation to and from Newfoundland,

so they can visit home for a week or two and spend their salary in their home province (McCarthy, 2011). It is not always that some Newfoundlanders are not trained; they have moved. This begins to explain why Albert Lawlor may not have been able to find a local mechanic to work at his auto repair shop in Cape Broyle: it may have nothing to do with wanting to be near banks. It is just as likely that the pay is too low even though business is booming. Despite new federal employment insurance laws that say that unemployed or underemployed people must take lesser jobs if they are available (CBC News, 2012, 05 25 a, b), many minimum wage jobs are left open in fast food restaurants, home care, and fisheries, even while the unemployment figures are high (Government of Canada, 2013).

There are two answers to why this happens: one comes from the attitude expressed by a seasonal fisheries worker in West Newfoundland who says of the new employment insurance rules: "...they want me to go to work to Tim Hortons or somewhere, or Wal-Mart, for \$10 an hour." This man's argument includes the statement that he should not have to move from his home to get a better paying, full-time job when he previously invested money in his boat that he once could use during the season and then collect employment insurance (Ballingall, 2012; CBC, 2012, 05 25a, b). Ballingall (2012) was particularly cognizant of the problems with employment trends when he suggested that:

While the jobless rate remains stubbornly high, many of those listed as officially unemployed are seasonal workers in industries such as fishing and tourism. They often live in rural communities, work for a few months and then survive on unemployment insurance. At the same time,

Newfoundland and Labrador has an aging population, with the highest median age in Canada. Older workers are less willing to move to where jobs are, and less eager to shift gears and train in the skills that...

Of course, many have sold their equipment and moved for work – more will do so rather than take the poorer jobs. This is despite the federal Human Resources minister stating in the same article that: “This is going to impact everyone, because what we want to do is make sure that the McDonald's of the world aren't having to bring in temporary foreign workers to do jobs that Canadians who are on EI have the skills to do” (CBC, 2012, 05 25 a; Refugee and Immigrant Advisory Council, 2013).

However, there are also areas where there are enough jobs so locals don't have to take lower paying jobs. Labrador City and Goose Bay hire temporary foreign workers to work at donut shops because the local youth and others will not take these jobs (CBC Labrador Morning, 2011). Here, despite the inflated wages offered, the municipal government cannot fill summer job positions because those offered by the local plant are higher again (CBC, 2013, 04 27) - enough that a student can cover the cost of an entire year at university without having to get student loans.

Like Fort McMurray, Labrador City has turned an economic corner and become a new frontier. In this new frontier, a number of Filipinos who work at the local donut shop, despite their enthusiasm, are becoming ghettoized in at least two small inexpensive apartment complexes which the shop's owner has built (Davis, 2007; Huffington Post, 2013). These Filipinos and other people can easily become ‘the people who take the cheap jobs’ and ‘live in the apartments over there’. Similar to the people in the UK and

Holland from chapter 2, it is assumed they need nothing more than basic housing (Baruma, 2006; Doty, 2003; Joppke, 2005a ).

This exploitation and ghettoization is also happening in the fisheries. Unlike what *Land and Sea* may imply, 2011 saw the closure of many long standing, formerly prosperous fish plants. Yet, some fish plant operators in Bay de Verde found it necessary to hire a number of people from Thailand to fill fishery jobs. This oddity is dismissed as simply a function of the global economy (Fairclough, 1992; Janks, 1997; Luke, 1995): it is cheaper for ships from this part of the world to carry fish to China, have Chinese people process it and send it back to the North American McDonalds and other franchises (CBC News, 2011, 12 05). The government is no longer able to subsidize fisheries; nor do they demand the businesses commit to pay higher wages and prices for fish because business can now turn to the ‘competitive field of immigration’ to hire workers. The ‘business’ still stays in Newfoundland.

The narrative that ‘Newfoundlanders are fisher folk’ is overcome by deference to inevitabilities beyond control where the discourse of ‘economic inevitability’ overwhelms that of ‘social well-being’ (Fairclough, 2004; Janks, 1997; Law, 2004; Luke, 1995). The pay may be poor, but the Refugee and Immigrant Advisory council realize these fish plants jobs may help federally assisted refugees and others not included in the immigration strategy to get off federal assistance and continue working on their citizenship (Refugee and Immigrant Advisory Council, 2013; Email correspondence in appendix). All of this leads to an image of this being a favour for foreign people who need work. Again, we see ghettoization of people (Bisoondath, 2004; Doty, 2003). As Rollman (June 5, 2012) suggests, this “...involves foreign workers being recruited for

specific jobs, for a limited time, under extremely strict conditions and being denied many of the rights of other residents of Canada.”

In the fisheries, and in the case of the Vale workers below, the problem is not simply that an immigrant is seen to take a job from a local worker. Vale workers, for example, knew that there were simply not enough skilled workers, but complained that the company was paying more to their employees who did the same jobs in Alberta. But, they say, local people were forced to accept lower wages from Vale because if they did not, foreign workers would. Vale was simply being allowed to keep these inequitable wages which, in turn, meant Newfoundlanders were also being discriminated against. Such an attitude, argued vehemently by some (Butler, 2013), does not lay a foundation for ‘welcoming’ in Newfoundland.

These examples of inequity of power and economic status above serve to recontextualize the *Land and Sea* program here (Fairclough, 2004). They challenge the suggestion that the Sri Lankan people in Cape Broyle are considered to be of a status equal to ‘local’ and even ‘other’ people in the community. The Sri Lankan are doing the job because no one else took it; it does not matter if their wages were lower. More, however, the Sri Lankans rely as much or more on their employment situation to live in Canada, to get the education for the daughters, and perhaps to make enough to live while possibly sending money home to their family in Sri Lanka as many immigrants do (Aydemir & Skuterud, 2005).

Looking again (Fairclough 2004; Janks, 2005), the text reveals that both Jayanti and Raju are measured by nothing more than their wonderful work ethic; Raju and his colleague Kumara don’t even take breaks during the work day; Raju worked 18 months

with no holiday before he was able to return to Sri Lanka to get his family. Is this to be expected of all people from Sri Lanka, or of a certain type of person, or of a person who is extremely dependent upon the employer? What happens if these immigrants start to take work breaks or phone in sick? Are they entitled to employment insurance or will they get shipped home if they lose their job? What happens if one of them makes a mistake?

The differences between the people in the boat at the end of the program start to become more obvious when deliberate and inherent power positions are considered (Apple, 2003; Bisoodath, 2004; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Doty, 2003; Gee, 2001; Corbett, 2010a). The captain of the boat, the 'Irish Catholic Newfoundlander', certainly has the power to decide the fate of his employees and even possibly make it difficult for any 'outsiders'. The Bostonian and his wife wield some influence as the obviously more moneyed and 'Western' cultural bridge (Said, 1979). Even the Sri Lankan friends can go back to St. John's at the end of the day. There is no mistake that the Southern Shore Sri Lankans are the people who must do all of the adapting and settling into what Cape Broyle, and *Land and Sea* perhaps, expects of them (Lawson, 2004).

## Come from aways – the other immigrants

I now turn to the CBC radio series of short presentations released shortly before the *Land and Sea* program here. This interdiscursive comparison and intertextual analysis will also trouble the idea that people always settle easily in Newfoundland (Fairclough, 1992; 2003; 2004; Wodak, 2009). There will be some similarities in the way the local

media people speak that suggests local media maintain a certain biased view of 'Newfoundland' and the immigration experience. This continuing documentary style becomes notably antithetical many times to actual news coverage of problems foreign workers do have and the public response. I shall start with the documentaries and contextualize with some germane news coverage of immigrants from the same period of time.

This title of the series itself, *Come from aways*, is poorly chosen given the derogatory nature in which this term can be used (from chapter 2). As mentioned in the introduction, a *come from away* can simply be someone not originally born here, but is as easily used to delineate someone; an immediate form of symbolic violence in which the fact that someone is from elsewhere can be used against that person. Many might consider that a 'come from away' can never hope to truly understand or belong to Newfoundland (See: Bourdieu, 1989; Gee, 2001; Kelly, 2010; Hunt, 2011).

The series opener reiterates the *Context* section of employment and population demands in the immigration strategy discussed in chapter 4. The government is said to on target and the minister states an unsubstantiated revelation that, fantastically for the radio host and others, four of the five people who come to Newfoundland from other countries now stay. There is no mention of the more problematic concerns that more local people have left Newfoundland than newcomers came in, and that the newcomers are likely indentured to Newfoundland business through a contract (the PNP) (Law, 2004).

I will first summarize some main observations. Twelve people or families were profiled in ten stories: nine stories highlighted one person, family or small group while

the remaining episode mentions three different people or families. Of the twelve families or groups, it is probable that five entered Canada as part of a refugee program, because of wars, violence and threats in their country. All except Ayed who was born and raised in Newfoundland, and Youmin from Korea, could be said to have left places where there has been strife: perhaps the woman from Nigeria where there is great racial, political and religious class violence, and the South African woman who could easily be one of the many unable to get good work because of uneven economies and post-Apartheid adjustments (See: Brookes & Hinks, 2004; Hinks, 2009; Inman & Rubinfeld, 2011;; Kingsley, 2013; Africa Research Bulletin, 2012). Only two people profiled or mentioned are definitely the result of professional appointments: Youmin whose husband works at the University while she worked at the Eastern school district, and the Eastern European doctor in Carbonear area. Again here, the person's background is not important – it is instead heavily weighted towards deciding how successfully they have 'settled' in Newfoundland (Bisoondath, 2004; Doty, 2010; Lawson, 2004; Luke, 1995; Widdowson, 2011).

All of these people are successful in some way, implying that perhaps all immigrants should be so (Law, 2004). They all wish to stay in Newfoundland. Four of the ten segments choose to let the people speak completely for themselves. Each states their success and their interest in staying despite an occasional drawback. But of the six cases where local journalists, commentators, and friends contribute to the story, four reiterate mythology of 'Newfoundland' or 'Newfoundlanders' (Barthes, 1972), or choose to ignore significant statements so as to portray the success of the Zakinovs, the Carbonear meet and greet, the South African woman and the Sri Lankans. The journalist in the



Rivera piece is the only one who actually substantiates the violence in Columbia from which the family escaped, and allows the two family members to tell their story of finding safety and illustrating some of their possible trauma. Only the Ayed piece differs somewhat because the journalist and the announcer discuss what seems an example of Ibbitson's 'whiteness' existing in a rural town and St. John's. They ask what attitude changes may need to occur to make immigrants feel comfortable.

A deeper exploration of the Zakinov piece demonstrates the lack of interest in former problems. Though trained professionals, these people, likely part of the influx of the unwanted Eastern Europeans during the early 1990s, had to turn to an only solution many immigrants who cannot get meaningful work turn to: their own restaurant or similar business, because the initial outlay is not too expensive. But, instead of falling under the desired 'entrepreneur' status, many Newfoundlanders accused them of taking local jobs away. More important to this story is that they are successful *now*. The Zakinovs actually present some interesting economic practises: they apparently pay more to their staff, perhaps to keep them loyal and committed, than the local motel across the street; they promote maintaining the local economy by sourcing all their materials locally when possible. The economics are not discussed here. What is more notable is that, despite their arrival in Newfoundland twenty years ago, and their deep integration into the local economy and society of western Newfoundland, they are still considered *come from aways* and their initial and possibly continuing experiences with discrimination are ignored (Bourdieu, 1989; Joppke, 2005a).

In the piece about the Carbonear meet and greet session, immigrant people interviewed talk of the loneliness and depression that they felt when they arrived; one

family had lived in Carbonear at least four years before the enterprising local woman highlighted in the feature decided to respond to what she noticed was a deficiency in helping immigrants settle – in fact, to a public statement that Newfoundlanders are not always that friendly. The past seems to have been fixed by this meet and greet.

What is most interesting in this Carbonear piece is the introduction by the radio announcer introducing the piece: “Of course, Newfoundlanders are famous for their hospitality, but newcomers to the province are not always on the receiving end.” This is a wonderful example of a person inadvertently separating myth of ‘hospitality’ from the actual practice. The ability that some people have to be hospitable in the tourist industry and even initially to a new person in the neighbourhood is placed within a new context that now stands for the ‘ability to integrate with immigrants’ (Brinton & Closs Traugott, 2005; Fairclough, 2004; Wodak, 2009). Said enough times, it becomes a founding principle of the Newfoundland character and so ends up used in such clumsy ways as above where the myth of infamous hospitality starts to fade a little (Bannister, 2002b; Barthes, 1972; Castells, 2010).

In the piece about the South African woman, people in Gander are drawn to the young South African bride through mutual tragedy: the South African is grieving her Newfoundland husband as is the husband’s family and friends. Since she is also a terrifically friendly person (according to one local, she knew more people in Gander than she, and that ‘was before she was married’), the woman is resultantly dubbed ‘a Newfie who talks different’. This is similar to the musings of the young Sri Lankan girl, and like Lanier Phillips to follow: the South African meets certain characteristics criteria, perhaps of having husbands working and even dying somewhere remote - on the ocean, in the

North, in the mines - and personality traits as above. She is thus endowed with the title of 'Newfoundlander' (Fairclough, 1992; Lawson, 2004; Wodak, 2009).

Finally, there is the original radio piece on the Southern Shore Sri Lankans completed a few months before the *Land and Sea* television program. It is narrated by the same journalist. This rendition garners the awe of two morning show hosts at the end: 'wow, beautiful story', and the other agrees. The focus is still on success; the willingness to use the Sri Lankans' words to prompt platitudes about Newfoundland's idyllic state (Brinton & Closs Traugott, 2005; Lawson, 2004). For example, one woman's statement about war in Sri Lanka is countered with the narrator's assertion that Newfoundland is an ideal place to raise a family. The journalist is injecting her own discourse even while ignoring that, in contrast, the five year old child's only English lessons seem to come from watching cartoons rather than playing with other 5 year olds and their English speaking parents (Bourdieu, 1989; Gee, 1989).

The narrator unintentionally refers to possible problems with immigration in the past by saying that attitudes are being changed as well as tires (Bassler, 1992; Moore, 2011). Though it may not have been his intent, the automotive centre owner seems far more patriarchal here, instructing the journalist – and thus the listener - how many intelligent and trustworthy people can be found in parts of the world like South East Asia. His pride in helping these folks relocate is reiterated as a 'successful cultural exchange' for the narrator, yet the owner's approach stops just short of stating that smart people might simply languish, untapped, in their home country (Said, 1979).

I do not wish to delve entirely into CBC Labrador series on immigrations (CBC Labrador morning, 2012) as it entails a whole different discussion about the economy and

a terrible legacy of discriminatory problems between the aboriginal people and those who moved to the region (Martin, 2004), amongst other problems of identity definition within the political structure of Newfoundland and Labrador. However, there are discursive similarities to the *Come from away* series (Fairclough, 2004). Through the inevitable words of success, the listener is told that the Filipinos generally associate little with other locals. This is much like the form of self-segregation that Ali (2007) and Baruma (2005) discuss in chapter 2. Again, these people need the work at whatever poor wage is offered in a region where the cost of living is generally inflated. Though the employers seem astute and interested in the well-being of their employees, they still have the power, both deliberately and inherently, to cause economic and social segregation and exploitation (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Doty, 2003; Joppke, 2005a).

Finally, it is of interest to review the nine email responses to the *Come from away* series because, though few, they offer some limited sampling of how people view the immigration strategy and how immigrants may be viewed. The last comment is instructive as it suggests that there is a necessary intelligence exclusive to Newfoundlanders (Corbett 2010b; Gee, 1989) – much like the immigration strategy, there is a distinction between cultures:

...multiculturalism offers some great benefits to society but when we are faced with outmigration, *brain drain* [my italics. Those who stay no longer have relevant skills. See Corbett, 2008], an aging population etc... it becomes painfully obvious that we need to focus on keeping our own youth first. I just can't get my head around the fact that Newfoundlanders

who want to stay can't and the government wants to promote foreign immigration.

The dilemma of not keeping our own while encouraging new people is raised in four of the nine emails with one suggesting that the wage differential is a problem. One particularly jaded nationalistic statement following employs the foundation myth (Castells, 2010), a fear of the outsider (Appadurai, 2006), and the feeling of cultural superiority and perplexity as to why someone must move to expand horizons when everything they need is in Newfoundland (Martusewicz, 1997). I have annotated this quotation:

Here we see extreme cultural dilution of the founding peoples (read: UK and Irish descendants) and there (sic) culture and belief system (read: Christianity)... People feel more secure and happier when the community they live in reflects their cultural beliefs and practices... Don't make the multiculturalism mistake that Ontario and BC has made. Make it a priority to keep your children at home, in their own province; they are NL greatest wealth and the future of her culture!

Though certainly racist, this easily summarizes many of the myths many hold of who 'Newfoundlanders' are thought to be as well as how difficult it may be for some to deal with new people (Castells; 2010; Janks, 1997; Lawson, 2004; Reisigl & Wodak, 2001; Wodak, 2001a).

## Further context

### **Professionals, workers, townies, baymen, locals, foreigners**

I have illustrated some of the ways in which immigrants and local people can be easily delineated from one another in Newfoundland. I shall consider some contextual discourse that troubles the suggestion that immigration experience generally ends successfully (Fairclough, 2004). Further, I consider distinction and discrimination amongst Newfoundlanders themselves which challenge whether Newfoundlanders can be consistently welcoming, friendly and or hospitable towards newcomers. This allows me to offer a different reading of the phrase ‘rare but beautiful’ in the *Land and Sea* production (Janks, 1997; Wodak et al, 2009). Here I am also considering Law (2004) idea of mess when suggesting that the word ‘rare’ in the *Land and Sea* episode studied here actually captures the complexity of two cultures blending successfully in Newfoundland. With this reading, it can then be said that, when this blending actually happens, it is ‘beautiful’ because many times the blending of even one Newfoundlander from one community with one of a different community can be clumsy and troublesome. This entry point into the text helps to provide a foundation for the many questions I have asked of the Sri Lankan situation (Janks, 2005). It might also explain problems found in the overly simplified stories in the CBC *Come from aways* series.

Sean, the teacher in the *Land and Sea* program, addresses to some degree the difference between tolerance and actual integration (Bisoondath, 2004; Clary-Lemon, 2003; Fairclough, 2004; Lund, 2006; Lund & Carr, 2010). He first says that the other

students are “...seeing somebody who’s got a different way of looking at things and they can look at it and say, well, ok I can accept that and that’s good and that’s always good to see.” He makes a very interesting comment afterwards: “If we had more of that in every part of Newfoundland I think that would be a better thing.” Sean has put his finger on something the viewer and the narrator should consider.

Vulnerability comes from being recognized as an outsider (Appadurai, 2006), but it need not simply be because of foreign background. Sean’s realization, as was mine in the prologue, is that there are distinctions made between people in Newfoundland regardless of birthright and ethnic origin. Ayed, for example, had been born in Newfoundland but felt marginalized because of his name throughout his life in a smaller Newfoundland town. Despite his living there all his life, he was most often equated with the only other ‘foreigners’ in the town, though these foreign people also lived in the community most of their lives.

This can be truer in smaller regions; immigrant people in St. John’s can sometimes escape being continually exoticized and isolated. In St. John’s, for example, where people do not work and live as closely with each other every day, some simply place people like Youmin into a category and have nothing else to do with her. Others can associate with her easily. Youmin’s experience with racism is possibly more nuanced and intermittent than was Ayed’s as a youth.

Similar to Ayed, Youmin expressed distress at being labelled, often incorrectly, as Chinese rather than Korean – the point for her being that she too had an identity that was being trivialized or dismissed. She experienced simple ethnic racism - her real

background made no difference to some people. She also found she was dismissed at times because of her language difficulties, even after she had gained a good command of at least the main social language. This is not categorical however and she credits some Newfoundlanders as being very helpful. It would be worth observing that she and her husband are both professionals and likely move amongst professional, more educated or possibly worldlier people (Tilley, 2010).

The Thais, and the Filipinas, and the Sri Lankans are more vulnerable, through being directly controlled by employers and regulations, and by being segregated within communities or neighbourhoods as in Happy Valley-Goose Bay or Bay de Verde. This leads to a social vulnerability. The Sri Lankans are not seen to take jobs from people but it is unclear as to whether they have many 'local' friends – language may be problematic. It seems that there are no monetary class distinctions between the Sri Lankans and other mechanics and fish plant workers which could often lead to isolation from the locals, regardless of ethnic origin.

Jackson Anderson (2012) talks of the people who felt it was necessary to stay clear of the doctor in case they or a loved one were to be operated on in the near future. People are afraid that bad feelings might develop between them and the doctor. Class distinctions are quite evident in Newfoundland. The educated Zakinovs talk of outright exclusion from decent work and being accused of taking jobs when they first arrived. They are more successful, now – they have a staff of locals who respect them even if they still seem somewhat ignored in their community. The 'foreign' professionals in Carbonear also felt isolated; they were welcomed and then abandoned. Ayad and the



Indian family were isolated in Bay Roberts possibly because of class and profession which can seem augmented at times by being physically different.

People from visible minorities can be left alone as they were in Carbonear, or they can be singled out with precision as experienced by a number of doctors and nurses at the same time that the CBC documentaries on immigration were being made. One such example is with nurses from India who were hired in 2010. By 2011, there were no new jobs for local nurses who were graduating. Amidst the arguments about what constituted full time and casual work, and whether graduates really wanted to work outside of the cities, one telling email comment talks not only of the economic fiasco of the province but of the mistrust of foreign people:

What I don't understand, is that Newfoundland has little or no nursing positions left to offer our new Grads coming this April, but then places like Clarenville, hire a bunch of nurses from India to come over? A place where it takes a year for their Diploma, whereas here it takes 4 years.....so who would you expect to be more better trained to look after our sick and injured.....they will pay to bring these nurses over from India, give them a place to live, and pay them well to come over and take the jobs of nursing students, who for the most part did nursing because a few years ago there was a shortage in nurses.... [sic] (McCleod, 2011)

The minister of health and even the nurses' union did not feel it necessary to address these racist sentiments. But this seems to constitute a change in approach between 2005 and 2010. In 2005 a foreign doctor was accused of being too rough with a woman -

the doctor apparently did not understand the pain that was expressed and could not be told to do a different procedure (CBC News, 2005, 05 10). In this case, the director of the hospital did not back up his physician and, without seeming to know much about the case, simply said that the doctor seemed to have "...great references that looked good on paper, and it just didn't work out...". In 2010, however, another doctor from elsewhere got in trouble because he seemed to not test and diagnose an outpatient properly. The angry daughter said of foreign doctors on provincial television that: "We're their guinea pigs... They get their training by coming here. And when they improve, they go to cities and get bigger pay" (CBC, 2012, 05 22). As with the first doctor, this doctor could no longer stay in Gander as he was easily distinguishable. This time, however, the woman's statement about foreign doctors "...prompted a number of doctors in the province — both domestically and foreign trained — to complain to the medical association" (CBC News, 2012, 05 22).

Any Newfoundlander can catalogue and potentially segregate physically, socially, and /or economically simply by accepting only those people who need to live here, who make no mistakes, and who accept doing things 'our way'. But, many Newfoundland people may also fear that someone is taking a job away or trying to change an ideal. This may not be a fear of colour or race – more simply a fear of being replaced or diminished. Such fear can easily be targeted against a group of people categorically. Many foreign nationals, for example, are leaving Ireland for fear of racism as its once booming economy begins to sag (Macdonald, 2008).

However, this fear of outsiders is not simply of ‘non-Newfoundlanders’. It is found between groups within this ‘Newfoundlander’ population. The attempt to distinguish one from another is found in the questions one ‘Newfoundlander’ asks of another to distinguish those who may fit in from those who might take advantage of them. Ayad refers to the multitude of questions asked of ‘outsiders’ - ‘where are you from’, ‘how long are you here for’, ‘so what brings you here’ ‘do you like it here’ - that some people find very threatening. He recognizes that curiosity may initially be behind much of it. However, he also seems to recognize that some of the intent is to generally position a person within the community (Cohen, 1974; Jackson Anderson, 2012; Thompson, 2010). In antithesis to what Chafe said about people in small communities not necessarily being afraid of the unknown, people are wary (Appadurai, 2006; Jackson Anderson, 2012).

Despite all claims towards homogeneity, Newfoundlanders, as Sean the teacher above recognizes, actually come from numerous different backgrounds and class structures (Bassler, 1992; Hunt, 2011; Summers, 1994; Thompson, 2010). The questions reflect a concern about what purpose the new person has in the local environment. Sean is probably well aware of such distinctions having come from a predominantly Irish part of ‘the bay’ to study in the more cosmopolitan, sophisticated, and thus often exclusionary towards ‘baymen’, St. John’s.

This ubiquitous rivalry is even reflected in the jocular ads on television and in print which profile a car company who has cars for both ‘townies’ or ‘baymen’ who obviously don’t see eye to eye ([www.capital-mitsubishi.ca](http://www.capital-mitsubishi.ca)). The questions above can reflect a fear and a rivalry between people from one community and another, and between

many different economic, educational, and social classes of people that exist in Newfoundland. It is reflected in the fear that people from ‘the mainland’ might come here to tell them they’re lazy and they should do things differently (Cohen, 1974; Jackson-Anderson, 2012; Peckford, 2012), just as it is the fear of a person in ‘the bay’ that ‘a townie’ will try to diminish that person’s intelligence and capacity.

## Building relationships

Two other short discussions come from these CBC presentations. I base these questions upon the consideration of what within immigrants and local people may provide foundations for constructive, mutually beneficial, lasting relationships. The first is suggested by a number of immigrants already who I would suggest consider that, because immigration in any quantity is relatively new, there is a potential to build just inclusive communities. They contemplate, for example, whether bonds can be formed with local people over mutual experiences of discrimination. The second considers what is either missing or ignored in these presentations: e.g. any constructive discussion of what, if anything, these new people may actually contribute to Newfoundland’s society in the way of new techniques, political or business ideas, or otherwise. (See: Janks, 1997; Law, 2004, Reisigl and Wodak, 2001).

### **Bonding in discrimination**

Ten Muslim women in St. John’s reported that they felt little extra recrimination for being Muslim after the World Trade Centre bombing. The researcher finds that:

...the hostile North Atlantic climate and being in a marginalized position within Canada may help Newfoundlanders grow social and emotional attachments with others living in the same circumstances, whatever their background. Thus, communal attachment may prevent many Newfoundlanders from fostering animosity towards the female Muslim participants. (Akter, 2010, p. 96)

This only gives more credence to what seems apparent from the acceptance of the Sri Lankan girl and the South African woman here, and from the Lanier Phillips and Gander stories in chapter 5: that Newfoundlanders can accept people, as long as they do not make mistakes, they don't take jobs from 'us', they do not tell 'us' what to do, and they like 'us' or act like 'us'. Akter (2010) expresses her understanding of the myths of 'a continually harsh Newfoundland climate' and 'the constant discrimination of mainland Canadians' by suggesting this may bind 'us' to another group of people who it is imagined are also persecuted by 'the West'. Here, I am suggesting it is equally inappropriate to consider that all Muslim people feel persecuted – and that these feelings, like those of some Newfoundlanders, are also based upon varying nuanced relationships with situations of power and tolerance (See: Sabry, 2010). As well, it is contrarily said that women who wore hijab found things a little more difficult and that admittedly, like Youmin, a number of Muslim residents also generally stay within certain social circles because of professions and background, thus protecting themselves from day to day judgement.

In one of the *Come from away* series, Cej too mentions that Newfoundlanders can and should use the shared experience of discrimination they feel exists as a point of commonality with foreign people. He notes how derogatory jokes told in Ottawa of Newfoundlanders add to a defensive position that many here adopt every day. As an outside observer, at least initially, he has put his finger on the relationship that many Newfoundlanders feel they have with Canada and how it affects the way they treat other people. Again, however, he is trying to apply a myth that is not necessarily categorical; nor was this discrimination the same as that of people in other countries.

