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Territorial Identity: The "Third Category" of Identity in Normative Pluralism

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Territorial Identity: The “Third Category” of Identity in Normative Pluralism

By
Scott Blurton

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Faculty of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies
In partial fulfillment of the requirement's
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Territorial Identity: The “Third Category” of Identity in Normative Pluralism



*To my parents and grandparents
For the sacrifices that have allowed me to be here today*

Abstract

Normative Pluralism is a field of academic literature that attempts to reconcile the growing diversity within modern states by defining rules and norms to manage the relationships between differing identity groups. For the most part, normative pluralism has been focused on reconciling the relations between groups who exhibit one of two categories of identity: national identities and cultural identities. Much of the debate within the field of normative pluralism is in defining within which category an identity should be included and which rights and responsibilities should be assigned to it. However, there is another form of identity that while increasing in frequency and strength has been almost completely ignored by frameworks of normative pluralism – territorial identity. This presented thesis contends that territorial forms of identity comprise a “third category” of identity that frameworks of normative pluralism must address. More precisely, this thesis analyses the academic literature of normative pluralism and finds that, despite the strong connection between territory and identity, territorial identities are invisible in the academic debate within normative pluralism. This thesis explains the power and stability of territorial identities within the public sphere by outlining a theory of how territorial identities are formed, maintained, and transmitted through the relationship of three distinct phenomena: territoriality, narrative, and banal flagging. In a case study, the thesis reveals practical evidence of territorial identity, and the three phenomena that construct it, by analyzing the text of the editorials by three Albertan newspapers over the span of a single year.

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I would also like to thank my family, in particular my father, Bob, and my mother, Betty, for their never-ending emotional and financial support. I can remember with trepidation telling them

that I had decided to return to school to pursue my Master's degree in a province far from home and in a language that I could not speak. Their confidence in me has never wavered during this long odyssey. From my mother, I have received no end of encouragement, and a steady supply of care packages. From my father, I have received his quiet confidence that in the end, everything will work out. To them, I am forever indebted.

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Introduction

“The Milch Cow”, as seen on the cover of this thesis, was originally printed in 1915¹. In the cartoon, a large cow representing Canada is being fed by hard-working farmers representing the provinces of Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba and is being milked by rich, pudgy bankers representing Eastern Canada. The meaning of the cartoon is clear. In Canada, the provinces of Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba are exploited by the money interests in Ottawa, Toronto, and Montreal. What is extraordinary about this cartoon is that it shows at a very early time in Canada’s history a growing sense of territorial conflict between the provinces of the west and the provinces of the east. Secondly, an ideal image or archetype is created to represent the provinces and regions existing in the cartoon. The prairie provinces are represented by good, hard-working farmers while the Eastern cities are represented by greedy bankers. The contrast between the two could not be more clear.

At its core, the cartoon represents an early example of a territorial identity. Within this simple diagram, the territorial characters of Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba are created and defined in opposition to another territorial construction, Eastern Canada, by the use of a narrative. However, Canadian scholars have tended to treat such instances as the result of economic or political grievances rather than as evidence of a growing sense of territorial identity within the

¹ The cartoon “The Milch Cow” was drawn by Arch. Dale (1882-1962) for the December 15, 1915 edition of the Grain Growers Guide. For a more recently published copy of the cartoon, see Dyck (2003: 60).

Canadian state². Rather, scholars that have focused on the issue of identity within the Canadian state have tended to focus on minority nationalist or multiculturalist forms of identity in their theoretical frameworks³. This is by no means a criticism of the work accomplished by these theorists. By grappling with the demands presented by minority nationalist and multiculturalist movements to the dominant national majority, these theorists have crafted a body of literature that has been instrumental in guiding states through the growing diversity within their borders and their transition from nation-states to plural states. We call this body of literature the Canadian school of normative pluralism.

The development of the Canadian school of normative pluralism, explored in depth in Chapter One, has been a welcome development on the understanding of a growing plural identity, but there is a certain gap within the literature. Whereas political scientists have been very diligent in addressing cultural and national diversity in their normative frameworks, they have underemphasized the central importance of territoriality in the formulation of identity. This omission is understandable, as the literature has focused on accommodating growing multiculturalist and minority nationalist groups to the existing state system. In the Canadian context, the focus on the Quebec nationalist project has distracted attention from growing articulations of territorial identity in other parts of the country; a process that Resnick (2000)

² For example, Gibbins and Berdahl (2003: 62) explain that Western alienation “is not at odds with a strong sense of Canadian nationalism, but is better seen as nationalism frustrated by the political system.” Regional divisions, they argue, “will remain in the future only if national policies retain their relevance by facilitating rather than constraining regional prosperity”. Rather than seeing the persistence of Western alienation as evidence of a possible territorial identity, Gibbins and Berdahl see it as evidence of political and economic grievances, despite its persistence during times of regional prosperity and influence in the federal government.

³ This tendency is seen most clearly in the work of Will Kymlicka (1998), who in his articulation of normative pluralism splits ethnocultural identities into two groups: immigrant groups and national groups. Kymlicka argues that ethnocultural identities should have different rights and responsibilities based on which of two groups they fall under. As a result, Kymlicka’s theory fails to consider territorial forms of identity and the rights and responsibilities that may be appropriate for territorial groups. Kymlicka’s work and its omission of territorial identity are explored in more detail in Chapter One, Section 2.3 of this thesis.

believes has led to a “politics of resentment” in some parts of the country. This neglect is surprising in a federation where sovereignty is divided on a territorial basis. Thus, a comprehensive framework of normative pluralism must take into consideration the importance that territoriality has in the construction and articulation of identity within plural countries such as Canada.

However, there is a body of literature in Canadian political science articulated by scholars such as Janine Brody (1994), Philip Resnick (1995), and Roger Gibbins and Loleen Berdahl (2003) that does consider the growing strength of territorial identities in the Canadian politic – regionalism. Regionalism breaks the country up into distinct geographical regions to better understand the differing regional interests that have led to greater regional conflict than in comparable federal states. However, there were a number of reasons why this thesis chose to focus on the body of literature on territoriality rather than the body of literature on regionalism. First of all, regionalism is but an oversimplification of the larger phenomenon of territorial identity. Regional discourse tends to overemphasize the differences between regions and underemphasize the differences within a region. In contrast to regions, the literature on territoriality can understand multiple levels of territoriality. So rather than placing too much emphasis on only one territorial level such as region, territoriality can examine all levels equally to get a better understanding of geographically-based identities. Secondly, Regional literature does not explain the co-existence of multiple overlapping and nested territorial identities. Regions are also seen as mutual exclusive or as contiguous pieces of a whole. In reality, territorial allegiances are ill-defined and overlapping. Territoriality has an easier time understanding plural territorial identities because it views the boundaries between differing territories as indistinct. Therefore, rather than simplifying territorial loyalties into jigsaw pieces that are part of large whole, territoriality makes complexity of territoriality loyalties that are pulling at an individual at any given moment. Thirdly, region has a specific meaning in the Canadian context, typically defined as collections of provinces. Territory is far more flexible and

applicable to constant shifting geographical allegiances. Regionalism, while useful, cannot explain how an individual can “flip” between vastly different territorial allegiances depending on the context. Territoriality, because it understands how individuals can have multiple territorial loyalties simultaneously, does explain how individuals can constantly switch back and forth between these contextual-based territorial identities. However, the literature on regionalism, most notably by Smiley (1987: 23), has shown that provincial territorialities have a more concrete existence than regional territorialities due to the presence of provincial institutions. This institutional advantage supports the claims of this thesis as territorial identities that are supported by institutions may have an advantage over other territorial identities in flagging the territory in question and communicating its constructed narratives. That said, a section dedicated to summarizing the Canadian literature on Regional Identity or Regionalism might have been a wise addition, possibly as a replacement for the section on Quebec plural identity.

Given the link between territory and identity identified in Chapter One, and its ignorance in the Canadian school of normative pluralism, the following question must be asked: Do mainly territorial identities exist and are they strong enough to warrant accommodation within theoretical frameworks of normative pluralism? This thesis argues that the answer is yes; mainly territorial identities do exist and have a strong enough place in the public imagination to form a “third category” of identity, alongside national and cultural forms of identity, which must be considered in frameworks of normative pluralism.

Methodology

To support this thesis, however, a clear methodology must be followed. Not only must the theoretical underpinnings of territorial identity be explored, it must be supported by evidence from a practical case study. To satisfy these two requirements, this thesis will use the following methodology throughout the remainder of the thesis. First of all, the thesis will establish in Chapter Two a theory of territorial identity. This second chapter will be approached from a discursive approach, looking at how territorial identities are constructed, whether purposely or

incidentally, through the use of public language. This theory of territorial identity and the manner in which it is constructed, communicated, and maintained will pull together literature from three distinct fields of study: territoriality, narrative, and banal flagging. The literature on territoriality will be used to understand how territories are constructed and used as a system to control the spatial organization of individuals. This is connected to the literature on narrative, which turns the territorial unit from an arbitrary unit on a map into a fully realized character with which people can identify collectively through the use of narratives - stories that solidify and reinforce the articulation and legitimacy of territories and their boundaries in minds of the target population. Finally, Michael Billig's articulation of banal flagging will be used to understand the multiplicity of innocuous ways in which territoriality and the identification with this territoriality by a population is reinforced through the use of language.

While the theory of territorial identity constructed in Chapter Two will be interesting in itself, it will serve little purpose if it does not bring new insights into the real world. Thus, Chapter Three will conduct a case study to ascertain to what extent the phenomena explained theoretically in Chapter Two can be identified empirically. In this chapter, the editorial sections of three Alberta newspapers will be analyzed to find the degree to which a sense of territorial identity is constructed around the territorial concept of the province of Alberta. Using the theoretical literature on territorial identity construction developed in Chapter Two, I will review the construction of a territorial identity centred around the province of Alberta by examining the use of territorial flags, narratives, and archetypes used in three Albertan daily newspapers over the span of a single year. The three selected Albertan newspapers were the *Edmonton Journal*, the *Calgary Sun*, and the *Lethbridge Herald*. These three newspapers were selected for two main reasons – they represented the three largest populations in Alberta and none of the three were owned by the same corporate entity. This allowed the study to examine the editorial lines stemming from three different geographical regions of Alberta (two urban and one rural) while eliminating the possibility that a single owner could impose an editorial line across more than one

paper in this study. The geographical distribution of the newspapers and their independence of ownership were essential elements of this study to ensure that the findings would be the result of the strength of the territorial construction of Alberta in the discourse of Albertan society rather than an imposed editorial line from a single source or geographical region. The results of this case study are used to support the general theoretical principles of territorial identity that are presented in Chapter Two.

While the purpose of this thesis is to argue for the inclusion of territorial identity as a “third category” of identity in frameworks of normative pluralism, it also seeks to highlight the interconnectedness between cultural, territorial, and national articulations of identity. While this thesis seeks to structure forms of identity into three distinct categories, it does so with the knowledge that such a categorization is a simplified abstraction of a far more complicated reality. Thus, the problem of indeterminacy, the possibility that an identity cannot be placed in only one of the defined categories, could become an issue. However, the literature on the Canadian school of normative pluralism, while recognizing that these categories are merely a theoretical abstraction, nonetheless makes the abstraction the basis of differentiated rights and responsibilities. Therefore, while this thesis recognizes the interconnectedness between the three categories of identity and the related problem of indeterminacy inherent within such a categorical differentiation, it is a necessary simplification to ensure that forms of territorial identity are not ignored by frameworks of normative pluralism – most specifically in the Canadian case.

Scope

My primary theoretical target in this thesis will be the plural nation of Canada. The primary reason for this choice is that Canada represents a remarkable example of diversity within a liberal country and contains within its history, multiple attempts at accommodating this diversity under the rubric of a state. As Kymlicka (1998: 3) explains:

Canada is a world leader in three of the most important areas of ethnocultural relations: immigration, indigenous peoples, and the accommodation of minority nationalisms.

Many other countries have one or more of these forms of diversity but very few have all three, and none has the same wealth of historical experience in dealing with them.

As well, Canada is the second largest country in the world and has its citizens spread out over five time zones. As such, the accommodation of differing regional concerns must be managed and negotiated with a great deal of care. As Laczko (1994: 38) states in his comparative study of pluralism, "Canada is the extreme outlier even among the small set of highly-developed, highly-plural societies precisely because it contains more types of pluralism than these others do. It is this combination of types of pluralism that makes Canada distinctive".

Furthermore, due to the extent of this diversity and the conflicts that it has engendered, much of the academic discourse on pluralism has taken place within the country of Canada. Charles Taylor, Will Kymlicka, James Tully, Dimitrios Karmis, Jocelyn Maclure, and others have taken part in the worldwide debate over the reconciliation of identity within the growing number of plural countries. As well, Canada contains within its borders the province of Quebec which itself contains an alternate but interconnected example of national identity construction in competition with the efforts of the pan-Canadian central state. But much like the evolution of Canadian identity due to the challenge of pluralism, Quebec too has had to make adjustments to create a more plural conception of Quebec identity in order to accommodate pre-existing Aboriginal peoples and an influx of immigration into Montréal while protecting, constructing, and promoting a unified national identity. Within academia inside the province of Quebec, there is a mountain of research that has been developed on the definition and evolution of Quebec identity and its relationship to the dominance of Canadian and American identities in North America. Authors such as Gérard Bouchard, Michel Seymour, and Jocelyn Maclure have contributed to the growing theoretical acceptance of a plural Quebec identity.

Finally, Canada has seen the growth of identities which can be described as neither mainly cultural nor national but are principally territorial such as the case of regional identities like Western Canadians, provincial identities like British Columbians, and local identities like

Torontonians. For this reason, the scope for the case study will be narrowed even further to focus solely on the province of Alberta. Alberta was chosen because it contains within its provincial boundaries a highly developed sense of collective identity that does not claim to pre-exist its inclusion within the Canadian state, in contrast to national and cultural identities. Unlike British Columbia and Newfoundland, which also have highly constructed territorial identities, Alberta did not exist in any pre-existing sense until it was created by the federal government. Thus any sense of territorial identity must have developed within the Canadian state alongside a strong identification with a Canadian national identity. Secondly, the strong sense of Albertan identity, while having deeply historic roots as seen in “The Milch Cow” cartoon, is a relatively recent phenomenon, coming into its own during the oil-battles between the federal and provincial government in the 1970s and continuing its development over the next 30 years. Thirdly, Albertan territorial identity remains a relatively underexplored phenomenon, especially in contrast to sub-state national identities such as Quebec and Canada’s Aboriginal peoples. Thus for these reasons, Alberta remains the best case within the country of Canada to analyze a mainly territorial form of identity.

While authors such as Gibbins, Berdahl, and Resnick have explored these forms of territorial identity in isolation, there have been no theories of normative pluralism and few practical studies to support them, to understand these forms of identity with the same normative force as cultural and national forms of identity. Thus Canada remains an ideal location to investigate the presence of a “third category” of identity within normative pluralism as it contains numerous and emerging forms of territorial identity such as the emerging sense of territorial identity rising from the province of Alberta.

Period

The study will examine a period of immense change in academic discourse on matters of identity. As this thesis is divided into three chapters, each dealing with a different subject, the period will vary depending on the chapter.

For the First Chapter, a literature review of normative pluralism in Canada, the period begins with the demise of the Meech Lake Accord during the years of 1989 and 1990, and the apocalyptic predictions of Canada's disintegration that followed. During this time, the paradigm of duality in the Canadian political sphere came under serious assault: first by the representatives of Aboriginal First Nations who challenged the dominance of English and French national identities, and later by other groups who challenged the preferred importance given to national identities at the expense of cultural and territorial identities. Academics in this period had an enormous challenge in developing new models and frameworks to make sense of and accommodate the demands of the growing multiplicity of the Canadian polity, leading to a body of work that we now often refer to as Canadian school of normative pluralism. That is not to say that such academic discussion did not occur before the failure of the Meech Lake Accord, as such an assertion would most certainly be false. But the complexity of the diversity that seeks to be recognized and accommodated has grown significantly from earlier periods such as the era of the B&B Commission and thus this post-Meech period of normative pluralism will be the most relevant realm of study. Furthermore, it was in this period that territorial forms of identity became stronger and more cogent in the aftermath of the Meech Lake Accord. The Reform party rose as a self-described articulation of Western regional interests. Albertan territorial differentiation became more pronounced with the "Alberta Advantage" government of Ralph Klein, the booming oil-and-gas sector, and the rise of the "Calgary School" of Canadian political and economic thought. Furthermore, we have seen the rise of what Resnick (2000) describes as "BC Regionalism", and the return of "territorial nationalism" in the Newfoundland and Labrador government of Danny Williams from 2003 on⁴. Thus, this period in Canadian politics is an obvious choice for reconsidering the importance of territorial identity within the Canadian state.

⁴ During a dispute over offshore oil royalties, Newfoundland and Labrador Premier Danny Williams ordered the removal of all Canadian flags from provincial buildings to protest the federal government's

For the Second Chapter on Territorial Identity, the period will stretch from the publishing of David Knight's paper on "Identity and Territoriality" in 1982 to the present. In this period, the major work on territoriality was conducted by authors such as David Knight, Robert Sack, David Delaney, Robert Cox, David Storey, David Kaplan, and Margaret Moore. During this same period, the power of narrative in constructing collective identities was explored by authors such as Paul Ricoeur, Ayla Khan, David Newsman and Paasi Anssi, David Rasmussen, Margaret Somers, and Yi-Fu Tuan. As well, the power of banal flagging to reinforce territorial boundaries and the identification with these boundaries was also explored by Michael Billig during this period.

For the case study in the Third Chapter, the period was kept extremely limited to the year 1989. The year 1989 was chosen for several reasons. First of all, the newspapers for 1989 were readily available from Library and Archives Canada. Secondly, there was a provincial election in that year. This election would allow us to identify any changes in the use of territorial flags that corresponded to the election period. Thirdly, there were some critical territorial issues that came to the foreground in that year, such as the Alberta Senate Election, the collapsing Meech Lake Accord, and the imposition of the GST. These coinciding factors resulted in 1989 being an ideal year to track the use of territorial flags in regards to the territoriality of Alberta.

Furthermore, the editorials used for the case study in Chapter Three were limited to three Albertan newspapers. For this study, the three selected Albertan newspapers were the *Edmonton Journal*, the *Calgary Sun*, and the *Lethbridge Herald*. These three newspapers were selected for two reasons. Firstly, the three papers represented three of the four largest populations in Alberta – Calgary, Edmonton, and Lethbridge. Furthermore, the *Lethbridge Herald* target audience covers a large section of Southern Alberta, giving it a far more rural perspective than either the *Edmonton Journal* or the *Calgary Sun*. Secondly, the three newspapers chosen were all

position (CBC 2004). There have also been some discussions of returning to the Newfoundland tricolour design as the province's official flag.

independently owned from one another. Each of the three newspapers was owned by three different corporate conglomerations. The *Calgary Sun* is part of the Sun Media chain. The *Edmonton Journal* is part of the CanWest News Service. The *Lethbridge Herald* was owned at the time by the Thomsen Newspapers Company Limited. Thus, there was not one single owner that could set an editorial line across more than one paper in this study. This was the reason why newspapers from other smaller, more rural areas of the province were excluded as many of these papers were owned by the Sun Media chain. The co-independence of ownership was an essential element of this study to ensure that the findings would be the result of the strength of the territorial construction of Alberta in the discourse of Albertan society rather than an imposed editorial line from a single source.

Contribution

This study aims to contribute to the study of normative pluralism within plural countries such as Canada by highlighting the importance of territory in the development and expression of identity, most notably in forms of territorial identity that are equal, rather than subordinate to forms of cultural and national identity that have been the primary focus of normative pluralism in Canada. In other words, this thesis contends that forms of territorial identity represent a “third category” of identity, alongside national and cultural forms of identity, which must be considered in frameworks of normative pluralism. This contribution addresses a glaring omission in the literature from the Canadian school of normative pluralism which has been so focused on accommodating national and cultural identities and their relevant demands that it has underestimated the importance of territory in the development of identity and thus the legitimacy of solely territorial identities. Presently, theories from the Canadian school of normative pluralism treat identity as bipolar – constructing a dichotomy between forms of cultural and national identification with a differing series of rights and responsibilities based on that dichotomy. By introducing this notion of territorial identity, and its interconnectedness with other forms of identity; this study hopes to fill in the gap in the literature and by extension make

theoretical frameworks of normative pluralism far more fluid and flexible to the evolving nature of identity within Canada.

In Chapter One, the territorial gap in the literature from the Canadian school of normative pluralism is clearly established. First, the link between territory and nationalism is clearly drawn by examining the importance of the psychological impact of territoriality on nationalist movements, the attempts by nationalist movements to establish primal ownership over a target territory, and the use of territory by nationalist groups as means to establish power over other competing groups. Secondly, the body of normative pluralism is examined to reveal how the current literature on normative pluralism ignores the central importance of territory in national and cultural forms of identity and never addresses the possibility of mainly territorial forms of identity. This was first accomplished by reviewing the literature on normative pluralism in the Canadian context, and then by reviewing the academic debate on normative pluralism within the province of Quebec. Both bodies of literature were consumed by reconciling national and cultural forms of identity rather than considering territorial forms of identity. Needless to say, Chapter One establishes that there is a clear gap within the literature from the Canadian school of normative pluralism that needs to be filled.

In an effort to fill this gap, Chapter Two proposes a theory of territorial identity based on three pillars – territoriality, narrative, and banal flagging. First, the theoretical literature of territoriality is reviewed, showcasing how articulations of territory are not neutral but attempts to exercise power from one group over another. Secondly, this literature is linked together with the academic literature on narrative to show how narratives can build and maintain the validity of territories in the minds of the target population. Thirdly, Chapter Three explores how the concept of “banal flagging” is used to constantly remind the target population of the imaginary territory and the narratives that give it life. Taken together, these three concepts form a “trialectic of territorial identity”, a theory that attempts to explain how territorial identities are constructed, maintained, and transmitted within a target population.

In order for a new theory to gain academic credence, it must be supported by empirical evidence. Thus, Chapter Three engages in a quantitative case study, the province of Alberta, to evaluate to what degree public discourse is influenced by the theoretical phenomena identified in Chapter Two. The results of the case study conducted in Chapter Three strongly support the theory proposed in this thesis. Firstly, territorial flagging in Alberta public discourse is exceedingly common and consistent, moderated only by political events, debates, or crises. Secondly, participants in the Alberta public discourse self-identified themselves to a significant degree with the territorial concept of Alberta, although not to the degree to which they self-identified with national concept of Canada. This result suggests that while the sense of Alberta territorial identity is strong, the sense of Canadian national identity is stronger. Thirdly, the study found that territorial narratives could find resonance within the public discourse of Alberta. The “Dominance of Central Canada” narrative was found to be exceeding common and had a significant impact on the discussions regarding the territorial concept of Alberta. Finally, territorial archetypes, the transformation of territorial bodies into characters, were found to follow a distinct pattern. While “Inside” archetypes such as Alberta and Albertans were assigned universally positive characteristics, “Outside” archetypes such as Ottawa were assigned universally negative character traits, forming a Good/Bad relationship based on territorial boundaries. Thus, a clear normative identity for each of these territorial concepts is created with a direct relationship with their status inside or outside the territoriality of Alberta. The case study in Chapter Three clearly supports the theory of territorial identity established in Chapter Two, finding evidence of the use of territoriality, narrative, and banal flagging in the construction of a territorial identity within the public language of the province of Alberta.

Chapter One - Territorial Identity and the Canadian School of Normative Pluralism

“It took me so long to really understand,” called the voice.

“*Who are you?*” asked Blue.

“But of course, I should have known. Multiple avatars per user is a tradition that stretches back to the very beginning of online worlds. Since the dawn of Evermore, individuals have sought not only to rebuild themselves to their ideals of perfection but to build multiple ideals of the self. To build not just a self that fits their dreams and desires, but to build a community of the self, a community which has its own characters, its own plots, its own themes. The community of the self is an essence a creation of our own mind, a narrative of the *lives* that we wish to be a part of. Its superiority to real life is essential. Rather than being held hostage in a community of one’s peers, of whom we have no control over, we have ability to create new friends, new foes, new lovers, all of whom are crafted to suit a particular purpose in the narration of our minds. Given a choice between the unpredictable real, which rarely fits our civilized notions of narrative and dramatization, we prefer to impose a story on our own lives. Even in reality, we see ourselves not as individuals, but as protagonists, with our own antagonists and supporting characters. We impose the structure of a narrative on our own lives to make sense of it, to make the meaningless meaningful.”

“*Why are you here?*” demanded Blue.

“Why?” the voice came again as it stepped into the light. It was Arthur. “For without narrative, we see our lives for what they truly are – a blink in time without rhyme. Without reason, without purpose, without an introduction, struggle, and climax we shoulder on. We spend our entire lives struggling, but for what? We won’t be remembered, the stories of our pathetic little lives will fill no pages in the history books. We are nothingness.”

Blue felt herself sinking into the floor. Arthur was no longer the soft bumbling fool she had dismissed. There was something else to him.

“We are compelled to create narrative, we are forced to create stories, to mythologize ourselves so that we can get up from our poor dilapidated beds each and every day and live our dilapidated little lives. But our means are limited, it is difficult to create a myth of heroism and valour about oneself when you work a minimum wage job and are treated like meat for the grinder of capitalism. It is difficult to see oneself as a princess when you can’t get a date to save your soul. That’s what makes Evermore so precious and popular. I had originally thought that its allure lay in the fact that one could create a ideal self - a perfect conception of ourselves unlimited by the arbitrary justice of genetics and social station. I thought that the ability to create a perfect avatar was what drew people in, was what compelled people to spend every minute of the lives in this virtual prison. But I was wrong. The unconscious purpose was not the individual, but the community. People do not want to be perfect individuals, they want to be part of a perfect community where they feel welcome and ... not alone. Because the truth, that we are always alone is always too much to bear. So we create not just one avatar, but many, all of whom are subconsciously designed to fill a psychological need. Some give us the

friends we so desperately wanted. Others give us the foils against which we can define ourselves – as identity cannot be formed in a vacuum. We need enemies, we need foes, and we need conflict to make our narratives interesting. Ask any screenwriter, a screenplay without conflict is a boring tale to tell. So we construct these characters, we construct these conflicts, and we construct these stories to build a narrative of the self which takes place in a community of the self, no a universe of the self that revolves around our needs, dreams, and even fears.”

- From the final draft of *Evermore: Call of the Nocturne* (unpublished) by Scott Blurton

I find that the character in question, *Arthur*, expresses many of the challenges in dealing with contemporary identity. A social scientist by training tasked to research a virtual world called *Evermore*, he becomes despondent upon learning that his entire conception of reality and by extension his internal conception of the self were false. Seeing himself as a roguish protagonist, he is mortified to discover that he exists merely to serve as a supporting character in the tale of another. In other words, his very identity, the idea of who he is and his place in the world, has been irrevocably altered to great personal harm. *Arthur*'s revelation and his despondent monologue in some ways mirrors the attempts of many individuals to define their identities and create what *Arthur* describes as a community of the self - an “imagined community” (Anderson 1991) in which the individual can feel some sense of attachment to the larger world.

This need for communal attachment was at one time dominated by the paradigm of national identification, defined philosophically by what Tully describes as the authoritative modern school of constitutionalism and politically by what Karmis describes in the case of France as Jacobinism⁵: a single authoritative source of authority and identity to ensure the unity and stability of the modern nation-state. However, this monistic conception of a sole legitimate national identity came under intense assault in the latter half of the 20th Century; first by minority nationalist groups, who struggled for recognition of their own sub-state national boundaries, and secondly by cultural groups who sought recognition of their particularities from both majority and

⁵ As Karmis (2004: 75) explains, “Jacobinism has openly advocated assimilation to a culture and language that pretend to universality and cannot be separated from French republicanism. This assimilating monism does not only target immigration. Jacobinism has also built the French republic upon the persecution and repression of regional cultures and languages”.

minority nationalist groups. These alternative forms of identity have challenged the singular national identity for a place in each individual's personal articulation of the self, the idea of who they are and with whom they belong. These competing forms of identity have mixed together to form an incredibly complex series of overlapping, porous, and plural identities within the borders of the modern nation state. To address this growing complexity and the demands it makes on the political sphere, political scientists and philosophers have had to abandon authoritative models of authentic identity and propose new theories of identity and new ideas about representative democracy, constitutionalism, and federalism. Together, we refer to these attempts to accommodate diversity within the modern political state as normative pluralism.

From an examination of the literature from the Canadian school of normative pluralism, it becomes clear that there is a significant gap in this vast body of literature. While the cultural and national aspects of identity are well-documented and theorized in the Canadian school of normative pluralism, the centrality of territoriality to formulations of identity is largely neglected. This gap is surprising given the central importance that nationalists give to the concept of a homeland and the rise of non-national, non-cultural forms of identity within the Canadian sphere such as Albertan and Western regional identities. Thus, the following question arises: in modern, plural states such as Canada, what role does territoriality take in conceptual formulations of identity? Is it an irrelevant factor, a contributing factor, or must it be considered as a distinct category of identity altogether? In response to this question, I will argue in favour of the following hypothesis: In lieu of the central importance that territoriality plays in the formulation of identity, territorial identity must be considered as a "third category" of identity, along with cultural and national identities, within the field of normative pluralism⁶. In other words, I submit

⁶ This is not to argue that these three categories of identity (national, cultural, and territorial) are the only types of identity that require reconciliation within frameworks of normative pluralism. An excellent argument can be made that social identities (gender, sexuality, class) should be considered a fourth category of identity, distinct from the three discussed in this thesis. Kymlicka (1995: 31-32) considers this possibility briefly when considering the use of "special representation rights" to accommodate non-ethnic

that the importance of the territoriality of identity must be reconsidered in the debate on normative pluralism within plural states.

In reviewing the literature on the topic of identity in the Canadian context, it is important to note that the academic discourse is usually divided along two separate axes: Canada/Quebec, and theoretical/practical. In short, academic research usually takes at its scope either the country of Canada, or the province of Quebec. Canadian scholars (of which many can be found in Quebec) primarily focus on the challenge on accommodating multiple national identities within a united territorial state. Quebec scholars typically focus on the challenge of maintaining a unified national identity in an increasingly plural Quebec society. On the second axis, Canadian and Québécois scholars will approach the topic of identity either through developing theoretical frameworks or by analyzing laws, regulations, and policies that are already in practice. However, both axes share a key limitation in their scope, namely that the central importance of territoriality in the articulation of national identities is left unconsidered. To ensure that each of these two axes is covered sufficiently in this section, I will organize my analysis in the following manner. In Section 1, the literature on the theoretical connection between nationalism and territoriality will be reviewed. In Section 2, the theoretical evolution of normative pluralism in Canada will be examined through a review of the work of several central academic figures that have formed the Canadian canon on the subject. In Section 3, I will repeat the approach to summarize the reconstruction of a plural Quebec identity over the period 1995-2005 through an analysis of three key academic figures.

1 Territory and Nationalism

The memory or history or myths of a nation are ways of apprehending and articulating what is held to be the past development of a nation's unique civilization, its works and practices, its customs, conventions and habits. What is claimed to be the nation's own or designated

social groups in Western democracies. While a comprehensive framework of normative pluralism may demand the inclusion of a "fourth category" for social identities, this is well beyond the scope of this thesis which is focused on addressing the "territorial gap" within theories of normative pluralism.

territory is the physical space within which such expressive activity is said to take place (Spencer and Wollman 2003: 73-74).

While the central importance of territory in the formation of identity has been largely ignored within the Canadian school of normative pluralism, it has most certainly not been ignored in the study of nationalism. Scholars of nationalist movements and their nation-building projects such as Philip Spencer, Howard Wollman, Walker Connor, Benedict Anderson, and Margaret Moore have identified territory as a key component of nationalism in three distinct ways. First, a national territory or 'homeland' serves immense psychological value in the development and mobilization of nationalist movements. Second, nationalist movements try to establish a hierarchy of ownership over a defined territory in which the target nation is seen to occupy primal ownership over the land in question. Third and finally, the articulation of territorial boundaries serves as an instrument of power in which one ethnic or cultural group, usually defined as the 'nation', can gain dominance over competing ethnic or cultural groups. Within this section, each of these components will be explored and analyzed to draw lessons that can be utilized in the application of territoriality to the field of normative pluralism that will be the focus of the thesis.

1.1 The Psychological Impact of Territoriality on Nationalist Movements

A key concept in the strength and vitality of nationalist movements is the psychological value of a defined territory to the formulation and maintenance of a national identity. As Connor (2001: 53) states quite clearly:

To the people who have lent their name to the area, the homeland is much more than territory. The emotional attachment is reflected in such widely used descriptions as the native land, the fatherland, this sacred soil, the ancestral land, this hallowed place, the motherland, land of our fathers, and, not least, the home – the homeland. In the case of a homeland, territory becomes intermeshed with notions of ancestry and family. This emotional attachment to the homeland derives from perceptions of it as the cultural hearth and, very often, as the geographic cradle of the ethno-national group. In Bismarkian terminology, 'Blut und Boden!', blood and soil have become mixed. The emotionally pregnant concept of 'my roots' implies soil. The psychological associations thus made between homeland and one's people are the more – not the less – intense for being emotional and resisting exposition in rational terms.

Thus, Connor identifies nationalist movements not by their articulation or defence of a common culture, but by their attempts to establish or strengthen their hold over a defined territory to call their own. This feature of nationalism leads Connor to conclude that it is not the multinational aspects of most states that could lead to political instability and fragmentation, but the fact that these states are also multi-homeland. According to Connor (2001: 56), “this is of greatest significance when assessing the probable political instability of tomorrow’s world, for the demands of ethno-national movements tend to be coterminous with their homeland. In terms of geography, it is for the homeland that ethno-national groups demand greater autonomy or full independence”⁷. While Connor identifies the primary importance that nationalist movements put on a territory homeland, it is Spencer and Wollman who articulate the manner in which this connection between identity and territory is made – by what they call the sacralization of territory. As Spencer and Wollman (2003: 86) argue, “landscapes are often invoked to symbolize the nation, its values, its culture, even its ‘national character’” and that “we do not have, simply, sacred territories, but territories that have been sacralized, made sacred”. Anderson (1991), investigating Thongchai’s work on Thai nation-building, argues how ‘Siam’ came into being in the late 19th and early 20th century due to the power of the colonial map. As Anderson (1991: 172) explains:

Boundary-stones and similar markers did exist, and indeed multiplied along the western fringes of the realm as the British pressed in from Lower Burma. But these stones were set up discontinuously at strategic mountain passes and fords, and were often substantial distances from corresponding stones set up by the adversary. They were understood horizontally, at eye level, as extension points of royal power; not ‘from the air.’ Only in the 1870s did Thai leaders begin thinking of boundaries as segments of a continuous map-line corresponding to nothing visible on the ground, but demarcating an exclusive sovereignty wedged between other sovereignties.

⁷ This feature of nationalism leads Connor (2001: 60) to recast the realist perspective on International Relations, arguing that while the realist school of International Relations have cast international conflicts as a result of conflicts between state interests, “they are fought and backed by humans who perceive them in ethno-national terms and to that very significant degree they are ethno-national”. Connor, concludes that it is homeland psychology, not just state interests, that are a major motivational factor.

The importance of the map to the development of notions of homeland cannot be underestimated. For while citizens cannot build an attachment to a landscape that they have never experienced or people that they have never met, the constructions of borders on a map creates a psychological attachment to the area represented. As Anderson (1991: 173-174) quotes Thongchai's explanation:

In terms of most communication theories and common sense, a map is a scientific abstraction of reality. A map merely represents something which already exists objectively 'there.' In the history I have described, this relationship is reversed. A map anticipated spatial reality, not vice versa. In other words, a map was a model for, rather than a model of, what it purported to represent. . . . It had become a real instrument to concretize projections on the earth's surface. A map was now necessary for the new administrative mechanisms and for the troops to back up their claims. . . . The discourse of mapping was the paradigm which both administrative and military operations worked within and served.

Thus as Baudrillard would argue, the hyperreality of the map is more real to the citizens within the defined boundaries than the physical landscape⁸. But alas, according to Spencer and Wollman (2003: 87), this sacralization of territory is not uncontested:

⁸ Baudrillard uses an allegory to explain his idea of a hyperreal and how it connects to our concepts of territoriality. In the following passage, he argues that:

If we were able to take as the finest allegory of simulation the Borges tale where the cartographers of the Empire draw up a map so detailed that it ends up exactly covering the territory (but where, with the decline of the Empire this map becomes frayed and finally ruined, a few shreds still discernible in the deserts - the metaphysical beauty of this ruined abstraction, bearing witness to an imperial pride and rotting like a carcass, returning to the substance of the soil, rather as an aging double ends up being confused with the real thing), this fable would then have come full circle for us, and now has nothing but the discrete charm of second-order simulacra.

Abstraction today is no longer that of the map, the double, the mirror or the concept. Simulation is no longer that of a territory, a referential being or a substance. It is the generation by models of a real without origin or reality: a hyperreal. The territory no longer precedes the map, nor survives it. Henceforth, it is the map that precedes the territory - precession of simulacra - it is the map that engenders the territory and if we were to revive the fable today, it would be the territory whose shreds are slowly rotting across the map. It is the real, and not the map, whose vestiges subsist here and there, in the deserts which are no longer those of the Empire, but our own. The desert of the real itself (Poster 1988: 166).

Sacralization has been accompanied if not preceded by quite extensive coercion as borders have been allocated and demarcated by and between states. As O'Dowd and Wilson have reminded us, 'national boundaries are rooted in coercion, in practices of forcible exclusion and inclusion'. This coercive activity has both caused and taken place in a wider context of extensive and continuous mobility and migration.

While Spencer and Wollman (2003: 87) argue quite rightly that "sacralization obscures the reality that borders are fluid and changing", these sacred borders are also overlapping. Key in the nationalist discourse on territory that Connor, as well as Spencer and Wollman identify is that the psychological and sacred homeland is viewed as mutually exclusive. In other words, a multi-homeland view of the world would involve a series of mutually exclusive homelands that fit together like jigsaw pieces⁹. For example, let us take the domestic example of the country of Canada and the strong nationalist movement that exists in the province of Quebec. While multinationalist scholars such as Phil Resnick (1995) and Will Kymlicka (1998: Chapter 12) express frustration at the complete refusal of English Canadians to recognize themselves as a nation to serve as a complement to French and Aboriginal nations, a psychological homeland approach to the situation might explain such reluctance. For while Quebec nationalists, and to some degree French-Canadian nationalists, can certainly view the province of Quebec as a French homeland, the only psychological homeland that exists for English-Canadians is Canada as a whole. Furthermore, considering that much of the history of Canada arbitrary begins with the French colonization of North America¹⁰, the psychological importance of the Laurentian waterway to the conception of Canadian national expression cannot be underestimated. From a psychological homeland approach to the imagined English Canadian nation, one must respond to the frustrated queries of Resnick and Kymlicka with the fact that there is no psychological homeland to which the English Canadian nation can attach itself. Therefore, following from

⁹ Similar to the way that Anderson (1991: 175) views the Imperial Map as Logo in his insightful investigation of Thongchai's brilliant thesis that will be covered later on in this section.

¹⁰ Conveniently forgetting or ignoring the thousands of years of oral history from Canada's aboriginal peoples.

Connor's nation-homeland thesis, the English Canadian nation would not exist. However, a Canadian nation is expressed and its psychological homeland overlaps that of expressed French Canadian or Quebec national identities.

A further complicating factor is the power of what Anderson dubs the "map-as-logo". As Anderson explains, the symbolic power of the maps as a logo or a symbol of a defined community is prevalent in the psychological construction of a national community. According to Anderson (1991: 175), the map-as-logo constructs a territorial determinacy over national communities:

Its origins were reasonably innocent – the practice of the imperial states of coloring their colonies on maps with an imperial dye. In London's imperial maps, British colonies were usually pink-red, French purple-blue, Dutch yellow-brown, and so on. Dyed this way, each colony appeared like a detachable piece of a jigsaw puzzle. As this 'jigsaw' effect became normal, each 'piece' could be wholly detached from its geographic context. In its final form all explanatory glosses could summarily removed; lines of longitude and latitude, place names, signs for rivers, seas, and mountains, *neighbours*. Pure sign, no longer compass to the world. In this shape, the map entered an infinitely reproducible series, available for transfer to posters, official seals, letterheads, magazine and textbook covers, tablecloths, and hotel walls. Instantly recognizable, everywhere visible, the logo-map penetrated deep into the popular imagination, forming a powerful emblem for the anticolonial nationalisms being born.

The power of this map-as-logo as a symbol of the nation can be seen when the borders involved in the sign are contested or indeterminate, such as those resulting from secessionist movements. A secessionist movement, rather than an issue for only those living on the territory in dispute, becomes a concern for the larger community due to the psychological impact of secession on the map-logo of the original state. While in real economic and social terms, the secession of Quebec from the Canadian state would probably have little impact on people living on British Columbia, the resulting gap in the Canadian map-logo would inalienably alter the British Columbians' conception of their own national community. This process is repeated with Quebecers when the possibility of partition of pro-federalist communities is raised in the event of

a successful Quebec secession. The map is not only a representation of territory, but a symbol of the national identity itself, making problems of territorial indeterminacy very difficult to resolve.

1.2 The Challenge of Primal Ownership

The challenge of territorial indeterminacy to homeland psychology contains within it another challenge – the power of primal ownership. Inherent in the idea of a ‘homeland’ to which all nationalist movements refer is the notion that “only the members of my people have a ‘true right’ to be here” and is “characterized by a mind-set that perceives privileged status for the homeland people as a self-evident right” (Connor 2001: 64), even if the group is a minority on the territory in question (Connor 2001: 65). As Connor (2001: 64) warns:

As a consequence of the sense of primal ownership that an ethno-national group harbours toward its homeland, non-members of the ethnic group within the homeland are viewed as aliens (‘outsiders’), even if they are compatriots. They may be endured, even treated equitably. Their stay may be multigenerational. But they remain outsiders or settlers in the eyes of the homeland people, who reserve what they deem their inalienable right to execute their primary and exclusive claim to the homeland whenever they desire.

Margaret Moore identifies four normative justifications used to claim primal ownership over a defined territory: claims based on indigenoussness, claims based on historical entitlement, claims based on divine right, and claims based on efficiency. Moore (1998: 141) finds four problems with claims of superior entitlement based on indigenoussness: (1) human migration is common and it is difficult to establish differential rights based on descent; (2) the history of migration is contested; (3) the claim of indigenoussness is dependent on the geographical context taken as relevant; and (4) even if the claim from indigenoussness is accepted, it is not necessary enough to overcome other claims based on equity or equal treatment. Likewise, Moore (1998: 145) rejects claims based on historical entitlement because the history is contested, susceptible to mythmaking, and is dependent on “where in history one starts, and whose history one accepts”, making it impossible to establish principles to adjudicate rival claims to territory. Moore (1998: 147) rejects claims based on divine right because the ‘right’ “of a particular (chosen) people to

particular pieces of land only in the eyes of those who accept (a) the authoritativeness of the text; and (b) the particular interpretation of the text being advanced". Finally, Moore (1998: 149) rejects claims based on efficiency or utility due to its lack of generalizability, for it is dependent on the values of the people and their definition of 'efficiency'; and if adopted, it would not provide a secure basis for control over a territory as borders would constantly need to be redrawn to reflect ever-changing patterns of technological and sociological achievement. Thus, Moore normatively rejects all four types of claims based on primal ownership, causing a problem for Canadian scholars in normative pluralism who have divided up differentiated rights on the assumption of primal ownership, such as Kymlicka (1998)¹¹.

1.3 Territory as Instrument of Power

Finally, the articulation of territorial boundaries serves as an instrument of power from one group over another. While Connor's analysis of the importance of a psychological homeland is relevant, it can also become an instrument for one group to gain dominance over competing groups. As Moore (1998: 138) argues in regards to discussions over self-determination:

In cases where states can be conceived of as the political expression of a particular nation, the principle that self-determination should occur only within the confines of previous administrative boundaries is problematic. In these situations, there is a majority national community which can be said to be able to control the state, using standard democratic (majoritarian) principles. Appealing to the borders of previous administrative units may be a way for the dominant nationality to increase its territory, and yet still be a majority in the state.

Thus, nationalist movements seek to either define as large a territory as possible while ensuring the demographic dominance of the national ethnic group or to secede while maintaining the previous administrative boundaries from the predecessor state. But Moore finds a key

¹¹ Kymlicka establishes a two-level hierarchy of identity between *national* and *immigrant groups*. In this vision of Canadian identity, Kymlicka (1998: 6-7) argues that national groups have a primal ownership of the territory due their previous existence before to their inclusion within the multinational state. This abstraction is contrasted with immigrant groups, who have chosen to immigrate of their own free will and thus cannot claim any sense of primal ownership.

contradiction within secessionist movements in regards to this strategy. First of all, a claim to the territory based solely on the territory itself is not a compelling enough reason by itself to justify secession, for many other groups could make the same claim on the territory as well. For example, if two polities both use undifferentiated citizenship as the foundation for a claim over a specific territory, there would be little reason to choose one over the other. Thus nationalist movements attempt to establish a superior cultural claim to the territory through the presence of an ethnic or cultural group that is in the majority on the territory in dispute. This nationalist strategy, according to Moore, of defining a superior claim to territory due to ethnicity or culture while simultaneously insisting on the maintenance of previous administrative boundaries, results in a critical tension in nationalist demands for secession. For as Moore (1998: 140) argues:

The territorial conception of citizenship is a means by which the dominant nationality can extend its control and encompass more territory. Furthermore, appealing to this principle in the case of determining boundaries is frequently in tension with the nationalist sentiment which underlies the original secession: secessionist movements are fuelled by nationalism, and are accompanied by rejection of the idea of equal citizenship in a state in which they are not a majority. It is therefore hypocritical that their own self-determination (combined with this idea of administrative boundaries) involves imposing this status on their own minorities.

Moore (1998: 139) applies this contradiction in national secessionist movements to the case study of Canada where:

The tension between the ethnic basis of the national movement and the territorial conception of citizenship is also evident in Quebec. The nationalist movement bases its claim to recognition on its distinct (ethnic) character and yet, claims that borders must be determined on the basis of the administrative unit (the province) in the Canadian federation.

However, this contradiction in basing a secessionist movement upon the demands of a particular ethnic group while insisting upon the inviolability of present territorial boundaries does open up a vulnerability¹² that the opponents of secession can exploit¹³. Such was the case in the

¹² It is also, according to Moore, normatively inconsistent. As Moore (1998: 139-140) argues:

aftermath of the close 1995 referendum result in Quebec, when Intergovernmental Affairs Minister Stéphane Dion and Prime Minister Jean Chrétien raised the possibility of partitioning Quebec in the result of a successful YES result (Dion 1999: 208-213). Therefore, when articulating the importance of territoriality in conceptions of normative pluralism, scholars must be careful to ensure that the division of territorial sovereignty is based on fair principles of justice rather than simply the power relations between competing ethnic and cultural groups.

Needless to say, the link between territory and nationalism has been well established by the academic discourse. Scholars such as Moore, Anderson, Connor, and Spencer and Wollman understand well the crucial emphasis nationalist movements have put on territory and the dependence of these nationalisms on a psychological sense of homeland. However, the relationship between nationalism and territory, meant to be mutually exclusive, is thwarted by the indeterminate nature of territory and the plural nature of modern society that has arisen due to constant migration. The indeterminacy of territory creates some major challenges for the

Québécois nationalism, which fuels the secessionist movement, and receives support only from the large community of francophone Québécois, nevertheless appeals to the idea that self-determination should only occur within administrative boundaries: this was the criteria for determining the jurisdictional unit in which a referendum on sovereignty was held, in October 1995, and the basis for drawing boundaries in the event of the secession of Quebec. What this meant, of course, was that the nationalist aspirations of natives in northern Quebec, among others, would be denied. Because natives had been denied political recognition of their identity within the Canadian federation, they would now be denied the right to determine their own political future. This points to the first problem with this conception: it fails to address the most egregious cases of group injustices, where people have been denied any kind of recognition of their distinct identity.

¹³ As Moore points out, even a successful secession with the internal administrative territorial boundaries intact may be not enough to stop further conflict. As Moore (1998: 139) recounts:

This view [territorial integrity] was also expressed by the Badinter Arbitration Committee, which argued that federations could disintegrate along the lines of their constituent units, but that there could be no reconsideration of borders, 'no secessions from secessions'. This was so, even though it was evident that many people living with the republican borders of the former Yugoslavia did not share this view, and even though the dominant motivating force behind the secessions was nationalism, which inevitably created disaffected or alienated minorities which did not share the nationalism which mobilized the dominant ethnic community in the republic.

Canadian school of normative pluralism as it is currently conducted. For in a society in which social, cultural, and territorial identities are constantly shifting and overlapping, how can these loyalties be ordered in a fair or just manner? In the next section on normative pluralism, the advances of scholars will be reviewed, but the failure of these scholars to understand the central importance of territory will be highlighted. Furthermore, Moore identifies another tension in nationalist secessionist movements between the ethnic justification of national community and undifferentiated citizenship that legitimizes control over previous administrative territorial boundaries. The struggle to reconcile these two contrasting visions of citizenship will be the focus of the third section of this literature review, in which Quebec scholars attempt to redefine Quebec identity for the plural age. Therefore, the central importance of territoriality must be reconsidered in discussions of normative pluralism in multi-ethnic, multicultural, multilingual, and multi-homeland states such as Canada.

2 Normative Pluralism in Canada

2.1 Charles Taylor and the Politics of Recognition

Charles Taylor, in his seminal 1992 work “The Politics of Recognition”, approaches the problem of identity by examining a pair of key historical philosophical developments that had led to the importance of recognition: the development of internal authenticity in place of authenticity of God, and the development of a politics of universalism.

Taylor begins his examination of the growing importance of cultural recognition and its consequences for identity by identifying two changes that have made the modern preoccupation with identity and recognition inevitable. The first is the collapse of social hierarchies, the basis for honor (which by its definition only some can have), in the pre-modern period (Tully 1992: 26-27). As Tully (1992: 34) states, general recognition “was built into the socially derived identity by virtue of the very fact that it was based on social categories that everyone took for granted”. In the pre-modern period, individuals would define themselves by their social-economic position

within the society using the rules of honor that were universally accepted. For example, a serf would identify himself not by a national, cultural, or linguistic identity but by his position as a serf, accepting the hierarchy of honor that places his superiors such as kings and barons legitimately above him. Following the collapse of social hierarchies and the system of honor that supported it, Taylor argues that this system was replaced by a system of equal dignity, which is universally held by each and every person.