This thought of banding together in discrimination also raises Nietzsche's comments from chapter 2: suggesting that those who have been left behind could band together in resentment of those who have succeeded and simply create a self-defeating, retributive definition of success. While I do not wish to necessarily promote a social Darwinist approach that only the fittest will succeed in life, Barthes (1972), Castells (2010) and Nietzsche (2010) might suggest that simply banding together with fellow downtrodden people(s) from elsewhere creates a new exclusive and founding mythology of 'us' as one of 'the downtrodden'. This again overshadows each individual's sense of identity and personal justice within this newly defined group (Baruma, 2006; Bourdieu, 1989; Martusewicz, 1997; Nietzsche, 2010; Wodek et al., 2009), and yet can easily, given a change in power structures as may be happening in this economic boom, create a group of vindictive rather than continually hospitable people.

### **Can anyone learn from newcomers?**

Secondly, it is debatable whether even the public administration feels that new people to Newfoundland have anything of value to add to the social framework. The 2012 comments from Felix Collins, then provincial minister of justice, demonstrated publically that different skin colour, name and accent is still mistrusted by many Newfoundlanders. He was defending limiting public access to information which caused democracy think tanks to rank the Newfoundland government:

...behind such countries as Moldova, wherever the hell that is, and Guatemala and Mexico and Ethiopia and Nicaragua and Bulgaria and Uganda... [In defense of my proposal,] these are countries who have human rights atrocities, who kill women and children everyday... We have a charter of rights and freedoms... I don't know if they have one in Ethiopia. I don't know if they have a charter in Uganda, or Nigeria....  
(CBC News, 2012, 07 14)

One critic countered that the point was that:

While these countries' governments are passing strong access-to-information frameworks and working to improve government transparency, with Bill 29 the Newfoundland government is moving in precisely the opposite direction.... (CBC News, 2012, 07 14)

Collins furthered his confusing image of what constituted good government and polity when he suggested that the think tank's political comparison had no validity because:

...most countries that ranked the highest or strongest on this [think tank's] list are third world countries. Many of these countries... have known human rights abuses and high crime rates. Especially interesting to note is that all G8 countries— Canada, the USA, the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Italy, Russia and Japan – are ranked below the countries named in the media report. (Collins, 2012)

Mr. Collins has made the point that simply by being a G8 member necessarily means there is a higher degree of human rights. This demeaning line of reasoning implies that people from poorer countries must know nothing about government; they are too poor. The orientalist myth that shimmers every now and then, much like with the automotive shop owner in *Land and Sea*, is that it may be much better for smart people from those countries to live in this country (Barthes, 1979; Bissondath, 2004; Doty, 2010; Said, 1979).

This unfortunate outburst suggests that the government also had no intention of learning anything about the countries from which a number of Newfoundland's immigrant population have come. Remzi Cej, the Zakinovs, and Mr. Velinov from Eastern Europe, the Nigerians in the university, or any of the other immigrants here will be asked about what type of political and justice system they might hope to have.

As suggested then, a review of these presentations shows a decided disinterest in learning anything from the newcomers. The Zakinovs' ideas on local sourcing are lost in their interview. What the South African woman can and will do in Newfoundland is not considered. What the women in Clarendville are actually contributing to the region is of



little interest. Foreign doctors and nurses profiled in negative news stories have nothing new in technique or approach to tell local hospitals. Youmin does not talk about any new musical ideas she may have offered. 'New' food may be one simple thing that some of the local people have accepted: Bulgarian breakfasts from Velinov, coconut in pancakes from the Sri Lankans, Chicken Tetrazzini from the Zakinovs. As found in the immigration strategy in chapter 4, the more important part of these stories is how well immigrants adapt to Newfoundland and portray elements of 'our culture' (Lawson, 2004).

## Discussion

The *Land and Sea* program, as with other documentaries, display a propensity to propagate myths about 'Newfoundlanders' and 'other' cultures and traditions such that one becomes too easily and dangerously distinguished from others. The 'foreigner' is clearly delineated through pointing at the difference from a default culture - in this case, the Newfoundland culture. In a sense, the 'Newfoundland culture' is set up as a dispositive (Foucault, 1995; Ricouer, 1996): a series of foundational myths and characteristics of the 'Newfoundlander' held up as ideals which define how anyone amongst 'us' or 'them' are to deal justly and equally with each other. It is against this stalwart that the blending of cultures is measured. The hope may be that 'rare but beautiful' could become 'more common *and* beautiful' and then 'very common and still beautiful'. However, this cannot happen if attitudes remain stubborn, complacent, and nostalgic as they seem to be here.

The mandate in such documentary media seems to be to convince local people that visitors are doing well by moving into, and even benefiting from our education, jobs and support. There is little mention of those people in chapter 4 who move on. Only the characteristics and the background of the people that serve this mandate are attended to. There seems to be little interest in the person's identity or what they offer, There is more interest in whether immigrants are initially grateful for the support they are given and whether, much like the nagging questions of placement above, they 'like it here'.

This is not to question that certain people from anywhere cannot find certain benefits to life in this environment - many may feel a safety here that they did not feel elsewhere, for example. It would be nice to think that some find friends and comfort here. But the texts studied here seem to be much like the positioning questions above: designed to appease those who may fear immigration in some form or another.

According to *Land and Sea* and its counterparts, there may be too many things that must remain the same in our society during this economic transition Newfoundland is experiencing. Reid & Collins (2012) conjecture that the diversification of the Newfoundland economy is being hampered by too strong a focus being placed on the new oil and mineral developments. Regardless, things will change socially and culturally in the province whether Newfoundlanders want it or not. As Lawson (2004) suggested in chapter 2, it is precisely that things change that homogeneous groups of people put defining mythologies between themselves and others to suppress the growth of these other groups as change occurs (See also: Sabry, 2010). There has already been evidence above that there will be a lack of cultural and social diversity and blending still despite

the influx of new people. The Sri Lankans associate with the other immigrants; the Zakinovs befriend their staff; Clarendville needed a bright young 'Newfoundland' business person to suggest there be an intercultural get-together in the community.

Distinctions that already exist within economic and social circles in Newfoundland can easily become more profound during economic booms. Newer groups of disadvantaged people will now certainly include immigrants. The social stratification will simply add 'foreigners' as another distinction. Ghettos and professional enclaves are being created before new people even arrive. The Filipinas and the Sri Lankans, for example, may forever be 'the people over there who work at the place we won't'. Anyone coming in while local people are moving out will be evaluated to judge whether the new person was a replacement. Refugees like the Zakinovs will not get jobs because they weren't recruited and thus have not been assessed by employment agencies. Meanwhile lower wage structures may continue to be blamed upon those others from poorer country who took the job anyway; even more strange of course, because Newfoundland is not supposed to be poor any longer.

In order to belong, must immigrants continually embrace 'our province' and 'our culture'? The Sri Lankans and the South African woman are becoming 'Newfies' because they talk like Newfoundlanders, they love a cup of tea and a long chat, or they like the weather. So far, it does not seem to be because they contribute meaningful ideas and work to this evolving community. In the next chapter, I will discuss further how someone who contributed greatly to his family and community in the United States was made a honorary Newfoundlander, not for these achievements, but for the fact that he displayed

characteristics that contributed to and demonstrated facets of the mythological stockpile of characteristics attributable to the ‘true Newfoundlander’.

In chapter 6, I review the development of the Lanier Phillips story that rose from the original story of the wreck of the *Truxton* and *Pullox* off the coast of Newfoundland in 1942. This story is viewed in relation to the politics of the time and the nationalist theatre and other arts in Newfoundland which often mirrored the search for a rejuvenated pride. As mentioned in chapter 4, the mythologized capacity for Newfoundlanders to be constantly ‘welcoming’ and non-discriminatory is reviewed alongside the simultaneous ability to deride those perceived to be discriminating against Newfoundlanders.

# Chapter 6- Lanier Phillips: joke, allegory, mythology

In this chapter, I review how the story of Lanier Phillips developed from a mention in a general story of rescue to a mythology representing positive character traits attributed to Newfoundlanders in general. I first consider Joan Sullivan's eulogy in the Canadian newspaper, *The Globe and Mail* (17 March, 2012). I highlight the lexical and pronominal changes that occur in the Sullivan rendition from the initial one by Cassie Brown (1979). Sullivan introduces 'purpose' into the main actors' motivations and the metaphorical discourse of 'Newfoundland's oppression' into the entire story. Then I discuss the artistic, political and economic contexts of Newfoundland which cause the story to become metaphorical discourse of 'Newfoundlanders are a downtrodden people hoping to resurrect themselves' (See: Bannister, 2002b). The story becomes an allegory for both Phillips and the Newfoundland experience (Janks, 2005; Lawson, 2004; Widdowson, 2011). Finally, I discuss how Sullivan and contemporaries hold the story of the rescue of Lanier Phillips, and his subsequent thankfulness and productivity, against this metaphor of Newfoundland's need to portray a foundational myth that signifies 'Newfoundlander's' consistently brave, kind and generous identity (Barthes, 1972; Castells, 2010). Highlighted in this interdiscursive study will be the 2009 CBC article that tells of Bill Cosby's reinterpretation of Violet Pike's healing, a series of emails that

demonstrate the changing public perception, and two public comments from shortly after Phillips' death which follow on the heels of the theatrical rendition in *Oil and Water* by Robert Chafe (2011) and the Sullivan piece (Fairclough 2005; Hall, 1996; Wodak, 2001).

The story of Lanier Phillips arose from the story of the 1942 wreck of two American warships, the *Truxton* and *Pullox*, just outside of Chambers Cove near the towns of St. Lawrence and Lawn on the Burin Peninsula of Newfoundland. The original story in Newfoundland and beyond belongs to the shipwrecks and great rescues genre of stories. Lanier Phillips was the only African America survivor rescued that day, but his individual story was not of great significance to Newfoundland storytellers until about the 1990s.

## From joke to allegory

A typical definition of allegory is "...a story, poem, or picture which can be interpreted to reveal a hidden meaning, typically a moral or political one [or, in simpler terms]... a symbol" (Oxford. See also: Lawson, 2004). I wish to draw reference to two other allegorical stories that will stabilize the imagery of the Phillips story. The first is that of the Phoenix rising from the ashes as an allegory for the resurrection of Christ (and similar figures in various traditions) from death (Emison, 2005; Fox, 2011; Harrison, 1960). The second more secular allegory is James Thurber's famous story of the Last Flower, which was originally published in 1939 as World War II was starting (Thurber, 2001; University of Iowa Press). This last piece tells of the world almost coming to an end, whereupon the reader is introduced to one lone flower that is found and nurtured by

one innocent young girl. She is quickly joined and assisted by one interested, innocent young boy. Soon love enters the mix and the world begins to recover. People play music and write again. Everything flourishes again. At some point, however, people begin to argue again and stand their ground. Conflict breaks out which lead to wars again. This time, there is one last flower, one last little girl, and one last little boy.

A comparison of the lexical makeup and the pronominalisation between Cassie Brown's initial 1979 and Joan Sullivan's 2012 descriptions of the people and events should begin to illustrate how easily the story of Lanier Phillips can follow this motif (Janks, 1997; Luke, 1995; Widdowson, 2011). Cassie Brown's rendition of the entire rescue, entitled *Standing into danger*, has been touted as the first formal treatment of the naval disaster other than in more official documents and the story told mainly by people of St. Lawrence and Lawn. There is one mention of a black man throughout the entire 350 pages and various appendices of the book. The story is about the shipwreck, not the black man, and the rendition seems simple:

They cleaned the sailors who badly needed it, despairing that their skin would ever be white again. Violet Pike vigorously scrubbed a sailor but could see no noticeable difference in the colour of his skin. "My dear", she panted, "I can't seem to get the oil off."

The sailor groaned, "That's all right, ma'am, it won't come off. My skin is black."

Violet Pike was flabbergasted. She had never laid eyes on a black man in her whole life.

Nearby, Sam Nicosia chuckled heartily. (p. 272)

It is important to note that ‘they’ is collocated to very distinct people: ‘they’ are specifically the women who helped clean the oil off the sailors and who, it is said, despaired about whether the skin of the sailors would turn white (Fairclough, 2005; Widdowson, 2011). While this might not be intentional, ‘white’ is designated as the norm, and the reaction to one not ‘white’ makes Violet ‘flabbergasted’; she may not be repulsed but she is certainly taken aback with no idea how to react having “...never laid eyes on a black man in her whole life”. A more potentially negative reaction is that of Sam who chuckles at the folly of the situation. He, at least, was not ‘innocent’ of the existence of ‘black’ people.

However, the only innocence that is really apparent here is that she had never physically *seen* a black person. It is hardly possible that Violet had never heard that coloured people exist. Similarly, it is entirely possible that Violet and the others had been aware of racial slurs and she was flabbergasted at the initial shock of seeing and even touching a person who might normally be the brunt of negative imaging (Lund, 2006). Considering Janks’ (2005) discussion that the telling of each thing has purpose, the mention of this story was more than likely as comic relief in the middle of a difficult story - there seems no other purpose. However this randomly placed chuckle will contribute to the suppression of the story of the black man for some time to come.

Contrasts and transivities are important in these descriptions (Janks, 1997; Like, 1995; Widdowson, 2011). The name of the black sailor is not important to the shipwreck story until the man’s fate becomes important. According to Saltscapes (Antle, 2006), it



was not till 1988 that the black person, Lanier Phillips, actually found out where the rescue had taken place and contacted Cassie Brown. Now, the blending of colours starts to become important. Lanier Phillips takes on a persona as his life after the rescue is recounted; it now becomes derogatory to simply label Lanier Phillips as a ‘black man’. A picture on Chafe’s (2011) *Oil and Water* script (and for the play’s promotion), for example, comprises an attractive but distinct variety of skin colours and other colours. However, colours remain very murky in Grant Boland’s 1998 painting “Incident at St. Lawrence” which includes, says Sullivan (2012), the beautiful image of a white nurse tending a black patient that inspired Robert Chafe to write his play. The necessary distinction is far from obvious through the Rembrandt-like colouring and lighting that Boland employs (See appendix). Boland’s painting highlights white nurses and barrels more so than the patients’ colours. To comment on Violet Pike’s lack of racism would require a more distinct presentation of colour (Fanon, 2008; Hall, 1996). Indeed, was Sullivan simply trying to add one more example to mythologize the ‘Newfoundlander’s’ colour-blindness?

There is also a contrast between the use of adverbs and adjectives and their collocations between Brown’s and Sullivan’s piece (Janks, 1997; Luke, 1995; Widdowson, 2011). In Brown (1979), Violet does nothing else after being ‘flabbergasted’ and there is no further mention of the black man. Her form of scrubbing was ‘vigorous’ which might be expected of a person trying to clean crude oil from another’s skin. Sullivan (2012) describes the scene much differently:

They lit fires on the beach, warming the survivors and then carting them up the cliffs where the women had set up a temporary first-aid station.

Phillips got to shore, and collapsed. He heard a man say, "Don't lie there. You'll surely die." He was helped to his feet and brought to the fire, then to the first-aid station. Phillips, like all the men, was coated with Bunker C crude. The women worked gently and steadily to clean it from their eyes and their skin.

None of Phillips's rescuers had ever seen a black person before. They thought the oil would not come off. One woman worried, "Oh my, it's gotten into his pores." Phillips, slipping in and out of consciousness, waited for them to discover the truth. "It's the colour of the skin. You can't get it off," he told them. He expected to be put back out in the storm. But that did not happen. "I want him at my house," said one of the women, Violet Pike. "They kept bathing me and they fed me with a spoon and lifted my head," Phillips told *The Bigger Picture*, Global News. "[They] just rained humanity on me. It changed my entire philosophy of life."

Nobody laughs in this rendition. The pronominalisation is different here in that as many people as possible are included in the 'they' who had never seen a black person before, 'they' who thought the oil would not come off (Janks, 1997; Widdowson, 2011). *All* of the women clean the men 'gently and steadily' rather than one person cleaning 'vigorously'. None wonder what colour the skin will be. Other people help Phillips. In Thurber's piece, all society is represented in the "One man" and "One woman" on the

second to last page, “And only one flower remained” on the last page (Thurber, 2001, p. 29-30). Here, all men and all women help the lone Phillips - there are no other sailors (Luke, 1995).

The lexicalisation of the story is different than Brown (1979). Only Phillips and Violet Pike are named while the others are not; they are a gentle, steady, warming, helping people with collective innocence. Violet Pike is not ‘flabbergasted’ as she was in Brown’s book; she actually declares that she ‘wants’ Phillips at her house. From there on, says Phillips, a more universal ‘they’, not simply Violet and her friends, ‘rain humanity’ on Phillips and change his philosophy of life. Phillips is the phoenix or the last flower; this ‘humanity’ will help Phillips to grow (Janks, 1997; Luke, 1995; Widdowson, 2011).

This rising from ashes is most important to the allegorical nature of Phillip’s story. While falling just a little short of the sexually exoticized image of Phillips in the 2011 *Oil and Water*, Sullivan (2012) exoticizes the tale of Phillips’ rebirth so as to be able to exoticize all of those who had a hand in it (Fairclough, 1992; 2003). Lanier Phillip’s life of absolute persecution before his rescue is carefully included so that the analogy can more easily be made to an equally downtrodden Newfoundlander as is discussed shortly. The reader is told: “...for one who survived it would be an experience so profound he would be "born again" (Sullivan, 2012, p. 1).

Mr. Phillips grew up in a part of Georgia which had seen a recent resurrection of the Ku Klux Klan (Lay, 2005; Murder of Mary Phagen, 2006). Black people were frequently subject to lynching and whippings; the school they attended was burnt to the ground. Poignant in many writers’ contextualization of the Newfoundland experience (in

chapters 4 and 5, and to follow), Phillips had never heard a kind word from white people. His joining the Navy was the ‘lesser of two evils’ because he still performed menial, slave-like duties and was segregated from the white sailors, wore cheaper uniforms and had to eat while standing in a pantry. Sullivan’s descriptors are important (Luke, 1995): “because it was wartime...”; “the weather was savage”; the ships were wrecked in “a horseshoe cove” (a lucky sign?); “The gales slammed the Truxton against the rocks until its steel cracked and it broke in two”; “...despite fearing he would be killed on shore”, Phillips abandoned ship. After this terrifying violence experienced from both humans and nature, Sullivan ends this part of the story with a simple, poignant statement which mirrors *The last flower*: “He was the only African-American seaman to survive” (Sullivan, 2012, p. 2).

From this statement, Sullivan (2012) describes warming fires, help, gentleness, and genuine concern that he should not die (p. 2-3. See: Fairclough 2005). Unlike a number of writers, Sullivan notes that the day, appropriately enough, was Ash Wednesday: the beginning of Lent whereupon a person should reflect upon life and mortality (Bucher, n.d.; Mick, 2004) and the foreshadowing of the resurrection of Christ (Emison, 2005; Fox, 2011; Harrison, 1960). Sullivan recreates the maternal image from Brown (1979): “Most of the women were young matrons and they had looked after the sailors as they would their own children...They were their mothers” (p. 273. See also: Janks, 2005). The more universal ‘they’ nurse Phillips like a mother might, but now ‘they’ also rain humanity down on him. Considering the subtext, ‘humanity’ is what is circling the room, and Phillips is resurrected (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001; Widdowson,

2011). From here, Phillips turned his life around to fight against his persecutors and he arguably managed to carve out a good profession and a decent life for him and his family (Sullivan, 2012).

The allegory should either stop to allow the lesson to sink in, such as in the resurrection, or to possibly start the cycle again, as in *The last flower*. The identity of the cast of characters remains fluid. It is not the same woman and the same man and the same flower left the second time the world comes close to destruction in *the Last Flower*. People and events move on and change. The only thing that remains is the essence of the love that is cast upon the first flower that may hopefully start the revitalization again. The allegory can be told many times, and applied to various situations, but it cannot have the same cast of characters. It is the genuine singular innocence in a situation that allows the allegory to exist (Lawson, 2004).

## Controlling the story – beginning of the metaphor

The use of ‘they’ in Sullivan’s rendition and through Phillips’ retelling begins to ruin the allegory by introducing elements of thought and purpose that override the simple message that ‘humanity’ can be found where one least expects it (Luke, 1995). Instead, Sullivan manages to contextualize the symbol of Lanier Phillips as the rebirth of humanity from the ashes against the desires and purposes of Newfoundlanders: the story of Lanier Phillips is contextualized as a metaphor for the plight of ‘Newfoundlanders’ (Fairclough, 2005; Janks, 1997). I shall quickly discuss how this happens with the use of

thoughts and adjectives in Sullivan's piece that begin to recontextualize the initial symbol (Fairclough, 2005; Lawson, 2004).

Importantly, Sullivan (2012) chooses to have Violet Pike say: "I want him at my house". This introduces motivation into Violet's otherwise innocent actions (Janks, 2005). At all other times, less motivated phrases like 'I'll take him at our house' are used to simply move the action along (Antle, 2006). Violet's friend, Ena Edwards says that Violet simply said 'bring him to my place' (Brookes, 2001). There is no stated transitive reason for Violet to 'want' (Janks, 1997; Luke, 1995) I must ask why she 'wants': to show that she is unmoved by the man's colour, or to be the first one to show her regard? Until this statement, she has lexically been part of 'they' (Janks, 1997). That being so, all people here must 'want' just as 'they all rain humanity'. The discourse has changed from the discourse of the allegory to the discourse of a precariously placed Newfoundlander who may be aware of difference presented by the man but is still able to define and announce her unsullied desires with the same innocent aplomb.

'I want' is otherwise used only in the Ruane (2010) Washington Post telling. Here, the journalist is suitably displaced from needing to describe any Newfoundland characteristic – thus, the line is the less meaningful and even stale-dated; attributed to 'the humble wife of a miner' who is one of a number who showed a singular "...humanity [on] that wintry day in 1942". However, Sullivan (2012) is writing for Canadian Globe and Mail readers likely aware of the various images of Newfoundlanders within Canada (Bannister, 2002b; Fairclough, 2005; Thomson, 2010). She also wants to say that Phillips: "...never stopped talking about the kindness of Newfoundlanders who rescued him in

1942 and transformed his life...” (p. 1). He “...found the first white people who treated him with equality. He never forgot it and he never stopped talking about it with simple, ringing eloquence...” (p. 2). From the beginning, these words might warn the reader that this eulogy is not in fact the story of Lanier Phillips. It is about Newfoundland’s culture and personality – thus ascribing much more import to the phrase ‘I want him at my house’.

This purpose is galvanized in the following paragraph in the last third of the eulogy:

But most of all, he told his story, on radio, TV, in speeches and print, and never tired of recounting and crediting the people of St. Lawrence. In turn, Phillips's dramatic narrative became part of Newfoundland culture, and inspired songs, documentaries, and books.... (Sullivan, 2012)

After telling the Phillip’s story, Sullivan highlights that it was Phillips telling of his story and tireless crediting of the people of St. Lawrence that was ‘most of all’, or in other words, the most important thing he did. For the remainder of the piece we are told how ‘Phillips's dramatic narrative became part of Newfoundland culture...’ and of Phillip’s return to Newfoundland to continue his thanks.

I must ask why Sullivan (2012) did this (Fairclough, 2005; Janks, 2005). She was not meeting minimum word requirements for her article. Her eulogies generally range from 950 to 1100 words; this one is almost 1700 words. She is pleased at the prospect of immediately launching into a discussion of Roy Boland’s beautiful image of the white nurse tending the black patient and other pieces of Newfoundland art and music

mythologizing the event. I shall review again shortly the nationalistic flavour that permeates much of artistic or cultural work in Newfoundland. Meanwhile, the only email response to this story says Phillips life is "...indelibly connected to Canada...", and thanks to "... the people of Newfoundland, who made it so" (Berkowitz in: Sullivan, 2012). This response is reminiscent of the myriad of similar responses to the Bill Cosby interview on CBC published in 2009 discussed shortly. Sullivan succeeds in turning this story of Lanier Phillips into a myth about Newfoundland (Barthes, 1979). It is important to consider the historical and political context in which this happens (Wodak, 2001a; Janks, 1997).

## The politics of culture: building metaphors and myths.

That the allegorical story of Lanier Phillips developed at all might be serendipitous since Lanier Phillips could have stayed anonymous had he not heard of the book and decided to attend a reunion (Antle, 2006). Once discovered, however, the speed in which the story developed illustrates its synchronicity with contextual elements of Newfoundland during especially the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century and the history which many Newfoundlanders accept as defining Newfoundland's personal and world view (Bannister, 2002b, Castells, 2010; Thomson, 2010)

The story is rescued however. Lisa Moore (2011) recounts a comment from Dale Jarvis, a local folklorist:



It strikes me that the recontextualization of the story Chafe relates [in the writing of *Oil and Water*] is very similar to the rescuing of tradition to which Dale Jarvis referred: They hold a mirror, or a hall of mirrors, to the culture in Newfoundland. They provide ways of seeing Newfoundland anew. (p. 11)

The meaning of the word 'rescuing' is crucial here as, much like Lawson (2004) and Abdullah (2004) mention in chapter 2. It implies that a story is not being archived so much as its importance is being reconsidered. Moore also raises the image of a 'hall of mirrors' which definitively suggests the potential for illusion or distortion (Luke, 1995). I wish to discuss further how many in Newfoundland may feel a kinship with Mr. Phillips in much the same way that people in chapter 5 suggested many Newfoundlanders might find camaraderie with other oppressed people(s). Being as such, the Lanier Phillips story becomes a good metaphor for many in Newfoundland, and is an example of how metaphors and myths such as these are often used politically (Bannister, 2002b; Castells, 2010).

### **The political woes that define 'us' against 'them' – nationalism renewed**

Much like Lanier Phillip's actual story the tone of the Newfoundland discourse as victim is rife with defensiveness and a feeling of inferiority or of being persecuted. Bannister (2002b) suggests that the institution of the *Royal Commission on Renewing and Strengthening Our Place in Canada* in 2002 strengthened the feeling amongst many Newfoundlanders that they should not have joined Confederation. This foundational narrative of Newfoundlanders as being a suppressed and cheated people either by English

businessmen, Water Street merchants, or Canadian politicians, is profound. Anomalous to what I was taught as a young person (see: *Prologue*), too many people see a poor present and only the potential of a better future. Canada, goes the narrative, had failed to live up to the expectations its proponents had touted during the campaign for Confederation. Such sentiments are expressed in the phrase from the *Prologue*: ‘I s’pose that’s all you can do, b’y’. People such as Malone (2012) have set out deliberately, in *Don’t tell the Newfoundlanders*, to galvanize a lingering impression that the people of Newfoundland were essentially sold out to the Canadians by the British in 1949.

Bannister (2002a) refers to Justice Reeves’ book of 1797, wherein he outlines the struggle between ‘us’, as in the people who wanted to live in Newfoundland, and ‘those’ who didn’t. He discerned that Newfoundland consisted of:

...planters and inhabitants on the one hand, who being settled there, needed the protection of a government and police, with the administration of justice; and the adventurers and merchants on the other, who, originally carrying on the fishery of this country, and visiting the island only for the season, needed no such protection for themselves, and had various reasons for preventing its being afforded to others.

Bannister and Thomson (2010) continue to say that Newfoundland historians and commentators have in many ways been prone to look for ‘others’ to blame for its frequent problems. This seems to be the beginning of the class structure of the island at least: a battle between who sees Newfoundland as a great venture and who viewed Newfoundland as a simple economic entity which cannot sustain anyone more than a self-

sufficient crew of livyers (people who stayed in Newfoundland over the winter) “...forced to endure seemingly endless cycles of economic failure and social misery” (Bannister, 2002a). Class history is currently being revitalized to serve those who now feel they have the power to, like in Dunderdale’s speech in chapter 2, ‘move forward into a more glorious future’ (See also: Fanon, 2008; Hall, 1997; Lawson, 2004).