These changes led to an evolution of the terms of full being or living a proper and full life. In the pre-modern era of honor, one's connection or touch with God was seen as the prerequisite of full and proper being. In the modern era of equal dignity, this notion was replaced by an idea that full being was dependent on being in touch with ourselves, such as defined by Saint Augustine as "the road to God as passing through our own self-awareness" (Taylor 1992: 29). Taylor (1992: 30) refers to this new philosophical conception of the self as "the ideal of authenticity", in which he credits Herder for describing each of us having "an original way of being human: each person has his or her own 'measure'". Thus, according to Herder as explained by Taylor (1992: 31), one's identity can no longer be defined by an external set of socio-economic rules, but can only be found through self-discovery, either as an individual or as a group. This notion of internal authenticity has become the seminal idea of modern nationalism as "Germans shouldn't try to be derivative and (inevitably) second rate Frenchmen [...]. The Slavic peoples had to find their own path. And European colonialism ought to be rolled back to give the peoples of what we now call the Third World their chance to be themselves unimpeded. Towards this philosophical ideal of authenticity Taylor notes a series of critiques. First of all, Taylor argues against the conception that authenticity can be found through internal reflection, whether the focus is the individual or the culture, arguing that identity is not created internally, but formed through interaction and dialogue with others. Secondly, the development of an ideal of inwardly generated identity gives new importance to recognition. Whereas I can generate an internal authenticity of self, it is meaningless to the outside society if it is not recognized dialogically by others and such an

attempt to win this recognition can fail (Taylor 1992: 34-35). This new understanding of identity as dialogical exchange has seriously raised the stakes of recognition, which has led to the idea that misrecognition can be a form of oppression. “Equal recognition,” argues Taylor (1992: 36), “is not just the appropriate mode for a healthy democratic society. Its refusal can inflict damage on those who are denied it”.

The second debate that Taylor examines is the development of a politics of universalism in the philosophical tradition. Due to the growing importance of recognition in the private and public spheres, Taylor identifies two differing conceptions of political identity based on the politics of equal recognition. With a move from honor to dignity has come a politics of universalism, emphasizing the equal dignity of all citizens. However, in opposition, the move to dignity from honor has also given rise to a politics of difference, in which citizens use the principle of universal equality to support how different groups of people should be treated differently (Taylor 1992: 37-38). Thus, the principle of equal dignity was used to support two seemingly opposing conceptions of equality, a dominant conception based on universalism, and a subordinate one based on differences. Taylor (1992: 39) defines the difference between the two concepts by stating that where “the politics of universal dignity fought for forms of non-discrimination that were quite ‘blind’ to the ways in which citizens differ, the politics of difference often redefines non-discrimination as requiring that we make distinctions the basis of differential treatment”. The politics of difference justifies a form of reverse discrimination that is defended not as temporary but as permanent to maintain distinctiveness (Taylor 1992: 40). Thus Taylor (1992: 41-43) concludes that the demand for equal recognition extends beyond an acknowledgement of the equal value of all humans potentially and comes to include the equal value of what they have made of this potential. This conclusion returns to the notion of internal authenticity for if you have an authentic self, then you must be supported in realizing this authentic self, often through differentiated means.

One surprise in Taylor's essay is that even though Taylor builds an understanding of identity formation that is very compatible with the territorial element of identity; he himself does not make this connection. When Taylor refers to the recognition of one's identity resulting from dialogue, he does not make the obvious point that such a discourse would occur over a specific area, at least before the invention of mass communication. The discourse of identity that Taylor describes did not happen on a global scale but within tightly concentrated populations inside a specified territory. When Taylor (1992: 31) states that "Germans shouldn't try to be derivative and (inevitably) second rate Frenchmen [...]. The Slavic peoples had to find their own path", he is already speaking of authentic identities in territorial terms. Of course, the manner in which Taylor takes territoriality for granted is not unsurprising. For it would be reasonable to assume in his argumentation of identity that identities formed through discourse would first occur within territorially concentrated populations. These new identities would then seek recognition from external sources or the dominant majority identity group (usually national) within the territory in question. As a result, while Taylor does not adequately address the central importance of territoriality in his essay, the logic that he introduces is easily expandable to comprehend the territorial element in identity formation.

However, it is important to note that Taylor does not distinguish the types of recognition that are appropriate to each cultural group or whether or not they form a nation. Rather, he is establishing a general philosophical explanation for the growing importance of identity, not a normative framework in which different types of identity are to be sorted. However, academics such as James Tully have built normative frameworks on top of the philosophical foundation that Taylor crafted.

2.2 James Tully and the Strange Multiplicity of Identity

In his 1995 work, *Strange Multiplicity: Constitutionalism in an age of diversity*, James Tully continues the examination of the challenge of diversity in the post-modern era. But in contrast to Taylor, who focuses on the philosophical discourse on identity and identity formation, Tully

prefers to approach the issue of diversity from a constitutional perspective and the need for constitutional recognition. Now, it is important to understand what Tully means when he uses the term constitutionalism. Tully's concept of constitutionalism is based not on the procedural liberal definition as a constitution being formed by a series of written laws, norms or values, but as a language upon itself. Tully (1995: 36) defines a constitutional language as a "vast network of conventions, of ways of employing these terms over three hundred years. [...] The actual use of the vocabulary in ordinary circumstances is extremely familiar to us. Yet the various ways any one term is employed, and thus its part in the life of contemporary constitutional societies, are extremely difficult to describe on reflection, even on rough outline". Thus the power of a constitution is not the strength of any documentation, but the creation of a language that while not easily definable, frames all political discussions and more importantly to Tully, all attempts to accommodate diversity within the political sphere.

Investigating this idea, Tully identifies two major languages of contemporary constitutionalism: the authoritative language of modern constitutionalism based on universal values, and the ancient constitutionalism based upon custom, tradition, and irregularity. Tully (1995: 37) argues that the language of modern constitutionalism has "elbowed aside entire areas of the broader language of constitutionalism – such as common law, earlier version of whiggism and civic humanism – which provide the means of recognizing and accommodating cultural diversity". In a sense, Tully is arguing that the language of modern constitutionalism tries to create universal principles based on a series of shared values or rights that are universally the same for each and every person. Ancient constitutional language, in contrast, did not try to reflect an ideal but instead reflected the already existing norms, practices, and customs of the differing groups within society (Tully 1995: 41-42).

The power of these schools is shown more clearly when Tully considers the challenge from post-modernism, cultural feminism, and interculturalism. For demands for recognition from these alternative schools of thought to be deemed legitimate, they must be re-described and adjudicated

within the prevailing norms of authoritative constitutional recognition. Furthermore, according to Tully (1995: 43-44):

Liberal, communitarian and nationalist theorists of a conservative bent have argued that the demands for the recognition of cultural diversity are incompatible with, and a direct threat to, the respective norms of their understanding of modern constitutionalism. They fly in the face of cultural neutrality for liberals, the integrity of the nation for nationalists and the shared conception of a community for communitarians. In each case, the demands are seen to be a threat to the unity of a constitutional association and the solution is to assimilate, integrate or transcend, rather than recognize and affirm, cultural diversity.

However, Tully does allow that demands for cultural recognition can be comprehended to some extent within the prevailing norms because the recognition and protection of cultures is a necessary condition of some of the primary goods that liberals, nationalists, and communitarians seek to realize. However, the extension of this accommodation is constrained by the authoritative language of modern constitutionalism and its ideal of universalism. Thus, Tully argues that the proponents of recognition have reached a dead-end within the paradigm of modern constitutionalism. If they accept the authoritative constitutional tradition and its language, their claims will be rejected or moderated under a set of authoritative languages and institutions whose sovereignty and impartiality the proponents of recognition question (Tully 1995: 56). If they refuse to play by these stacked rules, the proponents of recognition are left only with the options of marginalization or violence, with neither being an appealing option (Tully 1995: 56).

Tully concludes his work by arguing for a return to 'ancient constitutionalism' using his concept of 'diverse federalism'. In diverse federalism, Tully (1995: 140) argues that it "enables peoples mutually to recognize and reach agreement on how to assemble or federate legal and political differences they wish to continue into the association". Towards his concept of diverse federalism, Tully introduces three principles to guide the intercultural constitutional dialogue that must continually take place: mutual recognition, consent, and continuity. With these principles, Tully means that groups must mutually recognize one another as legitimate authorities of the

people, gain their consent for constitutional change, and allow the customs and manners of the group in question to be continued with interference or subordination. The manner in which these principles are to be applied will depend on the group involved, for there is little use for a universal model or framework. While Tully does not specifically address territorial forms of identity, his concept of diverse federalism and its three principles of mutual recognition, consent, and continuity does appear to be broad and flexible enough in order to accommodate territorial identities. However, as a result of this flexibility, Tully is reluctant to divide differing groups into categories upon which rights and responsibilities can be assigned. While Tully's evasion of typological differences between differing identity groups is understandable due to his criticisms of modern constitutionalism's hierarchical structure of identity, he leaves unresolved a series of questions on the normative force of each group's claims. If groups are to be treated differently, then in what manner are they to be treated differently? While Tully's three principles seem ideal in theory, they are too vague to explain the complex relationships that form between identity groups and the differing rights and responsibilities that they demand and require for survival. Into this void steps Will Kymlicka and his theory on minority rights.

2.3 Will Kymlicka and the Division between Multinationalism and Multiculturalism

Kymlicka, in his work *Multicultural Citizenship*, attempts to adapt minority demands for specific treatment inside a liberal theory of minority rights. In this text, Kymlicka challenges the recent norm of cultural neutrality of contemporary liberalism, or "benign neglect", through his analysis of liberal thought in the 19th Century. In this era, Kymlicka (1995: 51-52) argues, national identification was seen as being intimately tied to individual liberty due to the role of language and culture in enabling individual choice. Thus, group specific rights were seen as an effective way in promoting equality between majority and minority national groups (Kymlicka 1995: 52) and by extension the equality of all citizens. The liberal norm of cultural neutrality of which we are so familiar with today, according to Kymlicka (1995: 56), developed due to the fall

of the British Empire and its experience with multinational colonies, the emergence of the ideologically polarizing Cold War, and the rising dominance of American liberal theorists. These American liberal theorists, reacting to the xenophobic nationalism of the Axis powers in the Second World War, the threat of irredentism to international security, the experience of racial desegregation in the United States, and the growth of American polyethnicity took a similar view to culture and national identity as they did with religion, that to ensure liberal rights, culture should be relegated to the private sphere (Kymlicka 1995: 68). This post-war American interpretation of liberal rights is for Kymlicka (1995: 69), a result of “confusions and over-generalizations” of the challenges that multicultural citizenship presents and does not address his central conclusion, that “individual freedom is tied to membership in one’s national group” and that “group-specific rights can promote equality between the minority and majority”.

Thereby stating a normative need to devise a theory of minority rights, Kymlicka then addresses how these rights should be divided based on a typologically division of his own design. Kymlicka believes that minority groups should be divided into two basis categories: national minorities and immigrant groups due to their differing strategies in regards to the dominant majority. National minorities, having existed as a societal culture before their incorporation into the multinational state and holding a primary identification with this societal culture, typically resist assimilation or integration in the majority culture and seek to protect their institutions, language, culture, and self-government, ignoring the benefits of assimilation (Kymlicka 1998: 30-31). In contrast, immigrant groups, who have a made a conscious choice to leave their country of origin, seek to avoid marginalization by integrating into the host society. To this end, immigrant groups will adopt the dominant language, cultural and political institutions, and will seek to push their interests through participation in, rather than autonomy from, the dominant political culture (Kymlicka 1998: 35). In addition, Kymlicka (1995: 31-32) does consider briefly a third minority category, non-ethnic social groups, and argues the special representation rights can be used to

accommodate their demands. However, the bulk of his work is concentrated on constructing a two-level hierarchy of minority rights based on national and cultural identities.

While Kymlicka makes significant progress in reducing the ambiguity of the term, “collective rights”, there are several limitations to his theory. While the linkage between demands for cultural recognition and the definition of a national minority is promising, the criterion that for a culture to be deemed a national minority, it must have been a self-governing polity predating its entry into the present larger state is somewhat rigid, excluding the national identification of any other group or individual that develops following the foundation of the current state. Secondly, his conception of multinationalism has room for overlapping cultural identities but not overlapping national identities because individuals, according to Kymlicka, have a primary loyalty for the internal nation, which stems from their national identity, and a conditional loyalty to the larger multinational federation (Kymlicka 1998: 171), which he prefers to call patriotism (Kymlicka 1995: 13). Thirdly, it is surprising that Kymlicka, who concentrates on the importance of recognizing self-governing societies as nations, does not consider the importance of territoriality, the psychological ‘homeland’, to the formation of national identification or as a valid category of identity in its own right. Thus, while heuristically useful, Kymlicka’s typological division between national and cultural identity needs to be further expanded.

2.4 Dimitrios Karmis, Jocelyn Maclure and the attack on the Monistic Authenticity of Identity

In their article, “Two escape routes from the paradigm of monistic authenticity: post-imperialist and federal perspectives on plural and complex identities”, Karmis and Maclure expand on the critiques of Taylor and Tully on the dominant, universal, and monistic discourse on identity in the modern tradition. Karmis and Maclure’s criticism of the dominant tradition of monistic authenticity, of which expands on Taylor’s historical analysis of the concept of internal authenticity, stems from their understanding of identity and its source of reproduction, articulation, and transmission. Like Taylor, Karmis and Maclure see identity as being built by

discourse and communication. What is created by this discourse is not a universal sense of identity, but a sea of different and overlapping authenticities (Karmis and Maclure 2001: 369). This discursive or dialogical viewpoint on identity is extended to cultures or collective identities, which are far too plural for the community to speak in unison (Karmis and Maclure 2001: 369).

On the issue of distinguishing between national and cultural identities as does Kymlicka, Karmis and Maclure do so with the greatest of reluctance. While they argue that national identification remains a key part of an individual's identity, they do not draw any heuristic boundaries between national and non-national identities. Rather, they critique the predominance of national identity as the most popular example of forcing a monistic authenticity into a multiplicity of identities. Thus, while they argue that political societies should seek to accommodate the needs of national identities, Karmis and Maclure do not articulate this concern into division of identities upon which differentiated needs, rights, and privileges are based, seeing such an approach as unrealistic given the hybrid and heterogeneous nature of modern identity. Federal citizens, according to Karmis and Maclure (2001: 375), make sense, "often consciously, of the duality or plurality of conversational communities" that constitutes their identity. These plural identities, rather than being a sign of abnormality, incoherence, or ambiguity from the perceived monistic norm of the authoritative national identity, as many melancholic nationalists from Quebec have written¹⁴, are an essential condition for the viability of multinational federations (Karmis and Maclure 2001: 374-375).

Instead of the monistic language of identity that they criticize, Karmis and Maclure link the debate on identity with the framework of federalism to recommend a 'federal identity' for multinational federations. They define a federal identity as "a dual or plural political identity" that is permanent, not transitional and "is necessary for the stability of multinational federations" in contrast to a monistic vision of identity that forces group identities to compete for individuals'

¹⁴ For a full explanation on Maclure's examination of the Québécois tradition of melancholy nationalism, see Chapter One of Maclure (2003).

primary allegiances and enter into relationships of domination/submission with competing identities (Karmis and Maclure 2001: 374). Karmis and Maclure make a connection between plural identity and its representation within federalism, arguing that for a federal identity and its multiplicity of allegiances to stabilize, it must be contained within a series of federal arrangements and institutions where the dual or plural identities are able to flourish without one dominating the other.

While Karmis and Maclure do not refer to territorial identity specifically, their openness to considering alternate forms of identity other than national identity as equal and legitimate does seem to leave an open door for articulations of territorial identity. Their resistance to establishing a hierarchy of identity between national, cultural, and conceivably territorial identities does seem to be compatible with understanding territorial identity as a “third category” of normative pluralism. However, while Karmis and Maclure are open to the multiplicity of various overlapping forms of identity, they avoid proposing a framework in which these differing forms of identity can be understood. Furthermore, while they are open to alternative forms of identity other than cultural or national, Karmis and Maclure do not specify how these differing forms of identity are interconnected, leaving aside the territorial aspect of national and even cultural identities. Nonetheless, their theory does allow for an articulation of the importance of territoriality to conceptions of identity, as long as it isn’t established as the dominant and monistic identity within a territorial state.

The contributions of the above authors have been instrumental in changing the academic discourse on identity within the Canadian context. However, there is another dimension to this debate within the borders of Canada – the province of Quebec. Within the province of Quebec, home to the only French-majority population in North America, there exists a parallel, but overlapping, debate on the challenge of accommodating diversity within a plural Quebec nation.

3 Re-Branding Quebec: Building a Plural Quebec Nation

At the same time that Canadian academics have been grappling with the challenge of pluralism in the formulation of Canadian identity, scholars from both inside and outside the province of Quebec have been attempting to solve the ambiguity and ambivalence of a plural Quebec society by, to use a term coined by Gérard Bouchard, “redrawing the circle” of Quebec identity to redefine the nation as comprising of all Québécois, regardless of ethnicity or origin.

In this section, I will examine the transition of academic thought on the definition of the Quebec nation through three principal authors over the past ten years: Gérard Bouchard, Michel Seymour, and Jocelyn Maclure. What has become clear in my analysis is that the academic discussion in Quebec has made an impressive amount of progress in reconceptualizing the Quebec national identity to be more inclusive of diversity within a unified society. The debate over the last ten years has borne some significant theoretical fruit that has given us some important tools in rethinking our traditional definitions of nationality.

3.1 Gérard Bouchard and The North American Francophonie

Gérard Bouchard (1998: 62-63), wishes to bring together the nation and the political community of Quebec into a single and unified conception of community that he calls the “North American Francophonie”, in which Quebec identity is redefined upon a shared civic conception and centered on the French language and culture. Bouchard believes that there is a sufficiently common culture to form an inclusive civic nation around as long as it is dependent on the French language to form a common discourse. Thus the only coefficient of ethnicity in this nation would be the language (Bouchard 1999: 64). As well, Bouchard sees two other advantages to this conception of Quebec identity. One, it reduces all of the fragmented ethnic identities into a unified French language. Those who choose deliberately not to adapt to the French fact would be considered as auto-excluding themselves rather than being excluded by the state. Secondly, the conception of a francophonie defined by the language permits the integration of new cultural

figures that have been created by the generation of Law 101, allowing the culture to regenerate itself (Bouchard 1999: 71-72).

However, Bouchard continues to struggle with the tension between ethnic and territorial conceptions of citizenship that Moore identifies in Section 1. To satisfy the demands of undifferentiated citizenship that a nationality based on shared territory would endure, Bouchard jettisons everything about the past of the Francophone majority with the exception of the language. However, in Bouchard's work, only one territory is visible – Quebec. Bouchard makes the same assumption that Anderson (1991) and Thongchai identify – that the territory of Quebec is a monolith that is indivisible. A more accurate rendering of Quebec society would reveal a multiplicity of overlapping territorial loyalties: to Quebec, to Canada, to region, to city, to aboriginal community, even to specific neighbourhoods within Montreal. Rather than weld national and territorial identification together, Bouchard would be better served examining these two forms of identities as corollaries of one another – interconnected but also distinct.

3.2 Michel Seymour and the Sociopolitical Nation

Michel Seymour, in contrast to Bouchard, argues for a common political community within the civic nation of Canada - in other words, a nation within a nation. Seymour (2000: 231) defines the Quebec nation as a sociopolitical nation which involves “a political community containing a national majority and, very often, national minorities and various other ethnic communities”. Here Seymour makes a distinction between nations, which form complete self-governing societies, and national minorities, which are merely extensions of a neighbouring nation. Seymour (2000: 240) does not feel the need to merge the concept of state with nation as Bouchard attempts to do, arguing that “the Québec nation can be understood as a political community, containing a national majority of French Quebecers, a national minority of Anglo-Quebeckers and individuals having, for instance, Italian, Jewish, Greek, Portuguese, Haitian, Libanese or Latino-American national origins”. Thus where Bouchard sees ambiguity, Seymour sees clarity. Thus, he considers the eleven Aboriginal nations of Quebec as forming distinct

nations outside the nation of Quebec while remaining citizens of Quebec in the jurisdictional sense. In this sense, he considers Quebec as a multinational state comprised of the Quebec nation and the eleven Aboriginal nations. He uses a similar logic in application to the Quebec nation within Canada, arguing that “it is part of a larger political community, but it constitutes a distinct nation. It can be treated as part of the Canadian nation only if we use the word in a civic sense, but it still constitutes a distinct nation in the sociopolitical sense (Seymour 2000: 240)”. However, this same logic does not apply to Anglo-Quebeckers, who are considered to be a “national minority” within the nation of Quebec because they are a “minority extension on the territory of Quebec of a national majority of English Canadians” (Seymour 2000: 241).

What is particularly interesting about Seymour’s theory is the manner in which he mixes the territorial and cultural aspects of national identity. First and foremost, he divides the Canadian community into territorial spaces that match the borders of the province of Quebec. Secondly, he uses those borders as the basis to assign the desired “nation” status to only those groups that are a majority within each delineated territory. While he describes his articulation of Quebec as based on a socio-political identification, he delineates that identity through the use of territorial boundaries. These territorial boundaries serve as dividing lines between nations and national minorities and serve as the basis of differentiated citizenship in which the nation reigns supreme and national minorities are subordinated. In other words, if an Anglophone is on one side of the Quebec border, he is part of the Canadian nation; but if he is on the other side then he is only part of a national minority. More paradoxically, Seymour is able to consider Aboriginal groups living within the territory of Quebec as nations in their own right, but this acceptance is not extended to Anglophones, who are relegated. While Seymour does not explicitly articulate boundaries that would separate Aboriginal and Quebec territories as he did to separate the nations of Quebec and Canada, it does appear that his logic remains consistent. While he considers Quebec as a separate nation from Canada, he states that Quebec is jurisdictionally a part of Canada. Likewise, while Aboriginal Peoples would form separate nations from Quebec, they remain jurisdictional within

the province of Quebec. While Seymour is able to consider the importance of territoriality to identity, his articulation of territorial division is far too monistic and exclusive. Seymour's theory of normative pluralism seems to "beg the question"; constructing a model in such a way to favour Franco-Québécois demands at the expense of Anglo-Quebecers and Francophone groups lying outside the province of Quebec. Furthermore, Seymour does not understand the overlapping nature of territorial identity. Rather he divides Canada in jigsaw-like territorial pieces like Anderson (1991) and Thongchai describe in regards to Siam. In reality, territorial identities are multiple and overlapping: from neighbourhood, city, intraprovincial, provincial, regional, and state-wide. Thus while Seymour is able to comprehend the importance of territoriality in a limited sense, he is unable to expand this understanding into a comprehensive framework of identity.

3.3 Jocelyn Maclure and The Centrality of Discourse

In contrast to most of the other authors that we have examined in this thesis, Maclure does not consider the nation as forming a primary collective identity for people who live in Quebec. Instead, Maclure sees identity as something that is far more fluid than most people would admit. For Maclure (2003: 122), individuals are influenced by a "strange multiplicity" of dynamic and evolving cultural processes in which their identities are "made, unmade, and remade". Rather than viewing communities as monolithic homogeneous blocs in which citizens partake in a common culture, Maclure (2003: 130) finds it more promising to view the community "as a site of deliberation and articulation, not one of fusion".

Whereas for Bouchard, the central concept of identity is history; and for Seymour, it's the political community; for Maclure, it's the discourse. "Identity, as an interpretive narrative", argues Maclure (2003: 131), "can only emerge from the sharing of a vocabulary and the confrontation of views on this shared world". Thus freedom, within the conceptual framework that Maclure (2003: 133) develops, "resides in the possibility for self-disclosure, deliberation, and dissent within a plurality of intersubjective spheres, the nation obviously being one of them".

Whereas Bouchard and Seymour attempt to establish the Quebec nation as the central organizing collective principle on the territory of Quebec, Maclure, while understanding its importance, sees the nation as only one component of an individual's possible identity that is becoming increasingly influenced by other sources. According to Maclure (2003: 132), "it is becoming increasingly obvious that if the nation remains for many a vital structure for disclosure and recognition, a plethora of other identity sites are challenging its monopoly". Maclure is not suggesting that scholars should not try and craft a more inclusive Quebec identity, for which he is supportive. Rather, he is suggesting that such an identity can no longer be assumed to be predominant or homogenous. Trying to build a more definitive conception of identity, as Bouchard and Seymour attempt, is counterproductive as it will inevitably exclude those who don't fit into the paradigm.

While Maclure does not consider territorial identity specifically, his consideration of a "plethora of other identity sites" that are challenging the previously predominant position of national identity certainly leaves Maclure open to considerations of territorial forms of identity. Secondly, Maclure's concentration on a common discourse as the key to formulations of identity translates well into territorial identities. Groups that are territorially concentrated will have, according to Maclure's theory, a far easier time creating a sense of collectivity due to their proximity with one another. Thirdly, Maclure's discourse thesis can also understand multiple and overlapping territorial identities. As a resident in British Columbia, I can become involved in social, cultural, and political discourses regarding the neighbourhood, the city, the province, the region, or the country – all at the same time. Thus, an identity formed by discourse would allow the constant construction and maintenance of these multiple forms of territorial allegiance at a level similar to the construction and expression of multiple, plural cultural and national identities.

Thus while Quebec scholars have made a lot of progress in reconceptualising Quebec identity to be more open and inclusive, they still fall prey to the incompatibility between ethnic and civic citizenship that Moore identifies. Only Maclure is able to present a theory of identity

construction that can reconcile national belonging with other forms of identity in an equitable manner, including conceptions of territorial identity. Rather than attempting to define how all Québécois are the same, Maclure builds a conception that celebrates their differences while unifying the society around a common discourse, or series of discourses, that breeds shared comprehension and understanding of the deep diversity within Quebec society at both the macro and micro level. However, the other two scholars make some valuable contributions to the field. But Bouchard and Seymour are held back by their reluctance to view territorial identity as distinct from, but connected to, other forms of identity such as cultural and national, with which they are most concerned. An examination of normative pluralism from a territorial perspective may open up new insights that will allow these scholars to build more comprehensive normative frameworks.

4. Conclusion

The development of normative pluralism by Taylor, Kymlicka, Tully, Karmis, Maclure, and others has been a welcome development on the understanding of a growing plural identity, but there is a stunning gap within the literature. Whereas Canadian scholars of normative pluralism have been very diligent in addressing cultural and national diversity in their normative frameworks, they have underemphasized the central importance of territoriality in the formulation of individual identity. This omission is understandable, as the literature has focused on accommodating growing multiculturalist and minority nationalist groups to the existing state system. In the Canadian context, the focus on the Quebec nationalist project has distracted attention from growing articulations of territorial identity in other parts of the country; a process that Resnick believes has led to a “politics of resentment” (Resnick 2000). This neglect is surprising considering the psychological importance that territoriality plays for nationalist movements as they seek to establish absolute authority over a defined territory. This neglect in the role that territory plays in constructing identities may also explain the reluctance of theorists to consider forms of territorial identity with the same normative force as cultural and national

identities. But if territorial identities do exist, as this thesis contends, then what makes them unique from cultural and national forms of identity? Theorists have created a great body of literature on the development, maintenance, and promotion of national and cultural identities throughout the target society, but they have spent less time developing theories on how territorial identities are born, grow, and evolve. In an attempt to fill this gap in the literature, this thesis will attempt, in the next chapter, to develop a theory of territorial identity based upon a trialectic of territoriality, narrative, and banal flagging.

Chapter Two - The Trilectic of Territorial Identity: Territoriality, Narrative, and Banal Flagging

As outlined in the first chapter, we make the argument in this thesis that territorial identity remains a powerful part of each individual's self-conception, and should be considered alongside national and cultural forms of identity. As Storey (2001: 17) believes, even "if territorial behavior is seen largely as a phenomenon conditioned by our circumstances, it is certainly apparent that people display a tendency to identify with particular places. People do form bonds with place and, in this sense, territory is vitally important to people and may serve as an integral component of self-identity". While we have described territorial identities as a "third category" of identity, alongside national and cultural identities, this categorization does not suggest that these categories of identity are unrelated. National identities themselves are tied to a defined territory or "homeland" over which the national group seeks control. Cultural identities formed through immigration may still maintain a psychological connection to an "ancestral territory" many miles away, even if the individual has never seen it. Kaplan (1999: 32) highlights the similarities between national and territorial identities when he states that:

National identities are situated among a cascade of geographically based identities. Although in many cases national identities are conceived as "ethnic," ethnic affiliations range from the clan to the civilization. In this day and age, national identities embody the political goal of comprising a state. But both substate and superstate units proliferate and can spawn their own identities.

But if national and territorial identities are but two vertical levels of geographical based identities then why should we split them into separate categories? Could we not just simply group them together under a single category of geographical identity? While territorial and national identities are certainly interrelated, there is a key distinction between the two in the manner in which they develop within the current territorial state. Following Kymlicka's (1998) definition of national minorities, a national identity is imagined to pre-date the existence of the state, whereas a territorial identity can be thought of as developing within the structure of a state. The manner in which this territorial identity is developed is not monolithic in itself. Rather, territorial identity formation is the result of three distinct yet interconnected social phenomena: territoriality, narrative, and banal flagging. Only through examining the trialectic interplay between these three separate phenomena can a general understanding of territorial identity be found. This chapter will begin with a detailed look at the abstract theory of territoriality of Robert D. Sack and the manner in which territory, the locus of territorial identity, is formed at a multitude of vertical levels. By examining the crucial link between territoriality and language, for without which territoriality could not exist, a connection will be forged with the larger linguistic theory of narrative. In this section, the power of narrative to visualize the borders that territoriality constructs and to assign 'real' meaning to the imagined territory in the 'hearts and minds' of the target population will be explored. Finally, Billig's concept of "banal flagging" will help us to understand how the powerful machinations of territoriality and narrative can become to be seen as "natural" and unquestioned through a stream of "banal flags" that remind the individual every day of the territory in which he or she lives and the narrative that sustains it. The trialectic formed by these separate phenomena may reveal the complexity of modern expressions of territorial identity, as well as our difficulties in understanding it.

1 Territoriality

Critical to our understanding of territorial identity is the concept of territoriality, which is the process in which territories are defined and delineated from one another. While in a physical sense, territories do not exist, their imaginary construction has a deep effect on how we perceive the world and, by extension, ourselves. As Delaney (2005: 12) explains, territoriality is understood as “implicating and being implicated in ways of thinking, acting, and being in the world – ways of world-making informed by beliefs, desires, and culturally and historically contingent ways of knowing”. For territorial identities to exist, which is the central thesis of this chapter, there must be an imaginary territory to which individuals and collectivities identify. As Delaney notes, territoriality not only is “implicated in the creation, circulation, and interpretation of meaning (Delaney 2005: 17),” but “informs key aspects of collective and individual identities”, shaping and being shaped by “collective social and self-consciousness” (Delaney 2005: 12). Thus territoriality and territorial identity form a symbiotic relationship, recreating one another in the public imagination. However, for the purposes of this chapter and for the following case study, a more in-depth analysis of the theory of territoriality and its central role in forming and shaping territorial identities is needed. Thus first, the influential theory of territoriality introduced by Robert David Sack in his book *Human Territoriality* will be introduced and its central tenets reviewed. This section will be followed by a brief discussion of how the current academic literature on territoriality tends to limit its analysis to forms of national identities formed by either nation-states or by minority nationalist movements at the expense of understanding how strictly territorial forms of identity develop. This will be followed by a discussion of the contribution of the element of verticality in territoriality that Delaney introduces and its relevance to the multiple and overlapping nature of territorial identities. Finally, the central importance of language will be examined and a link drawn between the power of language to construct territoriality and the necessity of narrative in constructing an identity centred around a defined territory, which will form the second major section of this chapter.

In *Human Territoriality: Its theory and history*, Sack introduces a general theory of territoriality that while not admittedly comprehensive, nonetheless opens up numerous avenues of analysis in an effort to understand the significant power of territorial identity. Sack (1986: 19) summarizes the definition of territoriality as “the attempt by an individual or group to affect, influence, or control people, phenomena, and relationships, by delimiting and asserting control over a geographic area. This area will be called the territory”. Sack’s (1986: 20) conception of territoriality and the power inherent within is quite broad, arguing that territoriality can “include job descriptions (how long you must be seated, where you are and not allowed to go, etc.), legal rights in land, brute force or power, cultural norms and prohibitions about the use of areas, and subtler forms of communication such as body posture. However, in this chapter, we will be more focused on the more macroscopic instances of territoriality such as cities, provinces, and regions.

1.1 The Three Interdependent Relationships of Territoriality

From his definition of territoriality, Sack then proceeds to identify three interdependent relationships of territoriality: classification by area, a form of communication, and an attempt to enforce control over an area.

1. Territoriality is dependent upon a form of classification by area. Sack (1986: 21) argues that when “someone says that anything, or even some things, in this room are his, or are off limits to you, or that you may not touch anything outside this room, he is using area to classify or assign things to a category such as his, or not yours. He need not define or enumerate the kinds of things that are his or are not yours”.
2. Territoriality is dependent upon a form of communication. According to Sack, this may “involve a marker or sign such as is commonly found in a boundary. Or a person may create a boundary through a gesture such as pointing. A territorial boundary may be the only symbolic form that combines a statement about

direction in space and a statement about possession or exclusion” (Sack 1986: 21).

3. Finally, territoriality involves an attempt to enforce control over “access to the area and to things within it, or to things outside of it by restraining those within. More generally, each instance must involve an attempt at influencing interactions: transgressions of territoriality will be punished and this can involve other non-territorial and territorial action” (Sack 1986: 22).

1.2 Ten Tendencies of Territoriality

From these three interdependent relationships, Sack then proceeds to describe ten major tendencies of territoriality. Please note that Sack does not argue that these ten tendencies are a complete and comprehensive list, but are the most significant tendencies that he can identify:

1. Territoriality involves “a form of classification that is extremely efficient” by classifying “by area rather than by type” (Sack 1986: 32).
2. Territoriality can be “easy to communicate because it requires only one kind of marker or sign – the boundary” that makes it easy to make statements about “possession or exclusion” of the people and the resources within (Sack 1986: 32).
3. Territoriality can be “the most efficient strategy for enforcing control” over resources or things to be controlled if they “fall well between ubiquity and unpredictability” (Sack 1986: 32).
4. Territoriality provides “a means of reifying power”. In essence, territoriality takes forms of power that are abstract and material and makes them “explicit and real by making them ‘visible’” (Sack 1986: 33).
5. Territoriality can be used “to displace attention from the relationship between controller and controlled to the territory, as when we say ‘it is the law of the land’ or ‘you may not do this here.’” In other words, territoriality hides the real and

complex forms of social power behind an apparently natural territory that “appears as the agent doing the controlling (Sack 1986: 33).” In this sense, Delaney (2005: 11) argues that part of the power of territoriality is that it becomes “regarded in a rather taken-for-granted way as an almost natural phenomenon”. When the territory becomes seen to be “self-evident, necessary, or unquestionable, it may obscure the play of power and politics in its formation and maintenance” (Delaney 2005: 11).

6. Territoriality also builds relationships and connections between people who will never meet. According to Sack (1986: 33), by “classifying at least in part by area rather than by kind or type, territoriality helps make relationships impersonal”.
7. Territoriality hides or obscures forms of power because the “interrelationships among the territorial units and the activities they enclose may be so complicated that it is virtually impossible to uncover all of the reason for controlling the activities territorially,” leaving a territoriality that “appears as a general, neutral, essential means by which a place is made, or a space cleared and maintained, for things to exist” (Sack 1986: 33). As Delaney (2005: 18) explains, “territory commonly works precisely through the tendency to take power and meaning and their relationship to be simply self-evident and rather non-problematic. In this way, territory is reified and rendered as relatively simple and unambiguous. In this way territory does much of our thinking for us and closes off or obscures questions of power and meaning, ideology and legitimacy, authority and obligation, and how worlds of experience are continually made and remade”.
8. Territoriality acts as a clear and unambiguous “container or mold for the spatial properties of events”, in which influence and authority “is ‘legally’ assigned to its political boundaries” (Sack 1986: 33). For example, a city, even though its influence may spread far and wide (such as Toronto due to its massive financial

and media market), is “legally” assigned to its political boundaries (Sack 1986: 33).

9. Territoriality can create a conceptual image of a “socially emptiable place” (Sack 1986: 33). In this sense, territoriality can eliminate pre-existing communities and create the impression that a place is ‘empty’, and thus can be filled at the discretion of the territorial authority. This tendency is most clearly viewed in the use of territoriality to marginalize the territorial existence of aboriginal peoples in North America (Sack 1986: Ch.5).
10. Finally, territoriality can be never-ending in its tendency to create new territories. In other words, the creation of one territory “can help engender more territoriality and more relationships to mold” as territoriality tends to be “space-filling” (Sack 1986: 34). According to Sack (1986: 34), when “there are more events than territories or when the events extend over greater areas than do the territories, new territories are generated for these events. Conversely, new events may need to be produced for new and empty territories”. For example, for an event such as a basketball game between two high-schools, a new set of territories is created and assigned to each of the high school teams in question and the neighbourhood within which they reside. Thus an individual may find themselves cheering for one high school team over another based not on any connection to the high-school itself but to the territory that has been generated due to the event.

1.3 Verticality

But territoriality doesn't simply exist as a singular and mutually exclusive concept. By understanding the concept of territoriality, we can comprehend a multiplicity of territorialities that are interconnected and overlapping, from our kitchen to our house, from our neighbourhood to our city, from our province to our region, and even from our state to the planet earth. The territoriality that we invoke at any given moment will depend heavily on the context in which it is

being invoked. As Knight (1982: 515) notes, “whatever our reference levels, we have the astonishing ability to ‘flick a switch’ in our minds and change levels of abstraction. Our personal sense of ‘place,’ as defined at any of the above levels of abstraction, has a territorial component.” Thus a theory of territoriality must take the multiplicity of levels of abstraction in regards to territoriality into account when examining the complicated menagerie of nested territorial identities. Delaney addresses this gap in the theory with his conceptual addition of “verticality” to Sack’s theory of territoriality. “Verticality”, defines Delaney (2005: 31), “concerns the territorialized distribution of power among conceptually distinct entities with respect to some discrete segment of social space”. Ignoring the vertical aspect of territoriality when examining territorial identities may give a simplistic and monistic account of a complex and nested reality. Delaney (2005: 32) underscores the risk of neglecting the importance of verticality by stating:

Any general discussion of territory that neglects verticality already closes off what may be among territory’s most significant dimensions, insofar as any modern territory is embedded within complex constellations of distinct but mutually constitutive spaces through which power is distributed and redistributed .

Further complicating matters is that these overlapping and interconnected levels of territoriality are never static, rather they are constantly moving and evolving in relation to time and space. According to Paasi (1996: 37), “regional [territorial] transformation takes place simultaneously on all spatial scales, e.g. at the local, regional, national and global levels”. Furthermore, individuals and groups are socialized into varying territorial memberships through institutional practices that create a multiplicity of social consciousness that exist simultaneously at multiple vertical levels (Paasi 1996: 35). According to Paasi (1996: 35), these “memberships connect the inhabitants with the symbols of the region in various practices – and simultaneously demarcate the Other”. But at each vertical level, the ‘Other’ in question will change depending on the context given. Thus, an individual might defend his state from the antipathy of an outside ‘Other’, but then that individual may turn around and cast the same state as the ‘Other’ in relation to his smaller sub-state territorial group. Thus the same territory can be both the ‘One’ and

'Other' simultaneously depending on the given context. But these constructions of the 'One', the 'Other', and the context which governs the vertical level of territoriality that is being addressed are dependent on yet another factor – language.

1.4 Language and Territoriality

While we recognize territoriality as a remarkably powerful concept in the structure of human spatial organization, it exists in no real sense. Borders and boundaries are not drawn out in yellow lines to divide up the globe, rather these territorial divisions are drawn out and organized in our collective imaginations, dependent on language to not only define this territorial divisions, but to communicate these territorial constructions to others for acceptance. As Tuan (1991: 684) explains, “words alone, used in an appropriate situation, can have the power to render objects, formerly invisible because unattended, visible, and impart to them a certain character: thus a mere rise on a flat surface becomes something far more – a place that promises to open up to other places – when it is named ‘Mount Prospect’”. Or in other words, “language creates place” (Tuan 1991: 695). Tuan (1991: 694) links together the process of language and place-construction when he states that:

Taking language seriously has a number of intellectual consequences or rewards. It enables us to understand the *process* of place-making better by recognizing a force previously neglected, if not wholly ignored. It enables us to understand the *quality* (the personality or character) of place better, for that quality is imparted by, along with visual appearance and other factors, the metaphorical and symbolic powers of language. Taking language seriously shows, moreover, that the “quality” of place is more than just aesthetic or affectional, that it also has a *moral* dimension, which is to be expected if language is a component in the construction and maintenance, for language – ordinary language – is never morally neutral .

While Tuan is referring to the use of language in the symbolic construction of a physical place, a similar process occurs on larger-scale territories in which a metaphorical and symbolic identity is created through language. But language is not enough. Language may be able to tell us something about the territory in question but what does it tell us? Mt. Prospect tells us nothing about the place it invokes and Thongchai's map-as-logo image of Siam reveals nothing other than a shape on a piece of paper. Thus territorial meaning, while constructed by language, is not

beholden to language itself but to a specific element of language. As Ricoeur (1995: 6) reminds us:

[T]o speak of memory is not only to evoke a psycho-physiological faculty which has something to do with the preservation and recollection of traces of the past; it is to put forward the 'narrative' function through which this primary capacity of preservation and recollection is exercised at the public level of language.

As Billig (1995: 6) argues, “[m]ore is at stake in drawing the boundary of a language than linguistics. Rather, “[t]he battle for hegemony”, Billig (1995: 32) believes, “is reflected in the power to define language, or in what Thompson has called the power ‘to make meaning stick’”. “[T]erritory is not; it becomes, for territory itself is passive, and it is human beliefs and actions that give territory meaning” (Knight 1982: 517). And the manner in which meaning is made to stick, the manner in which territory is given meaning, is through narrative.

2 Narrative

In the previous section, the power of territoriality in structuring our spatial lives and relationships was explored. However, territoriality cannot depend on itself to maintain its own existence. Without a clear loyalty to the territorial borders constructed through territoriality, the structural boundaries will fray and weaken as social power shifts within the territory in question. Territoriality alone does not explain how long-standing attachments to specific, if arbitrary, territorial divisions can withstand great social and economic change. Only through the utilization of narrative can territorial constructions find some semblance of stability as it ties the territory with the social identities of the individuals within. As Somers (1994: 606) notes, “it is through narrativity that we come to know, understand, and make sense of the social world, and it is through narratives and narrativity that we constitute our social identities”.

2.1 Paul Ricoeur and Emplotment

But how are these narratives developed and attached to existing forms of territoriality and why do these territorial narratives hold such sway over the populations within? To this question, we turn to the influential work of French philosopher Paul Ricoeur and his concept of “narrative

identity". As Venn (2005: 288) explains, "Ricoeur's notion of narrative identity points to the idea of a self as a storied self, as an entity made up of stories told, indeed, entangled in the stories that a person tells or that are told about her". Ricoeur (1992: 143) believes that "the identity of the character is comprehensible through the transfer to the character of the operation of emplotment, first applied to the action recounted; characters, we will say, are themselves plots". This notion of emplotment is a key element of Ricoeur's theory of narrative identity, serving to create a narrative by linking events together to give an "account of the intentions of the actors so that the character appears to have a certain chronology" (Rasmussen 1995: 165). According to Somers (1994: 614), "people construct identities (however multiple and changing) by locating themselves or being located within a repertoire of emplotted stories"; their 'experience' is "constituted through narratives" that seek to "make sense of what has happened and is happening to them by attempting to assemble or in some way to integrate these happenings within one or more narratives". Thus narrativity translates 'events' into 'episodes' through the process of emplotment (Somers 1994: 616).

Now the process of emplotment, as articulated by Ricoeur, itself contains sub-processes that translate seemingly random 'events' into compelling narratives: action and character.

2.1.1 Action

To define explicitly what Ricoeur means by "action" is difficult, as there is a whole philosophical literature on the concept on which Ricoeur is building. However, perhaps the most succinct, if not comprehensive, definition comes from Donald Davidson. Davidson (1980: 61) proposed that "[i]f an event is an action, then under some description(s) it is primitive, and under some descriptions(s) it is intentional". Davidson argues that an event is an action if it satisfies one of two criteria: (1) it is the result of a primitive action on the part of the agent, or (2) that the action can be described as intentional in some way. What Davidson means by "primitive" actions are those that are physically carried out by an agent's body, such as pointing a finger or using that finger to pull a trigger. Both are actions because they occur as a result of a physical act by the

agent in question. With the second criteria, Davidson is drawing a causal link between action and intention, in that events are actions if they are intentionally in some way shape or form. In regards to the discussion of narrative, the agents are not physical beings but characters created by the narrative and made to appear real in the imagination of the audience. Thus, the first criterion of action is irrelevant to our discussion. Thus, when we refer to 'action' in this thesis, we will do so with the understanding that we are referring to the Davidson's second criteria of action, in that events are only actions when they are intentional in some form.

2.1.2 *Character*

Character is the second half of the dialectic between action and character in the employment of narrative. "Character," argues Ricoeur (1992: 121), "designates the set of lasting dispositions by which a person is recognized. [...] It is therefore important to ask ourselves about the temporal dimension of the disposition, which will later set character back upon the path of the narrativization of personal identity". In other words, narratives do not construct characters as static, never-changing objects. Rather, characters, like in a good novel, will change and evolve over the timeline organized by the narrative. In the context of narrative, Ricoeur argues that these characters will fulfill specific roles in the plot constructed by narrative. More specifically, he focuses on a pair of connected roles that take great prominence in identities formed by narrative: agents and sufferers. The role of the Agent can be defined as the "One who acts" whereas the role of Sufferer can be defined as the "One who is acted upon". This agent/sufferer role set is a crucial aspect in the formation of territorial identities, in that they are often developed due to a perceived imbalance of political, economic, or social power. Furthermore, they allow for compelling means for people within the territory to accept the set of territorial characters constructed by narrative as real and tangible. Thus in narrative terms, "identity can be called, by linguistic convention, the identity of the *character*" (Ricoeur 1992: 141).

Through the process of emplotment, in which the actions and characters of the plot are created, narrative creates a comprehensible and compelling explanation of the complex set of seemingly random events to a target that is easy to accept. As Khan (2006: 12) explains:

Plots give narratives a structure, (a coherence), recounting past events in story form, but never actually *verifying* past reality. Instead, the creative production of the imagination results in the interpretation of human experience. Human experience ‘in its profound temporal dimension, never ceases to be shaped’ by narrative. So narrative in a sense *arises from* lived experience, and *affects* what is taken to be lived experience. But, of course, the gap between the (embodied) experience of being and interpreted life remains.

Furthermore for Somers (1994: 617), to “make something understandable in the context of a narrative is to give it historicity and relationality. This works for us because when events are located in a temporal (however fleeting) and sequential plot we can then explain their relationship to other events”.

But the real power of emplotment is that it transforms events from “what happened” to “what was supposed to happen”, from a mere occurrence to an essential part of the storyline. In other words, emplotment alters *contingency* into *destiny*¹⁵. As Ricoeur (1992: 142) explains:

The paradox of emplotment is that it inverts the effect of contingency, in the sense of that which could have happened differently or which might not have happened at all, by incorporating it in some way into the effect of necessity or probability exerted by the configuring act. The inversion of the effect of contingency into an effect of necessity is produced at the very core of the event: as a mere occurrence, the latter is confined to thwarting the expectations created by the prior course of events; it is quite simply the unexpected, the surprising. It only becomes an integral part of the story when understood after the fact, once it is transfigured by the so-to-speak retrograde necessity which proceeds from the temporal totality carried to its term. This necessity is a narrative necessity whose meaning effect comes from the configuring act as such; this narrative necessity transforms physical contingency,

¹⁵ Of course, there are limitations to the communicative power of plots. As Somers (1994: 617) explains, “in the face of a potentially limitless array of social experiences deriving from social contact with events, institutions, and people, the evaluative capacity of emplotment demands and enables selective appropriation in constructing narratives. A plot must be thematic. The primacy of this narrative theme or competing themes determines how events are processed and what criteria will be used to prioritize events and render meaning to them”.

the other side of physical necessity, into narrative contingency, implied in narrative necessity.

Thus, “chance is transmuted into fate. And the identity of the character emploted, so to speak, can be understood only in terms of this dialectic” (Ricoeur 1992: 147) or, in the words of Rasmussen (1995: 165), “[f]reedom succumbs to necessity”.

2.2 The “Second-Order Stories” of Public Narratives

Up to this point, however, Ricoeur has focused on identities formed by narratives at the level of the individual. In this sense, he is examining how narratives influence and affect our own personal sense of identity. However, Ricoeur (1995: 6) argues that the narrative identity of each individual will mingle and overlap with others to form what he describes as “second order stories which are themselves intersections between numerous stories”. In other words, through the transmission and reception of individual narratives over a given population, an extra-personal narrative can emerge. Somers (1994: 619) describes this phenomenon as a “public narrative” which she defines as “those narratives attached to cultural and institutional formations larger than the single individual, to intersubjective networks or institutions, however local or grand, micro- or macro-stories about social mobility, the ‘freeborn Englishman,’ the working-class hero, and so on”. Somers (1994: 624) puts great emphasis on this phenomenon, even arguing that narrative-based explanations of social action, in which “people are guided to act by the structural and cultural relationships in which they are embedded and by the stories through which they constitute their identities”, may be more relevant than interest-based explanations, for whereas “an interest approach assumes people act on the basis of rational means-ends preferences or by internalizing a set of values, a narrative identity approach assumes people act in particular ways because *not* to do so would fundamentally violate their sense of *being* at that particular time and place”.

If narratives form a superior claim to social action than interests, as Somers suggests, then we can expect that the “construction, enactment, and appropriation (Somers 1994: 629)” of these

narratives will be highly contentious. Somers (1994: 629) agrees, arguing that the “kinds of narratives” that “will socially predominate is contested politically and will depend in large part on the distribution of power”. But certain narratives will have an advantage over others; they will have the advantage of territoriality.