The Royal Commission was commissioned when there was still little tangible benefit from oil and further statements that the fishery would not return (Bannister, 2002a). However, the new Premier Williams (served 2003-2010) managed the change to prosperity which prompted a new nationalist fervour (Thomson, 2010). He told Newfoundlanders that it was time to stop letting the federal government control the oil industry, as it had the fisheries, while continuing its transfer payments as had been negotiated in the Atlantic Accord of the 1980s (Peckford, 2012; Rowe, 2010). With that new revenue, Newfoundland would diversify and become a better run business. The Harris Centre and other councils as noted in the strategy from chapter 4 would actively explore new directions in regional growth to stem the huge drops in rural population; an immigration policy would be introduced to deliberately go out and get people to fill economic holes; the new Arts policy would renew the industry of ‘culture’ in Newfoundland both as a touristic and entertainment industry; a new history course would be introduced in Grade 8 which would tell students " How History Shapes our Present" and “...touches on how past events impact our current society and culture" (<http://www.heritage.nf.ca/nlhistory>); a new course was being devised for the high school grades which would examine our culture and arts again (Thomson, 2010; Hall, 1997).

The provincial government took the Canadian flag from all public buildings on December 23<sup>rd</sup> - a new 'war' with Canada had begun (Rowe, 2010). The premier said:

They're [the Canadian government] slapping us in the face. I'm not willing to fly that flag anymore in the province... they are not treating us as a proper partner in Confederation. It's intolerable and it's insufferable and these flags will be taken down indefinitely. (CBC News, 2004, 12 04)

Many residents of Newfoundland chose to fly the Pink, White and Green flag, recognized as a potential republican flag of independence, from their houses and car windows (See: Lambert, 2008). Rollman (March 30, 2012) expands on the sour tenor that was set by the Royal Commission in describing regular features on separatist sentiment, "...notoriously unscientific polls [showing]... support for independence anywhere from 40 – 80%...." Two people ran as candidates for independence in the provincial election of 2003, while the Newfoundland First Party was formed September 2008 for the national election (Elections Canada, 2013; Foot, 2011).

George Baker, an old guard liberal from the 1960s and 1970s was reported by Martin (2009) in the *Victoria Times Colonist* as declaring:

...the Rock ripe and ready to commit itself to again becoming a sovereign nation. "People will soon be advocating, you know, that we can't remain in the Confederation in which we're discriminated against and not respected for the great contribution that we make," he fumed this week. "I believe that day is coming for sure if this keeps up."

This was not the first ‘war’ with Canada. Similar rhetoric and a corresponding growth in nationalistic mythmaking began in the 1970s over the same fishery and the oil revenue issues. Canada was considered more an enemy than the country in which Newfoundland was a partner. During this time, Brian Peckford endeavoured to reveal and clean up some of the terrible economic shortfalls that had been left behind by the Smallwood government (those same problems mentioned in chapter 4 which has often made successive governments wary of investing in ‘outsider’ ventures. See: Peckford, 2012). Peckford has said that his first electoral mandate in 1979 was to restore Newfoundland’s well-being and glory. Many times, it seemed that the federal government, particularly under Pierre Trudeau, had implied that Newfoundland’s opinion held no weight in the Confederation. Premier Peckford rebuked the Canadian government in a similar way to Williams, by closing Newfoundland schools and stores in an official day of mourning. Representatives of the House of Assembly would wear black armbands in the House of Assembly in mourning of a partnership now dead (Fulton, 1983; Peckford, 2012).

### **Never a kind word – the language of nationalist sentiments**

Such strident reactive nationalist dramas are not without foundation in a more longstanding nationalistic historical discourse that repudiates ‘those mainlanders’, whoever they are, who marginalize the ‘proud independent Newfoundland spirit’ (Thomson, 2010; Castells, 2010). The language that describes this politics can be colourful and pronounced. Bannister (2002a) says that, for Peckford, “history had

inflicted a debilitating psychic wound from which it was not sure that Newfoundland would recover” (p 182). Peckford (2012) says in his own book that he certainly did everything to make Newfoundlanders a proud entity on the Canadian scene (See also: Thompson, 2010). Williams revitalized Peckford’s now famous populist statement, ‘Some day the sun will shine and the have not will be no more’, when talking consistently of how Newfoundland and Labrador would change.

Lanier Phillips used a similar type of Messianic speech quoted by Sullivan (2012). It interestingly, though not deliberately, mirrored Peckford’s need to heal psychic wounds:

He said Martin Luther King described a child exposed to racism as wounded in mind and soul. “I was wounded in mind and soul. But the people of St. Lawrence healed that wound and I have hatred for no one. I think about it. I dream about it. It's cemented in my soul and etched in my mind. I dream of going through the whole thing many, many times.”

This quotation is in tandem again to his remarks on his life: that up until St. Lawrence he had never heard a kind word from a white person. Nor, it is said by many, were Newfoundlanders hearing many kind words from Canadians.

During the decade in which Phillips’ story brewed, many Newfoundlanders were still complaining of their portrayal as stupid, lazy, or barbaric by ‘outsiders’ (Tilley, 2000; Walsh, 2009). In response to Premier Williams flag lowering antics, for example, *Globe and Mail* columnist Margaret Wente (2005) dubbed Newfoundland “...a vast and scenic welfare ghetto” Hers was a less subtle way of saying what Ibbitson (2004) said and

continues to discuss about Newfoundland's poverty and homogeneity (Bricker & Ibbitson, 2013). In Wente's own words, the backlash for her and the *Globe and Mail* from Newfoundlanders was so fierce that she had been forced to revisit and possibly recontextualize the statement a number of times in hopes of finally rationalizing it to Newfoundland patriots (Walsh, 2009; Wente, 2009).

Lisa Moore's 2011 interview with playwright Robert Chafe also summarizes negative things that have been said about 'Newfoundlanders':

The portrayal of Newfoundlanders by the media and by Greenpeace was very negative. I remember the way people were speaking about us. For a long time here in Newfoundland, the Lanier Phillips story was viewed as a kind of Newfie joke. How could these Newfoundlanders not know there were black people in the world? It was only when Lanier came back decades later to say how a two-day experience here had changed his life that we saw the meaning of the story. That's what moved me. This man encountered a Newfoundland that many Newfoundlanders know and love. He recontextualized the story — and not only for Newfoundlanders, but the world. (p. 11)

Of course, as mentioned, most Newfoundlanders probably did know there were black people in the world. The insistence on celebrating Newfoundlanders' naiveté illustrates the political soul that shades Jarvis' use of the word 'rescue' when reviving stories (Bannister, 2002b; Bill, 2012; Moore, 2011). When Lanier Phillips returns with journalist Chris Brookes (2001) to explain his story to 'us', 'we' are shown not just a 'real

Newfoundland’, if that exists, but the antithesis of the mean image portrayed by ‘outsiders’: “...a Newfoundland that many Newfoundlanders [but, to consider the binary, obviously not ‘outsiders’] know and love” (Moore, 2011. See also: Janks, 2005).

Sean Panting (cited in: Kelly, 2010) who acted in Chafe’s production says: “We would like to be happier about the future than angry at the past”. As Chafe (in Moore, 2011) suggests, stories are ‘recontextualized’. Two particular themes arise from Panting and Chafe. First, that many Newfoundlanders claim to feel persecuted much like a person such as Lanier Phillips might truly have felt (Luke, 1995; Widdowson, 2011). Second, if much of the arts, media and publicity produced in Newfoundland during the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century has nationalistic underpinnings, it is to provide materials with which to fight back and assuage the melancholy of being ‘different’ or ‘unique’ (Fairclough, 2004). The past is being recreated to affirm current struggles to legitimise identity and purpose (Bannister, 2002b; Kelly, 2010; Thompson, 2010). I shall now review each.

### **Newfoundlanders persecuted – Phillips as a metaphor**

It is useful here to begin considering bell hooks (1992; 2004) and others on the building of the African American psyche through the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century. Though the African American experience is unquestionably different, ‘they’ and ‘Newfoundlanders’ have shared some similarities in the psychological manifestations of their experiences of persecution and difficulty with national entities. The American slave generally lacked an immediate personal history that they could hold with pride, having originally held no land or interest in the country in which they were born or forcibly confined. An ethnic



‘history’ and personal image was often built out of remnants of other images. These might be images projected onto them or the salvaging of pieces of African and similar history which might define an ancestral heritage with which many had had no real personal experience. Castells (2010) quotes Cornel West who argues that “blacks in America are precisely African and American” (p. 59). Their identity was constituted as kidnapped, enslaved people under the freest society of the time. Black theorists in the United States, for example, have suggested that some negative African American responses are a type of rebellion by those still unable to gain a place in the essentially white middle class and elite society of America.

Similarly, ‘Newfoundlandness’ is projected upon Newfoundlanders by both Newfoundland and others. One of the local images is that above: of consistently being exploited by others. Ties are forever being sought with unknown relatives in ‘the old country’ of England or Ireland most often. With little or no history of success, many Newfoundlanders cultivate an image of rebelliousness against the oppressors found in the English or Irish merchant of the past, or the Canadian and sometimes other outsiders of today (Malone, 2012; Thompson, 2010).

The need to control image is seen in the delicate way humour is expressed. ‘Newfoundlanders’ are able to make fun of themselves and of the outsiders. However, when the butt of the joke is the ‘Newfoundlander’, it must be told by a Newfoundlander and it should delicately marry innocent naiveté of a character with implicit folkloric wisdom in such a way as to make it both funny and redeeming at the same time. The same joke indelicately told by ‘outsiders’ can produce yet another demeaning image of

Newfoundlanders - presented often as the 'Newfie joke'. Until about 2008, the complete story of Violet Pike and Lanier Phillips was yet another 'Newfie joke' that could not be told easily for many bruised Newfoundland egos.

In 2001, Chris Brookes (2001) says of the picture he sees of Lanier with the other people:

Four white faces and one black one. This story I'd heard as a joke about the Newfoundlanders who'd tried to scrub the black off a black man. This is like a picture of the joke. (p. 6)

None of the pictures of Lanier Phillips are published in Ena Edwards' 2001 autobiography. Though they may not have meant to be derogatory, National Public Radio even dubbed Brookes' story 'Newfies' (2001). A 2004 American rendition uses the story as a lesson in showing humanity to people, yet specifically says: "At this point the Newfie joke aspect enters the story..." (Yulog, 2004, p. 2). There is every reason, then, for local people to leave this story alone because so far the story is only one of a naïve person in poverty. As Chafe says, no-one had yet seen the purpose (Moore, 2011).

Phillips is now visiting Newfoundland regularly by mid 2000s and there is a great stroking of Newfoundlanders' egos in the 2006 rendition of Phillips visit to the Newfoundland and Labrador Museum (Antle, 2006). However, there was only a little mention of the woman who tried to clean the coloured person, Violet Pike. In 2008, however, the allegorical side of the story was completely evident when an honorary doctorate was bestowed upon Lanier Phillips by Memorial University. Said the orator:

All his life, he had been treated as an inferior being. There was no other reality. Now, like Kafka's *Metamorphosis* in reverse, he awoke to a new reality, one in which a black man could hold his head up as an equal to any other. (Hestekin 2008)

## The arts fight back

Much of the interest in Newfoundland stories, music and humour, then, is often fueled and supplemented by political rhetoric. Rescue stories such as that of Lanier Phillips are groomed to counter perceived narratives of purposelessness. Many Newfoundlanders gain solidarity in marginality and try to keep solidarity in prosperity by looking back at when we were 'together' (Thompson, 2010, p. 10-11). Many Newfoundlanders will bend over backwards to push a local person into the limelight if we feel the person represents good things about Newfoundland or they are making fun of those who make fun of Newfoundland. Images of 'Newfoundlandness', including 'our language', 'our musical talent', 'our bravery', our generosity', and etc. are projected on the national stage as often as possible. Sometimes it works admirably; sometimes it is absurd. But with so little that is 'ours' in the current politico-socio-economic sense, many take what they consider more profoundly 'what is still ours' from the past and recontextualize it for the public.

Rebellions can manifest in various artistic and cultural expressions. Again referring to the African American experience, various forms of language, fashion, music,

expressions of sexuality and power, and otherwise have been formed by African Americans in defiance of other 'white' American norms. Some expressions are generally accepted but some black theory writers consider some of these expressions further damage the image of an African American because they feel it stultifies positive social and cultural progress (for example: Cornell West, 1995). Many claim to be asserting 'black power' by exploring or relating the 'real experience' of black people (hooks, 2004). Unfortunately negative qualities are sometimes glorified which simply nurture already negative stereotypes: of black sultry sex, of macho violence and female submission, of bypassing various 'average' lifestyles by becoming an athlete or a music star, and consequently spending huge amounts of money on drug-ridden parties and ostentatious and odious jewelry and luxuries formerly reserved for rich white people. The idea, besides portraying reality, was that, if such negative stereotypes were 'accepted' by white Americans, one may as well make a living at it (See: Castells, 2010; Hooks, 2004; West, 1994).

Newfoundland has such examples of defiant humour, theatrical and musical endeavours. For example, Premier Williams satirized himself and Newfoundland's feistiness on popular national television shows: the Mercer report in 2003 and 2008, and *This Hour has 22 Minutes* between 2009 and 2010. He was more than happy to publically criticize and bad-mouth the federal and Quebec governments for laughs. Quick barbs were made about anyone who said nasty things about Newfoundlanders. In tandem, negative images are flaunted as something that 'outsider' may as well get used to. Local internet funny man, Donny Dumphy (a stage name), is an example. Dumphy recently

argued that Memorial University had stolen ‘his’ line, “Havin’ a time”, for a marketing campaign. They could at least, he said, have given him ‘five bucks and a half pack of smokes’. Whether his purpose was simply to gain media image or to actually claim linguistic (and legal?) rights was debated robustly throughout the comments sections of CBC (2012, 07 19). Donny Dumphy throws negative stereotypes into the forefront. He does what he calls ‘Newfie rap’, wears a ball cap over very long hair, chews gum, dresses down, talks careless (though still intelligible) ‘Newf-talk’. It is hard not to equate his image with that of a young, hip-hop living person presumed to be from poor American urban neighbourhoods who are defying (and sometimes making money from) white middle class Americans (CBC, 2011; Pennycook, 2007; CBC, 2012, 07 19).

The Newfoundland ‘language’ is used in ways such as Ebonics and ‘rap’ language has been used in some parts of African-American culture (Pennycook, 2007). It is often regenerated to propagate a sense of separateness from the rest of Canada (See Castells, 2010, p. 51; Pennycook, 2007; Thompson, 2010). ‘Our language’ is a shibboleth to decide whether someone belongs or not. It is taught to newcomers so they can fit in, despite the fact that they already have trouble understanding English, and despite the myriad of accents that exist (Jackson Anderson, 2012; Tilly, 2000). It is a way of maintaining power: while negotiating something ‘special’ or ‘uniquely Newfoundland’ for a visitor; by seeming to understand real Newfoundland business better than ‘others’; to measure whether a *Come back from away* has become snooty and ‘no longer from here’ (Tilley, 2010). Fellow Newfoundlanders are upset when another Newfoundlander has no accent, but then get very upset when an outsider tells a Newfoundlander they have one

(Thompson, 2010, p. 58). Locally produced advertisements about ‘townies and baymen’ caused few complaints (Capital Mitsubishi), but the national Nissan advertisement, which portrayed a Newfoundland salesman somewhere else in Canada, caused rural Newfoundland mayors to claim that ‘no-one speaks like that’ and thus the national portrait was demeaning (CBC News, 2006).

Many claim the cultural arrival of Newfoundland was commandeered during Brian Peckford’s leadership in the 1970s (Thompson, 2010; Peckford, 2012; Bannister, 2002b):

Whether Peckford politically tapped into the emerging nationalist sentiment or exerted some leadership for it, he took power with a mandate to rearrange government priorities....In 1979, for the first time since Confederation the word culture appears in the name of a government department... ‘I was eager then to assert a confidence in ourselves and that we were able to do great things,’ Peckford said. (Bill, 2012)

Peckford issued sustaining grants to the Symphony and to Rising Tide theatre company; he introduced our new flag in 1980; the Cultural Heritage of Newfoundland would be taught to every Level 1 (grade 10) student starting in 1982 (Bill, 2012; Thompson, 2010); he started a system of grants to Newfoundland book publishers. More would happen during his tenure. While it was not necessarily Peckford’s call, George Story et al. published the dictionary of Newfoundland English in 1982, thus legitimizing the language as a definitive part of the Newfoundland identity (Castells, 2010; Peckford, 2013; Pennycook, 2004). Newfoundland was legitimized in language, cultural symbols

and ceremonies. Roger Bill (2012) quotes Ed Roberts who served in the House of Assembly during Peckford's time:

Roberts agreed that culture became part of the political lexicon in the 1970's and the emergence of Newfoundland writers, visual artists, performing artists, and film makers represented a "potent political force." However, Roberts said, "It was not a revival. It was an arrival. We didn't have a long literary tradition in Newfoundland," or a record of producing visual art or professional performing art that had somehow been stifled only to be resurrected in the 1970's

Even more pronounced an assessment was given by a journalist of the time. Bob Wakeham (2012), a veteran C.B.C reporter reminisces of Peckford's war:

And what may be almost as important as his attempts to get the "sun to shine" was the fact that he played a role in the renaissance of the proud psyche of Newfoundland that took place in the '70s and '80s, one that allowed the province to stand up and tell mainland Canadians treating this place in a patronizing and condescending way to go to hell.

By the time the Phillips story is developing, Newfoundland and Labrador's literary prowess was even more strongly acclaimed nationally and internationally. Kevin Major's commissioned history of Newfoundland of 2001 declared that Newfoundland had likely turned a corner and could see a brighter future (See also: Bannister, 2002b). Michael Crummey's *The River Thieves* (2002) recounted a quest through the wild lands of central Newfoundland for meaning, understanding and reconciliation between the

identities of the displaced hero, those in the outports and wilderness, the bothersome but entitled Beothuks, and the colonial administration of St. John's (Poster, 2002). Wayne Johnson's world in *Baltimore's Mansion* (1999/2000) mythically compared the quest for King Arthur's Avalon to that of Newfoundland's identity.

(Defede, 2002) covered various stories of the airline passenger in Gander during the 9/11 disaster in his book *The day the world came to town*. Filled with varying degrees of excitement and pathos, the story was adopted in some American schools as a lesson in human kindness in times of trouble (See:

<http://wagner.nyu.edu/syllabus/201301/URPLGP.2645.001.pdf>, and

<http://www.asesftw.org/TadsSummerReading>). Amongst other Hollywood produced

movies, *The shipping news*, managed to offend local writer Donna Morrissey, for

example, who objected to Annie Proulx's bittersweet implication that many

Newfoundlanders' telephone numbers might be more easily found in an Ontario directory

(Richards, 2002. Gimlette, 2005 also saw this lack of belief that outsiders could write

properly about Newfoundland). Two other films lauded Gander's past glory as a fueling

stop for overseas flights and as an important World War II airbase, while a more

disappointing film adaptation of Gander during 9/11, *Diverted*, was broadcast across

Canada in 2009.

The story of Gander revived the telling of the foundational myth of 'bravery and perseverance in the face of danger' and Newfoundlanders' categorical 'kindness and generosity towards strangers'. Company to the Gander and the St. Lawrence disasters was found in the story of *Anne and Seamus* by Kevin Major (2003) and its operatic rendition



that travelled through Canada and other Commonwealth countries in the mid-2000s. This pet story of Major's, retold originally in his history of Newfoundland, also has the markings of an identity quest. More, the musical director and producer of the show told her interviewer that:

It is also our story, the story of our place, but the opera operates on many levels... It will raise awareness of our culture and of the musical nature and courageous character of this place... The opera is also an intentional exercise in embracing challenge successfully. Only four of the 110 young people who perform had ever seen an opera... and without their commitment, their gift and their generosity it simply would not have been possible. They showed resolve and courage, and courage - exemplified in the story of Ann Harvey -- is action in the face of fear... and I want the memory of this experience, and of Ann Harvey's courage, to be a beacon in their embrace of any challenge that comes along, or which they themselves initiate. (Muzychka, 2006)

Similar to the Phillips story, then, our culture has now been painted as one of embracing any challenge, not simply of being kind and brave for others, but pushing ourselves to exceed and succeed in what we do.

Finally, our nationalism is found in popular music of the folk singers to the big Celtic style rock bands. Despite what music may be 'in style', Newfoundland anthems are written and rewritten, chanted and re-chanted at any good rally or 'proper' Newfoundland party. While the student in Baker (2000) may lament not listening to Harry Hibbs

anymore, the revival of the lyrics “I’m a Newfoundlander born and bred and I’ll be one till I die...” certainly experienced a revival during the 2000s with a number of different renditions. Another ironic favourite ballad is Sonny’s Dream which is a metaphoric lament for a person who wanted to get away to participate in the world, but stayed because of guilty commitment to the mother (Kennedy, 2010). As Sarah Beth Keough (2007) explains:

These songs all carry elements of Newfoundland culture and geography. They not only remind Newfoundlanders of the importance of the sea and fishing in their culture, but the theme of economic decline in the songs helps to explain the situation to those who do not live there. Finally, the music reminds Newfoundlanders that they can be proud of their heritage. ... [However], consistent in these songs, and other Newfoundland music, is a feeling of resistance... This suggests a possible cultural division within overall Newfoundland culture between those who lived by the sea and those who earn a living on land. (p. 7-8. See also: Thompson, 2010, p. 186)

So it is that, in renderings and re-renderings of what were initially sea shanties or simple storytelling of the past, pieces of history are being rescued and images of struggle and pride are rescued and revised to foster the discourse of struggling and a fear or a resistance to the outside. However, Keough (2007) also points out, the same class and geographic distinctions exist within Newfoundland to render this music exclusive of local people who do not fit these musical, mythological images of ‘the true Newfoundlander’.

Again somewhat inaccurately, Sullivan mentions the songs written about Phillips, though in fact, except for one more recent song on Memorial University's archive website ([www.mun.ca/mha](http://www.mun.ca/mha)), they were written about the *Truxton* and *Pullox* disaster.

## *Oil and Water* – metaphor to mythology

Chafe's *Oil and Water* (2012) is a strong example of traditional nationalistic theatre in Newfoundland. The play represented a fascinating tangle of metaphors and allegory, accented by the combined African American / Newfoundland chants. Interesting was that this metaphor between Lanier Phillips' life and Newfoundland was a little bit lost on a number of urban Canadian reviewers (Cushman, 2012; Goldman, 2012).

The play was first produced in February, 2011, almost exactly 69 years after the event. The play marks the true beginning of the mythologizing of Lanier Phillips and the people of Newfoundland in the media (it had already started to become a myth with the 2009 Cosby interview to be studied). I will explore four noteworthy metaphorical elements in Chafe's treatment of the story: three in the stage script and one in interviews (in Moore, 2011).

The first example is found in the linking of Lanier Phillip's story with a contextual discussion of the economic story and the feelings of persecution in St. Lawrence itself (Fairclough, 2005; Janks, 2005). In the first act of Chafe's play, Phillips and his colleague, Langston, have just realized that they would be lynched if they set foot on land in certain ports. Yet Phillips still says to their supervisor that being on the naval boat was a better choice because on land he would likely have ended up in a penitentiary. They

finish by realizing that they are still servants to the white sailors (Chafe, 2012, p. 18-21). Immediately afterwards, the scene moves to John, who is dying from 'black lung', and Levi who is on his first day underground in the St. Lawrence mines. Levi says, "Work down here's no worse or better than anything above ground" (Chafe, 2012, p. 21). The following scene is of Lanier arguing with the spirit of his great grandmother who recounts her days as a slave: "work is work , child, and it be all the harder if we be the ones doing it... get a uniform like them white boys and, what, you thought it be different" (Chafe, 2012, p. 27). Shortly afterwards, Violet Pike argues with her husband John that he does not get paid enough, reminding him of the strike which "put us on our backs for months, the pounds dropping off you, the larder empty, but you got your raise, got everything you asked for" (Chafe, 2012, p. 48). She knows that John is dying like the others had. Yet Levi in church, as John nearly faints in the shadows, takes it all as fate - universalizing the struggle for all Newfoundlanders in an image which mirrors Phillips' observation: "Help her [my mother] to see that a working life in the dark is no worse than one in a breaking boat" (p. 56).

The comparison between the fate of both slaves in the U.S. navy and those on and under Newfoundland's shores is complete. They are all being treated badly; the community and the people are dying a death that no one respects. In fact, the rebirth of the black man is exoticized and almost eroticized (hooks, 2004), with Violet and Ena openly commenting on how beautiful the skin colour and the body of the man is. That they can assist in his rebirth is both maternal and exotic – the hopes of their world in little

Newfoundland is placed upon this man who walks back proudly to face those who had treated him so poorly.

Second, the context of time is importantly changed (see Fairclough , 2005, in chapter 2). The discourse of the discriminating times that existed before the rescue, described in all other renditions (See also: Castells, 2010; Widdowson, 2011; Wodak, 2009), is altered to say that discrimination can happen anywhere and at any time. Lanier Phillips essentially tells his own story to teach a lesson to his daughter who has just experienced turmoil during the terrible and violent protesting of the Boston school system's policy to enforce integration during the 1970s (Gelber, 2008; Sigel & Jonas, 1970). Because Lanier's initial story has been tied with the problems of St. Lawrence and Newfoundland already, it is possible to consider current troubles in Newfoundland as evidence of the same discrimination that can happen at any time. The story of Lanier Phillips becomes a metaphor for a never ending story of struggle when needed.

Third, the linking of Newfoundland music with African religious chant serves to tie the elements of woe together. Where religion and gospel music in African-American communities was often meant to soothe those bound in trouble (Harvey, 2011), I have already mentioned how much specific 'Newfoundland' music glorifies the 'Newfoundlanders' hardships' (Keough, 2007).

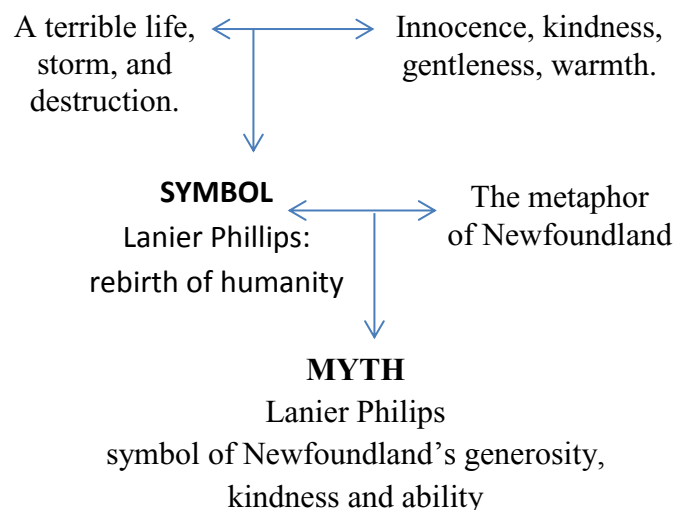
Chafe draws the final part of the metaphor together when he compares the little house and the people in St. Lawrence to people throughout Newfoundland in an interview with Lisa Moore (2011).

My grandmother [lived]... what most people would call a sheltered existence... Like Violet Pike, her world was her community... Sometimes people assume isolation of that sort leads to xenophobia or a fear... but it is the kindness of these women that is so touching. Lanier Phillips talks about that moment as one of pure goodness and innocence, a moment of great humanity. (p. 10)

This analogy between Violet Pike and people in other parts of Newfoundland also manages to universalize the mythic nature of Newfoundlanders. Violet Pike is now one of any number of typical Newfoundlanders – where Violet is a symbol of goodness and innocence in its simplest form, she now becomes an image for the goodness and innocence of all Newfoundland women.

### The man becomes mythology

Chafe's play has turned the story of Lanier Phillips into a symbol that characterizes 'Newfoundland's kindnesses' as demonstrated:



It could not have been so until the element of the Newfie joke could be dispelled. This would happen when Bill Cosby discovered the story and was interviewed by CBC. Cosby says of Violet:

But trying to scrub it off and clean it... which it turns out to be not a novelty story as much as a story about a change that comes to a human being because of a difference in the way the human being is treated, and how it opens up very positive feelings in a human being. (CBC, 2009)

With the blessing of someone from outside Newfoundland, it becomes possible for Newfoundland to recount the whole story confidently to the world. Violet is not a Newfie joke; she's a hero.

But more needs to be said about the Cosby article as many Newfoundlanders begin to revel in what it says about 'them'. What is most notable is the difference between what Cosby and Phillips are saying, however, and what the article is reporting (Fairclough, 1992; Janks, 1997; Luke, 1995). The first paragraph states: "Comedian Bill Cosby is bringing attention to the story of a small group of Newfoundlanders whose actions taught black American decades ago that racism didn't exist everywhere." The article summarizes the shipwreck, reiterating Phillips fear that he might be lynched, and then says that "...the kindness he was shown when he was hauled ashore taught him that racism could be overcome". But the next sentence transfers the story of the few people to all of Newfoundland: "The story of how Phillips was treated in Newfoundland has been told in documentaries and television programs" (CBC, 2009).

An important distinction arises. Cosby talks twice of the simple nameless isolation of the story: "...of a change that comes to a human being because of a difference in the

way a human being is treated”, (para. 13), and “There's no way... there's a superiority of anything except human beings helping human beings... Just about human beings and the power that human beings have when they work to save each other” (para. 19). Cosby understands the moment to be in one place between nameless people who know only the humane thing to do.

The article immediately reiterates Phillips’ words: that Phillips “has often said that the people [sounding more like ‘all people’] of Newfoundland didn't just save his life, they changed it (para. 14).” The article is now a series of short sentences briefly summarizing Phillip’s career, the credit to St Lawrence, how wonderful Cosby thinks the story is, and a short reiteration about humanity. The last sentence leaves the specifics of the story and says instead that “A U.S. film producer is now hoping to turn the story of what happened to Phillips into a full-length film”. The story has changed from one about Phillips to the possibility of there being a new movie wherein Newfoundlanders will likely be lauded again to the world.

The joke is dead once and for all. From here on, unless contextualized by Brookes or Chafe in program notes to Chafe’s play (Chafe, 2012), there is no mention of the joke in the main article that followed this Bill Cosby event in the Washington Post (Ruane, 2010), nor the Global Television documentary, True Colours (Johnson, Leffler, & Willis-Owen, 2010), that Sullivan (2012) refers to, or any time after that.

There is an unusual plethora of emails to the Cosby story (see appendix). Of the seventy notes, 10 are simple comments or remarks about Cosby’s advertising career. Of the remaining, sixty, eleven non-local and ten local people say that Newfoundland is unique (i.e. brave and kind, stuck in the middle of an ocean, etc. See: Fairclough, 2004, in



chapter 2). Many say that all Newfoundlanders are brave / kind / etc. like Violet Pike. Only one person (MOJO01) gives the story somewhat to Phillips as a great person but still mentions the 'PR for St. Lawrence'. Another (Weldon Irons) mentions that this is an historical story and blames 'foreign' influences and the media for ruining Newfoundland's innocence (See: Fanon, 2008; Hall, 1996; Lawson, 2004).

Another (Rheannon) talks of how Newfoundland's greatness is generally overlooked. This person goes on to state that learning Newfoundland history is part of the 'most extensive education' that was possible given to the children of the outports. Rheannon acts as an historian who tries to arbitrate an ongoing debate that Newfoundland was indeed not under the rule of Canada at the time. Habrider adds to this statement that: "Newfoundlanders [meaning, not others] will always and have always set the benchmark as to how decent people act."

Two discourses seem prevalent in these emails. First, there is avid debate as to the exact status of Newfoundland with a general desire to delineate 'Newfoundlanders' from 'others' or 'Canadians'. Secondly, a small argument is held with the people who detract from the idea that Newfoundland and Newfoundlanders are 'all still like this'. The naysayers are chastised for negativity and ruining a good story (See: Fairclough, 2004; Lawson, 2004).

Even Wayne Rowsell, the usually deferent mayor of St. Lawrence at the time, could not help characterizing Newfoundlanders in 2010:

He said the culture of his part of the world requires helping others.

"Seafaring people respond that way."

“We’re a people that reach out to others. We have humble beginnings but our concern for others is immeasurable.” Epoch Times (2010, 06 10)

This would not be the only time that people of Newfoundland and Labrador are painted as categorically brave and generous seafarers despite few means. But, here, it is specifically a requirement of ‘Newfoundland culture’ (Lawson, 2004; Luke, 1995; Thomson, 2010).

## Controlling the myth – making it ‘ours’

As with humour, many Newfoundlanders feel they must gain control over their myths. The myth was officially entrenched in 2011 when the new Premier Dunderdale awarded the Order of Newfoundland and Labrador to Lanier Phillips. In the press release, the Lieutenant Governor tied the past to our current strength, pride and generosity (Fairclough, 2005; Wodak, 2001a). He dutifully stated that

These men and women exemplify the reasons for which the Order of Newfoundland and Labrador was established... These outstanding individuals, through passion and dedication to the endeavours which each has pursued, have contributed immensely to the strong, proud and caring community which characterizes Newfoundland and Labrador today.  
(Executive Council, 2011)

By making Phillips a product of Newfoundland’s greatness his story now contributes to Newfoundland’s greatness. The reciprocal collocation is complete (Janks, 1997; Like, 1995; Widdowson, 2011). Upon Phillips’ death in 2012, Premier Dunderdale

reiterated her Executive Council's biographical statement that "Lanier Phillips embodied the true spirit of the Order through his eloquence in promoting Newfoundlanders and Labradorians as compassionate, generous and brave," she said. "He holds an important place in the history of this province..." (The Telegram, 2012). There was not a single reference to Phillips' life as a person who had been resurrected to carry out good work for himself, for his family, for African Americans, and perhaps for parts of American society in general.

Of the four emails responding to the notice, only one mentioned the real work that Phillips had accomplished: Phillips had inspired the emailer while growing up in Boston. The remaining three also tied past to present, and Phillips to all Newfoundlanders. The first says, "Amazing that we as Newfoundlanders made such an impact... you will always be a part of our history...;" the second says, "You have been such a great ambassador of St. Lawrence," and; the third says, "This man exemplified what a human being should be all about, humble, caring, nonjudgmental. A wonderful person who's [sic] commitment to his country was affected - influenced by other nonjudgmental people from *our* small part of the world" (my italics).

Later in 2012, the host of the morning session of a conference on racism in Newfoundland showed just how deeply the myth had been embedded. His purpose was to tell the speaker that he felt a need to rethink his initial impressions of Newfoundlanders:

That was certainly a very enriching experience. You were successful at least in my case. I feel uncomfortable that my position in terms of racism – I am a white educated liberal Newfoundlander so I thought I'm not racist,

because one of our founding myths is the myth of Lanier Phillips... that story has been imbibed in us so we think of ourselves as not being racist but when you – going through your analysis I realize personally I may not be a racist but collectively I may not be doing enough thinking about it. (Canadian Heritage & Association for New Canadians, 2012)

The host of the conference had put his finger on exactly what had happened to the story of Mr. Phillips. The story which had existed twelve years earlier as a little more than a potentially comedic sideline had now become a ‘founding myth’ of the ‘Newfoundland’ identity. Sullivan (2012) says that Phillips kept telling his story about the kindness of Newfoundlanders and, for doing so, he became a part of ‘our’ culture and thus, thanks to the Premier and her executive Council, an officer of the Order of Newfoundland.

## Discussion

Barthes (1972) suggests that myths are fleeting. Symbols are held up to imagined images of ‘Newfoundland’ and ‘Newfoundlanders’ so that the myth appears. The myths fade in and out as images change slightly (See also Lawson, 2004). The images in this discussion are the notions of what it takes to be a ‘Newfoundlander’ and how many would wish others to perceive ‘us’. Unfortunately, it also suggests things about the condition that new people must be in when they come here and remain here?

Many things must stay constant if the myth is to stay clear (Barthes, 1972). Many images are held over from the past – that is, they may certainly be soothing but do not

portray people who may be living in the present and trying, perhaps, to move ahead. Pieces of history must be chosen and portrayed in controllable fashions and, being so, they are not really accurate.

### **Staying the same: Melancholy, wistfulness, persecution**

Recounting Bannister (2002b), the history of Newfoundland could be considered all past or all future with no present. This is because we are either angry at it, at Panting (cited in Kelly, 2010) points out above, or we are mad at the present and lament the ‘good times’. The past has either given us a reason to mistrust others or to strive for a better future (See also: Malone, 2012; Rollman, March 30, 2012; Thompson, 2010). As has been suggested, few may wish to look at the present as it often represents simply what is wrong because of the past; the present can represent problems over which ‘we’ have no control.

If many Newfoundlanders appreciate those who ‘rescue’ the past (Moore, 2011), Lanier Phillips helped by revisiting Newfoundland many times for memorial services and to introduce himself and his family to Newfoundland. He visited people who had been engaged in the rescue and the relatives of those who’d already died; Violet Pike’s relatives amongst them. He reminded Newfoundlanders of a wonderful image of the past that endeared him to many Newfoundland people in more profound a way than he had possibly imagined. Of course, he thanked those people involved and encouraged everyone to remain true to that act of humanity that saved him in 1942. The image of those people is easily something to admire and hope to aspire to, but it is not an image that can be

necessarily applied to a group of people seventy years later and spread throughout a large geography.

I have shown that many who are strongly attached to a feeling of outside persecution would like to stay the same as the past or be reborn like Phillips. However, as Bannister (2002b) suggests, if we do not have a present, we can only renew that past. To do that, Newfoundlanders must embody the words that Phillips, Chafe and others use about 'us' that made the allegorical and mythological moments work. It is otherwise difficult to keep Newfoundland the 'one that we know and love' (Moore, 2011). Using the style of Barthes (1972), I can begin to draw images of Newfoundlanders and those who come here, to design an imagined community that would have to stay constant for the mythology to continue to be strong (Anderson, 2006. For how people hold stereotypical images of other countries, see also: Fanon, 2008; Hall, 1980).

Newfoundlanders must remain isolated, pure, kind, welcoming, good and innocent. They must sit with little purpose in the middle of the ocean: a seafaring people waiting to rescue those who need us. There must be instant love and humanity - despite the fact that Newfoundlanders are constantly ridiculed and persecuted by outsiders. Newfoundlanders are generally poor, struggling, and naïve, so they can more easily be called generous, genuine, natural or un-jaded. Though such characteristics will make Newfoundlanders bristle with pride, these can also be those characteristics which, when emphasized too much above other more active characteristics, hold people back. Consider again, as in chapter 2 and 5, where people sit together with little or no progress and still call themselves the good successful ones (Castells, 2010: Nietzsche, 2010) .

One cannot easily live in this imagined state. More, such generalizations become chauvinistic the more often they are rendered because they begin to demand a binary – ‘others’ cannot be as good (Fairclough, 2004; Janks, 1997; Lawson, 2004). To say that Newfoundland and Newfoundlanders all had a hand in the heroics of that cold day in 1942 might be akin to suggesting that everyone in the South East United States did their part by being part of the Ku Klux Klan that put Mr. Phillips in the bad situation (Law, 2004; Wodak, 2001a).

### **The whole story: Accuracy**

Two observations are important: such characteristics do not constantly exist in all Newfoundlanders and, second, there is little consideration of the characteristics of those people rescued in these tragedies: the *Truxton* and *Pullox*, the Gander rescue, the *Ann and Seamus* rescue. All that is important in the characterization of the rescued people is that they desperately need someone to help them. Like Phillips, survivors rarely have a bad word to say about their rescuers - many come back to thank the people who helped them. Just as important, however, few if any stay. Little or no thought is given to what happens to the survivors later on. For example, in later renditions of the Phillips story, his accomplishments in the United States are ignored or displaced by his role as ‘ambassadorship for Newfoundland’.

Must newcomers consistently sing Newfoundland’s praises as Phillips did and other people met in the last chapter do? Bassler (1997), Moore (2011) and others point out that, in times of economic trouble, not enough people in Newfoundland could see the

potential of newcomers to contribute anything to the province. However, as in chapter 5, when checking the accuracy of such recounted history of helpfulness, inaccuracies and refutation can often be found. Not too far from the time sailors were being helped off the shores of Newfoundland, Jewish refugees were being denied sanctuary in Newfoundland because many local people felt we were not able to support them - and they might take work from people (Bassler, 1992). Few of the Bulgarians and other eastern European refugees were welcomed; they were ghettoized in hotels along the main highway until such time as special arrangements could be made to take them away to Montreal (Moore, 2011; Rowley, 1990b). Recent scholarship has raised the issue of the head tax charged to Chinese immigrants during the early 20<sup>th</sup> century (Hong, 2006).

Newfoundland has not necessarily refused entry to many of these people because of race, perhaps. Rather, it is that Newfoundlanders can only be generous to a point. Charity is not, as Mayor Rowsell suggested, 'immeasurable'. This is still related to the reality of our poverty and the idea that Newfoundlanders need to maintain control over who comes and goes and what position of power they are in. If these rescued people did stay, might Newfoundlanders resent them for taking a job or even for leaving eventually after 'not feeling accepted' (see chapter 4 and 5). Would Newfoundlanders wonder why they moved here, with no apparent purpose, mistrust them because of this, or get angry if they 'abandoned' us (Bannister, 2002b; Bassler, 1992; Jackson Anderson, 2012)?

What would happen if Newfoundland changed because of these survivors staying too long? As with the email which suggested that the outside has brought racism and other bad traits to the Newfoundlanders, how would the ideals of these nameless people



whom Newfoundlanders rescued taint that same Newfoundlander? In other words, if they were not in trouble and expressed, instead, their everyday opinions, would 'Newfoundlanders' welcome them?

It is the fact that this story can be controlled that makes it valuable. The Lanier Phillips story presented an opportunity to consistently speak of goodness. Rowley (1990b), the reporter for the Chicago Tribune, reported a month after Newfoundland's economic problems with the Bulgarian refugees that Newfoundlanders were still struggling to keep the 'old times' from foundering. In the imagined community, the many divides that Newfoundland people have experienced along religious, class, geographical, nationalistic, and simply behavioural border could not exist. The bad parts of 'ourselves' can be overlooked in the fervour of telling the rescue stories: the fact that local characters in Chafe's play were scornful of Ena Edwards' 'artistic flightiness', for example; the fact that no-one questioned or fought for Phillips' right to be carted back to the U.S. naval base in Argentina in the same bus as the others. No question is asked of Bill Cosby's experience in the U.S. naval base in Argentina. Even though it was on Newfoundland soil, was the racism that likely existed there ignored or unquestioned by other Newfoundlanders at the same time as Phillips was being rescued?

Many Newfoundlanders gain power here. As with the arts above, stories are woven such that Newfoundlanders are more successful and hardy than those they rescue or those who ridicule them. It is a resiliency of being the 'naturally good' ones amidst the turmoil. These stories can be controlled – the province can make honorary citizens of those outsiders who help the cause, even while the real message and the accuracy of it is

being distorted. The mythology is bantered about effortlessly and meaninglessly, as in the radio announcer's slip cited in chapter 5: "Newfoundlanders are famous for their hospitality, but...". Here, as the host of the conference reconsiders whether Newfoundlanders may be racist, he places another myth into the public ear: that 'liberal white educated people' cannot be racist. As Apple (2003) Bissondath (2004) and Lund and Carr (2010) illustrate, there remains the problem of segregation from too-liberal tolerance and, as the host was discussing, institutional racism which may include liberal people.

In this chapter, I have continued to show ways in which many people in Newfoundland define themselves through images adopted from specific events and by the adjectives that others give them especially in times of crisis: generous, non-discriminatory, compassionate, brave, and etc. However, I suggest that these images cannot be applied categorically. Nor are such images always desirable or realistic because they demand that people continue to live in the moments of time and contexts in which these adjectives were earned. The search for definition of what it means to be a 'Newfoundlander' has haunted the literature and other arts through these twelve or more years mentioned in this chapter. As a result, certain pieces of history and tradition are resurrected and reconstructed to construct more positive images of 'Newfoundland and its people'. In the final chapter, I shall consider what is learned from the study of these texts and discourse before I attempt to answer the questions I asked at the outset.

## Chapter 7 - Final Words

In the prologue, I discussed my own experiences in moving to Newfoundland as a young boy. While initially straightforward, I began to notice later than there were delineations made between me and ‘true Newfoundlanders’. These were made more because of my interests and my inability or lack of desire to follow certain prescribed activities. This caused me to consider how difficult it might be for a person who was more noticeably ‘foreign’ to acclimatize to this environment – especially given that I found that there were others like me who were not so distinguishably ‘not from here’. This led to a number of assumptions made in my introduction about the identity structures of many Newfoundlanders and the way many may now view or eventually begin to view the ‘newcomer’ or even ‘outsiders’ who did not fit the molds of the ‘real Newfoundlander’. I shall briefly review these assumptions.

I had noticed that there seemed an overriding anti-colonial attitude amongst many Newfoundland people that manifest in a mistrust and fear of being outshone by outsiders – many Newfoundlanders feel they might not be getting their fair dues from Canada and from a number of people who come here to open new businesses and industries. This was illustrated in a certain glorified rendition of past struggles that tended to overlook the reality of the poverty that had existed here at times in lieu of an image of a potential greatness being suppressed. This manifest as well in persistent fatalistic sense of the present – that it might be all one could expect in the face of such a past. In this

assumption, I found here that a number of people in profiles and so forth have mentioned that they wondered why constant questions of positioning were being asked. A look at the arts and political history of the time consists of, amongst other things, hurling insults at the Canadian government, using stories of the struggle of one man into metaphors for some Newfoundlanders' struggles against mainland business owners, and using a constant attempt to distinguish 'good' Newfoundlanders from 'not so good' outsiders.

One great expression of resentment was against unnamed outsiders who had killed prosperity and causes local people to have to move away against their will to work. Beings as such, many of those who move feel they are expected to return at some point. Resultantly, many are unable to settle easily into new environments (Bowering-Delisle, 2008; Kelly, 2010). Similarly, the business of selling 'Newfoundland Culture' to those expatriates and to tourists has become too lucrative a business to easily allow for much variation in the product. 'True Newfoundland characteristics' are marketable items as much as they are manufactured items to assuage resentful attitudes. This also leads to an inability to trust people from away or those who come back from away because they may be carrying new ideas which may taint the 'uniqueness' of the Newfoundland product which must be maintained.

When considering how this attitude might affect 'outsiders' and 'newcomers', I imagined that this mistrust could only be placated as long as these new people were kept in check. Most would have to learn more about 'our nature' in order to gain acceptance in Newfoundland communities. Throughout the thesis, I have found that there are very definite attempts to distinguish between difference, not in such a way as to work ways to

accommodate each other, but to ensure that specific difference is noted against the sanctity of the default Newfoundland culture.

As I expected, many view immigrants simply as malleable assets. Local business is not worried about ‘people’ as much as about ‘foreign workforces’, ‘care-givers’, or ‘people with money to invest’. There is little discussion as to what may be owed to a newcomer who contributes to the development of prosperity and so far, it seems, many newcomers will be expected to leave as soon as more ‘Newfoundlanders’ become successful and old ones return.

I will discuss again how fleeting these definitions of the ‘Newfoundland identity’ are. However, it is enough to reiterate that they are often built as a measure of inclusion, for newcomers, locals, CFAs and CBFAs, into the category of ‘real Newfoundlander’ (Law, 2004). I am now ready to answer the questions that were asked in the introduction.

## Question 1

My first question was what myths and characteristics were constructed to identify ‘Newfoundland’ and ‘Newfoundlanders’ to ‘us’, the collectivized definition of people who consider themselves to belong to Newfoundland, and to ‘others’, meaning those people who are not and often cannot become connected to this group? I considered how language and discourse is used in such a way as to construct myths and characteristics of

an imagined group of people. Then I tried to consider whether tradition is constructed, reconstructed, and articulated as part of the effort to restore an idealized past?

Much of the articulated collective identity structures 'Newfoundlanders' display reflects a post-colonial attitude wherein many identifying as 'true Newfoundlanders' are trying to throw off the bad influence of outsiders who 'controlled and ruined Newfoundland in the past'. Touting histories of 'struggle' and 'natural spirit', such people are often preoccupied with resurrecting past glories. As Bannister (2002b) suggests, a present is unknown - the 'real Newfoundland' has not yet been achieved – we are only struggling with past foibles or manipulations. Manifest in this is the feeling that the only reason Newfoundlanders leave is because of struggle. Thus, most should wish to return and will in fact do so when they are richer or when Newfoundland is more able to support them.

Three interesting points arise from this. First, that this image can thwart many attempts to rationally consider current situations and understand that identities will change rather than simply revert to this past. Second, there are varying images portrayed in different situations depending on the audience: locals, expatriates, immigrants, and outsiders. Third, these homogenous images ignore much of the real diversity of talent, intellect, personal characteristics, and even class distinctions, that exists in this province and for which many people have had discriminatory experiences. People who move from here may not wish to return, while those people who do come here may have things to add socially and culturally if the 'character' of Newfoundland will allow it.

This first point is borne out in the St. Anthony immigration site in chapter 4 where ‘Newfoundlanders’ were built upon past foundations and still ate food which exemplified their history of struggle. It is also so in the *Land and Sea* production in chapter 5, where parts of the community, the fisheries, the quiet living, the storybook service station, the rugged pictures in the book Raju read, and the mandate of the program itself, are described as unique or almost unique institutions (Jaeger, 2001; Lawson, 2004). The entire metaphor of Lanier Phillips in chapter 6 as mirroring the struggle of Newfoundland is abundantly strong. Violet Pike is agreed upon as being a symbol of all Newfoundland women.

There is a profound feeling that something good has been lost. Despite the awfully difficult times, many Newfoundlanders must believe that there are redeeming factors that make ‘us’ want to cling to the rock. This is articulated by Chafe (Moore, 2011) when he refers to wishing to revert to the Newfoundland we all knew and loved. Despite what the Sri Lankan men and women actually say, they are edited as having said that Newfoundland is undeniably an ideal place to raise your kids, education is better than what the kids would have had, and all is as it should be. The immigration strategy says categorically that Newfoundlanders have a long history of welcoming; in chapter 6, we are always kind and welcoming and generous because we reacted well in emergency situations with Lanier Phillips and in Gander.

The application of such attributes can only be short-lived, however, as Newfoundlanders have no idea what might have happened had these people

stayed. So these attributes are used in slightly different contexts to develop more universal Newfoundland characteristics or myths. These and many other words are coined to assuage ‘us’ as we reflect on the hard times; reminding ‘us’ that ‘we’ are as essentially ‘good people’. In fact, as the mayor of St. Lawrence and the producer of *Anne and Seamus* suggest, Newfoundlanders may be essentially waiting in the middle of the ocean for a chance to be such. Like the *Anne and Seamus* producer, some people seem to relate all challenging activities to learning how to fulfill the requirements of these characteristics expected of ‘Newfoundlanders’.

Moore (2011) refers to another person whose brother is stuck in the endless trap of rueing Newfoundland as it used to be and yet being unable to return:

I have one brother who goes back to Newfoundland rarely, but he’s the one who talks about it the most,” Rennie says. “We call it the ‘time machine.’ It’s easier to maintain the illusion of a romantic Newfoundland if you don’t go there. If you think of it as a time rather than a place, it’s true that you can’t go home again. (Moore, 2011)

What is interesting here is that Rennie, like many perhaps, don’t often go back to Newfoundland and prefer instead to remember Newfoundland in a time capsule. He is likely cognizant of the dichotomy between the two identities above: one of constant struggle that does not serve all people here, and the other in the nostalgic maternal image of essential goodness that lures people to Newfoundland.



Neither image is constructive as they are both general mythologies where imaginary symbols and images are created from resurrected histories and held against current uncertainties. I referred to the ideas of Nietzsche and Foucault who put forth ideas of guiding dispositives: in the case of Newfoundland, the overwhelming and manipulating discourse that Newfoundlanders are inherently humble, kind, generous and welcoming. A 'proper Newfoundlander' does not want to move elsewhere, and when they do, they must want to move home. The idea of using immigrants to add to the declining population is never discussed in the strategy without referring to the equal desire to repatriate those who left or retain people who have not yet moved.

As Barthes (1972) might say, however, the myths loom clearly and then fade as different realities overcome them (See; Janks, 1997). The image fluctuates from struggle when people are leaving for work, to maternal when musicians and publishers are selling images of home to these same people. The discourse that describes the Newfoundland experience is of 'struggle' and 'mistrust' when Newfoundlanders are negotiating with the federal government, but it changes to 'kindness' and 'downhome natural talent' that is sold to the tourists, future investors, and now immigrants. When trying to entice people to the province, the countermanding images of constant struggle and fear of outsiders especially popular when asserting the nationalist rights to the rest of Canada or to those who try to change the province are ignored. Yet, whether true or not, such attitudes imply the hesitancy to embrace change or implicitly trust the opinions, capacities, and contributions of 'others'. The imaginaries of reviving past glories become too enticing to allow the flexibility needed for 'Newfoundlanders' to evolve comfortably into a more diversified identity.

Meanwhile, alongside any stories of the unbridled Newfoundland ‘spirit’, it is in fact extremely difficult to be ‘different’. People born in Newfoundland cannot necessarily feel a part of Newfoundland’s ‘uniqueness’ because ‘it’ does not describe who they are and what they do. Racism need not be colour-coded or ethnic oriented in Newfoundland. Many still have trouble accepting alternate gender identities and sexualities, religious differences, and social class distinctions. Ena Edwards in *Oil and Water* is ridiculed for her interest in photography. Ayed from chapter 5 is also a photographer, though there are possibly other reasons he was marginalized even though he was born and raised here.

As Martucewicz (1998) says, you cannot truly go home as it once was. Those who try to stay ‘home’ run the risk of losing a sense of the real world. They become mired in nostalgia for things that cannot ever be again. To continue with that reasoning, though some try, it is also impossible for a person to actually *live* the marketed images of Newfoundland they hope others will find here. It seems clear even in the Newfoundland strategy that this ideal ‘culture’ is something to be marketed –it is not clear whether this ideal is also being lived. However, it is held up against immigrants as distinct (Lawson, 1994). Those others can help some Newfoundlanders develop ‘it’ and sell ‘it’ better (Overton, 1994). Meanwhile, those who emulate the simple mythological characteristics of Newfoundland ‘niceness’ and friendliness’ and who promote this on the global stage, the South African woman and the Sri Lankans girls in chapter 5, and Lanier Phillips in chapter 6, can become honorary Newfoundlanders. Those people born here but who are ‘different’ somehow, like the jazz musician and Ayed, continue to move through different circles either here or abroad.

## Question 2

The second main question addressed the way that myths of the Newfoundland identity presented might serve to mask the actual context in which Newfoundland and Labrador's current economic boom is happening. People in this province promote various images to the outside that are related to the poor economic situation, the desire to be treated respectfully in the Canadian and global landscape, and a feeling of persecution and frustration from the perceived lack of respect and a pervasive sense of failure that has been evident in so many ventures. There are two conflicting images.

First there is aggressive independence, despite the need for support, displayed to the Canadian government and outsiders who attempt to countermand the 'Newfoundland way'. I have shown the romantic nationalism of 'us' against 'the outsiders'. 'They' are considered to have ruined our economy and perceived traditions of Newfoundland self-sufficiency and even prosperity before the loss of the fishery, or before Confederation, or wherever the folk historian may wish to place the mark. 'Newfoundlanders' can no longer trust outsiders who, it is feared, usually try to change things, develop economic booms, reap the rewards, and leave many behind on Employment Insurance (House, 1999; Summers, 1994).

This starker realistic image is countered by a more sociable image of hospitality, innate goodness and natural plenty when assuaging this anger and when wooing visitors and 'newcomers'. Because of the poor economic situation, Newfoundland cannot sell 'dynamism' that other regions would market. Instead, pride and dignity, friendliness and

generosity, bravado and good times, is sold to people to complement the offer of a temporary job. Media at once lauds Violet Pike's desirable kind of remote innocence alongside so-called prosperous villages which have all that is necessary for a new person to live comfortably. This includes publishing 'strategic' images of mosques and other social facilities that suggest Newfoundland is able to handle different people in whatever region of the province they are recruited to live. The discourse to the 'newcomer' is that, despite the aggressive but poverty-stricken images that have been often presented to others in Canada, Newfoundland is economically and socially capable of supporting anyone – providing income to social and cultural support. This is, of course, duplicitous (which I will address again in question 4). Unfortunately, the product does not really exist.