2.3 The Link Between Narrative and Territoriality

The advantage that territorial-based narratives have over competing narrative plots is that they have an authority that builds the legitimacy of the territory in question. In a sense, the claim of authority over a specified territory must be accepted by the population within for the territory to become ‘real’ and for the authority of the territorial regime to be unquestioned. Whitebrook (2001: 134) believes that “[r]ational authority’ may then be understood as a matter of coherent narrative, and political order may be said to depend on the regime’s ability to tell an appropriate story (narratively speaking, appropriate to the expectations of the readers, or to the genre, for instance)”. In this sense, territoriality and narrative can form a reciprocal relationship. Territorial authorities can, depending on their jurisdictional reach, create and propagate territorial narratives through education and media, while these same territorial narratives can strengthen the salience of territory in the minds of its denizens and thus also the legitimacy of territorial-based authorities whose “legitimacy in a narrative mode rests on the ability ‘to tell a true tale’” that is easy to understand and credible (Whitebrook 2001: 134-135). As Whitebrook (2001: 134) explains:

The political body needs to tell a compelling story, to gain the assent of its listeners, in order to establish its identity. The language of narrative can be brought in political use; conversely, political language could be rethought in narrative terms. For example, familiar political terms in the cluster state, authority and legitimacy, can be associated with narrative where that is concerned with recognition or intelligibility.

However, narrative not only serves territoriality in legitimizing its existence and the authority that the territory claims, it is also a necessary component in constructing the boundaries of the territory and its neighbours. As forms of territoriality are heavily contested by social groups, narrative serves as a strategy not only to define a territory controlled by a specific authority, but

also to define the territories (or lack thereof) of its competitors. Thus a national state threatened by a minority nationalist movement may create narratives that highlight a united pan-state conception of territoriality while simultaneously constructing narratives that highlight the disunity of the competing territorial of the competing minority nationalist group¹⁶. Likewise, minority nationalist movements or territorial jurisdictions seeking greater autonomy may construct narratives that highlight the fragmented or conditional spatial organization of the nation-state while crafting narratives that extol the indivisibility and unity of their own territories¹⁷. This continuing battle occurs at all vertical levels of territoriality, leaving Newman and Paasi (1998: 195) to conclude that the “construction of boundaries at all scales and dimensions takes place through narrativity”. Newman and Paasi (1998: 196) summarize the interconnected relationship between territoriality, narrativity, and articulations of social power by stating that:

As far as national socialization is concerned, boundaries are thus one part of the discursive landscape of social power, control and governance, which extends itself into the whole society and which is produced and reproduced in various social and cultural practices. This landscape concretizes and attempts to legitimize relations between territorial structures. In this discursive landscape, a boundary has a dual role, reflecting both collective and individual consciousness. The boundary does not limit itself merely to the border area or landscape itself, but more generally manifests itself in social and cultural practices and legislation, as well as in films, novels, memorials, ceremonies and public events. These boundary-related narratives also constitute contested frontiers, inasmuch as they exist by virtue of the boundary. Within these frontiers, the contest for identity socialization takes place, as institutions and agencies attempt to create exclusive ‘us’ identities and, by definition, outsider images of the ‘Other’. Geographic and historical education in the school system also produces and reproduces the consciousness of this system of signs ± an ‘iconography of boundaries’. This tends to make space incontestable and exclusive (the purification of space), inasmuch as it provides a specific ‘reading’ and system of norms and values.

While Newman and Paasi (1998: 197) conclude that narratives construct territorial boundaries by shaping the mindscapes and perceptual images of the targeted population through ‘literary landscapes’, this narrative explanation by itself is not adequate. For while narrative construction

¹⁶ See Kernerman’s (2005) debate on the unity/disunity dialectic in *Multicultural Nationalism: Civilizing Difference, Constitution Community*.

¹⁷ See the compact theory of Canadian federalism.

is a powerful strategy to legitimize and solidify articulations of territoriality and their boundaries, it does not follow that such narratives are created by political or social elites through meticulous intention. Rather, territorial narratives are an expected response to thousands of barely noticeable reminders that reinforce both the territoriality in question and the narrative that supports it - a process known as “banal flagging”.

3 Banal Flagging

In the previous two sections of this chapter, we have examined the impact that territoriality and narrative have played in the construction and transmission of territorial identities. However, there is a third element that must be considered due its importance in constantly reminding the target population of the boundaries inherent in the constructed territoriality and the narrative that sustains it. This element we may refer to as “banal flagging”. In this chapter, our concept of banal flagging is based on the work of Michael Billig in his book *Banal Nationalism*.

3.1 Banal Flagging and Territoriality

In *Banal Nationalism*, Billig (1995: 6) argues that expressions of majority nationalism may be hidden from sight due its dependence on “ideological habits” that serve by their existence to constantly remind or “flag” the target population of the nation, its values, and its boundaries without drawing attention to itself; thereby constantly “reproduce established nations as nations”. As Billig (1995: 6) explains, “the term banal nationalism is introduced to cover the ideological habits which enable the established nations of the West to be reproduced. It is argued that these habits are not removed from everyday life, as some observers have supposed. Daily, the nation is indicated, or ‘flagged’, in the lives of its citizenry”. Thus in established majority nations, “there is a continual ‘flagging’, or reminding, of nationhood” such that the image of banal nationalism is “not a flag which is being consciously waved with fervent passion; it is the flag hanging unnoticed on the public building” (Billig 1995: 8). Furthermore, the category on banal flags that Billig creates is much broader than just physical flags or markers. Banal flagging also extends into our language and the notions that we take for granted. Banal notions, according to Billig

(1995: 29), “turn out to be ideological constructions of nationalism. They are ‘invented permanencies’, which have been created historically in the age of modernity, but which feel as if they have always existed”. In this sense, these ‘invented permanencies’ strike a canny resemblance to the fifth tendency of territoriality as identified by Sack - that territoriality hides the real and complex forms of social power behind an apparently natural territory. While Billig uses his concept of “banal flagging” to understand majority nations, the lessons imparted by his work are highly relevant to the study of non-national forms of territorial identification. Like banal nations, territories require, according to Sack (1986: 19), “constant effort to establish and maintain. They are the results of strategies to affect, influence, and control people, phenomena, and relationships”. Delaney (2005: 28-29) finds similar connections between territoriality and “flagging”, arguing that modern culture “is very much a culture of ‘signage.’ As common experience will readily verify many of the non-commercial signs one encounters are markers of territory”. Paasi’s (1996: 34) discussion of territorial symbols strikes a similar chord:

Territorial symbols are often abstract expressions of supposed group solidarity, embodying the actions of political, economic, administrative and cultural institutions in the continual reproduction and legitimation of the system of practices that constitute and demarcate the territorial unit concerned. Thus symbols are instrumental in the sense that they serve to evoke powerful emotions of identification with territorial groupings and can generate action.

3.2 Banal Flagging and Narrative

However, Billig’s concept of “banal flagging” does not simply deal with physical flags, signs, or “imaginary landscapes”. There is also an element in his work that deals with the incredibly subtle ways we flag the nation everyday in the very language we speak. However, subtlety is the key word here, much more so than in the case of unwaved flags and signs, which are still physically visible. As Billig (1995: 93) notes, banal nationalism “operates with prosaic, routine words, which take nations for granted, and which, in so doing, inhabit them. Small words, rather than grand memorable phrases, offer constant, but barely conscious, reminders of the homeland, making ‘our’ national identity unforgettable”. Thus the key words are often the smallest, forming

a linguistic 'deixis' with words such as 'we', 'this' and 'here' which implicitly assume and flag the nation without explicitly naming them (Billig 1995: 94). The power of this linguistic deixis, as Billig (1995: 98) describes cannot be underestimated, for it provides a way for territorial authorities to win the loyalty of the target population to the territory by using "the rhetoric of identification to suggest an overall 'we'" and thus allowing the target population to buy into the territorial narrative being referenced¹⁸. While Billig focuses exclusively on the national deixis of representation, there is no territorial limitation of the power of representation that the deixis appropriates. Words such as 'we', 'us' and 'here' are very capable at sliding up and down multiple vertical levels of territoriality and their inherent narratives depending on the context of the discussion at hand. 'We' can simultaneously refer to the people of a neighbourhood, a town, a large city, a province, a region, a state, a continent, a civilization, or the whole of humanity. The explicit definition of 'we' is not needed, it can be inferred from the context in which it is used. The use of the deixis to construct the territorial narrative is not limited to politicians; the media play a significant role in its genesis and evolution. As Billig (1995: 115) explains:

Routinely, newspapers, like politicians, claim to stand in the eye of the country. Particularly in their opinion and editorial columns, they use the nationalized syntax of hegemony, simultaneously speaking to and for the nation, and representing the nation in both senses of 'representation'. They evoke a national 'we', which includes the 'we' of reader and writer, as well as the 'we' of the universal audience.

But once again, the use of the 'we' is not limited to the vertical level of the 'nation' or state, it can be used at any level of territoriality in the construction of the moral narrative. For example, a

¹⁸ As Billig (1995: 98) notes:

The notion of representation, in this context, is not straightforward. Two meanings can be distinguished in theory, but these are intertwined in political practice. First, there is 'representation' in the sense of 'standing for' or 'speaking for'. This sense of representation is implied when governments claim to represent 'the nation' or 'the people', speaking, acting and sometimes waving flags on its behalf. [...] The second meaning of representation is 'depiction', in the sense that a picture may be a representation of a scene. In contemporary political practice, the two forms of representation are closely connected. In order to claim to speak *for* the nation/people, the politician must also speak *to* that nation/people.

local community fighting to save its hospital from government cutbacks may use the 'we' in opposition to the government 'they'; a newspaper editorial in Calgary may use the provincial 'we' to defend oil interests, which are extended to be the interests of all Albertans within the territory, from the machinations of the federal government 'they'; or a national government may criticize the actions of a foreign government 'over there' for not holding human rights to the same standard as they are 'here'. No matter what the vertical territorial level, the deixis of representation can and will be used, fusing together our notions of territoriality, narrative, and banal flagging into a complex and interconnected relationship.

3.3 Examples of Territorial-Based "Banal Flagging"

But if there is a relationship between territoriality, narrative, and banal flagging, then what elements of banal flagging could we expect? While it is beyond the scope of this chapter to give a complete and comprehensive list and recognizing that the banal flags used in each instance of territoriality and narrative will be different, we can certainly suggest several common elements.

First and foremost, the name of the territory in question would be a key element in constructing the mental picture of the imaginary territory. As Paasi (1996: 35) explains, the "most important symbol is doubtless the name of the territorial unit or region, which usually 'gathers' together its historical development, its important events, episodes and memories and joins the personal histories of its inhabitants to this collective heritage". A second element flag would be the boundary of the territory as getting people to remember the boundary of the territory would be an essential part in having the territory itself accepted as 'real'. Interconnected with narrative, boundary "flags" may also serve to construct of "moral geography" in which some territories are seen as having a higher moral value than others (Cox 2002). While Cox (2002: 151) for the most part limits his discussion of moral geography to neighbourhoods, he admits this same process can occur at the regional territorial scale. Prominent examples of this element include the U.S. Civil War in which North (modern, civilized) was divided from South (classical, traditional) by the "Mason-Dixon line", the Canadian West (dynamic, folksy) vs. East

(traditional, rigid) dynamic, and the traditional metropole/hinterland dichotomy. A third element would be flags and signs which serve not only to remind people of the territory's existence and delineation, but can also serve as an instrument of the hegemonic power of the territorial authority. The language used in the sign can be expression of the hegemony of one or more "official" languages. In the case of signs or flags representative of the territorial authority itself, the use of territorial symbols such as Quebec's fleur-de-lys or British Columbia's dogwood may also serve to heighten the territory's "brand" vis-à-vis its neighbours. The mandated use of a particular unit of measurement or currency on signs or packages can serve as a constant reminder of the salience of the territory and its narrative, particularly if a neighbouring territories uses different currencies or units of measurement. A final element is the sports team. Billig sees the sports team as an incredibly powerful form of banal flagging, most notably in events of international competition in cricket, tennis, or (European) football. As Billig (1995: 119) explains, "all the papers, whatever their politics, have a section in which the flag is waved with regular enthusiasm. This is the sports section". For every day, "the world over, millions upon millions of men scan these pages, sharing in defeats and victories, feeling at home in this world of waved flags (Billig 1995: 122)" that wave for "'us', 'our victories' and 'our heroes'" (Billig 1995: 120). Once again, Billig focuses on the national aspect of banal flagging, choosing to ignore the fact that sports pages tend to be dominated (outside of the Olympics and relevant international championships) by professional sporting clubs, which are identified by the major city in which they are centred. In the case of Europe, this is most evident in popularity of professional soccer leagues such as the English Premier League, Serie A in Italy, the Bundesliga in Germany, La Liga in Spain, and the combined Champions League. In Canada, this is most evident in the sport of hockey. Sports teams can also serve as a form of solidarity at the local, provincial, and regional level. Depending on the event, the territorial loyalty commandeered and reinforced is altered. At the lowest vertical level is junior hockey, where local neighbourhood or community identities can be expressed and reinforced. Provincial Winter Games group together

players in territorial regions within the province for the purposes of organization. The professional National Hockey League contains franchises that are based in major urban centres, even if the athletes themselves aren't, and are premised on a city vs. city competitive dynamic that can foster intense rivalries between the citizens of the cities of two competing clubs. Canadian Championships will reinforce provincial identities as the competing players are divided into teams based on their home province. The NHL All-Star game or the Stanley Cup Finals can engender a regional, East vs. West dynamic due to the territorial organization of the league, in contrast to the Tier-based organization of European professional football. Finally at the highest vertical level, international competitions such as the Olympics or the World Cup of hockey will tap into powerful national narratives to bring a sense of heightened drama to the event.

Thus the phenomenon of banal flagging, in the multitude of ways in which it appears, has an interconnected bond with both territoriality and narrative in the formulation of territorial forms of identity. However, due to the plurality of ways in which banal flagging can be found, a simple list of "banal flags" will be insufficient without tying them to the specific case that is being studied. Every territorial identity will have its own distinct set of banal flags, thus the proper way to examine the impact of banal flagging on the territoriality and narrative of the territory in question will be through the use of case studies. In the next chapter, we will examine the question of banal flagging, and its connection with territoriality and narrative in more depth.

4. Conclusion

In this chapter, we have proposed a general theory for how territorial identities, are created, defined, and transmitted to a population willing to accept them. The foundation of this theory is based on what we have called the trialectic of territorial identity: three distinct phenomena that work together to develop and maintain various vertical levels of territorial identity in its target audience. The first phenomenon is territoriality: the manner in which territories are created in order to serve as social containers to structure the lives of the citizens contained within. A key element of territoriality is verticality, the existence of multiple levels of territory to which an

individual can address depending on the given context. In other words, the work on territoriality reveals that individuals are able to switch their level of territorial abstraction with little difficulty. This element connects the field of territoriality with pluralist school of normative pluralism, which asserts that an individual can have multiple identities without having to subsume them to a primary monistic identity¹⁹. Another element of importance when dealing with territoriality is the importance of language in defining and communicating the territory to the target population. This leads to the second major phenomenon that drives the construction of territorial identity – narrative. Only through the construction and use of territorial narratives can territorial constructions find some semblance of stability as it ties the territory in question with the social identities of the individuals within. Vice-versa, territorial narratives use the social power of the territoriality to which it is connected to gain advantage over competing narratives for the imagination of the target population. Thus territoriality and narrative have a mutually-reinforcing reciprocal relationship, using the advantages of its ally to succeed against competing territorialities and narratives for access to the public’s imagination. However, there is a third phenomenon that further strengthens that advantages that territorial identity gains from territoriality and narrative – banal flagging. Every single day, the territorial abstraction, if it is strong, is flagged constantly in the media that the target population absorbs. This process is known as banal flagging. Through the use of banal flagging, the abstract concept of the territory in question becomes solidified and accepted in the imaginations of people both inside and outside the territory. Furthermore, banal flagging strengthens territorial narratives through the use of the First-Person Plural (we, us, our) as well as place (here, there) to encourage the audience to identify with the territory as a surrogate for themselves in the narrative. Thus, a particular event no longer affects just a territory; it affects ‘us’. Thus once again, a mutually-reinforcing

¹⁹ See Chapter One, Section 2.4 of this thesis for a more thorough discussion of the attack by pluralists such as Karmis and Maclure on the concept of monistic authenticity.

reciprocal relationship is established between these three phenomena, giving territorial identities an advantage that may explain their strength in the public imagination.

In this chapter, we have explored the complex trialectic of territoriality, narrative, and banal flagging and their interrelated roles in constructing territorial forms of identity at a number of vertical levels. However, such a theory is useless unless it can be applied to the case study in such a way to bring out new insights into the subject. Therefore, in the next chapter we will take the trialectic of territorial identity that we have established in this chapter and apply it to the case study of Alberta and the multiple levels of territorial identity that have grown within it. Through such a quantitative investigation, we hope to establish territorial identity as a valid field of inquiry that will bring new insights into the complex interplay of identities that occur in plural states such as Canada.

Chapter Three - Albertan Territorial Identity: Tracking the development of a new form of identity within Canada

Such demands are racist and discriminatory - they indicate a disturbing attitude that reflects badly on Alberta's reputation for fairness and tolerance.
- *Edmonton Journal*; June 14, 1989.

Having explored the theoretical underpinnings of territorial identity in the previous chapter, we now turn our attention to how these territorial identities are constructed in practice. Take for example the above quote from the *Edmonton Journal*. Within this quote, the territorial construction of Alberta is referenced directly without question, without ambiguity as a “real” object that exists in the real world. Furthermore, Alberta is not referenced in this case as an inanimate object but as a physical character with personality traits such as fairness and tolerance, despite the fact that the territory of Alberta is not real in any sense of the word. You cannot talk to it, you cannot touch it. It exists as a map upon a wall, its imaginary boundaries stretching across the imagination of millions as it constructs itself as a real living object in the minds of its target audience. But how can such a powerful symbol, alive only within the imagination of its people, be constructed out of thin air.

The theoretical process in which these territorial identities are formed was the focus of Chapter Two. However, a purely theoretical look at this phenomenon is insufficient. Theory may tell us how a territorial identity may be created, but for a full understanding of the phenomenon, we must see development of the identity in practice. Theory may give us a guide,

but only by examining the phenomenon in practice can we find our way. Thus the purpose of this Third Chapter is to reveal the manner in which this territorial identity is constructed in practice. Towards this end, we will investigate four distinct elements of territorial identity construction over the span of one year regarding the territoriality of Alberta: territorial flagging, self-identification with a territorial concept through the use of First-Person Plural pronouns, territorial narratives, and territorial archetypes. To track these four elements of the phenomenon of the Alberta territorial construction, we must first carefully design a methodology that is clear, concise, and accurate. This step is done in Section 2 of this chapter. The definition of the methodology will then be followed by the results of the study in Section 3. This section will produce the results of our investigations into territorial flagging, First-Person Plural pronouns, territorial narratives, and territorial archetypes. Furthermore, the data produced will be analyzed and conclusions drawn about the process of construction, maintenance, and transmission of the Albertan territorial identity. In the final section, Section 4, these conclusions will be summarized.

1 Methodology

The methodology for this study will be based on the work of Michael Billig in *Banal Nationalism* (1995). In this text, Billig was able to identify a number of banal, obscure ways in which nationalism was flagged in our daily lives by tracking the use of language in newspapers in Britain. By examining the language used in these newspapers, Billig was able to highlight the innocuous ways in which the national identity of Great Britons was constantly flagged through news stories, newspaper editorials, and specifically in the sports pages. Billig theorized that this “banal flagging” served to strengthen a constructed British national identity by constantly reminding the audience of its existence and its place as the primary source of identity. In this study, we shall attempt to track the territorial construction of Albertan identity in a similar manner. We shall in this study track the use of “territorial flagging” to construct and reinforce a sense of identity centred around the territorial province of Alberta.

However, there will be several differences between this study and its ground-breaking predecessor conducted by Michael Billig over a decade ago. In his study, Michael Billig examined numerous British newspapers over the span of a week, examining the use of language in every aspect of the newspaper from headlines, to editorials, to columns, and even to the sports pages. In our study, three Albertan newspapers will be examined over the period of a single year, but unlike Billig’s comprehensive analysis, we shall only examine the editorials of the three papers rather than the entire newspapers themselves. There were three reasons for this decision. First, the scope of a study covering the entire newspaper and not just the editorial section would have been far too large to cover in detail. Second, the editorial serves as the official viewpoint of the newspaper’s editorial board and thus any use of territorial flags would represent an acceptance of the territoriality that the flag represents as legitimate or “real” by the newspaper. Thirdly, it may be the only section of the paper that is guaranteed to be consistently written by employees of the newspaper, given the growing dependence on syndicated columnists and news agencies such

as the Canadian Press. Thus any use of territorial flagging is considered unique amongst the three papers, rather than parroting the same lines found in newspapers across the country.

While the investigation is limited to only the editorial pages, there is a significant improvement over Billig's methodology. Whilst Billig conducted a comprehensive analysis of a full week of British newspapers, he did not provide any quantitative statistics to support his conclusions. His arguments were formed completely by qualitative judgments based on his interpretation of the text. While Billig's qualitative analysis was certainly ground-breaking for its time, a quantitative analysis would provide a better idea of the degree to which this banal "territorial flagging" occurs. Thus in this study, we will conduct a quantitative analysis of the territorial flags found in the editorials of three Albertan newspapers over the span of one year.

However, in order to conduct a quantitative analysis that is accurate, the elements that are to be tracked must be carefully defined so that the results are consistent from one editorial to another and from one newspaper to another. To this end, we must consider how to define the "territorial flags", "First-Person Plural" pronouns, "territorial narratives", and "territorial archetypes" that will be tracked in this study. The choice of definitions is incredibly important as a poor choice in how the categories are defined will affect the accuracy and consistency of the results that will be produced in this study. For example, if the elements are not defined carefully, an instance may be recorded in one editorial but ignored in another that is identical, drastically reducing the utility of the results that are collected and analyzed. Due to the central importance of properly defining the categories of which we will be tracking in this study, significant time will be spent constructing these definitions. Thus, these categories will be defined in the following sub-sections below that will stretch to the end of Section 1. First, the various "territorial flags" will be defined, followed by the territorial "First-Person Plural" pronouns, then by the Albertan "territorial narratives", and then concluding with the definition of "territorial archetypes".

Number of Editorials

This flag records whether or not an editorial was printed (or is available on the archives) for that particular day. There are instances where a paper is produced for that day but without an editorial included. Furthermore, there are particular holidays (Canada Day, Christmas) where the paper is not printed and thus there is no published editorial. Also, there are certain newspapers such as the *Edmonton Journal* that typically print more than one editorial for each day. Thus, rather than recording whether or not an editorial was published for that day, this field will record the number of editorials printed for that day. The purpose of this flag is to provide a grand sum of editorials from which quantitative statistics for each of the following flags can be derived.

1.1 Territorial Flags

A category of flags used to quantitatively analyze the editorial construction of Albertan territorial identity. The one quality that all of the following flags have in common is that they reference a territorial concept, whether it is a province (Alberta), a city (Ottawa), or a group of people (Albertans). These flags are used to keep track of how often the Albertan newspapers reference a purely territorial concept in their editorial sections. These statistics will be used to evaluate the degree to which territorial constructions become salient in the realm of public language.

Alberta (noun)

This flag marks all instances in which the territorial province of Alberta is marked by the simple flag of “Alberta”. The purpose of this flag is to mark how the word “Alberta” has taken a predominant status demarking territorial boundaries.

Alberta (subject)

This flag is used to mark the instances when “Alberta” is referred to as the actor or “subject” of a sentence. For example, “Alberta must lower taxes to become more competitive” uses the simple noun “Alberta” to represent the territorial province and/or the territorial government of the province as a singular, indivisible concept. In other words, this flag marks the instances when

“Alberta” is used as a physical actor rather than as an abstract territorial concept. Please note that the “Alberta (subject)” flag can refer to the people of the province, or the representative provincial government. Both uses are quite common and thus will be covered by this flag. This flag is important in order to mark the places where Alberta is used as a singular actor. This flag may have repercussions for the “Alberta archetype” category listed below.

Alberta (adjective)

This flag is used to mark instances where the simple word “Alberta” is appended to another noun to designate ownership. For example, “Alberta voters”, “Alberta power”, “Alberta government”. Note, for the purposes of simplicity, this category will only categorize absolute (simple) adjectives. It will not include situations in which Alberta appears as a noun or possessive as part of a larger adjective phrase.

Albertan (adjective)

This flag is different in regards to the other Albertan flags because when used as an adjective, such as “Albertan Diesel”, the flag refers to the province as a whole rather than Albertans as a people. Thus, this flag fits in better with the Alberta sub-category of flags than with the Albertan sub-category of flags. This flag can be seen as identical in meaning to the Alberta (adjective) flag.

Alberta (possessive)

This flag is used in instances where the possessive form of the word Alberta is used. For example, “Alberta’s voters” would be an ideal case. This flag is only to mark uses of the possessive with the word “Alberta”, not instances of possessive use in reference such as “our”. These instances are instead marked under the “First Person Plural” category of flags.

Albertan (noun)

This flag is used to refer to the Albertan people, or the collection of individuals who live in the province of Alberta. This flag does not refer to the province itself, so extra care must be taken for

this flag not to be confused with the Albertan (adjective) flag, which refers to the province rather than the people.

Albertan (subject)

This flag covers instances where Albertans, the group of people who live in the province of Alberta, serve as the subject of the sentence. For example, “Albertans have decided to go in a different direction” would be an ideal case. Please note that this flag covers both the singular and plural forms of the word “Albertan”.

Albertan’s (possessive)

This flag refers to the instances when the word “Albertan” or “Albertans” (the plural and more common form) is used in the possessive tense. This flag will mark instances where certain objects or character traits are designated to the people of Alberta, usually written as “Albertans”. The plural form of this flag will be more popular but this flag will cover both instances.