For example, the *Land and Sea* narrator talks of shipping fish all over the world as if the fishing industry was straightforward, supportive, and even 'unique' (Fairclough, 2005). Though the fisheries have not worked well for some time, Newfoundland is not culpable in this rendition for other shortfalls and, instead, the Cape Broyle fishery is the norm (Luke, 1995; Wodak, 2001). Stories such as the Lanier Phillips story makes locals bristle with pride every time it is mentioned nationally and internationally - they promote acceptable images of endless goodness, readiness, and maternal generosity (Janks, 1997). Naturally, when actually asking people to move here, few might wish to portray the more desperate view of the Newfoundland economy and a dislike of working with others. A more global demeanour with large amounts of generosity must be presented to offset

Ibbitson's and Wente's harsh and stark, but sometimes accurate, comparative point of view - that all of Atlantic Canada is fairly white and poor.

It might be that many immigrants figure out the duplicity of our social attitude, the struggle between 'welcoming' and making sure 'we' are not taken advantage of, fairly quickly. Realizing some Newfoundlander's great feeling of persecution or struggle, some suggest this become the foundation for the blending of cultures. Cej and Ayed in the *Come from away* profiles, and Akter (2010), recognized the feelings of discrimination and the accompanying fears of outsiders that some Newfoundlanders seem to have. Our cultures, it is suggested, can be blended based on this mistrust of how 'outsiders' have treated, 'us all'. Unfortunately, this may be one of the few entry points immigrants actually have in the Newfoundland context.

The immigration strategy does recognize that Newfoundland lacks diversity, but it cannot supply it before the newcomer gets here. 'Diversity', it seems from the strategy, simply arrives here when the immigrant lands. Though it seems unable to do so, the *Responsibility* section says the government should ensure everyone invited here should have reasonable work and holistic support. However, there seems to be little interest shown in either of the studies what that 'diversity' may actually mean or look like. In fact, there is more indication that 'people with diversity' are of no interest if that person coming here does not already have a job (Law, 2004; Reisigl & Wodak, 2001). There is little interest in what the refugee or the immigrant offers past their contracted dates of employment or when they run out of federal government support. The restaurateurs in the CBC profiles and the tailors in the provincial government's profiles of foreign business

people have generally had to make it on their own. Foreign professionals who visit the province in hope of finding work often run into many barriers to employment (Refugee and Immigrant Advisory Council, 2013, 02; Aydemir & Skuterand, 2005) and quickly lose interest.

The discourse of ‘wanting diversity so the immigrant can feel comfortable’ is overwhelmed by that which dictates that ‘Newfoundland must retain its traditional uniqueness’ in two ways: Newfoundland wants ‘its own people’ to return or stay, and Newfoundland relies on the culture industry too heavily to let ‘Newfoundland culture’ change. The ‘dynamism’ that comes from other economic ventures and societal models is not (yet?) prosperous enough to supplant this. Even in light of the new potentials, the government and all of the media know that people from Newfoundland are still moving away or unemployable in this limited economy. The discourse that ‘moving away from home is not desirable or even normal’ takes precedence. Thus, the Newfoundland economy must become successful, not for the immigrant but so that ‘Newfoundlanders’ can stay or return. It becomes more necessary to maintain the homestead for those who have left while people from other places are encouraged to move on if they don’t like it here or if they are taking jobs from ‘those who want to stay or return’. This is borne out not only in the immigration strategy but when this economics discourse is ignored in the ‘Newfoundlanders are rescuers’ discourse. Though the impression at the time is that ‘we’ would welcome them all with open arms as long as they need ‘us’, these people actually move on and so they warrant no further concern. However, from chapter 5 and 6, those

who needed ‘us’ when escaping the crumbling Soviet Union, along with other refugees to Newfoundland and certain groups of foreign workers, can actually stay too long.

Tradition and the past, whether manufactured or not, sells in Newfoundland. A major part of the economy is in tourism and in catering to the homesick people who have moved away. The immigrant is asked to support, not change, Newfoundland’s ‘identity’. Romantic images of struggling seafarers and honest homebodies must be nurtured and sold to tourists even while our environmentally damaging oil and mineral industries are promoted elsewhere.

This perplexing local ‘identity’ is also sold to Newfoundlanders working away and their families at home. As suggested, there seems to be as much or more interest in what supposedly happened ‘back then’, than what is happening now. Even those who were fisherfolk are no longer, but ‘we’ are subsequently not anything else either. Instead, many are involved in the thriving industry of the nostalgia machine that reinvents ‘our identity’: grinding out anything from *Land and Sea* episodes, to stories of rescue, and traditional kitchen party style bands who, to quote one song, ‘rant and roar like true Newfoundlanders’. Newfoundlanders away work as hard or harder than those at ‘home’ to maintain a Newfoundland past they cannot afford to live in until they retire or make a small fortune elsewhere (Bowering-Delisle, 2008; Thorne, 2004). The Local construction industry depends on both newly minted local riches and the nostalgia of those working away. It is difficult for the immigrant to find entry points.

### Question 3

My third question explored the identity structures of the immigrant that have been constructed to meet with the current enterprise. In a time when Newfoundland is supposed to be going through an economic change, what does current discourse say of the immigrant's role in Newfoundland? I wished to explore whether such expectations and definitions might be marginalizing and whether they can lead to strategies and goals which place the immigrant into marginalized positions in which they can be discriminated against or exploited.

The idea to promote immigration is business oriented. It must be cost effective. Unfortunately, we were not rich enough to accept the Bulgarians and the Jews and the Aborigines in the past – Newfoundland might have been more diverse years ago. Now, Newfoundland needs more people here to keep its own economic house in order and to provide a workforce for new investors. However, Newfoundland is still not rich enough to support whimsical investment in things like diversity or other cultural ideas. This has to be extremely well targeted immigration.

Success does not cost money; conversely, there is a cost to fix lack of success. This may explain why, according to Appendix B in the strategy, it is hoped those who come can already speak English. That would require less English schools. If they are a little like 'us' already, there would be less reason to have to spend money on diversification of service (because the economy cannot afford 'diversity' as has been discussed in chapter 4). When the media show stories of success in their documentaries, there is no money being invested – Newfoundland is making money. The story of the



Zakanovs being denied work in their professions, for example, is diminished by the fact that they are now employers. This is the way the narrative must go.

In the strategy, immigrants help keep our schools open by paying tuition – otherwise, the children of a worker here can become a liability. We benefit from our experiencing of them, as in the Sri Lankans, and they benefit from the very fact that they are here. The stories are of settling and ‘getting along’; there are no great demands. It is clear, from the strategy in chapter 4 and from most of the profiles in chapter 5, that Newfoundlanders do not want newcomers for their ideas. They want them for their labour skills and entrepreneurship which serves our purpose, not theirs. They must have a good work ethic which, in some cases, involves doing more than what many locals would do – such as taking few lunch breaks and accepting low paying jobs as nannies and dishwashers.

From many profiles in these chapters, the only opinion that is of interest is whether they like it here. ‘Newfoundland’ cannot be changed by outsiders. Given declarations from justice ministers and health critics that question the capacity of the political and professional training that immigrant people may have for example, it is unlikely that the immigrant’s opinion on economics, governance, arts, culture and other such items will be readily sought. A newcomer’s ‘culture’ is an asset only when it gets us into other markets or when we can experience them to get along with others in those markets. Otherwise, money is to be invested into ‘our culture’. Immigrants – and hopefully some refugees – are hired to help make ‘our culture’ better and then sell it. There is no concern about contributions to the evolution of a new art form, by Ayen in

photography or by Youmin with music, perhaps. There are no new ideas of child care based upon Sri Lankan traditions or even the professional doctors and nurses of India or otherwise.

The choice of Ayed for a CBC profile was interesting as he exemplified a person who was technically (geographically or politically) a Newfoundlander but was still considered a 'foreigner'. Though a 'newcomer' may possibly always be considered a foreigner, it seems that newcomers should still come to grips with our standards to be accepted: professionally or socially. In many cases, they are expected to have a love for the weather, the province as it is, the politics, the language, the music and whatever other custom or shibboleth is chosen to delineate us from others. When they do embody everything that a 'Newfoundlander' embodies, as with Lanier Phillips whose greatest accomplishment some saw was to promote Newfoundland, and the South African who knew lots of people and loved a cup of tea and a good gossip, 'Newfoundlanders' will make them 'one of ours'.

The targeted recruitment policies are creating social classes, limiting entry to those who will take the poorly paying jobs, to professionals who become isolated in many communities, or to those who take the job despite inequitably lower pay scales. In communities like Bay de Verde and Labrador, Newfoundland is importing workers that stay in one area and have little or nothing to do with other people in the community. The Sri Lankans are within a small enclave who may or may not have any stake or influence in the community of Cape Broyle.

Immigrants are also a second choice to dealing with the demands of a dwindling population. In fact, from the immigration strategy, it could be said that it is the federal government's initiative; not the provincial government's preferred solution. The Government of Newfoundland and Labrador cannot commit to subsidizing fisheries and other small business that do not pay enough to entice Newfoundland expatriates or unemployed to take the jobs. From chapter 5, the federal government usually subsidizes by adjusting employment insurance requirements, but they are changing these laws to force people to take lower paying jobs. As mentioned in chapter 5, many jobs, such as working as nannies or in fast food restaurants, are becoming something only immigrants will do. Given the relationship between many people of Newfoundland and the Canadian government throughout his thesis, there might easily be the question as to whether immigration, in much the same way that refugees are the responsibility of the federal governments, may ultimately be equated with federal government initiatives and thus reviled in some quarters (See: Pehrson, Gheorghiu, & Ireland, 2012).

As seen in rhetoric throughout this thesis, repatriation and retention are the preferred strategy. There is still evidence here that those who are seen to take a job when Newfoundlanders are looking are resented. Meanwhile, those who take jobs that pay too little are seen to be keeping the wages too low. Either way, immigrants are already seen by many, in the emails and in worker action mentioned throughout, as taking opportunities away. This is why much of the discourse remains about deliberate or inherent control (Doty, 2003). The immigrant must mainly adapt to us and be of benefit to us. To reiterate Appadurai (2006) from the introduction: It is both us (we can own it,

control it and use it, in the optimistic vision) and not us (we can avoid it, reject it, live without it, deny it, and eliminate it, in the pessimistic vision)” (p. 44).

From the profiles, immigrants must generally be grateful. It is interesting that the stories that paint Newfoundlanders as being immensely kind and generous are usually of rescue and tragedy. This might explain why in fact many of the ‘successful’ people profiled on CBC radio as well were originally refugees or people without homes – the Rodrigues, the restaurateurs, the South African, for example. These people *had* to come here. They are provided with safety and charity. They hold no threat over the people who are rescuing them. There is an inherent time limit to this hospitality though. Eventually the new person will be safe and will likely move on. After this, the rescued people remain grateful to those rescuers and the entire province.

That these ‘foreign’ people depend upon their rescuers is important to the discourse. By using these stories as symbols or mythologies of Newfoundlanders’ overriding generosity, there is an inherent need that the immigrant promotes this idea too. The discourse becomes: new people who do best in Newfoundland must need what little Newfoundland has to offer; they must not depend on the provincial government for too long; they must be grateful and; considering the immigration strategy as well in this final point, they must promote this province whenever they can. This in turn imposes a time limit upon the welcome of many immigrants.

But more than simply being grateful, the successful immigrant or ‘outsider’ is exoticized and exploited as symbols of Newfoundland’s ability to ‘welcome new people’. In other words, it is often the story of success itself which is more important than the

person. Many of the CBC profiles, for example, are crafted and manipulated to be one of success. The Lanier Phillips story directs the narrative away from his work and stories of racism and discrimination in Newfoundland and the United States to the discourse that Newfoundlanders were and still are always brave, generous and non-racist. There are few places where the talents of the individual are promoted, their image is trivialized and their backgrounds ignored. The South African woman in the CBC profile is unnecessarily described as beautiful like her Newfoundland husband. The story of the Rivera family, though giving some credence to their background and the potential for post-traumatic stress, is still really only about the success in moving to Newfoundland.

The *Land and Sea* episode exoticizes differences throughout: though there is not a lot of perceived difference. Difference is consistently discussed - in education, food, fisheries, work ethic, religion, and so forth – but it does not seem anything to be embraced rather than tolerated and, as the government in chapter 4 especially might suggest, ‘experienced’ (Bisoondath, 2004; Clary-Lemon, 2003; Lund, 2006; Lund & Carr, 2010). It is often done in an Orientalist fashion as if everything that occurred in their land of origin was different and, quite likely, not as good as it is here in Newfoundland (Said, 1979). Lanier Philips is similarly exoticized by the women who rescue him in Sullivan’s piece and even more in the play, *Oil and Water*. No longer is the story one of a brave rescue: there is warmth and light and humanity in Sullivan’s piece; the black body is erotically beautiful in the play (Hooks, 2004).

The immigrants, then, are not social or cultural allies, they are commodities. The stories of success are measured in whether the person has a job, can speak the language,

feels safe and likes the weather. In such an economy and culture, the immigrant is unmarketable except for that job he or she performs and in how well they settle themselves. Otherwise, given how culture and diversity is often used in these texts, the immigrant is socially and culturally a cost. Their qualifications are often second best as with the foreign doctors and nurses, and perhaps the Sri Lankans in chapter 5. 'Newfoundlanders' know what is best and, though Newfoundland cannot always afford quality, 'they' will not put up with further poor quality solutions from immigrants as with the federal government and other 'outsiders'.

Thus, we have immediate problems that lead to racism: the economic and social classism that designates worker types and pay scales from one another; the professionals who can make mistakes and supposedly do not really understand us; the refugees who seem to be different from immigrants because they are supported by federal welfare for some time and then considered freeloaders if they can't find jobs. Immigrants must toe the Newfoundland prerogative and not insist on too much social and cultural support. Within such context above, as Appadurai (2006) suggests, the immigrant will always stand apart.

## Question 4

Finally, I asked whether these discursive structures for 'Newfoundland', 'Newfoundlanders', and the 'immigrant' trouble stated goals to enter into fair and equitable relations between these Newfoundlanders and new people who arrive here as it has for some local and immigrant people already here. It is important to demystify the

structures of Newfoundland immigrant identities as these discourses often conflict with the discourse that 'Newfoundland wants to be successful in its immigration strategy'. If this is to be so, more meaningful considerations and discussion between people involved must occur. I have demystified the use of terms such as 'welcoming', 'diversity' and others which have tended to lose their meaning and thus cloud these discussions. With more open recognition and discussion about where power exists, people from here and afar can be emancipated from these illusions or bindings, and the goal of equitable rights can become more meaningful and attainable.

I have suggested that there is a certain amount of duplicity in the immigration strategy. The responsible section of the immigration strategy states that the government feels a responsibility to offer each family arriving in Newfoundland from elsewhere a form of holistic support. However, I have questioned the capacity of the province to offer that in so many ways, and I have questioned whether there is full commitment to doing so. I discussed how some immigrants are being ghettoized or isolated from the beginning in Labrador and perhaps even in Cape Broyle. Their differences are tolerated but not necessarily embraced. This leaves them vulnerable to remaining the 'outsider' that Appadurai (2006) recognizes (See also: Bisoondath, 2004; Clary-Lemon, 2003; Lund, 2006; Lund & Carr, 2010). It is probable that some relationships of power over the immigrant can never change as it becomes extremely difficult to counter 'local first' attitudes. There is often a great distinction between entitlement from birthright and entitlement gained from equitable contribution to the community (Clary- Lemon, 2003; Gillis, 2010; Goodhart. 2008).

It is not the purpose to say here that it is duplicitous for people in Newfoundland to say they can be and should be ‘welcoming’ – it is possible that many can and wish to be. However, the current discourse does not account for a more realistic evaluation of when and how cleavages occur between people, and when and how they have happened in the past in Newfoundland. There cannot be two standards applied: the standard that will be applied for people who come here from afar and the standard which has always applied to local people. Discrimination and so forth does not have to be based on colour or on ethnic origin, and it exists here as it does anywhere. However it happens, it can still exist more often when particular groups of people are consistently made to stand out from others and can consequently be seen as threatening a livelihood or a firmly entrenched ‘culture’.

I have shown here how many of the definitions of ‘identity’ and the contexts for relationships between these identities seem to mask more realistic potentials. There are many fleeting mythologies that define ‘Newfoundland identity’ and those of ‘newcomers’. As Barthes (1972) suggests, they may disappear as soon as they become visible. However, to build upon Law (2004), these definitions of people or recounting of foundational events often act as allegories which manifest other problems. These I will suggest, act behind much of the manipulation of the more positive discourse: in this case, these allegories are related to problems of poverty, struggles against nature, a difficult colonial past (for many), and otherwise. There is also the intransigence that may go hand in hand with the ‘pride of our people’; the mistrust that can cloud generosity; the personal frustrations that taint the sharing of success.



This may be one explanation why some find it important to depersonalize and tightly control immigration. The immigrant here is placed into a more easily controlled global business field or process: the 'field of immigration' and so forth. They are handled and settled by institutions. Success is measured by whether or not they stay, like 'us', and want to become at least somewhat like 'us'. The term 'welcoming' is used in a businesslike term - used also in the business of tourism. It is an attribute that is needed for success, but it can as easily be taken away. The good immigrants can be welcomed; the unwanted are not. Meanwhile, for the most part, it is easier to assess the *success* of immigration programs, as the government has hoped, than to spend time and money analysing potential problems.

It seems, then, that blanket statements of generosity made in profiles and policy statements throughout do not account for the rumblings seen in actual news stories and nasty email responses. What relationship is there in fact with the average immigrant at the grassroots and what can develop? Newfoundland may depend upon immigrants, but will 'Newfoundlanders' be grateful or is it still immigrants who must be so?

The reality that is hidden in simplified economic terms and pronouncements of success is that not all local people actually feel this newfound prosperity. The other industries have not yet made everyone rich enough to care about how new people are settling past fleeting treatments in the *Land and Sea* piece and similar. So the discourse is that Newfoundland is dependent upon the immigrant as economic capital, and the immigrant does not demand much from Newfoundland – everything is taken care of and there is little accountability as to what has been involved. The reminder is that investment

in immigration is left to the business or to the federal government who, in an historical fashion as we've mentioned, can also act as employers for some Newfoundlanders. It is questionable whether many people here have understood anything more than that the doctors and nurses are necessary – an industry again which is supposed to be partly federally funded and to which many Newfoundlanders feel they are entitled.

### **Delineating people**

However, 'Newfoundlanders' must remain the benefactors and so the lines between 'our' and 'their' social and cultural prerogatives remain strong. I have already discussed how nationalistic definitions of 'us' and 'them' tend to limit realizing full and personal creativity in favour of meeting accepted 'norms'. It can also define how individuals in the group may work with other individuals who are not part of the constructed 'us'. I have mentioned how many such terms as 'culture', 'diversity' and 'social development' have been used in the strategy as part of an economic vulgate rather than the recognition of there being real and different people (Fairclough 2005).

Throughout policies and in other comments, 'culture' especially is used as a term that is separated from the person themselves – one has 'culture' *as well as* different food, religious beliefs and so forth. Throughout these pieces, immigrants are often deliberately distinguishable, like aboriginals, as having distinct cultures. So too does Newfoundland. 'Our' differences delineate 'us' from 'others', and each group is often labelled as 'unique'. With uniqueness come 'norms' from which everything else is a deviation.

Newfoundlanders with unique ‘norms’ will always know ‘who’ with other ‘norms’ they must be ‘welcoming’ to while retaining the right to let different ‘others’ go away and join ‘others of their kind’ as suggested in the strategy.

In these stories, interviews and statements, aside from getting ‘us’ to taste a few Bulgarian or Italian dishes, the newcomers spend most of their time becoming like ‘us’. ‘We’ are not seen to be becoming a little like ‘them’. It is ‘our culture’ that is mainly on display and we are measuring how well they are fitting into it. This leaves even fewer points in which negotiations of mutuality can be productive without having to consider each effort as a deviation - considering that one or the other person(s) may feel threatened.

Delineation is also seen in who must be in control. There must be checks and balances placed upon the outsider so as not to allow them to benefit alone. From chapter 5 and 6, there is the concern that things be done ‘the Newfoundland way’. CFAs or CBFAs can be suspected of trying to import 'foreign enlightenment' until they prove they are just like they were before they left Newfoundland – assuming that was correct in the first place. 'Newfoundlanders' may desire convenience, modernity and progress, but it must usually be ‘them’ that discover it or fit it in with what is the correct way. There is, in a sense, another dispositive here: that regardless of how fleeting the defining myths of ‘Newfoundland’ may be, there can still only be a ‘true Newfoundlander’ who understands the ‘real Newfoundland’ regardless of what changes there are. There must always be power over outsiders, especially those who try to change ‘us’.

Such stereotypes or fierce delineations allow people to dismiss others as easily as commit to each other. They can separate benefits given to one from those given to the other. They limit one person's points of entry into the design of the 'others' overall community. These issues are not addressed in the strategy or properly discussed in the profiles of those who have arrived. So the question remains: What are the entry points for real and consistent participation for all people? With the actual isolation of immigrants apparent even in the profiles meant to tout their success, the blending of cultures seems to be on unstable ground. How deep is the commitment? Will Newfoundlanders be sad to see them leave?

Throughout all of these pieces, Newfoundland cannot offer the immigrant much besides an initial job and adequate facilities. Once off the federal or provincial purse, immigrant people are left to their own devices. According to the strategy again, immigrants can lose their initial jobs. Just like every other non-immigrant, it seems, they should move away. The implication is that there are not enough other people of their own kind, as designated by the strategy, to keep them interested here and to be self-sustaining in a cultural sense. There is really no social or cultural commitment to the immigrant, especially one who no longer has a purpose here - just as there is very little commitment to the locally born person who does not feel comfortable in Newfoundland.

To once again address the sense of mutuality found amongst those Newfoundlanders and immigrants sharing stories of discrimination, this can instead lead to the reiteration that all immigrants are gaining refuge and work from 'us'. A number of people interviewed by CBC were in that position. The Sri Lankans might have been one

of the refugees jailed in Vancouver had they not been lucky enough to be offered work first. However, just as Ricouer (1996) says governments should have no idea of their good, local people should not see themselves as benefactors. As Janks (2005) and others have suggested, this denies the immigrant of their own ideas and abilities (p. 41). *Land and Sea* mentions the education the girls would not get in Sri Lanka, and the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador states that they want immigrants who will benefit from coming here. This continues to put the immigrant in a position of gratefulness to Newfoundlanders, and the government and the public able to designate who is desirable and who is not.

Though the government and others say Newfoundland is prepared, there is little hard and fast definition of real culturally conversant individuals and groups who can cushion the reality of the 'work or go home' mentality'. I also have questioned, then, whether the government and other individuals have abrogated responsibility by too easily thinking that the job of 'settling' immigrants is easy. This bears out in the discovery that the government has not really, for example, met the prerogatives set out in the strategy. There are still not enough ESL teachers; there did not seem to be much help for the Sri Lankan families; the Filipinos and the Thai fisherman have no real connection to Newfoundland and Labrador environment past their jobs; new people in Carbonear area remained isolated and harboured thoughts of moving away. Where Jaeger (2001) might assess a discourse from how it becomes institutionalized, the interests expressed by the government and the people who consider themselves 'friendly and welcoming' have not been institutionalized in any real way. This is what makes the government's discourse

duplicitous. Despite what assets the province and many of the people may hold in resources and personal characteristics, there does not seem to be continuing realistic assessment of what is truly being demanded and supplied and what interest the community and its people are really taking.

There is some discussion of how much new people must change to fit in, but it is often simply assumed that they will naturally. There is very little discussion of how ‘Newfoundlanders’ must change, but it does not seem to be as easily assumed that they will. The result, in chapter 4, was to put ‘welcoming’ in inverted commas and relegate it to special communities; thus relieving Newfoundlanders of the implicit need to change how ‘Newfoundlanders’ and ‘others’ are viewed in the short and long term. The discourse is rather continued that ‘Newfoundlanders’ need only remain welcoming, generous, friendly and hospitable, usually mentioned without the inverted commas, and thus the ‘Newfoundlander’ does not have to change. This leads me to two final questions here: first, what happens if immigrants do stay and; second, if Newfoundland becomes more successful, do the immigrants remain welcome?

To the first point, it seems there is not much discussion of immigrants staying past a first generation. Most of the policy and the stories are of people who want to live here and stay here. But the success of the Sri Lankans is still touted as ‘rare but beautiful’, which it seems to have become compared to the foreign workers who are being instantly and more obviously marginalized, and the foreign doctors and other professionals who are isolated and who often wish to leave. cursory interviews with new people rarely dig up much anyway. It should seem obvious to any reader, listener or viewer that most

immigrants should want to be seen publically as ‘fitting in’. Each immigrant is placed under the control of their employers and it is often not clear whether they can stay past their contract or will be kicked out again. Foreign business people are controlled by government regulations. Refugees may often be simply glad to be away from their grief for a while, but they are also supported by a host government and some fear that this support can be taken away at any point. Thus the discussion of whether they want to stay sometimes means very little.

I have already talked of the reluctance to take political and social direction from immigrant people(s). To add to the example, there seems to be little thought as to who the children of the new people will be. Will they still be ‘immigrants’, or ‘immigrant’s children’? Will they only become ‘Newfoundlanders’ if they speak in ‘our’ accents and like codfish? By defining ‘our’ and ‘their’ cultures so specifically, are they relegated to keeping ‘theirs’ and simply remain ‘settled’ here? As mentioned, though second and third generation children of immigrants may outperform local children at school, many may have more problems defining their identities (Aydemir & Skuterud, 2005). They can also feel more isolated than many of their parents who had found purpose simply in moving (Joppke, 2005b). With Nasomi and Anu, for example, might children become both not a ‘Newfoundlander’ and not a ‘Sri Lankan’? While success is being touted for the person who has escaped their poorer situation to raise children in safety, the future identity of these children themselves seems uninteresting - Nasomi perplexingly found benefits here but wanted to travel the world. Are the viewers to assume that Nasomi and Anu will not be here, or that they will simply assimilate?

Finally, in once again raising Cej's thought that discrimination could be a talking point for the blending of various peoples(s) in Newfoundland, I consider that discrimination often hardens into cultural chauvinism – this seen already within cultural groups in North America, in the Middle East, and in Europe as has been referenced (Appadurai, ;Castells, 2010; Hall, 1996; Sabry, 2010). If as much of the Newfoundland identity is being built upon 'struggle' and 'persecution' as is being built upon 'generosity', is it not possible that, should Newfoundland's economy improve and more 'Newfoundlanders' stay or return home, a 'Newfoundlander's' latent 'generosity' will be overwhelmed by the desire to flaunt the success of the proud independent traditional 'Newfoundlander'? Will generosity simply become more like reserved charity? Will the antipathy towards social and cultural development become more galvanized?

## What can be done?

This thesis pinpoints problems that may exist now or in the future. There can be no definitive conclusion. Though it may be difficult to track former residents of Newfoundland, other studies might try to account for the experiences of people who have left. More extensive conversations should be conducted with immigrants who moved here in the past. While they may have had good reasons to stay here, they may also have insight into what difficulties actually have existed that may still need to be addressed. Such studies begin to open serious enquiries into how people in Newfoundland can (re)construct a pride in a society that acknowledges more diverse contributions from more citizens born in the province or in other regions and countries.



I have asked whether enough Newfoundlanders take seriously the challenges that can arise when trying to equitably and justly offer a piece of the economic and cultural landscape of Newfoundland to people whom they have invited to live here. The existing cultural landscape must be able to adapt to what the new person can offer rather than be set as an immutable stalwart against which the new person is measured. To recontextualize the phrase from the immigration strategy, ‘welcoming’ goes beyond inviting people into our homes our workplaces and our lives so that their differences can be experienced. It involves actually accepting various ideas and activities that can influence and even change the way ‘we’ may do things. Thus, attention should be paid to the whole story of the person and ‘settling’ rather than simply to the success stories which are crafted here of people adapting to ‘us’.

The provincial government hires people from other countries to work in their civil service but, given the words of the justice minister in the thesis, these people may work in lower positions. There seems to be little real engagement of such people in higher political and cultural enterprises (Goodhart, 2008). To champion such engagement would be the same as championing the engagement of other potentially vulnerable people(s) in the administration of the communities and the province in which they live. It is something that may hopefully come with better understanding of and representation of all vulnerable groups.