Ottawa (noun)

This flag refers to instances where “Ottawa” (shorthand for federal government) is used as a proper noun in a sentence. Please note that this flag is not to refer to all instances where Ottawa is used as a noun. For example, an event that is happening “in” “Ottawa” is referring to the physical city itself and not the sociological construct of “Ottawa” as representative of the federal government.

Ottawa (subject)

This flag refers to instances where “Ottawa” (shorthand for federal government) is used as the subject of a sentence. In this case, “Ottawa” must be taking some action.

Ottawa (adjective)

This flag refers to instances where “Ottawa” is used as an adjective for another noun. This flag may be rare or nonexistent as the adjective form of the “Ottawa” construct is typically replaced by the adjective “federal”. This flag will not cover the use of “federal” as the replacement adjective.

Ottawa (possessive)

This flag covers instances where the concept of “Ottawa” (shorthand for federal government) is used in the possessive sense. For example, “Ottawa’s deficit” or “Ottawa’s free spending ways” would be examples deserving of raising this flag. Please note that the second example used also attributes personality traits and characteristics to the “Ottawa” construct. Thus, this flag may be interrelated to the “Ottawa archetype” category listed below.

Central Canada (all)

This flag is an all encompassing category which includes references to noun, subject, adjective, and possessive forms of the word Central Canada. This flag is only meant to keep track of how many editorials reference the concept of Central Canada.

Central Canadian (all)

This flag is an all encompassing category which includes references to noun, subject, adjective, and possessive forms of the word Central Canadian. This flag is only meant to keep track of how many editorials reference the concept of Central Canadian.

Alberta Assumed

This flag is marked in instances where the existence of Alberta is assumed in the context of the sentence. For example, “the provincial government”, depending on its context may be properly referring to “the provincial government of Alberta”. In this sense, the truncated version of “the provincial government” depends on the reader assuming that they are referring to the Albertan provincial government. This phenomenon will be used to mark the pervasive power of territorial identity in that the territorial construction is so powerful and ingrained in the public consciousness that it can be assumed by default.

People of Alberta

This flag marks the instances in which the phrase “people of Alberta” is used. This flag attempts to track the instances where the territorial concept of Alberta is connected with the normative conception of the people. The “people” is a sociological concept typically referenced

in nationalist movements as a means to construct a sense of collective solidarity amongst the disparate members of its group. Thus, if the use of the “People of Alberta” flag is prevalent, then that may suggest that the editorials are attempting to build a more national identity for Albertans than a purely territorial one.

1.2 Pronouns

This section marks instances in which the First Person Plural is used and to what entity the First Person Plural is referring. There are three First Person Plural pronouns covered by the following flags: “we”, “us”, and “our”. All of these three First Person Pronouns will be categorized together as the differences between the uses of the three are not the focus of this section of the case study. Instead, this section of the case study will focus on the entity itself to which the First Person Plural is referring. The goal is to gain an accurate understanding of how prevalent the use of FPP (First Person Plural) is in regards to Alberta in comparison with its use in regards to other territorial and non-territorial entities. Please note that the Second Personal Plural (You) will not be covered in this section because the Second Person Plural has limited analytical utility. In newspapers editorials, “you” predominantly refers to the reader itself. Also, the Third Personal Plural (they) was found to be far too prevalent to be of any use in this study. The use of the Third Person Plural is often so general that it becomes very difficult to classify territorial uses of the Third Person Plural. Thus, this study will focus on the use of the First Person Plural only to ascertain the strength of the constructed Alberta territorial identity.

First Person Plural – Editorial Board

This flag marks the use of the First Person Plural as representing the editorial board. This distinction can be difficult to ascertain as the word “editorial board” or the name of the editorial writer rarely appear in the body of the editorial. However, where doubt lies, the correct and safe fallback would be to assign the instance to the FPP – Editorial Board category.

First Person Plural – City

This flag marks the use of the First Person Plural as representing the city in which the newspaper in question is based.

First Person Plural – Alberta

This flag marks the use of the First Person Plural as representing the province of Alberta.

First Person Plural – Western Canada

This flag marks the use of the First Person Plural as representing the region of Western Canada encompassing collectively the provinces of British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba.

First Person Plural – Canada

This flag marks the use of the First Person Plural as representing the country of Canada

First Person Plural – The West

This flag marks the use of the First Person Plural as representing concept of the “Western World”, the “First World”, the “Developed World” or more succinctly “The West”.

First Person Plural – The World

This flag marks the use of the First Person Plural as representative of the entire world or humanity in general.

First Person Plural – Other

This flag marks the use of the First Person Plural in cases that don’t correspond to a specified territory. For example in the case “Pete Rose has brought great disrepute on our game by betting on baseball”, the First Person Plural is referring to “baseball fans” rather than a territorial construction. Thus if the use of a First Person Plural cannot be linked to a specific territory, and if it is not referring to the editorial board of the newspaper in question, then it is to marked here.

1.3 Narrative

In this section, there are a number of flags to mark instances where particular narratives are being constructed in the body of the newspaper editorial. The results gleaned from this section and from the ensuing interpretation of the collected narratives will form the base of the thesis' case study and will be discussed in depth. To further categorize the collected narratives, the narratives will be grouped into two distinct categories: Alberta-Inferior and Alberta-Superior. Alberta-Inferior narratives include narratives that depict Alberta as dominated by Ottawa (the federal government) politically and narratives that describe Ottawa as being dominated by Central Canada to the point where Alberta's needs and wants are ignored. The common thread with Alberta-Inferior narratives is that Alberta serves as a predicate; it is acted upon with no apparent power to resist. These narratives contrast with Alberta-Superior Narratives in which Alberta, as a central actor, rises in power and strength to the point where it can take on the Establishment. Of course, this section is highly subjective and dependent on the researcher's ability to identify and classify instances of Alberta-specific narratives. For that reason, the definition of the narratives that are being examined must be very carefully constructed so that the use of narratives is identified in a consistent manner. The definitions, outlined below, were defined following a complete review of all the editorials for the *Calgary Sun* in 1989. From the review of the *Calgary Sun*, a list of possible narratives were marked down and then compared for similarities. Similar narratives were combined into a larger category of narratives and the four largest categories of narratives were chosen for this study. The *Calgary Sun* was used for the original review because it was easily accessible through Library and Archives Canada, easier to review as it had the least number of editorials of the three Albertan newspapers for the year 1989, and it was replete with examples of territorial narratives.

1.3.1 Alberta-Inferior Narratives

In this category, narratives in which Alberta is presented in an inferior status relative to other actors in Canada are collected. The key requirement in this category is that narrative must place

Alberta as being acted upon, rather than acting itself. Either the province is ignored by a federal government that is obsessed with the concerns of vote-rich Central Canada or it is dominated by the federal government against its singular interests.

Dominance by Central Canada

In this narrative, Alberta's needs are ignored or dismissed by Ottawa for the benefit of vote-rich Ontario and Quebec, for which the federal government is dependent on for power. In this action, there is no direct action against Alberta, but a sense of the lack of justice in the federal system that is tilted so heavily to two provinces.

Ottawa Dominating Alberta

In this narrative, the actor-victim narrative that Ricoeur describes is far more direct. This category includes narratives in which a powerless Alberta is directly dominated by Ottawa. In this sense, Alberta's assumed unified interests are crushed by a power-hungry, incompetent, outsider federal government (Ottawa). Such common narratives related to this category would be the National Energy Program, Kyoto, and Senate Reform.

1.3.2 Alberta-Superior Narratives

This category includes narratives in which Alberta is presented in a superior light - whether economic, social, political, or moral – relative to other actors in Canada, including the federal government. The key requirement for this category is that Alberta must be clearly indicated to be the actor in the narrative. In other words, it must be acting, either directly or symbolically, towards a moral goal or against an adversary presented. There are two specific sub-categories within this section: Alberta in Ascendance, and Alberta versus the Establishment, which are explored in more detail below.

Alberta in Ascendance

This narrative is a corollary to Alberta-Inferior narratives. Alberta is described as growing in social, economic, and political power and is starting to take its rightful and dominant place in Canadian society. However, this “natural” ascendance is blocked by the Old Guard (Central

Canada) who cannot recognize their own diluting bases of power. Furthermore, the “clean” politics of Alberta is contrasted with the “dirty politics” of Central Canada.

Alberta versus the Establishment

In this narrative, Alberta is pitted against “the Establishment” in Central Canada. This narrative is often referenced as a result of Toronto-based media criticizing the actions of the Alberta provincial government. Typically, this narrative presents the establishment as having an invested interest in keeping Alberta subservient. This sub-category may include political, economic, and media actors in Central Canada. This narrative may also often incorporate the “Critic as Outsider” trope as a defence mechanism against criticism against Alberta-based initiatives or authorities. These criticisms are then dismissed without due to the critic’s outsider, and therefore illegitimate, status.

1.4 Archetypes

Similar to the narrative section, the archetypes section is a subjective study that investigates the construction of “ideal types” or archetypes inside the confines of the daily editorial. In this section, the editorial will be parsed to ascertain if an archetype is created, and if so which characteristics are attributed to it. This section can best be understood by understanding Ricoeur’s theory of emplotment. To have a plot, you must first construct a series of characters that must then interact with one another. The identification of the instances of archetype construction will be the primary focus of this section. Once again, the highly subjective nature of discerning which texts construct archetypes and which do not is the primary challenge in accurately tracking the use of archetypes. To reduce the subjectivity and increase the consistency of this part of the study, a number of limitations will be placed on this section. First the attempt at archetype construction must be general in nature, not tied to a specific subject. For example, “Ottawa is sensitive to international opinion” although giving a sense of the character of Ottawa, only does so in the context of a particular subject, not as a general character trait. However, “Ottawa is sensitive” by itself would be acceptable. Furthermore, the character trait must be

directly referenced in the identified text and not interpreted by the reader. Also, extreme care must be given to ensure that the text refers to a specific character trait rather than action. For example, “Ottawa’s free-spending habits” is acceptably while “Ottawa’s free-spending” is not because it refers to an action rather than a character trait. Furthermore, it must be understood that the process of archetype construction is cumulative. An archetype is not built in a single editorial, but is pieced together from identified character traits over the lifetime of the editorial discourse. Thus, this study will try to identify the construction of identified archetypes over the entire scope of the study. Distinctions between the Albertan newspapers studied, if evident, will be discussed. In short, there are three potential archetypes that will be investigated in this study: Alberta, Albertan, and Ottawa.

Alberta

This category refers to instances where the concept of Alberta is given a character trait. To give a simple example: “Alberta’s reputation”. While this example uses the possessive, what it is possessing is not a physical thing but a metaphysical concept that only characters have. In this sense, “Alberta” is being treated as a singular human being through anthropomorphism. In short, there are two specific references that must be evident to be marked in this category. First, the instance must include the *existence* of a character trait for Alberta as a whole, such as “Alberta’s reputation”. Second, the instance must mark the *value* of the type of character, such as “Alberta’s reputation for sound fiscal management”.

Albertan

Similar to the category for “Alberta”, but in this case, character attributes are assigned to an “ideal” Albertan archetype that is taken to represent all Albertans. Examples include “the natural entrepreneurial spirit of Albertans” and “Albertans are an optimistic people”.

Ottawa

Similar to the category for “Alberta”, but in this case we are searching for the construction of character traits for the concept of “Ottawa”. It will be important to look out for instances in

which “Ottawa” character traits are constructed in polar opposition to “Alberta” character traits, allowing “Ottawa” to serve as a character foil for the emerging “Alberta” archetype. For example, “Ottawa’s money-grubbing ways” is contrasted with “Alberta’s fiscal frugality” or “Ottawa’s bureaucratic excesses” are contrasted with “Alberta’s entrepreneur spirit”.

2 Results

With the proper definitions in hand, the editorial pages of the *Edmonton Journal*, *Calgary Sun*, and *Lethbridge Herald* were processed at Library and Archives Canada by the author in the months stretching from April to August of 2007. During this time, the results of the study were recorded in an Excel spreadsheet that was used to produce the statistics, tables, and charts needed to properly analyze the collected data. The final results are produced here in Section 2 of this chapter. First, the results of the search for “territorial flags” will be summarized. This will be followed by an analysis of the collected data regarding the use of the First-Person Plural by the editorial staff. Finally, the results of the search for the use of “territorial narratives” and “territorial archetypes” will be explored and conclusions drawn. To ensure that peer review can be conducted on the conclusions drawn in this study, the raw data of the study will be appended to this thesis in an appendix.

2.1 Territorial Flags

The tracking of territorial flags, whose definition was set earlier in this chapter, was by far the easiest and most-straightforward part of the study. Territorial flags were easy to spot and mark in the spreadsheet. Furthermore, the large number of territorial flags identified over the course of three Albertan newspapers and over the span of a year allowed the diversification of the analysis into two distinct sub-sections. For the purposes on this study, the results were broken into two parts: the cumulative statistics for the entire year and a 3-day rolling average that tracks how the use of territorial flags changes over the course of a single year.

Cumulative

Looking at the cumulative statistics, there is quite clear evidence of the use of territorial flags in the editorials of the three Albertan newspapers. Of course, not all newspapers are created equal. First and foremost, each newspaper will have a different number of editorials each day. For example, the *Edmonton Journal* would typically include 3 to 4 editorials each and every day, seven days a week. The *Calgary Sun* would have only one editorial six days a week while the

Lethbridge Herald would have one or two per day for six days a week. The differing number of editorials published per day and the differing dates on which the journals are published will, of course, lead to vastly different cumulative totals. Thus while the cumulative totals of all the territorial flags covered in this study are important, they will be supported by including the rate at which each territorial flag is referenced in the editorials. Only by considering the two will a complete picture of the use of territorial flags be identified and common trends be discovered.

In the context of Alberta territorial flags, there was quite clear evidence that these flags were a common element of Albertan discourse. In the space of a year, no fewer than 1170 references to the territory of Alberta across the three newspapers²⁰. As seen in Table 1 below, the most common references were for Alberta as an adjective, Alberta as a noun, and Alberta as a possessive. By far the least used Alberta flag was Albertan as an adjective. This is not surprising as commentators would avoid the Albertan (adjective) flag due to its possible confusion with the Albertans (adjective) flag.

	Edmonton Journal	Calgary Sun	Lethbridge Herald	Cumulative
Number of Editorials	1042	307	440	1789
Alberta (noun)	204	60	122	386
Alberta (subject)	93	22	35	150
Alberta (adjective)	207	58	130	395
Albertan (adjective)	9	0	4	13
Alberta's (possessive)	137	49	39	226
Alberta Total	650	189	330	1170

Table 1: Alberta Territorial Flags

Given the wide differences in how many editorials were published by each newspaper, it is not surprising that common trends are not immediately evident. However, if we take the rate of how

²⁰ Please note that this figure refers not to the number of editorials that contain a reference to the group of Alberta territorial flags, but the number of instances in which an editorial references one or more of the territorial flags. Thus, if an editorial references the Alberta (noun) flag once, the Alberta (subject) flag twice, the Alberta (adjective) flag fourteen times, and the Albertan (adjective) and the Alberta's (possessive) zero times, then the cumulative total of references will be three, not seventeen. Thus, the cumulative total cannot be compared to the total number of editorials for context because they measure two completely different units.

often each flag is used by charting the number of times the flag is used per editorial, as shown below in Chart 1, some common trends become evident.

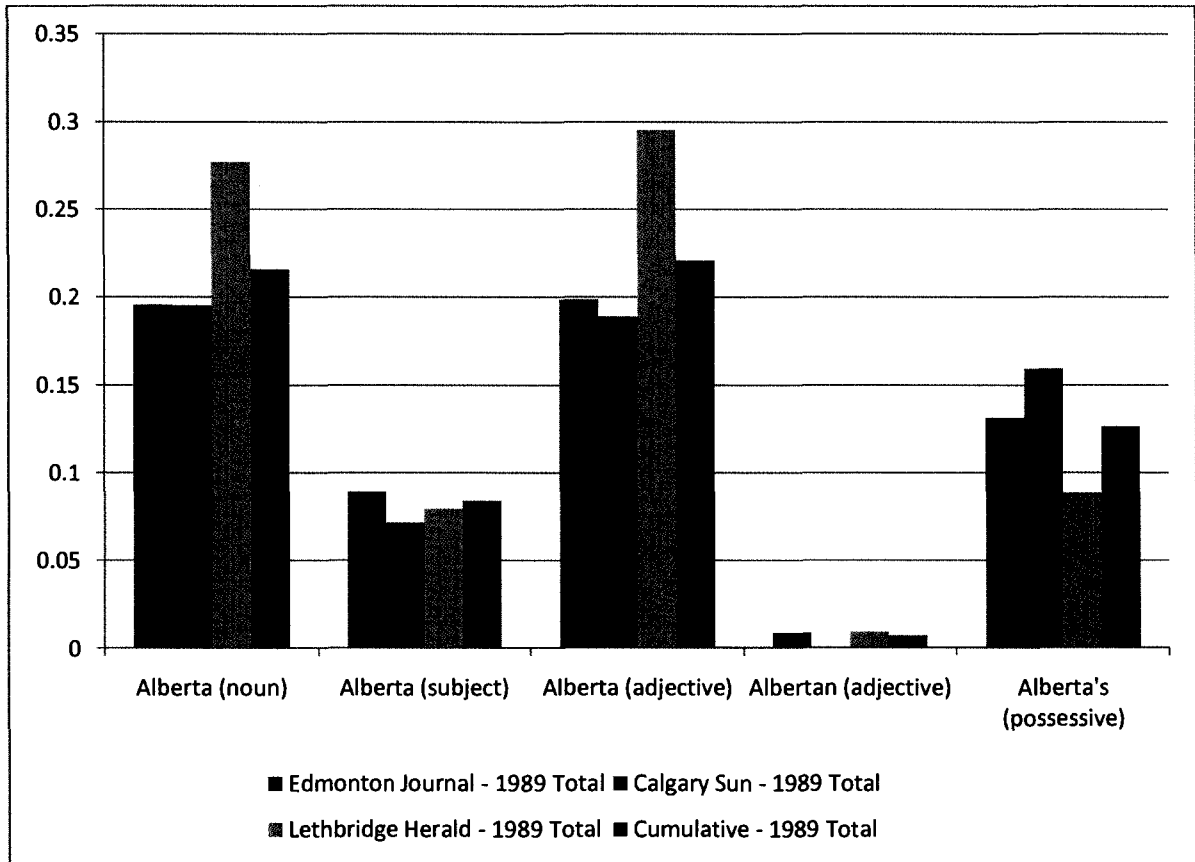


Chart 1: Rate of Alberta Territorial Flags per Editorial

As seen in the chart above, the use of each of these Alberta-based territorial flags is remarkably consistent from newspaper to newspaper. In the case of the Alberta (noun) territorial flags, the newspapers were consistently around 20% of all editorials with a cumulative base of 21.6% of all editorials. These percentages continue at about 8.4% for Alberta (subject), 22.1% for Alberta (adjective), 0.7% for Albertan (adjective), and 12.6% for Alberta's (possessive). The only consistent outlier from these trends is from the *Lethbridge Herald*, which uses Alberta (noun) and Alberta (adjective) territorial flags much more consistently but uses the Alberta's (possessive) form significantly less often. This can be partially explained by the fact that the editorial would refer to their local area as "Southern Alberta" rather than only as the city of

Lethbridge. This use of the region “Southern Alberta” rather than Lethbridge as the local territoriality is not unexpected, as the city of Lethbridge is the major commercial central in Southern Alberta and thus the circulation of the *Lethbridge Herald* extends across much of Southern Alberta. While this variation could conceivably skew the analysis, the basis of the investigation remains intact: to record the use of flags that refer to the territorial concept of Alberta. While the *Lethbridge Herald* is referring to “Southern Alberta” as a territorial unit separate from Alberta, it is referring to it as a sub-unit of the territory of Alberta, thereby reinforcing the territoriality at play. Thus, this variation is acceptable to the goals of this study.

Moving on to the Albertan sub-group of territorial flags, we find some curious trends in the cumulative statistics as shown below in Table 2.

	Edmonton Journal	Calgary Sun	Lethbridge Herald	Cumulative
Number of Editorials	1042	307	440	1789
Albertan (noun)	173	58	91	322
Albertan (subject)	124	40	73	237
Albertan's (possessive)	3	2	7	12
Albertan Total	300	100	171	571

Table 2: Albertan Territorial Flags

In this second table, we find that in the 1789 editorials tracked in this study, there were no fewer than 571 references to Albertan territorial flags. There were 322 for Albertan (noun), 237 for Albertan (subject) and 12 for Albertan's (possessive). The dominance of the “Albertan as noun” territorial flag in this section carried over to the individual papers. The distribution of these Albertan territorial flag references will be explored in more detail in Chart 2 below:

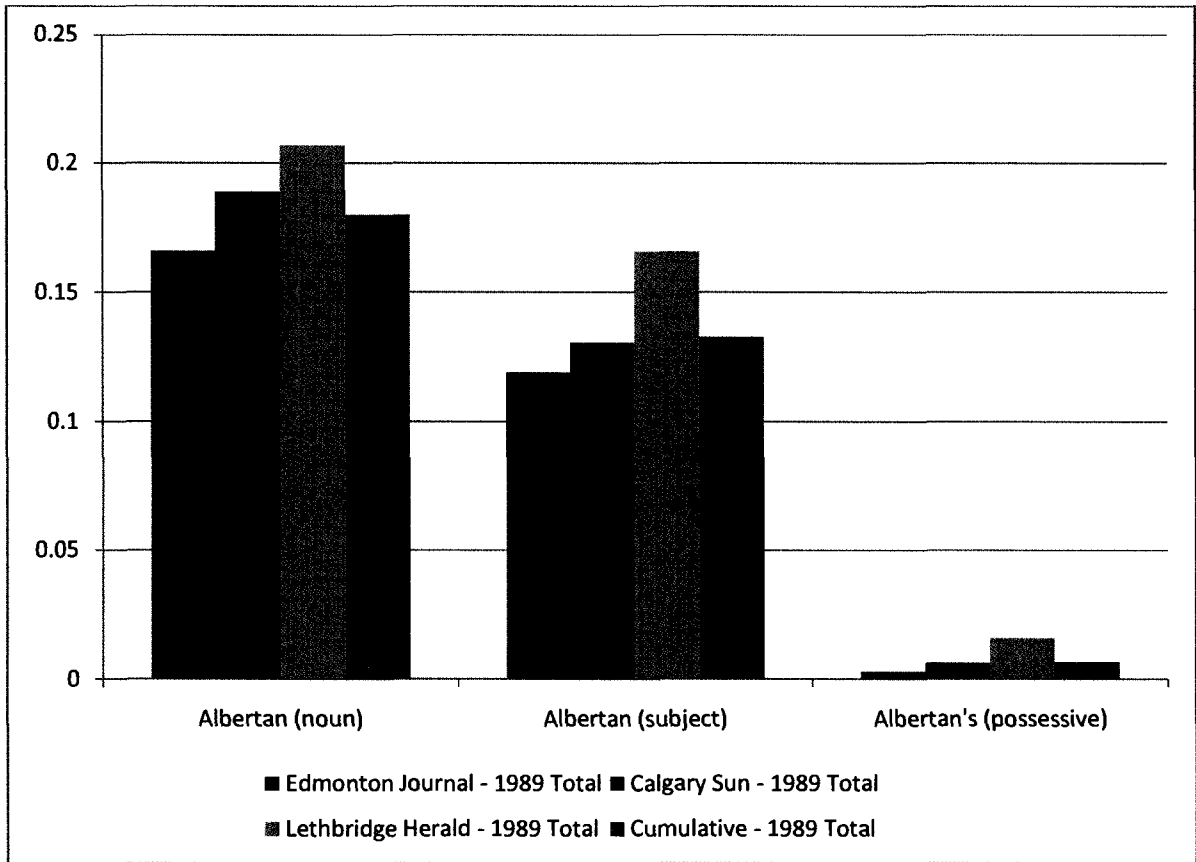


Chart 2: Rate of Albertan Territorial Flags per Editorial

Once again, the consistency of the trend is somewhat startling. In all three flags, the same pattern presents itself. While each of the flags seems to have a general base of support, slight variations between the three newspapers are apparent. The *Edmonton Journal* consistently has the fewest references to these three flags, the *Lethbridge Herald* has the highest, while the *Calgary Sun* places somewhere in the middle. The cumulative base, shown in purple, finds that Albertan (noun) references occur in 18% of editorials, Albertan (subject) references occur expectantly less, because it is a subset of Albertan (noun), at 13.25% of all editorials, and Albertan's (possessive) is almost non-existent at 0.67% of all editorials. Once again, the high level of Albertan territorial references may be partially explained by the adoption of the *Lethbridge Herald* of "Southern Albertans" as the local population rather than only the population of the city of Lethbridge. As it was for Alberta-territorial flags, this variation is

deemed acceptable to the goals of this study due to reasons given above. While there is some variation between newspapers on how often Albertan territorial flags are utilized, there is nonetheless clear evidence that the use of these territorial flags are quite common, showing up in upwards of 20% of all editorials.

Moving on to the Ottawa sub-group of territorial flags, we find that there are some revisions in the previous trends. In regards to the cumulative totals shown below in Table 3, the use of Ottawa territorial flags is significantly less frequent than Alberta or Albertan territorial flags.