As seen in previous chapters, allowing people to simply congregate in isolated parts of a community contributes to unnecessary vulnerability (Ali, 2007; Baruma, 2006). It can be argued that there may be dominant cultural structures, and that there must be

mutual adaptation amongst various people. Citizens groups should perhaps arise from the grassroots of the population (Kazemipur, 2013). However, the government itself must, especially in smaller populations where social networks are often very close-knit, show a real understanding of plurality and history to foster different forms of engagement.

The reality of isolation that comes of being the only person of a 'type' amongst the default culture is pervasive. Unfortunately, there seems from chapter 4, 5, and 6 that there is every reason to expect certain resentments of 'newcomers' will arise. This reality cannot be clouded under reiterations of the natural laws of global economics and capitalization, especially when the province has deliberately asked new people to come here (Fairclough, 2005). Leaving everything to the natural flow of things allows exploitation and discrimination to operate under the governmental radar (Ricoeur, 1996).

Though guidelines can rarely be steadfast, there must be more attempts to devise measures of success. Because of the lack of knowledge in the 'field of immigration', this new 'immigration enterprise' is fraught with a willingness on the part of the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador to give control to the federal government, to other institutions such as the ANC, to 'stakeholders', and to these inevitabilities of 'global finance' and other so-called natural occurrences. This allows the government, the media, and stakeholders to continually promote simple romantic positive images about 'Newfoundland' and 'Newfoundlanders', and how well people adapt to 'us'. However, such manipulated visions of success are misleading to both potential immigrants and to the actual local public who must become engaged.

Difference is not something to be welcomed and then simply ‘experienced’ as in a catalogue. Difference must be promoted and engaged at times to present alternatives to homogenous groups. Immigrant people deserve more local investment in a mutual social and cultural blend now, so that ‘we’ and ‘they’ can become a more recognized and vital part of ‘each other’. This goes beyond dressing like each other and tasting each other’s food; it goes beyond telling stories of ‘our’ greatness and pride; it goes well beyond expecting people to simply fit in. Government must legitimize action in promoting and supporting new people more in the social and artistic sense. As Goss Gilroy (2005) pointed out, the government and similar institutions must continue to find deeper and more meaningful ways to highlight realities of ‘other’ people and their abilities to contribute to the social fabric.

To this end, it may be true that there is some ‘awareness’ being promoted in schools to this effect (Baker, 2003). The Newfoundland Folk Arts festivals, funded by the provincial government amongst others, have highlighted the folk art of those from other countries. However, it is not clear whether there has been much direct funding of projects which are not distinctly ‘Newfoundland’. However, as has been well discussed, ‘awareness’ does not translate to constructive action. It is not clear that the ‘awareness’ that is being promoted necessarily countermands the more public images of labelled cultural differences and entitlement that have been illustrated here.

More points of entry must be found into homogenous ‘cultures’. For example, serious thought should be given to the question as to why many immigrants move from Newfoundland alongside the great numbers who were born and raised here. On a more

positive note, what desirable attributes can individuals, not necessarily groups, engage so that there is better adaptation and productive relationships? Qualities attributed to 'Newfoundlanders', of kindness and generosity for example, are appealing individual attributes and I do not mean to diminish those who have these attributes. But these qualities are not always consistent, categorical, and actually productive. They should be considered amongst other talents and characteristics that others can use to actually make this experiment work.

In this thesis, I have tried to determine the context in which such images of 'us' and 'them' are constructed. I have looked at issues in the short history of this immigration experiment within the context and definitions of economic, social and cultural development. I have considered what expectations are made of all people. I have reviewed the clash between real and perceived images of 'Newfoundland' that should be considered in deeper conversation on the topic of how new people can participate productively in the daily affairs of the place that they spend significant part of their lives contributing to. I have reviewed clashes between these goals and the reality of Newfoundland job opportunities and of 'Newfoundland culture' which is portrayed as both a business and a way of life. Immigration and emigration being inextricably tied together, there must be serious thought given to whether reconstituting notions of a 'true Newfoundlander' and of 'other' people, of 'the past' and of 'our future', actually frustrate attempts by any individual to belong to and prosper in this already challenging Newfoundland and Labrador environment.

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# Appendices

## Appendix - 1

### **Land and Sea – *Southern Shore Sri Lankans.***

AP: Just to watch them grow and turn into Nlers is eh which they really are ah is just very satisfying

JA: Do you consider yourself a Newfoundlander now

NA: I Do

JA: Why

NA: Because I've gotten used to everything here an' I can understand what people are saying and I like the weather

AP: The water see the way the water (?)

### Title

Host: Hi everybody I'm Pauline Thronhill. Well this week on Land and Sea, a rare but beautiful blend of cultures. Jane Adey brings you the story of Newfoundland Southern shore Sri Lankans.

JA: If you're looking for quiet living, you'll find it on New's southern shore. Weekly drives up the Irish Loop are common among city dwellers looking to escape the noise. And if your car breaks down on one of those drives, you're bound to end up here in Cape Broyle. D1 automotive services just about every vehicle from Bay Bulls to trepassey.

AL: How much work have you got there for tomorrow.

AL Jr: Uh we're booked solid for tomorrow and the next day actually.

AL: Yes b'y

JA: Albert Lawlor and son Darryl have been helping engines puur (ohione rings) here since 1998, but it hasn't been easy.

AL: Phone's bin ringing all the time, people trying to get in. Ya it's a very busy spot right?

JA: The collection of keys at the front desk is proof of that. And just take a look at the yard outside. There's old smooth riding classics, and new tank-like wheels, luxury vehicles and all kinds of trucks. Even local medics depend on D1 automotive to get them where they're going.

A few years ago the Lawlors had a lot of trouble keeping up with the work. Mechanics were pretty scarce.

AL: People just used to come and then just move on, sometimes we'd have them for one year and then they'd find a job somewhere else. A lot of the people go to the cities, like the cities closer to banks and schools and everything else, so it was hard to keep workers here on the Southern shore.

JA: Without a new mechanic, the business would have to close. Albert advertised everywhere, with newspapers and government, with car dealers and automotive suppliers. Not one response. Until Albert lawlor took his advertisement to the internet

This agency somewhere out in Vancouver contacted us and uh they had some kind of an agency for bringing foreigners into Canada

Scene Intro one foreign man

JA: On the other side of the world, in Sri Lanka, mechanic Raju Armajuwa Durage was looking for a job

Q. What did you know about Newfoundland?

RJU; Then I just read the books, I get the book and look at get the book over there in the bookshop and I read the whole thing about Canada. (still talking about Sri Lanka?) Then I get to newfoundland – I notice there is fisheries and many rocks (chuckles)



JA: That rugged description of Newfoundland was appealing enough, Raju was ready to make a move all the way from the Indian Ocean to the Atlantic.

AL: Yeah, he arrived and he stayed here for 18 months before he even took a holiday. Went back to get his family lined up to come over

JA: When Raju went back to Sri Lanka, Albert had a mission for him. Find another mechanic to work in Cape Broyle. He found Kumara Wujesigara . Kumara was looking for new experience so like Raju, he packed his bags for Cape Broyle.

KA: Some of the mechanics, they're trying to go out of the country – most of the mechanics are going to Middle East to work. And some of coming to here and north south America and uh some European countries

JA: You're the first ones to come to Cape Broyle though

KA: Chuckle – Oh yes! (small laugh)

JA: The two men now work side by side tackling every brake motor engine and tire problem that rolls in through the garage doors. Albert Lawlor marvels at their work ethic.

AL: Tis non-stop, don't take no breaks just work straight on Through – bring their lunch here for dinner so - when you tell them to go to dinner sometimes if their not working sometimes they'll leave and go in and sit down for 5 or 7 minutes and eat their dinner and back out on the floors again, rickt? So you can't get no better workers.

JA: But they've become more than just workers in this tiny community of Cape Broyle.

AL: They're just like family, really good people, right? yeah,

JA: And it was his own family that originally motivated Raju to make such a dramatic life change. For him, new challenges meant new opportunities for his wife and two little girls.

RJU: I want to bring my family over here for the kids, (it pays for ) their education and those things.

JA: You wanted a new experience for everybody.

RJU: Yeah (embarrassed?) Yeah!

JA: We'll introduce you to Raju's family when we come back, and tell you all about their new experience as Southern Shore Sri Lankans.

JA: Saturday morning in Cape Broyle; a sleepy Newfoundland outport of about 500 people. Most families might be waking up to the smell of bacon and eggs or the sound of fishcakes frying in a pan; not at Raju awajewa's house. Saturday starts with a Sri Lankans breakfast treat: poppers . This fried flour and coconut mixture is a favourite among his culinary critics: wife Giante, daughter nasome and youngest daughter anu.

Anu: it's better with sugar

RJU: Something in local language

JA: It's important to Raju to keep special Sri Lankan traditions alive, but he left Sri Lanka for work because it was more important to him to take care of his family. He wanted to expose them to different experiences outside his country. And Raju was not the only one to find a job in Cape Broyle. Giante saw an opportunity to earn money here too, and if she was looking for a uniquely Newfoundland experience, well, she found it. just a short walk down the road at a local fish plant. During the fishing season, Giante takes a place on the packing line here at Cape broyle sea products. She works with all kinds of seafoods getting it ready to be shipped all over the world.

GI: Crabs, capelin, and cod, uh codfish.

JA: Do you like fish?

GI: I like cod, not capelin and crabs.

JA: She might not be fussy about some of the seafood, but she's keen to be involved in work going on in the community - and everyone's noticed, including the plant manager. He's delighted to have her on board.

PM: She has nothing to learn, very dedicated... worker, don't miss any time, and showed a great willingness to understand the process.

JA: For Giante and her husband, Raju, this is all a means of improving life for their children. And an education in Canada is at the top of their list of priorities . and so, Nasome and anu enrolled in school in the neighbouring community of ferrytland

SW: What else do we 'ave'ere? I see some other visual imagery.

A: Soft and white

A: Chalk white?

SW: Not just white

JA: 13 year old nasome remembers the shock of her new day. (not just white, its *chalk* white) A new country, new people and now a brand new language.

SW: ..and tomorrow we'll come back and 23 of us put together what we all found.

NA: Yeah it was really scary. I had no idea what I was doing, I jus sat down in class and just listened to the teacher, had no idea what she was saying, and I could say I don't know how to speak English,

JA: Besides the language barrier, nasome had the familiar worry of most newcomers. Would she fit in?

NA: I was afraid that no-one would loik me, and that I was going to be a lot different than anyone else? But everyone was really nice.

JA: It wasn't long before nasome caught on. Now, you can even hear a disctinctly Southern shore accent

NA: Yeah, they talk and I listen and I just get the hang of it (roll the eyes like a girl here might)

JA: These days, even figurative English poetry is a cinch.

NA: It gave me a calm feeling. Grass grows soft and white makes a poem feel calm and quiet.

ANU T: So what would be the related facts he could do there?

JA: Just down the hall, anu has developed the same love of language.

ANU T: OK anu, do you want to come up and practise your speech now for the speak off on Friday?

ANU Yup

ANU T: Good

ANU: We started in calvert walking on a log over a stream. The water was black and scaary Soon I realized there were wild strawberries ...

JA: What started out as a struggle had become a source of pride for the 7 year old

ANU: ...for my Mom. I was the first one to get muddy. I was skipping over a stream. I slipped into the water. Anyway, we...

JA: That speech won Anu first place, by the way, and a certificate proudly displayed in the family's living room. Anu's teacher says anu has set a powerful example for her classmates, one about overcoming obstacles and determination.

ANU T: To think that yknow four years ago when she came here, she didn't know y'know any elglish at all and now she's up speaking, writing perfect pieces of writing, speaking in front of groups of people it amazes me.

JA: This new environment has brought a different way of learning to Anu and Nasome, than they might have experienced in Sri Lanka. And they're part of the teaching that goes on in Ferryland too - Lessons on acceptance and about appreciating difference.

SW: Navy blue is a colour, right? Jet Black is a colour

STUD: Indigo

JA: Nasome's teacher Sean Walsh grew up in ferryland he wishes he'd had the opportunity to have friends from other countries at a young age. Sean is impressed by the welcome students here have extended to Nasome and Anu

SW: One of the things, and ah it's great to see, is that for the families to come in, I guess I shouldn't be surprised because people in this part of newfoundland and all over nL have had people move away to go to work, all of us are here because our families moved here from somewhere else at some point, so I mean we're all a part of a migrant community so to see 'em embraced, I'm not surprised at all by that but whenever you have something like that it opens up people's minds but it's much easier to do that when you're seven than when you're y'know 77 so it's good to see and ah you can see it here every day...

#### ANU AND KID PLAYING

SW: ...They're seeing somebody who's got a different way of looking at things and they can look at it and say, well, ok I can accept that and that's good and that's always good to see. If we had more of that in every part of Newfoundland I think that would be a better thing (look of warning and the potential.. )

NA: Chapter 1 – empowerment

KR: To feel it's easy to make choices and change the world if you think something different needs to happen.

JA: Nasome and Kathleen Ryan became fast friends when Nuasome showed up in cape broyle

KR: Well, I don't really know anyone from like anywhere else but Newfoundland and I thought it would be interesting to know someone from somewhere else.

NA: Can't find it

JA: And Kathleen hadn't thought much about Sri Lanka before she met Nusome now, well, she can't contain her curiosity. Someday she'd like to do exactly what Nusome's done

KR: I would like to visit Sri Lanka and like learn the language and see where nasome used to live. It's interesting to learn about where they used to live and their food and their culture and everything.

NA: British North America had...

JA: After the break, we'll tell you a little more about where nasome used to live and how they stay in touch with the family they left back home.

JA: Giate Amarugiwa is a Buddhist and likely the *only* one on the entire Southern Shore. As you'd expect in an Irish community, most prayers here are heard under the roof of a Catholic church. But Giate wants to maintain her spiritual beliefs, so she worships every day at home – just one of the ways she stays connected to life back in Sri Lanka.

ANU: In her own language to Uncle

JA: Anu's connection to Sri Lanka is a more technical one. A few times a week she gets on the computer and Skypes with her uncle.

Anu's uncle lives in a house owned by her parents. Her grandparents live there too. Along with another family member she misses a lot.

ANU: My dog is Taffy and I love her very much and I can't wait till she has puppies. *If* she has puppies . and she's like big right now and um she's a Rottweiler,

JA: The amarajiwas have found ways of staying in touch with the culture and the people of Eastern Asia, through food prayer, skype *aaand* a Cape broyle neighbour, just down the road.

AP: You can't go over 31 and we're 28 so you have to say go, alright? Say, go?

ANU: Go

AP: And I say go

NA: Go

AP: Exactly so who went last, someone get a point....

JA: Andy Perlas has been sort of a cultural bridge for nasome and Anu. He has an understanding of life in their birthplace of Eastern Asia. He and his wife have travelled extensively throughout India, but he spent the last 12 years in Newfoundland. Getting to know the locals while perfecting his game of crib

AP: Ok, that makes it 24 and I'm going to get 2 points....

JA: Andy is from Boston, his wife is from England. On their last vacation here a dozen years ago, they decided to make this old church their home.

AP: As we drove along, there was a for sale sign outside the building and my wife and I looked at each other and our jaws dropped, gobsmacked, this buildings for sale and we ah, in an hour, we bought it.

JA: One day after moving here, they went to get their car fixed at D1 automotive. They saw RaJu and assumed he was from India, the place they had visited so often

AP: We though he was Indian actually because of the way he looks and ah and his dialect and ah we just went up to him and invited him to dinner and heard his story and m it was only shortly after that the family was coming and so we took a lot of interest at that point because ah. We knew how difficult it might be for them y'know coming from so far away and y'know we had understood they didn't speak English very much or at all, and ah we thought we could give them a hand.

NA: Is this a hen

AP: Of course it's a hen

NA: Wouldn't it be called a chicklet? Is it still a chicklet?

AP: No it's a hen, it's grown up, it's laying an egg, it's an adult, it's called a hen.

JA: Andy took the girls under his wing. He taught them English and shows them everything he knows about life in rural Newfoundland. Without him, the girls say, they'd be lost.

NA: I wouldn't know half the stuff I knows

ANU: I wouldn't even know how to speak English

NA: I think I would've failed most of my classes

ANU: And I think I wouldn't have won in the speech

JA: Andy and his wife said they received the warmest welcome from the Southern Shore people when they settled here. He just wanted to follow that example and extend the same courtesy.

AP: Well they're like children to me, they're like my own children y'know just to watch them grow and to learn and to develop. To, to just to see pass through that stage of feeling a little left out and not being able to speak and not knowing customs and just watch them grow and turn into Newfoundlanders is, which they really are, is just very satisfying for me. They're just great fun to be around. And I can always beat them at crib y'know which is uh, (chuckle) which is more than I can do with most other people so ah, (chuckle) there' that advantage.

JA: Andy appreciates the quiet life here in cape Broyle. Nasome might only be 13 but she already sees what this small community has to offer.

Q. Do you consider yourself to be a Newfoundlander now?

NA: I do

Q. Why

NA: 'cause I've gotten used to everything here and I can understand what people are saying and I like the weather. I don't want to leave here. Made a lot of friends. The neighbours are really nice and here I get to go wherever I want – just have to say where I'm going and my parents let me go.

Q. Why?

NA: I don't know why. I guess they think that I'm safer here too. It's fun

JA: Life in a small place hasn't limited Nasome's plans for the future. Because of this adventure in Newfoundland, she's ready to take on more.



NA: I have a big dream to travel the world. I made it halfway, I guess, I can go the other half.

JA: Once a year, the South Shore Sri Lankans get together with all the friends they've made. Raju's boss, Albert Lawlor, takes them out for an excursion on his pontoon boat. Remember Kumara, the other mechanic at Albert's garage? He's there too with his wife and three children. Andy and his wife Nicki are on board, plus some Sri Lankan friends who've come down the shore from St. John's. It's an unlikely boat-load of people: a southern shore Catholic, Sri Lankan Buddhists, a Bostonian and his British wife, Their differences are obvious, but it's their similarities that draw them together on this beautiful summer day... and of course that little ad on the internet for a mechanic in Cape Broyle.

Kid: Someone sing a song... sing a song somebody.

## Appendix - 2

### ***Come from aways - Transcripts***

#### Intro

Face of Canada is changing Stats Canada says that over the next 20 years visible minorities will make up more than half the population of Toronto

In NL not so much, we are one of the least diverse parts of the country but the provincial government says that we can't afford to stay that way and it's launched an aggressive immigration strategy.

This morning in the first part of a special series called come from away, our Kate Kyle tells us why the urgency for all this.

Kate good morning

Good m

Tell me more about this push to attract more immigrants now.

Well we don't have to look too far to get the why Jeff as Canada as a whole is in the midst of a major demographic shift. Our population is ageing and as we know our women are not having as many babies and because of these trends statistics Canada predicts that by 2025 100 percent of our countries population growth will be attributed to immigration and in this province it's even more urgent.

Yeah, sigh, we know we're aging even faster than elsewhere in the country how fast is this happening

We have a median age of 43.3 while the rest of Canada's median age is around 39.7

And as of last July, stats Canada found that 1 in 7 people in this province was a senior. So compare that to 1979 when we were the youngest country in Canada and had the highest fertility rates to now the lowest – ad we know the reasons are well known here the

collapse of the cod fishery, the attraction of high paying jobs in Alberta, but the numbers are still pretty staggering when we hear them and it's Hubert Denis points out:

HC the province posted high out migration rates especially for its (age?) working population, if we look at the data since 1971, the province had a net loss of more than 120,000 people through interprovincial migration, so those two factors are playing in the fact that the province ages quickly.

Jeff: ok so Kate tell me more now about how immigration can fit in here and solve some of this dilemma we've got

Well for long term population growth, women just need to have more babies, there's no doubt about that , but in terms of filling short term labour needs, immigration is the key and the province is currently in the midst of executing an aggressive immigration strategy that it launched back in 2007, and its goal is to attract in between 1200 and 1500 immigrants over a 5 year period –to fill this labour shortage and here's the minister of human resources labour and employment, Darrin King

It's an opportunity for us to bring in skilled labour; Newfoundland is not unlike many other provinces in Canada where there are parts of the province where we find it difficult to recruit doctors to lawyers to as I said the skilled trades. Um, so the focus initially was on that y'know. The evolution of tremendous work opportunities in the province - undoubtedly these people are going to see more opportunities as well.

Umhmm but, Kate, what if we can't attract these immigrants?

Well Hubert Denis from Statistics Canada says that by 2036, we'll be the oldest province in Canada with a median age of close to 50 so that means that 1 in 3 people will be a senior so certainly less people in the workforce.

Ok, how then does the provincial government plan to turn this around then?

Well the government's using many platforms for this and really what it's doing is promoting the provincial nominees program quite hard which basically means that it picks people who can fill certain jobs or y'know great businesses or generally help meet the social and economic goals of the province, and the NL immigration office is even on

facebook as everybody is these days and it's recently set up a Newfoundland dictionary site so it's posting sayings daily like, 'that's not fit, b'y'' with an explanation of what that means and it all to make newcomers feel comfortable and part of the communities and want to come here and live here and marketing to international students is also the key as well, so the idea is that if they come here and study, then they might stay and, for example, MUN as we know gets a number of international students each year and more than 400 students from China have received degrees from MUN and many of them have actually moved to this province to study and many have stayed

But realistically, though, how close are we to meeting our goal?

Well the minister of human resources, labour and employment has said that it's pretty much on track, right now to date they have 1270 people who have immigrated to the province through the provincial nominee program since 2007 and minister King told me that he believes it's the highest rate in Atlantic Canada and he says that this strategy won't be just a one off.

This is not a strategy that's going to come to a complete end to us, we have an office of multiculturalism and immigration and we've established that because we see this as a long-term permanent initiative within government. I mean in actual fact our focus on this area is something that's built in now to our base budget of our department and the base operations of our government.

And in terms of retention which is the other big factor, Mr King wasn't able to give me any of the latest numbers but he estimates that around 4 of the 5 people who come here actually put down roots and a lot of the communities that I spoke with said that they're doing everything they can to try to keep people as well from having a welcoming committee to ongoingly keeping them involved in community activities and we'll certainly hear about some of these people this week, and the government says it's also going to be looking closely at future labour needs in this province and what roles Newfoundland and Labrador can play to fill those needs but certainly people who come from away.

So we'e keeping 4 out of 5 now.

That's what he says

Wow that's quite a bit more than ah we had, say, a decade ago. That's interesting. Well perhaps recent immigrants to Newfound might want to comment on this. Maybe they've got some ideas of their own on how to keep more of them here Kate thanks very much for this

You're welcome...

### Zakinovs Bulgarian couple

It's an opinion we've all heard immigrants take jobs from locals. Well there's a couple on CB who would dispute that citing their own experience as our series CFA continues now Reporter KK has their story

A white wine cream sauce simmers on a large industrial stove,

Crepe with scallop crepes.

It's only three in the afternoon but Sorrento's, Corner Brook's only homemade pasta and pizza restaurant, is already abuzz as the staff anticipates the supper rush.

Everything is sizzling what is that you're making?...

The kitchen smells of sweet tomatoes, olive oil and freshly ground basil

(an order thank you)

This family business employs more than 20 people

Our very popular items are the bison burgers,

Even so, owners Lillian and Stoyin Zakonow can't seem to keep their hands (chuckle) out of the kitchen. Lillian zips between kitchen and the tables while Zoyin catches up on the accounting. Some nights the restaurant turns out hundreds of orders of fresh pasta and

other Mediterranean dishes. But the ingredients for this success story were grown in a land thousands of kilometres away.

I'm St Z and I'm Lil Z and we're from Sofia Bulgaria, an old country with a lot of culture

St you know when god was giving land to the people, he forgot the Bulgarians and they came and said, hey, what about land for us , he says hey I forgot to give you land but I can give you mine. So(chuckles) he gave it..

In Bulgaria, Lilly worked as a photographer, Stoyin a successful mechanical engineer. They had two summer homes, their condo and vehicles were paid off. But they say what they didn't have was full freedom.

Some simple freedoms y'know like freedom of speech yknow and you can't tell someone a joke about a policeman because even your associates and friends could be considered guilty for something you've done

Communist times in Bulgaria meant jobs, free education and health care, but like many e European countries at the time, tensions were growing and people wanted political change.

St When you can't say what you think or you are afraid to say, that's something very important to us.

Yeah to become a manager for example of a big industrial complex, you had to be a member of the party

In the 90s, thousands of Bulgarians including writers and artists fled the country for the west for political asylum. The zakonovs landed in St. John's NL/

St We never knew what to expect. We got off the plane and asked for political asylum

Lilly Nobody knew anything about Bulgaria at all. A lot of people thought that Bulgaria is part of Russia and not knowing the language is very very – this is when my hair became white (small laugh) we didn't know if we had any rights, what rights we had we'll go and ask all kinds of questions, like do we have a right to do this do we have a right to do that? And people would look at us like we dropped from Mars.

Learning the customs was the first challenge , next finding employment

St I remember writing over three hundred resumes I sent and I couldn't find a job in my home nobody could call my former employers or something to.. so you don't have references whatsoever and yknow, it's all your work but the thing is that at the time nobody gave me a chance.

After working minimum wage gigs in several restaurants, St and lilly decided to take their future into their own hands. They opened a small pizza eatery in st johns and then relocated the business to corner brook.

In te beginning we don't have even the spoon or the forks or anything so we built up entirely alone, everything . to open a restaurant, you cannot acquire a loan from the banks here, so we had to put everything on credit card.

With no help from the provincial or federal governments, the Zakonovs fought to stay open and build their clientele.

St The first two or two and a half years, we worked 12 hours a week - double shift seven days a week

L It was crazy.

St because we had a customer couldn't pronounce chicken tetrazini and he asked us to write it on a piece of paper and every time he comes to say, I want that (laughs) y'know

Slowly they expanded their take-out business to a full scale restaurant bar and lounge

Did you finish the ravioli?

They went from having a handful of employees to more than 20, and the Zakonovs are not only hiring local, but buying local.

St whatever we can buy locally we do buy it locally, doesn't matter if does cost more we think is that if everybody was doing that, Newfoundland and automatically Canada would be a better place to live. Prosperity for everybody else.

And a lot of people at the beginning they are not used to having people from eastern Europe having with accent and occasionally they say oh you take our jobs away. It's not taking jobs away. We employ a lot of people we are like family, they are like our children. Basically they run the business.

Staff like Charmaine maculley and tim Mitchel

Charmaine: people are coming to Canada or even people in the community to start creating jobs for us here. It's wonderful. It's definitely opened up a spot for me. I was looking for a job and there wasn't really a whole lot in regards to surveying so it was definitely the first place I came to and I got hired on right away.

Rim – I just – I was working at a motel over here for 10 years and I come over here, it's better money (laugh), better people to work with and stuff like that yeah yeah.

Lilly – it's beautiful, I love it, thank you...

congratulations

Like family, the staff share special occasions together

Thank you very much, the staff surprised Lilly with balloons and cake for her birthday.

I told them if we win from the lottery, we're going all on vacation for a month. (St laughs)\

St Lilly say, if we win from the lottery we're going to work five days a week.

Lilly we build our lives here, we're not going anywhere so we made CB our home sweet home.

### Carbonear Meet and Greet

Carbonear

Radio announcer: Of course, Newfoundlanders are famous for their hospitality, but newcomers to the province are not always on the receiving end. Some communities are



trying to change that including carbeneer and that's where the CBC's Jessica doria brown headed to find out how communities can be more welcoming to ew Canadians

Reporter: It's a cold march evening but the conception bay community centre in carbeneer is nearly bursting with African music, guests in traditional dress and a fine feed of everything from touts to samosas. The town is hosting a welcoming community meet and greet to celebrate the relatively newfound diversity of the area and a growing community of over 150 newcomers. The event is a first for th town and this is not just about being friendly, it's part of a strategy designed to attract new immigrants to the area and keep the ones they have. Kerry lee abbott in the project coordinator with Enron or the mariner resource opportunities network

I', a young person who's moved back into my community and there's not many of us staying. I mean there's out migration. We are an older age province having people come in from other countries, starting families, bringing their brothers and sisters and their other family members , i mean it's only going to increase newfoundland's population and diversity and businesses...

She says events like the meet and greet have been needed fro some time now. Tonight's festivities were planned thanks to a frank panel discussion with recent immigrants to the area.

Someone mentioned from the crowd that nlders who are known as friendly are not actually that friendly. And yknow some strong words were used but it was kinda, she wanted to give balance to the discussion because we were all very positive and upbeat. yknow she kinda wanted to bring us all back, because everyone's been in that spave where you go into a room, you don't know anyone and then all of a sudden when you scan that room, one or two people smile at you and that makes it OK. It's a microcausm of that experience

Ahead of this discussion, the area's online immigration portal was launched. The website is intended to help newcomers find out where to access goods and services – how to find a seamstress for example, or where to register your kids for dance class.

Everything, I didn't know where things were

Nora yuseff and her husband moved to carbeneer last year, they're originally from Iraq. She says events like these and resource like the immigration portal are a step in the right direction/.

Where they've got a very good project going on, to help you make friends because that's very important because once you keep, once you keep being lonely and bored, you're going to want to leave eventually and that's what's been happening: they leave they don't stay so the whole purpose of this is to have people stay.

It wasn't easy, it wasn't easy

Her friend, armina sentereasi agrees. She moved from Jordan to carbeneer in 2008 and says her first year living in the area wasn't easy. She was lonely and depressed.

Meaningful work was scarce and she hated relying on her husband to get her around town but tonight she's optimistic that new arrivals might not endure the same growing pains that she did.

The presence of the people here. I'm just so amazed that the interest in this event. Like I thought that it would only be purely newcomers, but I see some local faces which makes me happy that they are interested in actually meeting the people from the different cultures and accepting them and embracing them which is great.

But the movement to welcome newcomers isn't limited to long time community members, Aisha gedoniva is a teen who arrived here a few years ago from eastern Europe with her mother, a family physician. She too is taking on the cause.

I think like the school should participate in multicultural weeks and like introduce people and especially here there's not a lot of people like from different places? Just me and my friend (embarrassed) and but we still have, we promoted, we asked our guidance counsellor to do a multicultural week. I'm looking forward to that, I think that's a good start and then like his gathering I think it's very nice too, something nice too and they um should do it more often in different places too. For Kerry lee abbott, the success of the evening is the result of a lot of hard work on the part of several organizations and dozens

of eager volunteers. She says communities looking to be more welcoming to newcomers need to take an all-inclusive approach.

It depends on how you go about it and some struggle because you are, there is certain people who will kinda go ‘aaah, I’m too tired, I just came home from work I don’t really want to go out to that 630 thing tonight’ But I think the way we’re energetic, we have cross, I mean the ah diversity of the group that we have, not just ethnically, but agewise, career wise, and the social groups that we travel in, and tonight, you saw a wide range of ages: we had children we had seniors as old as 80, university students, and we alos focused on the colleges like CONA here in carbonear, and Keyin college in just down the road, because they’re doing courses in community studies and this is something that they’re also going to need to include so . I think the way that we’ve ,, we’ve left nor rock unturned

And abbot insists it’s worth the investment. She says it’s not just about what locals can offer newcomers but what rural communities have to gain by opening themselves up to new people and new experiences.

As a resident of Carbonear, who’s travelled, it’s great to be able to look around everywhere and be at an event and hear different languages and hear different cultures...

And with 30 more immigrants expected to arrive in the area between June and September, these social gatherings are only going to get bigger, abbott says they plan to start hosting events like these at least once a month In carbonear, I’, JDB

#### Danielle from South Africa

Some immigrate for work others to find refuge Danielle hodder immigrated for love. The south African native moved to gander two years ago but her plans of starting a new life with a new husband took on an unexpected and devastating turn as our immigration series come from away continues CBC’s Kate Kyle brings us this story of love lost and a new land found

In this box over here, these are some wedding cards that I did – oh I remember the moment how...

Danielle hodder remembers the day she married her soul mate todd –

Yknow the biggest picture on the card is of him leaning over and kissing me on the shoulder. And still to this day I can feel his lips on my shoulder

Hodder is originally from John SA – it was while working as an international tour guide on the high seas of the arctic ocean that her life changed forever

I was working on a Russian icebreaker and we had two helicopters come on board from Candain helicopters and Todd was the engineer that travelled with the machines

Todd hodder a quiet Nflder from Gander with large blue eyes and a friendly smile caught her eye and later her heart

And I saw him I literally paused I thought he was gorgeous

Todd was equally enamoured with Danielle, an attractive brunette with a South African drawl

None of the photos that's just all of us backpacking

For two years they dated, meeting up at destinations around the world

And that our tents, our first home

And at the bottom of the world in Antarctica at a penguin rookery Todd proposed

He turned round and looked at me and dropped down on one knee in the deep snow with this huge diamond ring

They vowed to spend the rest of their lives together and put down roots in Todd's home town of Gander NF

Everybody really really is friendly for the first time in my life I finally felt like I belong.

Just two months after moving to Canada, 20 days after marrying her soul mate, Danielle hodder became a widow at the age of 34.

When you say your wedding vows, yknow for richer for poorer till death do us part, you just don't think yknow you'll part so soon.

Todds helicopter had gone missing on northern Que – for 6 days da and the family waited for news

I'll never forget picking up the phone and seeing on the display screen canadian helicopters and getting all excited because I realized he was there safely and that was him calling me and never ever expected the outcome to be what it was

Not months later the same aisle she walked down in here wedding dress she walked down behind Todd's coffin

It was just hell

Danielle not only lost her soul mate but also her immigration sponsor

Here I was pretty much all on m,y own in a foreign country it was like someone had taken my future and just whipped it out fro under me. Yknow you'd look around your beautiful home and think well yknow if I had to get on a plane and I'm only allowed one bag what wou;ld I take

There wasn't a lot of time

Danielle put her grief to one side Family friend Gloria moss pu on a pot of coffee. The two women sat down at Danielle kitchen table and delved into a huge pile of paperwork, paperwork need if Danielle were to stay in Canada.

While there were may people who would love to have sponsored her, more particularly the hodder family they didn't fit that definition of eligible sponsors. Certainly humanitarian and compassionate, we could have gone that root

With humanitarian and compassion, one of the questions in the paperwork is : what are your reasons that you have to stay. It's different if you've been married and you have children and theyre well established in the school – you don't want to uproot your family who's not used to living in another country and theyd have to make a quick adjustment. Id only just moved to NF . I had to stay because of the people I had to stay because of

todd's family I had to stay because this is where my husband's buried . But it sounds so unconvincing

After days of dealing with federal immigration call centres, Gloria had an idea – apply for immigration under the province's nominee program. Rather than her husband sponsor her, the province could

She has so much to offer and I think the key is that she herself wanted to be here

They drove to st j if Danielle was a match for the program. They embraced me, they were able to hear my story that was it, there were no emails there were no faxes, somebody who just says we will help you.

We kind of anticipated that this would be approved by now.

Yes I think it has taken a little longer than we all expected

While Danielle experience with the provincial nominee program has been good so far, she's still waiting to find out if she'll be able to stay.

As anything, it takes time. It's not something that happens overnight

Laughing does anyone want does anyone want a cup of tea..

Today exactly a year and a half since the cash, danielle's friend gather to remember todd and to celebrate danielle's future/.

And I just find that living in gander is just easy in the way that – because everybody went through the tragic loss, everybody went through it with me

Laughing

There's no doubt in their minds where Danielle should be

My name's Nicole eddy – like she knows more people in gander than I do

I know

And that was before her tragedy happened

Fits in here

Yeah she's just a newfie who talks different

Ya, I always say yaw

Todd's mother Betty agrees

She part of the family – always will be

He brought me to nF for a reason, I honestly believe it. it's very unfortunate that he couldn't stay and continue my life with me here but he's left me here and I'll do the best job that I can to live here and do him proud.

Good old Nf tune

In Gander, I'm Kate Kyle

Announcer We did get response an interesting one from yesterdays opening piece to that series. It dealt in large part of course to the provinces latest effort to attract and keep immigrants

Hello this is paul ... I just wanted to make a quick comment about a friend of mine Ali who is from uh bagdhad uh moved here 5 or 5 years ago . for the past four months he's been attempting to open up a middle eastern kind of chip truck downtown selling falafels and hummus and tabouleh and shish kebob – allsorts of tasty stuff that is not present in the downtown area bu the city shut him down because of some bylaws that were easily in my opinion easily changed so perhaps one other way to retain people who come from abroad and move her is to accommodate them um when they attempt to open up businesses. It was really sad to see him, he actually had the chip truck , he bought it, he had everything ready to go , even had food bought and ready to hit George Street and the city shut him down because of a small little reasoning and so it was sand and he may leave and move to Hamilton, so pehaps the province may be wanting to retain people but the city doesn't seem to be making a real concerted effort to keep people like ali in town. Ok, have a good day, bye bye!

Ok health and safety should be – maybe we'll dig a little deeper into that.

Stoyin Velnikov – Bulgarin restaurateur

Today in the second part of our series come from away, a five part series on people who've chose to live in newf and Lab to emigrate ehre from elsewhere on the planet, we want to introduce you to Stioyin velanov, he's Bulgarian, he came to with hi wife three years ago . now he's the pastry chef, the chocolatier and the owner of bistro sofia on water street where his employees affectionately call him, tony,

I was deciding to come in before I hear from my friends to st john's we were deciding with my wife to come into Canada just looking for a new opportunity I can say that and then when we hear about st j and um the first 6 months was a little bit hard for us mostly because of the weather but now I can say its our home and we really love it here and I'm not saying it's our home because we're supposed to. It's really because I feel myself like its my home

The first thins we saw here was because we come from our capital city its a big city 3million people city so the first thing was when we walk on the streets the people say hello,. How are you, nice weather, so we were scared for the first couple of days to see that but ah this is mainly what probably keeps us here . it's the people who are so friendly and um like they just make you feel that you're not foreigner or that you are not just from somewhere else.

I studied in Bulgaria three years in a professional school and since I get my degree, I worked in the food industry, I worked a couple of years as a chef in the restaurants but then I decided to be a pastry chef and to work, um mainly because I like sweet, I like chocolate, ah a couple of years after that I um won a competition to work for one of the buggiest Belgium chocolate companies, and I worked for them for two years. So I can say I know a lot of things for chocolate – I don't want to say I know everything but I know a lot of things

Mainly I can say that to be a pastry chef somewhere, you have to love that profession because it's not about the well-paid, it's about you have to love to do the things and people can see it when you love it.



I like when people challenge us with different cakes, with different structure, with different things. I can say that chocolate is in my heart and I love to work with chocolate and I'll do something even I can say crazy with chocolate so I can say chocolate is my first choice.

I would like to present here and stay in the bistro a big chocolate sculpture and I just would just like to put in the sculpture like our passion about the chocolate and so it's going to be like a restaurant or chef tain? For the sculpture and that's going to give me a challenge to keep that chocolate not melting but I'll do all the best to do something.

There's a couple of desserts from Bulgaria we do here and people really like it and even there is a couple of things for breakfast we call Bulgarian breakfast but the actual name is Banita so people in the morning they really like it when they taste

I hope so, we're going to find the time to have a child so I would love to raise my child here and the other things, we made so fast so many friends, some of them because of the business, some of them because we just met them but I don't feel anymore that lonely with my wife like we feel in beginning and this is basically what makes me feel at home. And the other thing is I went to Toronto and Montreal for vacation. The last two days in Toronto, I just was watching my words, like when is going to be the time to come back, so this is one of the things make me that I feel like st j os my home

I feel myself I can walk in the middle of the night and it doesn't matter what kind of street or which street and I don't feel myself that I don't have to turn around that someone's following e or I have to be scared . this is probably the other thing I would love to raise my child because I feel the saftiness in the city and it makes me feel just better.

The other thing we miss here is maybe some store which can have different kinds of salami and meat like in eastern Europe and even in like Italy France, Bulgaria spain, we used to eat a very different kind of salami and different kind like that kind of meat so these are the things we miss really much like there is so like we import them from Toronto and from like different cities but they're kind of expensive to sell them so we just buy for ourselves

The restaurants here, most of the restaurants here are on one street and what I find that most of the restaurants even we just support each other. We help each other. Yes we're competition but most of the time we support each other and that's what amaze me and I really appreciate that from everyone and we do the same things for everyone we know so this is one more things just to make people sure how friendly people in St. Johns and in NF.

### Youmin Lee

I DIDN'T KNOW NL BEFORE I came here and my husband and my husband's family, they're all from Korea originally but they studied in Alberta and then they ended up in NF. Because my father-in law is in Memorial university and my husband works in university as well. I came here in Nf in 2007 septemebr I remember the exact date.

I felt very different because Korea 50m people are living in korea and everybody is busy and everybody is crowded and transportation and traffic jam and work environment everybody's busy and very individual – but here – no traffic jam – nice people

In Korea if we want to change into something through the council its very very difficult because a lot of people are in the **council and they're not really open** and public but I think in newfoundland is really open more open in public newfoundland is more friendly and open for political ideas for the people who live in NF -

In korea we don't have much chance to meet people or have a discussion with people – we just see in the newspaper and we just heard hear from news

I think the piano was very important – I never regret becoming a professional pianist but once I gave it up, my work in korea and ah I didn't know I wasn't sure what *I'm* going to do in Nf without language.

I actually taught professional music back in the time 2007 and they hired me, I didn't speak English well but I spoke a little bit but I showed my piano skills and they hired me

and I think that was another communication without the proper English. I think the piano was very important and it gave me a good life in Newfoundland.

Nlrs love music and music is a part of the province and then I became a part of the province and my major was *very very highly suitable* with this part of the culture and I think that that was fantastic.

I gave all my um life in Korea and then I came here with my bare foot and started over again – whatever I wanta build/

Then there was a big part of language barrier that couldn't resolve easily because language doesn't happen in just one night and it's very difficult and you have to put your effort on it and it doesn't really come easily and

But some people weren't very nice to me. And every time try to say something and they don't understand: I don't understand you, I don't understand and push me away and makes me so feel bad.

And there is some people still do, still do to me, to international students who does try to start their studies here – I think in Newfoundland people most likely they are very nice and kind but there are some people are not very nice and they just assume we all Chinese – that makes me very sad because we have all our own identity and if they don't know where we came from, they can ask us.

And there are very nice people and they are very helpful to adjust here and we never forget that people never forget them. We really thank them

I never seen this much snow before and 2007 back in time and I saw snow – this much snow I was so happy to see – it was so clear shiny sparkling – lovely . But I didn't know I have to shovel but now I'm very good at shoveling

But the good thing is when we have a snow storm, school closed. (laugh) I like it!

I just love Nf I-I-I-never lived in another city or province but I've been visiting Toro Halifax and other cities here and there but I just love Newfoundland and Newfoundland is great place to live – I have defined Nf as a paradise.

It's really difficult living away from your family. I got married but it's not really my own family yet especially at that time, 2007, but now I think this is my home, Nf is my home and now if people ask me where you live I don't say I live in Korea I'm Korean, I say my permanent residence is in Canada, I live in Newfoundland.

#### Jessica Doria-Brown speaks with Neddal Ayad

Today a different kind of story. We meet Adel Nayad. His mother is from here, his father is from Israel. Nadel was born and bred in Bay Roberts. After attending university he returned to Bay Roberts where he works as a photographer. Still, many people often assume he's from away. JDB spoke with Nadel Ayad to get his first hand, first generation take on the immigrant experience.

Even though I was born here and raised here, and my Mom's side of the family is from here, I continually get asked, how long have you been here where are you from originally, how did you get here, why are you here, you get a variety of questions, and um, it's kinda strange at times because there's how many, when someone asks you where you're from, and they stop and give you that look, the confused look and then you say, well, then you have to go on and explain because part of my family is middle eastern my mom's from here so she married someone from middle east so that's how I ended up here. And um, so that can be kinda off-putting at times and I've been getting it from – I was actually born in St. John's, so I'm getting in from the time that I can remember maybe since I was two or three. In general I find people here more serious than say rude or anything like some of the questions can be rude at times but people seem to be more serious about other cultures and if there's – they don't mean to be offensive or cause any kind of offense. It was weird in school, because, um, you're marked out by your name and your complexion is a little bit darker so immediately they ask what's up with you, are you again, why are you here, where are you from, even from people from within the community. I can remember some really bizarre questions like when I was in high school one girl came up to me and asked me if my dad was a sheik and how many wives he had and that kinda thing and it's like, I really really, ah, how am I supposed to answer that?

Have you noticed through the years any change in the way your perceived in terms of just being from elsewhere from outside

I've noticed, um, since I was a kid in this area, in the CB north area and St. John's too, people are much more aware of the outside world and they're much more aware of, um, other ethnicities. Before that, I can remember. When I was in school, it was me and one of the teachers was from India, and his kids were there, so we were like the foreigners even though I was born here. And, um, they had a much rougher time than I did because obviously, like my complexion is dark but, if no-one knows my name, they're not going to ask any questions whereas if you're from East Asia, you're immediately marked out. and they get a rough time, people pick fights with them kinda thing but some people withdraw, some people it kinda makes them tougher,

Even though you are from here, you've experienced your whole life as an outsider, what could you say to people in terms of how to welcome immigrants, how to welcome newcomers.

Be polite and aren't, [people don't mind if you are curious about their culture but if you come up and make a statement, um, or start questioning people, in a who are you, why are you here, what are you doing kinda way, that tends to make people withdraw a little bit.

So what's a better conversation starter?

Hi, how're ya doing? Just ah, y'know, it's not like your'e talking to an alien, there may be a language barriers, and that's something that I've noticed a lot with people who've come in having um family members who do speak Arabic, and have had to negotiate learning English and dealing with governments and dealing with people around them, um, I've noticed a lot of things don't translate so, colloquial expressions and stuff like that, people can get really confused quite quickly and so it's just a matter of being aware of that – sometimes people are having trouble getting stuff out/

Would you say that Newfoundland is still still has some work to do in terms of being more accepting?

I don't think that Newfoundland is any better or worse than anywhere else in terms of accepting people, um, I know that probably 25 30 years ago people from outside were seen more as a curiosity like there wasn't any particular kind of malice or maliciousness towards them, they were just seen more as a curiosity and people didn't really know how to react, um, rights now, people are much more open and people here tend to be friendly anyway.

Do you think we'll every get to a point in this province, say in your lifetime, where you can walk into a store somewhere, and somebody either just assumes you're a Newfer or doesn't make any indication that they think otherwise.

I don't know, it's really weird because even in ST J there's people assume I'm a tourist so I don't (chuckles) and st j is not really it's not urban in the sense that Toronto is urban but it has become more urbanized over the last 15-20 years and I think possibly because NL is just an island and people are slightly wary about outsiders anyway.

In terms of changes um I just think, well as more people come in, people's attitudes have to change because you're exposed to different cultures, you're exposed to different people, um, and you learn things

And that's NA of bay roberts speking with JDB what do you make of what he had to say? What do you make about the change of attitude he says needs to happen.

#### Jane Adey reports on immigrants from Sri Lanka

Yknow the Indian ocea is about as far from the southern shore of Newfoundland as you can imagine, so imagine then picking up your life in sri lanka and moving to CB That's just wat two families did several yeasr ago .

If your car breaks down anywhere between tors cove and trepassy, d1 automotive in CB is your go-to place. It's a busy shop. There's a high turnover of vehicles coming through the door. Unfortunately says owner Albert Lawlor, there was a high turnover of employess too.

It's a job to get tradespeople in this area even in st. john's and most of the younger crowd seem to like to move to the major cities and they didn't just want the outport I guess so we were left with a very small crew. It came very close to either we'd close it and if we couldn't get the workers, it'd be hard to get a buyer to buy it. Lawlor put ads on the internet and spread the word through car dealers, eventually, he got a bite half way across the world. Mechanic RA D in sri lanka was looking for work

You had I guess never heard anything about newfoundland

No no

Albert lawlor and raju worked through the intricacies of immigration over the period of a year and a half. And in 2005 raju came to newfoundland and picked up a wrench at D1 automotive in CB.

He liked the people, he fitted in with the people good, he ah came over here he must have been over a year here by himself and a lot of people ah really took pity on him. I think seeing a guy come from so far away with no family at all,

After two years of work, raju went back to sri lanka – he returned with his family to CN albert lawlor had asked raju to spread the word while he was home – he needed to hire another mechanic. In 2007, CB's sri Lankan community grew again: mechanic Kumar joined the team at d1 automotive.

Actually, I like work in this country so I can get most experience um more than if I stay in sri lanka – always I like to be busy, I don't like staying without work.

They come in in the morning, they don't look at the clock, come dinner hour, we have to tell them, now it's time for dinner, they'll go and they'll eat dinner and they take a half hour but they're back in 10 15 minutes – they just eat, they don't waste time to go home or waste gas to go home.

The men are learning English on the job too, and a strong southern shore accent isn't what you'd call a language barrier.

No big lot of problems with that I don't think – if they don't hear you the first time you tell them again, tell em twice or three times (chukling)

Albert lawlor figure that by hiring immigrants, there's a lot more than tires being changed here in CB. Attitudes may be changing as well

I think there's a lot of smart people outside the country that people should ah be looking at- there's a lot of em. Even if you take em and give em a chance for a month or two and they'll see what they can do and if there's some little thing they don't know, they're willing to learn – they're very sharp people. I have a great respect for em.

Late in the afternoon while kumara and raju are still at work, the rest of CB's srilankan community gets together for an after-school snack. (children's noises). There's Kumara's wife Sriyani, their son Lacita, and two year old, Canadian born daughter, hamashi. There's raju's daughters, anuthra and nasomi, and his wife Jayanti. Jayanti takes English lessons at home. She'll likely learn a lot more from the locals when she starts her new job this week.

Ah, at a fish plant

What will you be doing there?

Ah pecking

Packing the fish...

Packing, packing the crabs

5 yr old lacita will start school in the fall. His curiosity has already helped him get a head start on his language skills. English cartoons have been his guide.

YTV and Sponge Bob and bugs bunny and caspar the friendly ghost, I like that.

Nasomi is the eldest child. Her eyelids close slowly over her beautiful brown eyes as she speaks. At only 12 years old, she already sees tha benefits of living in this tightly knit southern shore town.



Everyone knows everyone. Like I can get hurt in the middle of the road and everyone will know who I am and where to bring me to so in sri lanka, I don't think my parents would like let me go anywhere, like, alone. They trust like me to be like safe and everything 'cause everyone knows me and I feel safer here.

Her sister, 8 year old anuthra is more focused on the adventure in her new home. she left a lush and tropical island in the Indian ocean but her white smile widens as she talks about what this new island has to offer.

I love it here because they have different things different food, different snow (chuckle) well, what is it called those ice things that drops down...

Iceicles?

Yeah, but there's another thing called... HAIL one time my mom showed me, there's ice falling – I feel like this is my home because I've been here for years,

In july, the CB srilankan community will grow again. Sriyani is pregnant. She says newfoundland is the ideal place to raise her family.

Yeah, we have our country war and a lot of people die, we live here safe. People are nice

Back at the garage (ala Stewart Maclean) albert lawlor is glad to know hi workers and his families are settling in. what started out as a business propositions has turned into a successful cultural exchange.

They really helped us and I was more than proud to be able to help them.

For the MS I'm jane adey in cape broyle on the southern shore.

Wow nice piece

#### Remzi cej – April 14, 2011

Remzi Cej is with the department of human resources, labour and employment. He has first hand experience on immigrating. He came here from a tumultuous Kosovo ten years ago

Here's part of what he told the audience yesterday here in St. John's. At the time that we settled here and we came here we settled here, we had just gone through a year and a half as refugees. My parents had seen witnessed their home being destroyed by paramilitary shells that the Serbian army was throwing and um within a couple of days everything that they had worked really hard to develop and to build all of their lives was gone. So it's fitting perhaps that I use the only French quote today and it's one by Edmond Rostand who is a well-known French poet who said, *partir c'est mourir un peu* – to leave a place is to die a little bit, and I can definitely say that the day that we left my hometown, we died just a little bit more than that.

And this was us in October of 2000. We had, ah one of my brothers was missing at the time, another brother was recovering from an injury that he had received in just as the Bosnian war had begun, and I had an uncle who was missing as well. And the only thing that we were looking forward to at the time was coming to a new land and this was very exciting and very heartbreaking at the same time because we recognized that we were coming ah we were going an ocean apart from the country that we had grown up in – we got used to things quite quickly – mostly things owing to the sponsorship program at the time we were sponsored by ah a group of three different families that felt they wanted to help us and they did their utmost to make St. John's the place where we wanted to stay. And I can honestly say that at the time they were the only reason why we stayed, so I cannot emphasize enough what Nellie and Smysa said earlier about creating welcoming communities, because at a time when we knew nobody here, they were the ones who extended their hands starting from the airport and um all along. Um the first time I stepped outside of Newfoundland was in 2003 and having gone to a human rights conference in Ottawa, I remember that one of the first remarks that I heard from fellow conference participants were some derogatory jokes about Newfoundlanders and there were very negative perceptions and that was the beginning of what I felt was sort of a pain that people here were feeling similar to the sort of pain that I had brought back with me, that sort of prejudice that you've always been rejected and discriminated in a way and so you could understand the local context much better. I think to us it's important as individuals who work in this sector to try to reconcile that – to try to bring a sort of a commonality. It

think there are many things that also bring us together – perhaps it started with my mom going to the shop and everyone calling her my love and my darling and her wondering what this all meant . you can see her saying my dear and my darling all the time now.

After suffering so much loss, the only thing that was left in my family and I think a lot of times immigrants' families is that young energy that children carry with them and for my parents, it was me. But more than anything else, I think it was the pride they had in me that inspired me to do more and the fact that there were so many people here in the city who would help me or guide me along the way . and so coming back last fall I realized that you can have two home and my first home, the home that I was first born is definitely Mitrovica Kosovo but there's also another home and it's St. John's, New and Alb and it's as dear to my heart as is the place where I left when I was 16.

Omolade Kola-Oni, a first year student at Memorial University who came from Nigeria eight months ago. Thursday

She came from St. John's 8 months ago from Nigeria and this is her first year at Memorial . She's hoping to get into nursing and eventually become a doctor.

I have a cousin here in graduate school so she had some experience here and told us about and so , oh yeah, it's cheap, it's not as expensive as going to Ontario and it was the best option. My first weeks were quite rough cause I got into St. John's the day before classes begun so I did not have time to acclimatize, I had 23 hours of flights and getting here and then being told you're going to class tomorrow morning wasn't fun but I was able to find my way around pretty quick and everything so... so everything fell into place and I can say that within 6 weeks I was fine . everything here is done promptly on time – if your class is going to be cancelled, you're going to know it's going to be cancelled . back in Nigeria you wait for an hour and the prof doesn't show up and nobody knows why . getting around here is I think I think it is easier in a way/ cause if you're going downtown, you have the buses, y'know you could take a walk, and you're pretty sure you'll get to where you're going on time. But getting around where I grew up... hmmm.. could be

more difficult because there's the issue of crowding, there's also the issue of blocked roads, there's also the issue of overflowing gutters spilling onto the road and everything and so sometime I do not want to walk on the roads back in nigeria. Especially if it rains, that's the worst scenario. But so far, I think I prefer to take a walk here in St j than take a walk in some areas in Nigeria.

I think it's more safer here because I can leave my bike and walk around and walk back and still meet it and I wouldn't try that in Nigeria because there's a 90% chance I wouldn't meet it, even if I meet it something will be gone , and even walking on the streets, I feel safer. I don't have it in my self-conscious that there could be someone following me, or there could be someone trying to snatch my bag so I think my sense of safety is better here than back in Nigeria.

I do go to church every Sunday I attend Bethesda gospel church, yeah/ and I have a bible study group that meets every second study Tuesday so that's kind of taken care of and I mean there's no issue of finding good, you always find good everywhere so that's not a problem. And there are always people to talk to all you need to do is ask.