	Edmonton Journal	Calgary Sun	Lethbridge Herald	Cumulative
Number of Editorials	1042	307	440	1789
Ottawa (noun)	120	56	71	249
Ottawa (subject)	90	38	53	183
Ottawa (adjective)	11	5	3	19
Ottawa's (possessive)	49	33	16	99
Ottawa Total	270	132	143	550

Table 3: Ottawa Territorial Flags

In the table above, we can see once again, the noun form of the territorial form of Ottawa is most prominent. Out of 1789 editorials covered in this study, 249 contained references to Ottawa (noun), 183 of those contained references Ottawa (subject), only 19 contained references to Ottawa as an adjective, and 99 contained references to Ottawa in its possessive form. Once again, this result is quite consistent with previous territorial sub-groups. However, when we look at the frequency of these territorial references relative to the number of editorials below in Chart 3, we discover some new trends.

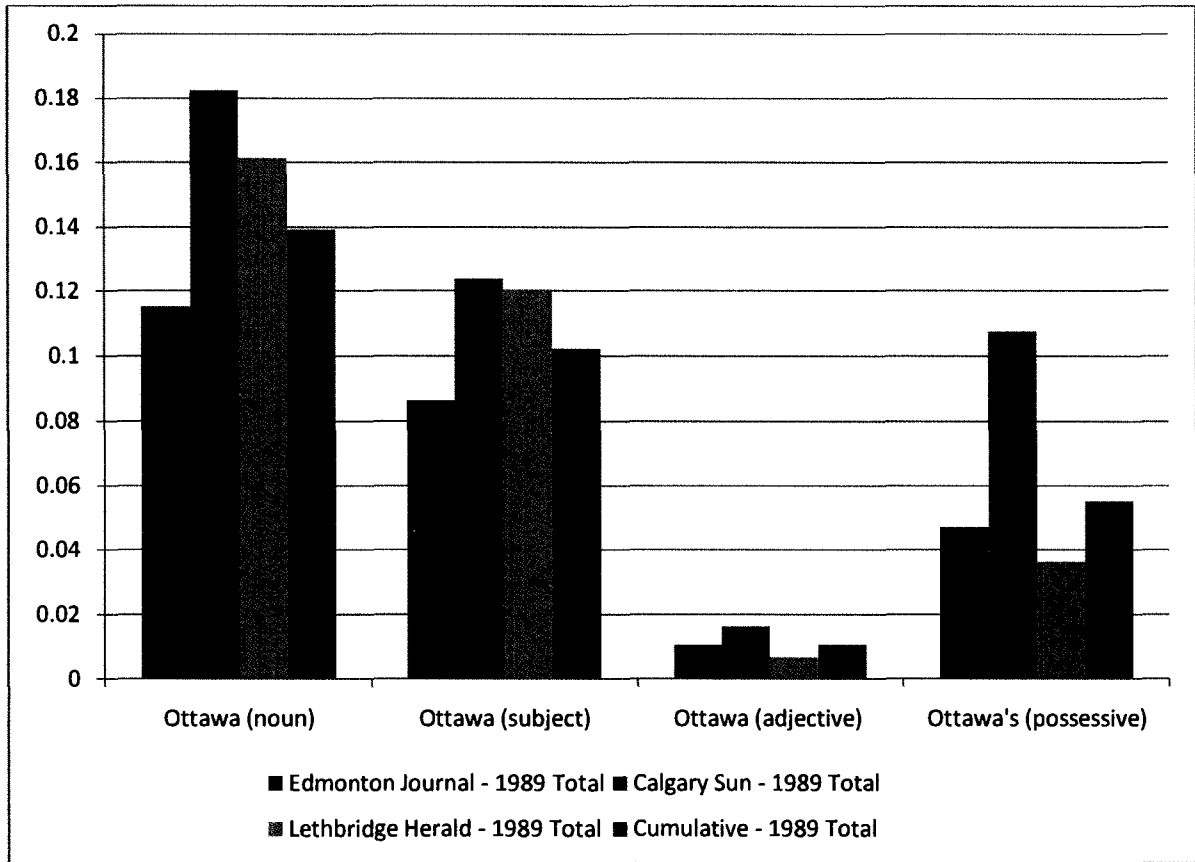


Chart 3: Rate of Ottawa Territorial Flags per Editorial

As you can see in the above chart, the use of Ottawa-based territorial flags is heavily dominated by the *Calgary Sun*. In comparison, the *Edmonton Journal* has the least number of Ottawa territorial references while the *Lethbridge Herald* brings up the middle. This was not unsurprising. Having read through all of the editorials, it quickly became apparent that the *Calgary Sun* editorial line was much more focused on national issues such as the GST and the Alberta Senate Election while the *Edmonton Journal* and *Lethbridge Herald* were more focused on provincial or local issues. The abundance of Ottawa territorial flags may suggest increased use of narratives that deal with the relationship between Alberta and the federal government represented by “Ottawa”. This relationship will be further explored in the “Narrative” section of this study. The lack of Ottawa territorial flags from the *Edmonton Journal* was also somewhat expected, as the *Edmonton Journal* seemed to be attempting to avoid using Ottawa-Alberta

narratives as will be explored in the “Narrative” section of this study. Regardless of the variations in the individual papers, there is clear evidence of a consistent use of the Ottawa territorial flag. The cumulative base, shown in purple above, shows that the Ottawa (noun) territorial flag is referenced in 13.9% of all editorials while its subset Ottawa (subject) flag is referenced in 10.2% of all editorials. The difference between the noun and subject flags of Ottawa territoriality flags is significantly smaller than those of Alberta or Albertan territorial flags, this is due to the fact that we are only including those references that are referring to the political concept of “Ottawa”, representative of the federal government, and not the city of Ottawa itself. Alberta and Albertan territorial flags do not have this limitation and thus would account for the larger difference in the number of references between their noun and subject territorial flags.

The next pair of territorial flags that will be reviewed will be the Central Canadian territorial flags. These flags mark the instances in which the concept of Central Canada or Central Canadian is referenced in the editorials of the three Alberta newspapers. As seen by Table 4 below, these references were not very common. Only the *Edmonton Journal* had a significant number of Central Canada territorial flags totaling 15 for both sets. The other two newspapers combined had only 10 references total to the Central Canadian territorial flag pair. However, the use of the Central Canadian territorial construct still has a significant impact on articulations on Alberta identity due to its connection to the “Dominance by Central Canada” narrative that will be explored further in section 2.3.

	Edmonton Journal	Calgary Sun	Lethbridge Herald	Cumulative
Number of Editorials	1042	307	440	1789
Central Canada (all)	12	2	3	17
Central Canadian (all)	3	2	3	8

Table 4: Central Canada Territorial Flags

The final set of territorial flags that were examined in this study was the “Alberta assumed” and the “People of Alberta” flags. As covered in the methodology section earlier, the “Alberta assumed” flag is to mark instances in which the use of the Alberta territory is assumed in the context of the sentence, where the Alberta territoriality is used but not directly referenced. The “People of Alberta” flag references those instances in which the individuals who live within the territory of Alberta are identified directly as a collective people. In Table 5 below, it is shown that the “People of Alberta” is relatively insignificant with only 13 references, 9 of which are from the *Edmonton Journal*. This would suggest that at this time, collectively grouping Albertans together and labeling them as a people was relatively uncommon, at least within the editorial pages investigated here. If the editorials were attempting to build a sense of national identity among the individuals within the territory in question, we would have expected this flag to occur far more frequently. Thus, the editorials investigated in this study appear to be territorial but not national regarding the construction of “Alberta”.

	Edmonton Journal	Calgary Sun	Lethbridge Herald	Cumulative
Number of Editorials	1042	307	440	1789
Alberta assumed	279	90	148	519
People of Alberta	9	2	2	13

Table 5: Alberta Assumed and People of Alberta Territorial Flags

The “Alberta assumed” flag, however, occurs very frequently, in no less than 519 separate editorials. This result would suggest that the territorial construction of Alberta is so pervasive that it is easily understood and accepted without direct reference. In other words, the concept of Alberta territoriality is so strong that it does not need to be directly reinforced in text; it can be assumed with the expectation that the audience will be able to pick it out of the sentence unconsciously. The pervasiveness of this flag can be better shown by Chart 4 below where relative frequency of the “Alberta assumed” flag is charted.

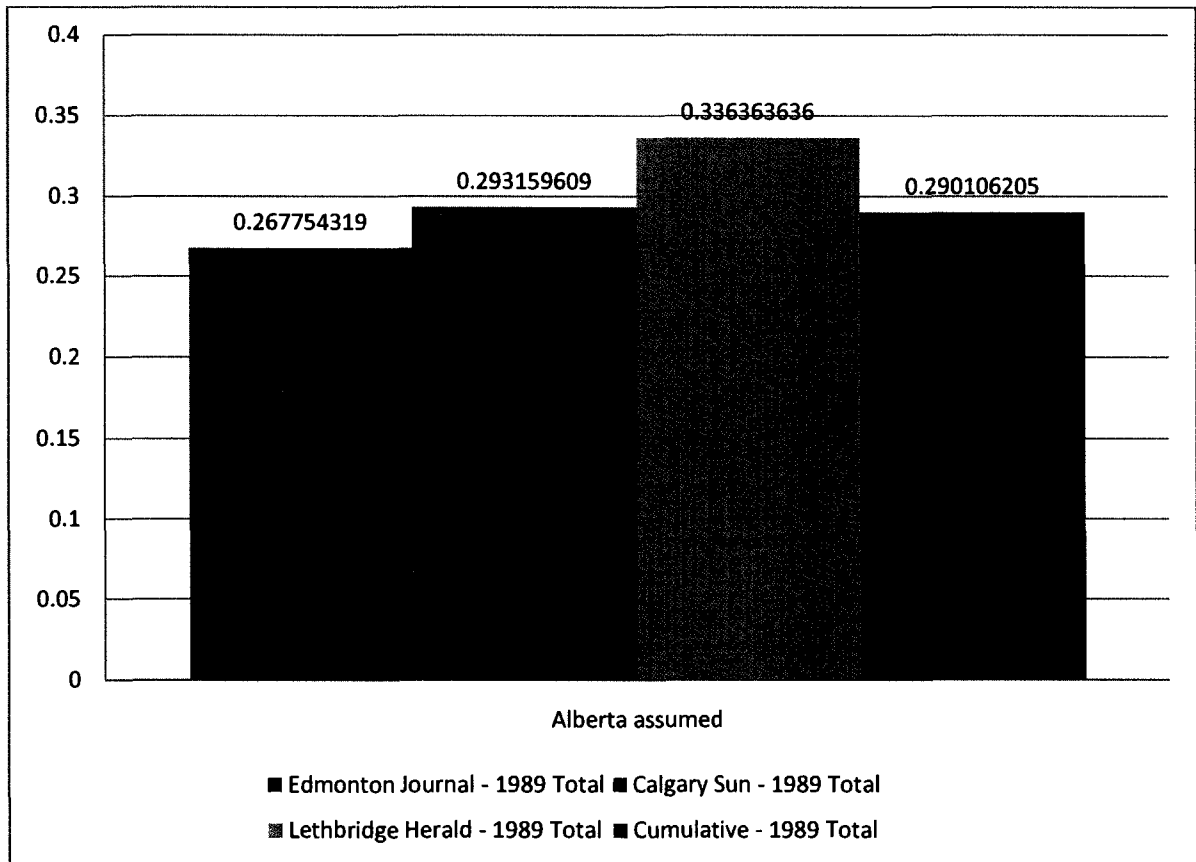


Chart 4: Rate of Alberta Assumed Territorial Flags per Editorial

As seen from Chart 4 above, the frequency in which the territorial concept of Alberta is assumed within the editorial text is astonishing. Stretching from a low of 26.8% in the *Edmonton Journal*, to a medium of 29.3% in the *Calgary Sun*, and a high of 33.6% in the *Lethbridge Herald*; the territoriality of Alberta will be assumed on an average of 29.0% of all editorials examined in this study. In other words, the identification of the target audience to the territoriality of Alberta is so strong that it no longer needs to be directly referenced to be publicly understood.

Rolling Three-Day Average

As useful as the cumulative statistics explored above are in understanding the strength of Alberta territorial identity within the province of Alberta, there are several limitations to using cumulative statistics. First and foremost, cumulative statistics, while giving an overall idea of how prevalent a particular series of flags are, do not reveal any particular trends that may develop in the use of these flags over a period of time. In other words, while cumulative statistics give a total number of the course of an entire year, they do not reveal how the use of the territorial flags in question will change from day to day. Secondly, because cumulative statistics do not track day-to-day changes, it is unable to measure the impact of events such as elections, parliamentary sittings, or controversies on the frequency in which territorial flags are used. Therefore, to ensure that a more complete picture of Alberta territorial flagging is attained, this study will track day-to-day changes in the use of Alberta territorial flags. However, simply tracking the number of references used each and every given day will not allow us to compare between the three Alberta newspapers, as each newspaper rarely publish the same number of editorials as the others. For example, the *Edmonton Journal* will publish up to four editorials a day, the *Calgary Sun* publishes only one editorial. Thus the number of territorial flags used by the *Edmonton Journal* editorials will usually exceed those of the *Calgary Sun*, even in cases where the *Calgary Sun* uses more territorial flags per editorial. However, simply taking the average of the editorials for each newspaper on each and every day is also not optimal as newspapers that have very few editorials per day, such as the *Calgary Sun*, a daily average will not produce a big enough range to identify trends. The *Calgary Sun*, having only one editorial per day, would for each flag have a value of either of 1 or 0. Grouping flags together into categories, as we do in this study, does improve matters somewhat but still leaves a variable range that is insufficient to pick up daily trends. For these reasons, a three-day rolling average is used to track the daily use of Alberta territorial flags. The three-day rolling average is calculated by taking the number of territorial flags referenced in the past three days (including the current day) and dividing it by the number of editorials

published in the previous three days (including the current day). By using a three-day rolling average, we ensure that there is enough variance in the values to pick up trends in the use of territorial flags over a period of time. Such a technique was used by the polling firm SES Research (now called Nanos Research) to accurately track and eventually predict the results of the 2004 and 2006 federal elections. The three-day rolling averages of the first group of territorial flags, Alberta territorial flags, are shown below in Chart 5.

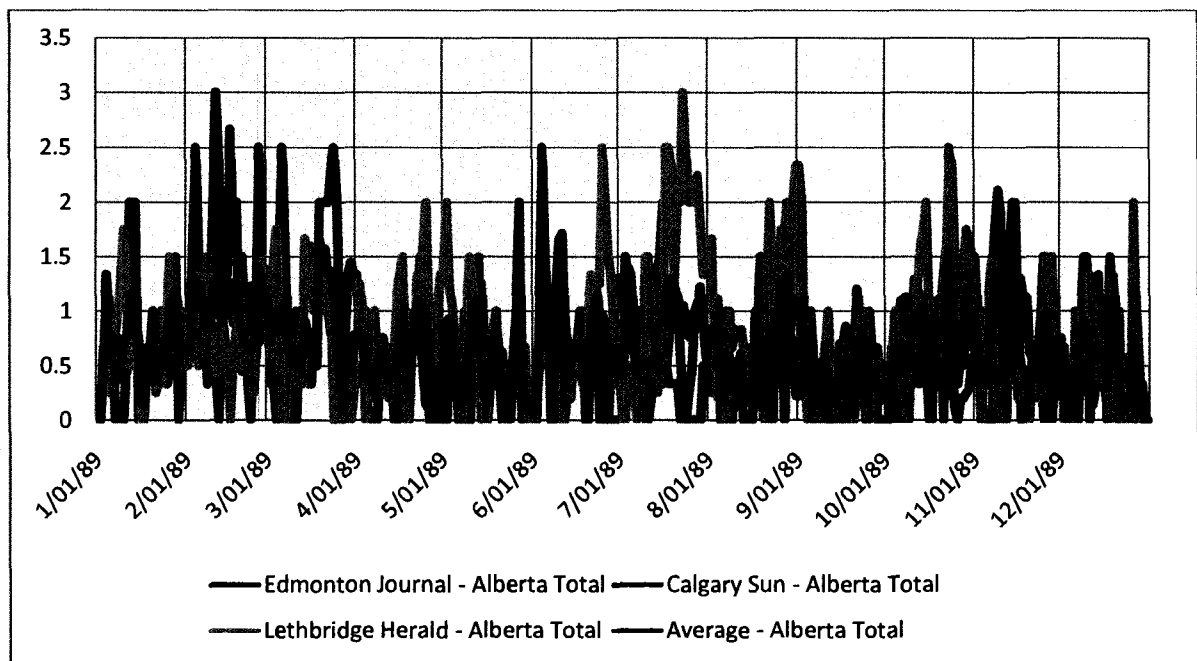


Chart 5: Three-Day Rolling Average for Alberta Territorial Flags

In the chart above, we have the 3-day rolling averages for each of the three Alberta newspapers as well as the cumulative average of all three Alberta newspapers taken together. As seen above, the rolling averages of the three newspapers, taken alone, are wildly inconsistent, often stretching from 0 one day to 2.5 the next. However, the cumulative three-day rolling average, shown in purple, does reveal some interesting trends. First and foremost, the cumulative three-day rolling average is remarkably consistent. With the exception of two time periods, the cumulative rolling average hovers around 0.5 territorial references per editorial. There are two periods of time during the year in which the cumulative rolling average consistently rises above

the 0.5 figure. The first is in the period from early February to early April, which would correspond to the buildup to, the operation of, and the aftermath of the 1989 provincial election. Such a sustained spike in the Alberta territorial flags would be expected in the context of a provincial election in which the attention of the newspapers' editorial board would be focused on provincial politics. The second sustained spike is in the period stretching from mid-October to mid-November. However, there is no immediate explanation of why this would be the case. The Legislative Assembly of Alberta was not in session at the time as its only session of the year lasted from June 1st to August 18th and was not matched by a sustained spike during the summer months. Another possible explanation would be the municipal elections held on October 16, 1989 but this hypothesis does not explain the spike sustaining itself well into November. A conceivable explanation for this spike was the "election" of an Albertan Senator at the same time as the municipal elections. Following the election of the Senate, there was a significant period of time in which the Prime Minister of Canada, Brian Mulroney, refused to name the elected individual, Sam Waters, to the Senate. This "rejection" of Alberta's choice dominated the editorial pages of the three Albertan newspapers for weeks. Thus, the second sustained spike in the use of Alberta territorial flags was most likely the result of the aftermath of the Alberta Senate election. Let us look at the Albertan territorial flags to see if these trends are continued.

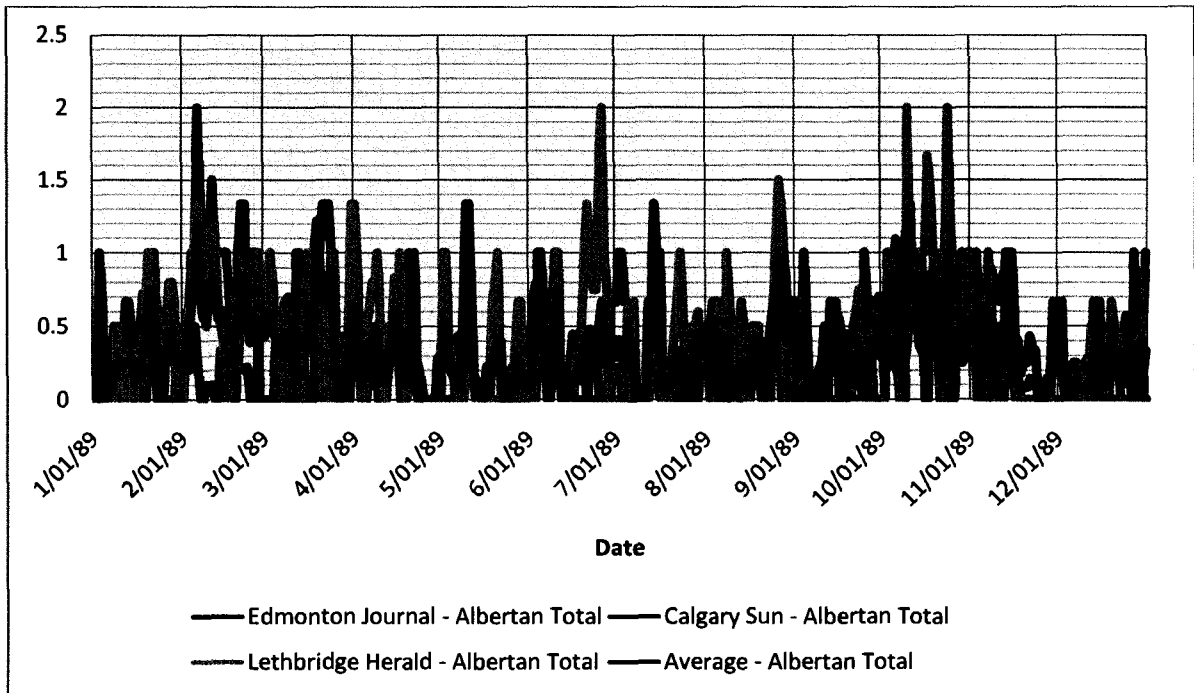


Chart 6: Three-Day Rolling Average for Albertan Territorial Flags

Regarding the three-day rolling average for Albertan Territorial flags, a similar trend is apparent. Taking the cumulative average, there is once again a very consistent base of 0.2-0.25 Albertan territorial flags per editorial. Once again, there is a sustained spike from early February to late March that corresponds to the Alberta provincial election. Once again, there is a second sustained spike ranging from early October to mid-November that is most likely the aftermath of the Alberta Senate Election. Thus, at this point, it is apparent that Alberta and Albertan territorial flags are both highly regular and strongly related to provincial politics. It will be interesting to note if these trends continue with a territorial flag that is quite common in Albertan newspapers but does not reference the territorial construction of Alberta – Ottawa.

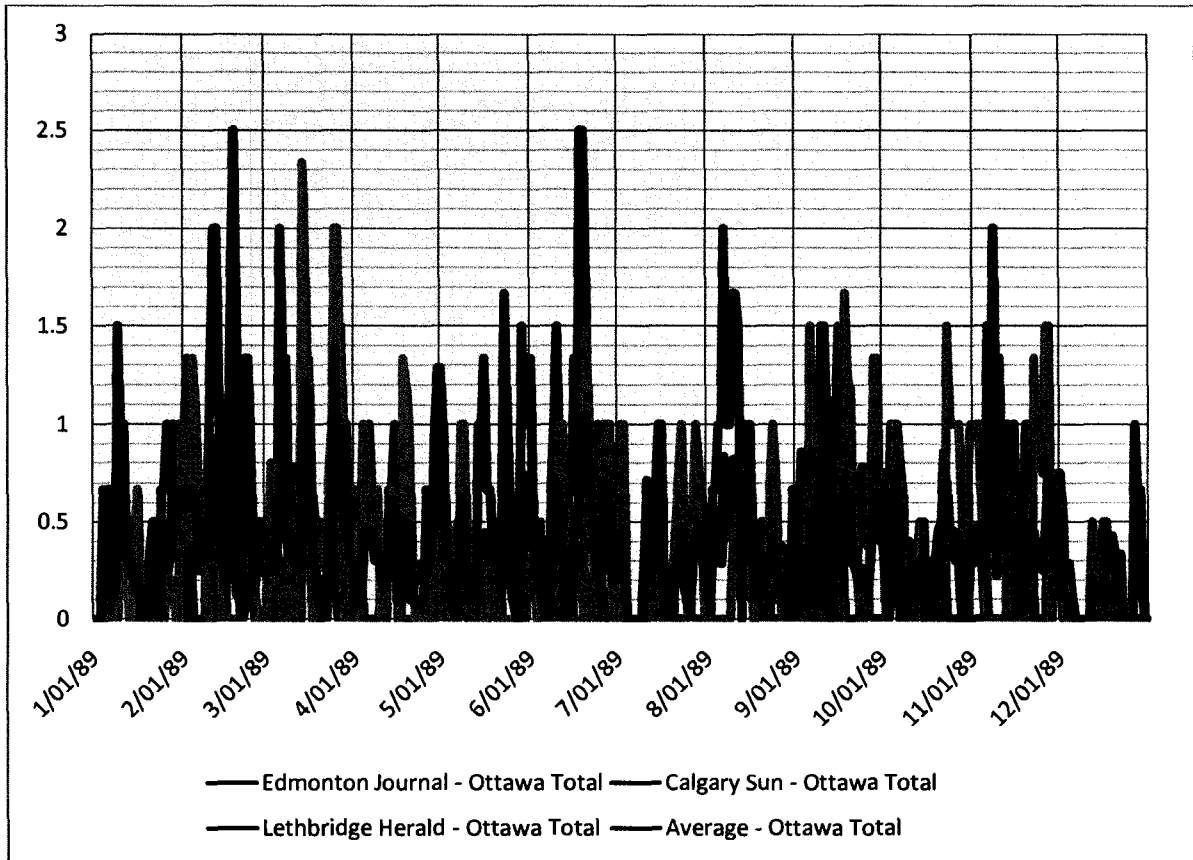


Chart 7: Three-Day Rolling Average for Ottawa Territorial Flags

Regarding the three-day rolling average of the Ottawa group of territorial flags, no trends are clearly evident. Taking the cumulative average, we find that the frequency of Ottawa territorial flags hovers consistently around 0.3 territorial references per editorial. However, unlike the Alberta and Albertan territorial flags, there are no sustained spikes – neither for the election period, nor for the aftermath of the Alberta Senate Election during the October-November range. The only period of the year in which the cumulative average is significantly different than the median is in December, where the use of Ottawa territorial references drops to almost nil. This drop in the use territorial flags may be explained by the approaching Christmas holiday and extensive Christmas break given to the House of Commons. However, there is no similar drop-off among the Alberta and Albertan groups of territorial flags. Perhaps this suggests that Alberta and Albertan flags are more pervasive in Alberta society than Ottawa flags. However, the results

of the above chart are clear evidence that the territorial construction of Ottawa remains a powerful concept in the Alberta discourse and a likely factor in the construction of an Albertan territorial identity.