You have to try new stuff, I always tell myself ok you're not going to stay here for four years and keep bringing in food from Nigeria – you have to try to eat new things.

Almost every now and then , I mean I have some friends who are really healthy they say you have to try this I say really? I find, just go ahead and do it there are times when I still want Nigerian food. And I call my mom and my sisters and they say oh we just ate these sandwiches and I say stop telling me because you know I can't get it so Family? I do miss family a lot. There are times when I get really lonely/ but then it's for a cause so just do it for now and we'll see them soon.

On campus there are different kind of people with different cultures, it's interesting because you get to learn stuff you hear things and you go oh really? Is that how it works? And StJ on its own it's interesting. It's not like you see someone from outside and you're short(?) because everyone knows a multicultural places. It just makes it more interesting – it makes me want to stay longer and that kind of thing. All my life, I don't think I stayed anywhere for more than 4 or 5 years Something to St j ii say hmm let's say if we stay here

for more than 4 years 'cause tat'd be a record breaking thing for me. I'd like to stay here and work for some time and then go back. And then I move back and I might move back permanently I don't know but, for now. The job is what decides. If I get in here, I'll stay. If I don't then I'll go back.

Jose Rivera and his son Esteban.

*A clip from a piece about a victim of Columbian violence.*

There's been no shortage of news about violence in Columbia. Esteban riverra knew about that violence as a fact of life growing up in the city of Cali.

One of the things that I learned when I was in calli at a very young age , and if my mom hears this she's going to very upset is that I would have to have an improvised weapon on me at all times/ because you never knew what could happen.

The rivera family were devout catholics who believed in helping people in need. Opne woman, a friend, had come to them asking for help leaving the country/ soon after getting her and her family to spain, the riveras received a mysterious phonecall

A few days after that we received a famous phone call , a strange voice saying you know guys, you got in the wrong place and you were messing with our business and so we're going to ive you 72 hours to bring that family back . you have to tell us where tha family is and we will see what we can do with you. That's it, sevety two hours. Then we realized that we were in a segment of the population that you have to just flee. Seventy two hours, you know, are we just going to go to spain and say oh y'know send the family because some trange voice here is telling me that if you don';t bring that family back they're going to do something to us. So we decided to move and yknow all we could do is say their monopoly with us and takes come pictures and move.

They relocated to another part of Columbia but the comfort they found was shortlived.

The following day, I went to the bank and the bank teller told me, ah there was somebody here yesterday and he was asking for you. And I said how can he get in touch with

anybody? And how is that he's calling me by name and coming to the bank and asking if I open a bank account here and stuff and just kind of strange. Ah, pack up, yknow, lose whatever you put in there. And move again. And again, and again until you get into a, well it's hard to call because in Columbia, there's no such thing as in Africa or in Saudi Arabia and stuff – refugee camps there. Nothing there like that.

After three years and multiple moves within the country, they soon learned that there was no escaping the reach of their persecutors. They would have to seek refugee status. Willing to go almost anywhere for a normal existence, they were ultimately accepted by Canada and put on a plane to St. J a place they knew little about.

Through our brain, through our heart it was hour and hour of seeing sea and white, saying where are we going. And all of a sudden, yes, there's this beautiful rock, white, because it was March, yknow there was a lot of snow there, and a lot of trees, and trees and snow and snow and trees and more trees and more snow. The pilot said we were landing, we were approaching St. J and the plane goes around, it turns around and we see more snow and more trees, so where are we going to land in the middle of the trees or what. As soon as we approached the city, there was, yknow, this beautiful little town – white, scattered housing between snow and houses and more snow and more houses and all of a sudden, yup the airport.

After years of danger behind them, it took a while before they felt totally safe.

The third day that we were here in 2002, there was spring breaking and there was sun shining and we went out to have a stroll and there was a huge bomb coming out and we tried to find safety. It was a motorcycle./ springtime, the motor riders go out to do something and when we hear a motor a motorcycle, that gave us a panic attack. We still suffer from nightmares and we suffer from scares and that kind of stuff. It doesn't go away.

But Esteban, who was 14 at the time, and his sister, had a more carefree attitude towards life in St. John's though there were still things to get used to.

My favourite experience of it was looking outside and seeing the sun in the middle of April, seeing the sun and saying, it's sunny out! Wonderful, let's go for a walk. And then going around the block and then realizing that your ears are freezing because it's so cold despite the sun being there. And you're hoping to God that the wind doesn't blow anymore because.

## Appendix – 3

Grant Boland, 1996: *Incident at St. Lawrence*



Retrieved from: [http://www.grantboland.net/Grant\\_Boland/Incident\\_at\\_St.\\_Lawrence.html](http://www.grantboland.net/Grant_Boland/Incident_at_St._Lawrence.html)



## Appendix 4

### Emails

#### Emails to *Come from aways*

There is no point to attract immigrants when we can't even retain our own population. Outside of St. John's there are few economic opportunities in this province and as a result our own youth are leaving (which I am one of), not to mention middle aged workers who have lost work with the closure of paper mills and fisheries. Immigrants would come to Newfoundland if there was a legitimate chance for them to gain employment and support themselves and/or their families. But the fact remains that this province doesn't offer enough employment for the 500,000 that live here. I don't think we should be trying to attract immigrants until we can figure out how to support ourselves and bring the city of Fort McMurray back home.

Don't get me wrong, multiculturalism offers some great benefits to society but when we are faced with outmigration, brain drain, an aging population etc... it becomes painfully obvious that we need to focus on keeping our own youth first. I just can't get my head around the fact that Newfoundlanders who want to stay can't and the government wants to promote foreign immigration.

I think we need to promote business, economics and entrepreneurship in secondary and post-secondary education. This would enable people of our province to develop business and economic opportunities on our own rather than have to attract all investment from away. As it stands now, and I can speak to this having just graduated high school in 2009, the education system in NL promotes skilled trades as the be all and end all, as the top choice that everyone should consider because that's where all the work is. People get their trade and off they go to Alberta and the government wonders why the youth are leaving. If we promote business and sciences, industry and economic development will follow and we will retain our youth and attract immigrants because of a growing economy.

In order to attract immigrants and grow our economy we first need to modernize, update and rethink the education system from kindergarten right through to college and graduate school in this province. Until then, we will be a province at the mercy of oil company profits with a declining population in all areas but St. John's.

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[AgreeDisagreePolicyReport abuse](#)

**spadeisaspade** wrote: Posted 2011/04/20

at 11:44 AM ET sure, we're ALL come from away's - except for First Nations...

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- 7

[AgreeDisagreePolicyReport abuse](#)

**JM Smith** wrote: Posted 2011/04/18

at 8:53 AM ET I believe in NL wrote: "Just look across the ocean to Europe and see what problems

mass immigration has caused all in the name of multiculturalism." Just look across the ocean to Europe and see what problems RACISM has caused all in the name of nationalism.

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[AgreeDisagreePolicyReport abuse](#)

**C2C2C2C** wrote:Posted 2011/04/17

at 9:24 AM ETWhile immigration is touted as the solution to our economic prosperity by politically correct politician, there is more to consider:

Multiculturalism was an idea promoted by Pierre Elliot Trudeau to help new immigrants to Canada feel welcome. It was never intended to be what it has become in Ontario and BC. Here we see extreme cultural dilution of the founding peoples (UK and European descendants) and there culture and belief system (Christianity).

It is possible that previous Liberal governments (dominated by French Canadian Prime Ministers in the last several years) used multiculturalism as a tool to deliberately dilute British culture and political power in Ontario and BC. All this while multiculturalism was rejected by Quebec?

People feel more secure and happier when the community they live in reflects their cultural beliefs and practices, this is a fact.

Don't make the multiculturalism mistake that Ontario and BC has made. Make it a priority to keep your children at home, in their own province; they are NL greatest wealth and the future of her culture!

- 20
- 21

[AgreeDisagreePolicyReport abuse](#)

**Townie-wannabe** wrote:Posted 2011/04/14

at 4:26 PM ETI am also too aware of some attitudes in Newfoundland that discriminate against Come From Aways. "How dare a CFA take a job away from a Newfoundlander!" they would say. Even the late George MacLaren got into one night on his radio show when a caller called him out for being a CFA and not a real Newfoundlander. We are all Canadians and enjoy the right to work and make a living anywhere in this country.

Just look across the ocean to Europe and see what problems mass immigration has caused all in the name of multiculturalism. So far David Cameron , Nickolas Sarkozy and Angela Merkel have all publicly admitted that multiculturalism has completely and utterly failed. Immigration within reason is not a bad thing. As long as the immigrant assimilates to us and not the other way around. So as long as we have a public policy of multiculturalism I will not support immigration.

- 22
- 29 I was a Come From Away for two years in NL going to school. I would love to have stayed, but the opportunities were not there. The cost of living in St. John's is now the same as Alberta, but the salaries haven't risen. The best and brightest folks that you want to attract will not move for 3/4 or 1/2 the salary of the mainland for a similar job despite all the natural scenic beauty, clean fresh air, and unique culture.

[AgreeDisagreePolicyReport abuse](#)

**CCD123** wrote:Posted 2011/04/13

at 2:22 PM ETThe mere fact that people use the term "Come From Away" is a problem. The term

itself implies a sense of ownership of the province and that others who decide to live here are not that welcome because they are a CFAs.

Stop using this term, it's bad enough that people from others parts of Canada move here and get called CFAs, so I can't imagine what some might say of others that come from another country. Shame on the CBC for even using this term, it only fuels the fire towards an already ignorant attitude that exists in this province.

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[AgreeDisagreePolicyReport abuse](#)

**Samhowse** wrote:Posted 2011/04/13

at 9:29 AM ETThey need immigrants to fill the spaces of the people who are still leaving in droves. Perhaps if there was a push to increase the wages to the same level as the rest of Canada it might convince people to stay. Why would you stay here and make 2-3 times less what someone in Alberta is making with the same education? The cost of living is about the same in Alberta as the housing costs more(not for long) and everything else is cheaper. We are treated as second class citizens in this country, so much so that even the immigrants use this place as a stepping stone to the rest of Canada. Can't say that I blame them. All this bull about being a have province, and a bright future, well I don't see as many people moving home as there are people still moving away.

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- 3

[AgreeDisagreePolicyReport abuse](#)

**iwroteacomment**wrote:Posted 2011/04/12

at 4:27 PM ETExtremely low rental vacancy rate  
+ Lack of career options for new graduates  
= You guys should be talking about Emigration, not Immigration.

In a short time, WE will be the ones making a significant portion of the population of Toronto.

I attended a party a couple of weeks ago with about 20-30 Memorial graduates, all gainfully employed in their fields and getting along at the same cost of living as they'd be "enjoying" in St. John's. Many, many more are walking off the stage at convocation this spring and straight through the gates at YYT.

Approve and encourage new urban residential developments NOW before the exodus is permanent. Lack of a home is driving people away TODAY, and you won't be able to blame them for not coming back for years afterwards. Municipal government is evidently clueless on this issue and the window of opportunity to do something about it is fast closing.

[Spendocrat](#) wrote:Posted 2011/04/12

at 8:08 AM ETImmigration is not the only solution to our problems. Immigration can be a part of the solution but we need to keep people here and encourage children.

We need a large 3rd and 4th child tax credit to encourage people having children. Too many of

our people are not having as many children due to tight finances. Eliviating that will encourage births to some point.

### Emails to Bill Cosby story 2009 – Lanier Phillips

**Source:** <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/newfoundland-labrador/bill-cosby-struck-by-n-l-rescue-story-1.778072>

**CoryTrevor**

with the jello pudding and the kodak film .....

4 years ago

**Rheannon**

Jenny89, that's all right, m'dear, no thanks necessary, when tellin the full truth of any matter. Stories like this were required reading, when i was going to school. I found both stories, the one about the Pollux, and the one about the Truxton, both horrifying and riviting in their intensity. The teachers that i had made SURE that we, as kids growing up in an outport, had the most extensive education that was possible, especially in the area of Newfoundland and Labrador history.

There's a site ... » more

4 years ago

0 Likes

**TaraNova**

I don't want to take anything away from this truly touching story but in the retelling of this story, the 8 brave men from Lawn are rarely remember as the ones who came in aid of the Pollux, rescuing 140 men by hauling them up an icy cliff. 46 men were rescued from the Truxton by people from St. Lawrence.

Rheannon, thank you for acknowledging the contribution from Lawn. If a movie does finally get made, I hope proper recognition is given to the men from Lawn and not just those from St. ... » more

4 years ago

**jabberwock**

Fugawi wrote:

Posted 2009/08/28

at 2:52 PM ETAh, nere's a story of hospitality from those friendly NLers that wiil warm your heart:

So you extrapolate from this incident that ALL Newfoundlanders & Labradorians behave like this thug? Not only is that kind of thinking silly, but it is insulting.

**elaine3**

I have heard this story as long as I can remember. My mother is from St. Lawrence, Newfoundland. I live in north Louisiana... my daughter did a social studies project on this ship wreck several years ago.... My mother also adds that the man returned to Newfoundland several times... he would tell his children about this place where prejudice does not exist....

It is a wonderful story....

**MASSEY JONES**

Newfoundlanders ar legendary for wearing their heart on their sleeve. I've met quite a few of them and tsome always appeared fairly loud and uncouth but under their thick demeanour beats a heart of gold! Newfoundlanders wil give you his shirt if they think it will help you and go without the basic themselves. I'm not born and bred there but I've always had the wish to visit.

4 years ago

**jane\_0624**

Yes, this is a wonderful story (and please forgive me if I repeat a comment posted earlier). But this story is wonderful not only because of Lanier Phillips experience, which alone is a great testament to our culture. It also illustrates the sheer and unimaginable courage of

those who, without thought to their own safety, plucked these these sailors from the ocean and rocky coast in the middle of a violent storm in the middle of February.

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#### **Dudeskirt**

Things haven't changed much since then either. Folks are still nice and helpful and polite and for the most part anyone who visits the island has a good time because the land is beautiful but the people are beautiful as well. It's an old world charm that you can't find in very many other places.

In Canada, the only other place I can of that was as inviting as NF to a stranger was Pangnirtung in Nunavut. The folks there (for the msot part) treated me like gold and made me feel very welcome. ... » more

- 

4 years ago

- 

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- 

4 years ago

- 

- **statue**

"The story of how Phillips was treated in Newfoundland has been told in documentaries and television programs."

So, what has taken Bill so long to learn of this story? Yes Bill there are people north of the 49th parallel.

- 

4 years ago

- 

- **Opinyun8ed**

Newfoundlanders have been pulling sailors out of the sea for centuries, regardless of their origins. I think it comes from their personal understanding the risk of making a living from a boat. There has to be trust that if their sea fairing boys run into trouble, others will do the same for them.

- 

- **2nd Beach**

WARNING!!!!!!!

For all you folks who have mobility coupled with financial contentment, and have decided to visit that famously shaped island: here's the standard notice served to visitors.

Something exists there that you can't see, smell, taste or touch, yet has an affliction that is powerful; overwhelming, actually. It has no name, no face and no cure. Only one symptom, that proves infection, exists. And the list of victims it has amassed over the years is nothing short of astonishing.

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#### **Thermoguy**

Have had the pleasure of working with Newfoundlanders and being invited to their homes. Hardworking, dedicated and working away from home to support their families.

Great story and great people.

- 

- **RURquhart**

If CBC could run one story a day, just one, like this, we'd all be better for it.

- 
- 

**awhLuh**

I think this is a great story and does show that there was little or no racism toward african americans in Newfoundland at that time and there is little or none today. That said , it would be naive to believe that Newfoundland society then and now is without racism or prejudice. Blacks were unknown here at that time, hence no history of prejudice to draw upon...the mistrust , resentment and even 'hatred' (in the past) between our Catholic and Protestant neighbours is enough to remind all that ... » more

- 
- 

**Happy in Happy Adventure**

I don't see why such a story is used as a platform for anti-Confederation or anti-Newfoundland sentiment.

Some people in St. Lawrence did the right thing when people were in distress. By and large, that is what happens here. We are far from perfect as a people, but I think we are a decent representative of what it means to be compassionate or a good neighbour. That's what being a Newfoundlander is all about - you are at once proud, raw, rugged, a bit paranoid, compassionate and - most ... » more

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**jabberwock**

Fugawi wrote:

Posted 2009/08/27

at 10:18 PM ETTo all those who disagreed with my previous post: As a lifelong NL resident all I can say is I've heard lots of NLers make lots of racist comments and jokes. Be honest - you have too. And there still is religious and geographic bigotry within NL So don't give me that holier than thou crap. I've visited and lived in other places and encountered strangers as friendly as any NLer. Quite frankly a lot of NLers have something to learn from other places. ... » more

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- 

**sitting\_on\_sidelines**

I agree with Fugawi; after all it was almost 70 years ago when this happened and NL is different place now. Some for the better and some for worse.

- 
- 

**donfrazer**

That's nice!

- 
- 

**fintip**

When our son was only five or six, he developed a close friendship with Niki, the son of a immigrant doctor from India. They played well together but one day our son came home crying. He was crying so much it was hard to understand what the problem was. Finally through the long sobs, he said "Why can't I be black like Niki?"

- 
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**peaceworks**

Being a Nflder of 53 years, I can't help but feel a great deal of satisfaction and kinship with this story and the people who made it happen. I care not that the benefactor of our kindness may wear rose-coloured glasses each time he recalls it, or that Bill Cosby made not-so-great movies. I care only that my people, the salt of the earth, did the right thing at a time when the opportunity presented itself. And did so many times down through the succeeding years. I know we're faulty and like any ... » more

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**NormandL**

Kudos to CBC for not calling it a Canadian story, because Newfoundlanders did the deed, not Canadians, in 1942.

- 
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**Scott54**

Proud in NL : Scott54:I don't care who you claim to have ruled us. We were Newfoundlanders then are as far as I'm concerned we're Newfoundlanders now.

---

It's not a claim - it's fact.

---

Proud in NL : It truly is a great story though. We are great people, always have been, always will.....

---

Well we're in agreement there at least ... » more

- 
- 

**Swilergirl**

How pathetic that some readers have to use this moving story as a platform for pettiness. Yes, it was the Dominion of Newfoundland (not Newfoundland or New Foundland) at the time. The residents were not British or Canadians but Newfoundlanders. The point, though, is not their nationality but the fact that they opened their homes and hearts to all the victims of the Pollux and Truxton regardless of race, just as they opened their homes and hearts to the travellers whose flights were diverted to ... » more

- 
- 

**seanachie**

Fugawi.....don't be so foolish me son. No prejudice here. Ask any Beothuck...oh wait a minute, nar one to be seen. However, we've grown and are still a peaceful welcoming folk! Did Bill Cosby have a story to tell about Nflders? Bob Hope did.

- 
-

- **seanachie**  
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- **Proud in NL**  
Scott54:  
  
I don't care who you claim to have ruled us. We were Newfoundlanders then are as far as I'm concerned we're Newfoundlanders now. Ask any Newfoundlander what they consider themselves first: a Canadian or a Newfoundlander. The answer invariably is a Newfoundlander.  
  
It truly is a great story though. We are great people, always have been, always will.....
- 
- **LaziModo**  
Here is a CBC story from Tuesday June 8, 2008  
  
<http://www.cbc.ca/canada/newfoundland-labrador/story/2008/06/03/lanier-phillips.html?ref=rss>  
  
Memorial University awarded Mr. Philips an Honorary Degree and he brought his family to NL to see what he saw. Mr Philip's son said he was not a man prone to emotion except when it came to Newfoundland.  
4 years ago
- 
- **Ed28Smith**  
We need more of this kind of up lifting stories. This is a testament of how human beings react when they are not exposed to negative views. They are just being themselves. It is power and money that corrupt human thinking and lead to hate. Let us learn from these pioneers and live a peaceful harmonious life.
- 
- **braker12**  
I have heard that story all my life, and it still touches me to this day. I'm very proud to call St. Lawrence my home, even though I live in Nova Scotia. People ask me where I'm from....I always answer St. Lawrence. It may be a small community in NL, but our hearts are bigger than the earth. Where I come from....people are people, no matter what race, religion, etc, and I was taught to love thy neighbour, no matter what! This is a lesson that should be resinate around the world. Thank you ... » more
- 
- **Scott54**  
wayneosmond : for your info it wasn't the british who helped him it was the good people of the dominion of newfoundland. att that time we were a country of our own.  
  
Unfortunately that's not true. Newfoundland was a the Dominion of Newfoundland, at the time, as you say but democratic government was suspended in 1934 and from then until 1949 Newfoundland was under direct rule from Britain, governed by a six man commission, three British and three ... » more
- 
- **Kung Fu Johnny**  
Something about knowing that you're stuck on the rock with whoever at least until the next ferry comes.....  
  
....it helps you gain a perspective on getting along.  
  
Not to downplay the positive aspect of this story. But I've been to many places where kindness far outweighs prejudice. Mostly in Canada, I'm sad to say. It would be nice to be able to go other places and find the same.
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- 
- **BadBob**  
HERE HERE. Newfoundlander's are the best people in the world, and there are very few, who wouldn't give you the shirt of their own backs if they thought you needed it or if you asked for it. Look at 911 for a prime example of their generosity. They are a truely a wonderful bunch, and I'm proud to be married to one, and feel totally at home over there, when we go to visit. It's in their nature to make all feel welcomed, and important.
- 
- **FailNB**

" To experience instantly love and humanity ", ...am I to take it that as a US Soldier = at that time = ...he was not experiencing instant love and humanity ?

- 
- 

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- 
- 

**habrider**

Newfoundlanders have always and will always set the bench mark as to how decent people act.

- 
- 

**habrider**

Newfoundlanders have always and will always set the bench mark as to how decent people act.

- 
- 

**Rheannon**

GGG1427, Johnny on the spot is just stating facts. Back then, when that happened, Newfoundland was a dominion of Great Britain, a country in it's own right, not a part of Canada. Now we are a part of Canada ( for a select few, it appears most of the time, judging by the way a lot of Mainlanders treat Newfoundlanders ), but it still doesn't change who we are. We are Newfoundlanders and Labradorians - that always has, and always will be, who we are, first and foremost. Back then, the choice for ... » more

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- 

**Abby711**

Cpt. Canuck: They were NEWFOUNDLANDERS. These Newfoundlanders became Canadians when the Dominion of Newfoundland (which had the same status in the British Commonwealth as Canada, new zealand and australia) became the 10th province of Canada a few yars later in 1949.

- 
- 

**wayneosmond**

capt. canuck,who posted Posted 2009/08/27

at 1:57 PM ET said (Its a wonderful story but at this time NewFoundland wasn't apart of Canada so wouldn't it be the British who helped him, or were there Canadians living in NewFoundland?)

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- 
- 

**Cpt.Canuck**

Its a wonderful story but at this time NewFoundland wasn't apart of Canada so wouldn't it be the British who helped him, or were there Canadians living in NewFoundland?

- 
- 

**Cpt.Canuck**

Its a wonderful story but at this time NewFoundland wasn't apart of Canada so wouldn't it be the British who helped him, or were there Canadians living in NewFoundland?

- 
- 

**theprotector**

that's a pretty cool story me thinks!

- 
- 

**Old-School**

Fantastic story

- 
- 

**Dan Jarrell**

The best thing about Newfoundland is the Newfoundlanders.

- 
- 

**Dan Jarrell**

The best thing about Newfoundland is the Newfoundlanders.

- 
- 

**htownguy**

This sort of thing is what defines a true Newfoundlander! I am proud that I am a Newfie!

- 
- 

**GGG1427**

I would like to see this made into a movie! I have been fortunate enough to visit Newfoundland and yes they are a wonderful, kind lot who are true neighbours. And they should be proud. Johnny on the spot.. what are you trying to say?? The rest of Canada loves you guys!



- 
- **9 Lives 8 2 Go**  
Great story.  
  
In the past, out of convinence, I have limited my domestic travelling to everything west of the Ottawa River. Sounds like I am missing out on a great piece of Canada.  
  
I must go to Newfoundland some day.
- 
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- 
- **stfromwest**  
Hi Folk,s  
  
I have always liked Bill because most of the time the man calls it the way he sees it.  
  
This can even be related to what happened here in Canada just after 9/11.  
  
All Canadians can be proud of this story and yes this happens all over this great country but we all know good news generally doesn't sell.  
  
Way to go N.L.ers
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- **SharpiePen**  
It's a great story. However, I'd rather hear it from anyone other than Bill Cosby. What a bonehead this guy is. His views and perceptions on morality and socioeconomics is about as skewed as Bush's perception on reality.  
  
Then again, you can't expect much from someone who starred in the two worst movies in life - Ghost Dad and Leonard Part VI where he rides an Ostrich...
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- 
- **spadeisaspade**  
just like everywhere else, there is racism in NL - stop living in a dream world.  
What about the Beothuk? or go ask some of the 'new canadians' living here what it's really like, being dropped into Chalker Place... IN GENERAL we're good folks, but there's tons of skeets and arseh@les as well.
- 
- **ohyesby**  
I think it's a wonderful story....  
  
[http://www.cbc.ca/national/blog/video/internationalus/the\\_ambassador\\_or\\_st\\_lawrence.html](http://www.cbc.ca/national/blog/video/internationalus/the_ambassador_or_st_lawrence.html)
- 
- **MOJO01**

I have always loved this Phillips story myself, what a guy he was; he provided so much positive PR for that great soccer playing town, and Newfoundland; and bravo to a great person Bill Cosby to see it, this is quite the story. Live long Mr Phillips, you have so many admirers in Newfoundland, and a tremendous speaker and human being !!!!!

- 
- **Mork007**  
You know this kind of thing may be out of the ordinary for people outside our province but we as NL's have been doing this sort of thing for hundreds of years. It is what makes us "unique". A part of our culture I hope we don't lose.
- 
- **Wade Wilson**  
I think it is a great story and makes me proud to be a Newfoundlander (remember we were not Canadian then).
- 
- **staggie**  
It's funny that he talks about how the women of St. Lawrence use to try to scrub his skin clean. I remember my mom trying to scrub my brother with Sunlight soap because he was would tan so dark in the summer.
- 
- **nlbred**  
Just another reason why I'm proud to be a Newfoundlander!
- 
- **filthyCANreality**  
This is a great story.
- 
- **Eraxion**  
All humans are related. Get your DNA analysed and you'll see that you are originally from Africa, like everyone else. You're wasting your time quarreling over race:  
  
<https://genographic.nationalgeographic.com/genographic/index.html>
- 
- **msg321**  
Newfoundland Kids Say The Darndest Things coming soon to Rogers Cable 9!
- 
- **SandysDream**  
Excellent story! And this is why I recently moved to Nfld, a very special piece of Canada's pride!  
4 years ago
- 
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- 
- **Adams Apple**  
While in St. Lawrence during that time , skin colour didn't have much meaning, many have been indoctrinated in recent time by the media and "foreign" influence, not only to discriminate against colour but, but class, creed, and religious alignment life style and orientation, and even against people who are motivated to better themselves. We unabashedly decry "anything and everyone" who shows any compassion, forethought and and the willingness to help in time of need.....And it comes mainly from ... » more  
4 years ago
- 
- **Tyler Durden**  
Now... pudding pops for everyone! Hooray!
- 
- **wayneosmond**  
Great story! makes me feel proud to be from NL.
- 
- **wayneosmond**  
Great story! makes me feel proud to be from NL.

## Appendix – 5

### Host comments

Canadian Heritage & Association for New Canadians. (March, 2012). *Proceedings from Anti-Racism Bridges to Equality*. (Recorded and used with permission)

That was certainly a very enriching experience. You were successful at least in my case. I feel uncomfortable that my position in terms of racism - I am a white educated liberal Newfoundlander so I thought I'm not racist, because one of our founding myths is the myth of Lanier Phillips. Lanier Phillips was in the news last week. He passed this side of 89 years old. L P was a US serviceman who crashed in Newfoundland, in a cove, (pause) in a shipwreck in 1942 and he was saved just like all the other people in the boat who were mostly white, and treated just like a white person and it changed his life. And so that story has been imbibed in us so we think of ourselves as not being racist but when you - going through your analysis I realize personally I may not be a racist but collectively I may not be doing enough thinking about it.