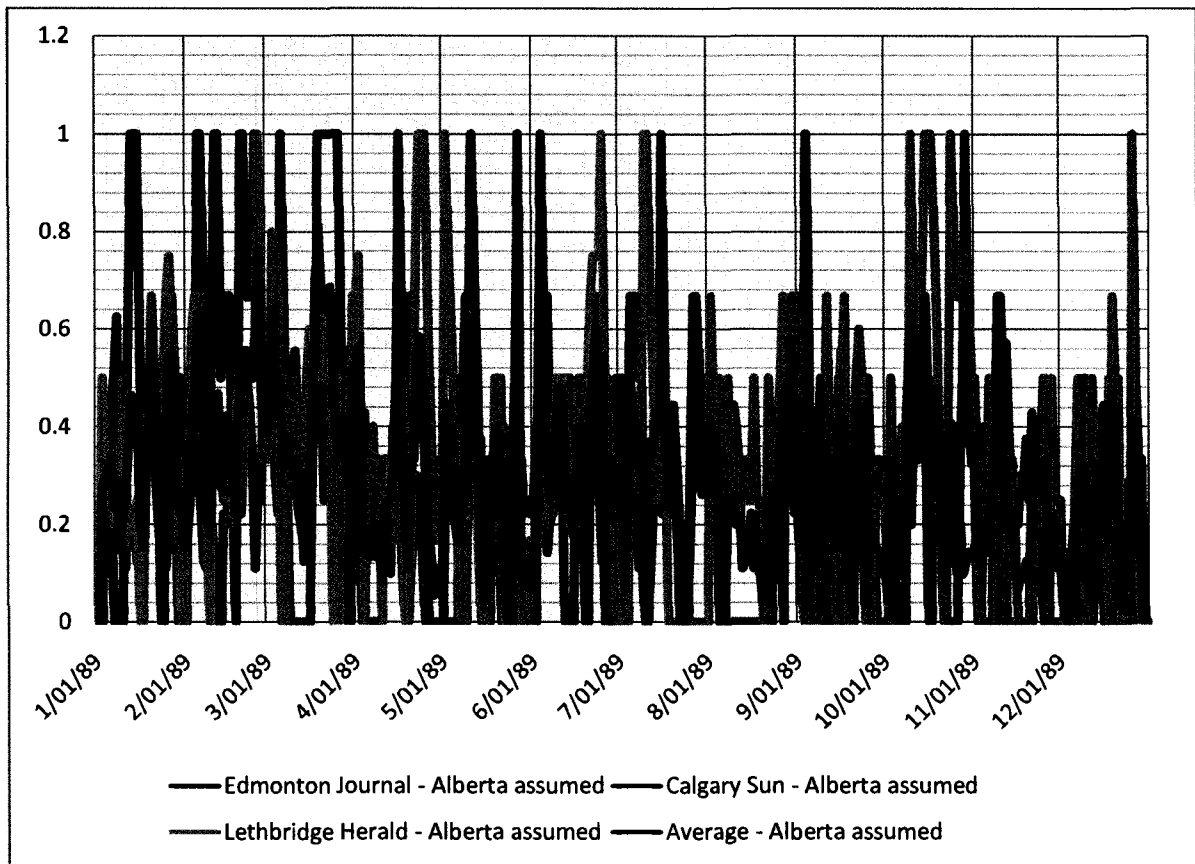


Chart 8: Three-Day Rolling Average for Alberta Assumed Territorial Flags

The final three-day rolling average that is examined in this study tracks the “Alberta assumed” territorial flag over the span of the year 1989. The results of this chart, shown above in Chart 8, are far more erratic due to the fact that we are tracking only one flag rather than a collection of flags. Thus, the results for each of the individual papers will tend to be either 0 or 1. However, despite that limitation, it is clear that the use of the “Alberta assumed” flag is consistent and significant. The flag maintains a frequency of about 0.24 - 0.28 flags per editorial throughout much of the year. There is a slight increase during the election period as noted by previous charts, but it is not nearly as clear cut as it was for the Alberta and Albertan territorial flags.

Furthermore, like the Ottawa flag, there is a slight drop-off at the end of the year which may correspond to increasing attention paid to Christmas and New Year and less towards provincial politics.

When examining both the cumulative statistics and the three-day rolling averages of the territorial flags listed in this study, several things become clear. First of all, the use of these territorial flags, either directly or assumed, is extremely common. Every day inside Alberta, editorial boards will accept the territorial container called Alberta that has been constructed and use it to communicate their arguments to their audience. Secondly, the use of these territorial flags is heavily tied to the political sphere. Generally, when provincial elections are underway, the use of these territorial flags will increase. Furthermore, political crises that have a territorial component, such as the Alberta Senate Election, will also lead to an increase in the use of territorial flags. Of course, the territoriality of Alberta is not the only territory being constructed. As we have seen in this section, the construction of Ottawa through the use of territorial flagging is also quite common, and seemingly independent from the use of territorial flags referencing Alberta. This raises an interesting line of questioning: is the construction of Alberta territoriality unique within Albertan newspapers or is it simply one out of many territorialities being constructed simultaneously? To answer this question, we will next do a comparative study on the use of the First Person Plural by the editorial boards of the three newspapers to identify the degree to which the newspaper will self-identify with the territory of Alberta in comparison to other forms of territoriality.

2.2 First Person Plural

The strength of a territorial identity is not only the number of times in which it is referenced, as we explored last section, but the degree to which it becomes accepted by people as their own identity. This self-identification with territorial constructions is key to the development and maintenance of territorial identities. To further explore this phenomenon, the study tracked in

this section the degree to which the editorial boards of the three Albertan newspapers themselves self-identify with the constructed territory of Alberta through the use of the First Person Plural.

By using the First-Person Plural such as we, us, and our; an individual is directly placing him or herself within the group being referenced. When an individual or, in this case, an editorial board uses the First-Person Plural in reference to a territory, it is accepting its place within the geographical container that the constructed territory represents. Now of course, such territorial self-identification is not monistic, individuals can consider themselves as part of multiple overlapping territorialities, referencing each one depending on the context of the situation. If you are speaking about international affairs, it would be appropriate to identify with the territorial state of Canada. When you are dealing with domestic issues, it makes sense to identify yourself with your provincial territory. And finally, if we are dealing with sports, it is common to refer to more local forms of territoriality. While an individual can identify him or herself with multiple territorial levels, some forms of territoriality will inevitably be stronger than others. This process is continued with the editorial board of newspapers inside the province of Alberta. The degree with which Albertan editorial boards choose to identify with one territorial level or another will give an indication of the strength of that territoriality within the province of Alberta. Thus in this section, we conducted a comparative study of these differing territorial levels in three major Albertan newspapers to gain a better understanding of the comparative strength of each and every one of these territorialities. To this end, we recorded the frequency of self-identification with differing territorial levels by the *Edmonton Journal*, *Calgary Sun*, and *Lethbridge Herald* by tracking the use of the First Person Plural and the one of eight territorial levels to which it refers: the Editorial Board, the City, Alberta, Western Canada, Canada, the West, the World, and Other. Two of these territorial levels require some explanation. The “Editorial Board” refers to those situations in which the Editorial Board uses the First Person Plural to represent itself and not a territorial unit. “Other” refers to those situations which cannot be assigned to any other category. One example would be the Editorial Board using the First Person Plural to identify itself with

“baseball fans”. This category will only be used if the use of the First Person Plural cannot be assigned to any other category.

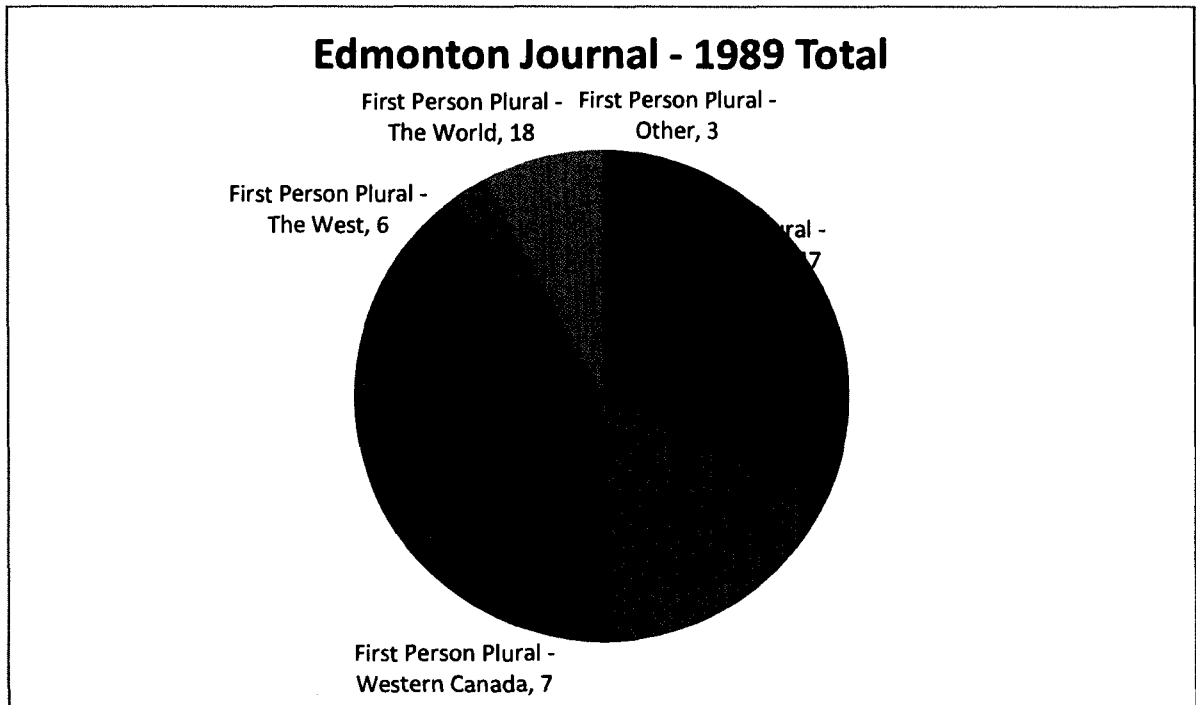


Chart 9: First Person Plural - Edmonton Journal

From the *Edmonton Journal*, we find that the use of the First Person Plural in regard to Canada is by far the most prevalent, occurring more than twice in the editorial pages than any other territorial level, this is followed by a near tie between the First Person Plural in regards to the Editorial Board (47 instances) and Alberta (46 instances). This is followed by the First Person Plural in regards to the City with 38 instances, to the World with 17 instances, and then followed by the rest of the territorial categories with insignificant numbers.

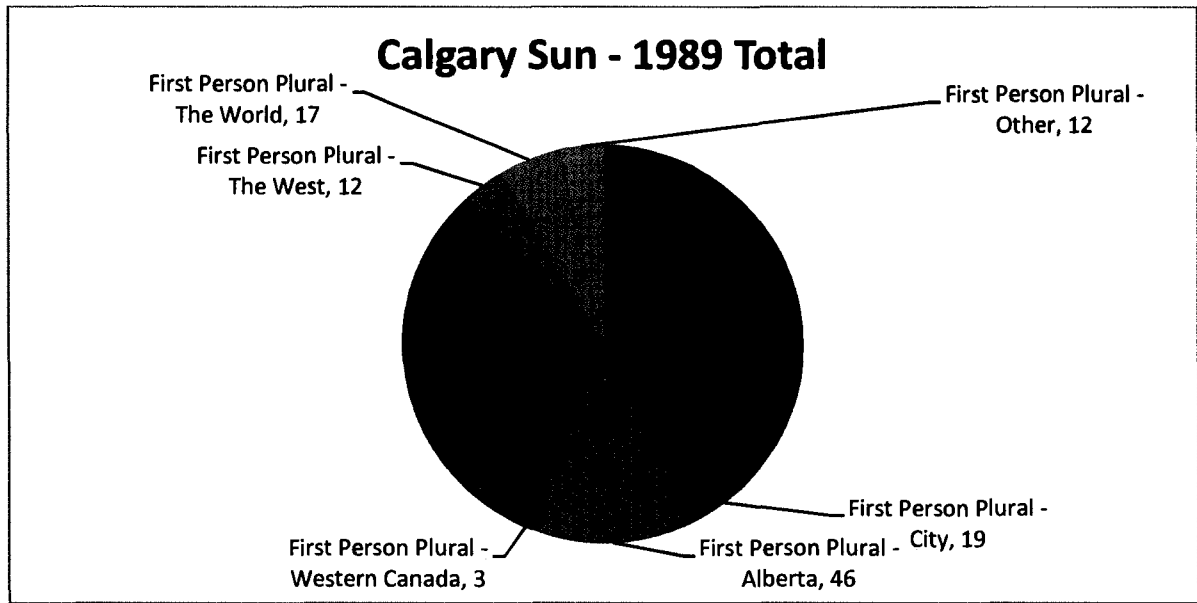


Chart 10: First Person Plural - Calgary Sun

From the *Calgary Sun*, we find that the use of the First Person Plural in regard to Canada is again extremely prevalent with 105 instances, finishing second only to the 125 instances of the First Person Plural regarding the Editorial Board. This pair is trailed significantly by the Alberta First Person Plural with 46 instances, the City at 19, the World at 17, and the remaining territorial categories with increasingly insignificant numbers.

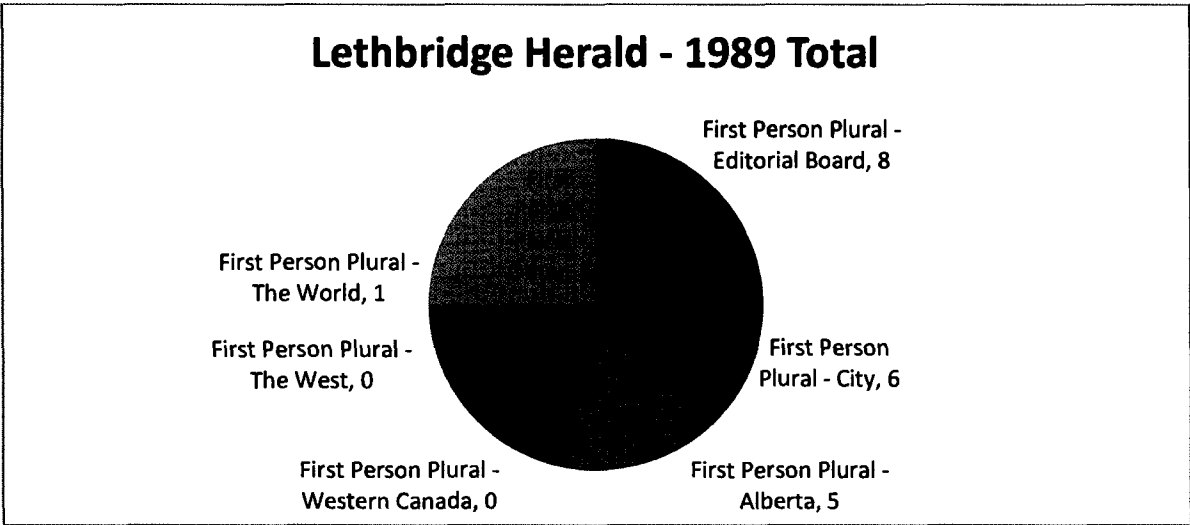


Chart 11: First Person Plural - Lethbridge Herald

The numbers for the *Lethbridge Herald* are completely different than the previous two newspapers. In the entire year spanning 440 editorials, the *Lethbridge Herald* used the First Person Plural in only 36. It appears that the editorial direction at the *Lethbridge Herald* was to avoid the use of the First Person Plural whenever possible. Due to the significantly reduced sample size, the results are far more erratic than in the previous two newspapers. No fewer than three separate territorial categories - Canada, Editorial Board, and Other – each have 8 references using the First Person Plural. These three categories are followed by the City at 6 instances, Alberta at 5 instances, and the World at 1 instance. No other category had a single use of the First Person Plural in the *Lethbridge Herald*.

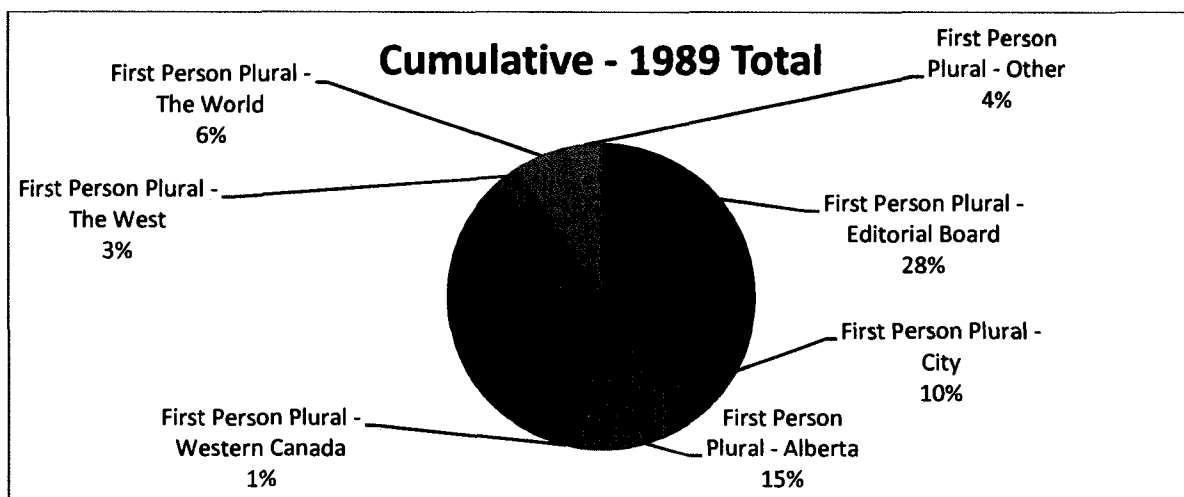


Chart 12: First Person Plural - Cumulative

The most useful statistic, of course, is when all of these instances are taken cumulatively. Combining all the uses of the First Person Plural in each of the eight territorial categories and then dividing them by the complete number of First Person Plural references used in the three newspapers over the entire year, we find the relative strength of each of the territorial forms of identity in comparison with each other. Using this cumulative percentage, we find that when the three Albertan newspapers self-identify with a constructed territoriality through the use of the First Person Plural, they self-identify with the Canadian territorial identity more than any other territorial group at 33%. This is followed by the Editorial Board at 28%, Alberta at only 15%, the City at 10%, the World at 6%, the Other at 4%, the West at 3%, and Western Canada in dead-last at 1%. The result of this study is somewhat surprising as the focus of this study was on Alberta territorial identity and not Canadian identity. However, the results of this section suggest that the Editorial Boards of the three Albertan newspapers, and hypothetically the people within the province of Alberta by extension, self-identify with the territorial concept of Canada more than with the territorial concept of Alberta, by a factor of two to one. The amount of identification with Alberta is still strongly significant, but just not as strong as Canada. This would suggest that while Albertan territorial identity exists strongly in the Albertan discourse, the Canadian national identity remains the dominant identity. This result is somewhat surprising given the great deal of

literature expounded on Western Alienation and Alberta grievances against initiatives by the federal government such as the National Energy Program. Despite this conflict, the results of this study would suggest that the Canadian identity remains for many Albertans their primary identity. This result supports a similar conclusion by Roger Gibbins and Loleen Berdahl (2003: 14) in the regional context, who find that “a significantly larger proportion of survey respondents identify themselves as Canadians before identifying themselves regionally”. Albertan territorial identity may not be as strong as the Canadian national identity, but this study has shown that it remains a significant factor in the public discourse of Albertans.

2.3 Narratives

Another significant factor in the development of an Albertan territorial identity is the use of territorial narratives in the public discourse of Albertans. As stated earlier in Chapter Two, “only through the utilization of narrative can territorial constructions find some semblance of stability as it ties the territory with the social identities of the individuals within.” Narratives harden territorial constructions into real characters in the minds of the target population and give these territorial “characters” an imaginary personality with which the target population can identify.

In this study, we attempt to investigate the use of narratives in the construction of an Albertan territorial identity by tracking the use of four Albertan territorial narratives. These four narratives were identified following a review of the editorial for the *Calgary Sun* in 1989. The four narratives that were tracked in this study are “Dominance of Central Canada”, “Ottawa dominating Alberta”, “Alberta versus the Establishment”, and “Alberta in Ascendance”. Of course, these four chosen narratives are not meant to be a comprehensive list of territorial narratives used in respect to Alberta, as there can conceivably be an infinite number of territorial narratives used. However, these four were deemed to be the most prevalent following the review of the editorials of the *Calgary Sun*. For a complete definition of all four narratives, please consult Section 1 of this chapter. Once the four target territorial narratives were identified, they

were tracked over the year 1989 for the three Albertan newspapers in this study: the *Edmonton Journal*, the *Calgary Sun*, and the *Lethbridge Herald*. The cumulative results of this study can be found below in Chart 13.

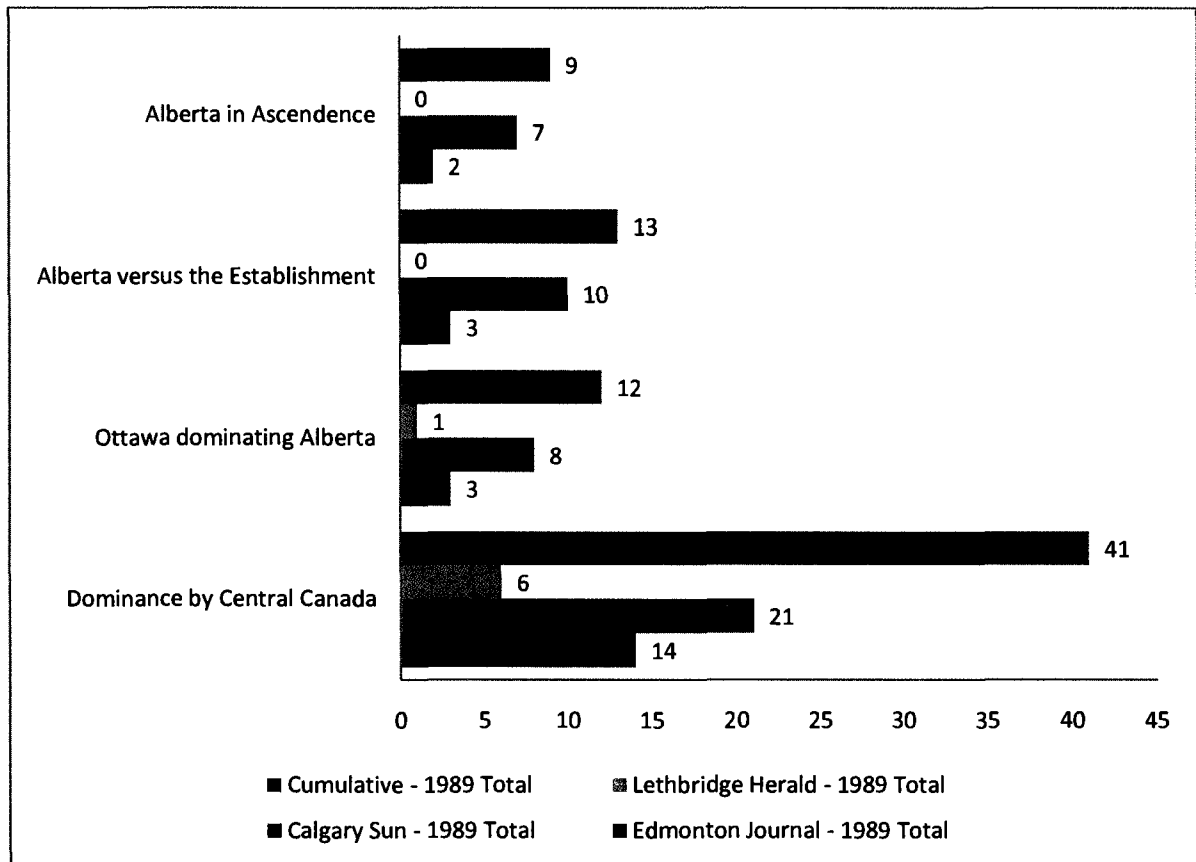


Chart 13: Alberta Territorial Narratives

The first thing that is apparent from the chart above is the differences between the three papers. The *Calgary Sun*, far and away, uses the four target narratives more often in its editorials than any other newspaper examined in this study. In 1989, the *Calgary Sun* uses these four territorial narratives no fewer than 46 times in 307 editorials. Contrast this result with the *Edmonton Journal*, which despite publishing 1042 editorials in the same year, only used territorial narratives no fewer than 22 times. The *Lethbridge Herald* used the fewest territorial narratives in its 440 editorials in 1989 with only 7 instances. There are several reasons for this discrepancy. First of all, the territorial narratives that were used in this study were identified

following a review of the editorials in the *Calgary Sun* in the year 1989. Thus the very definition of the territorial narratives used in the methodology would likely favour the *Calgary Sun* more than the other two papers. Secondly from a qualitative perspective, the *Calgary Sun* used territorial narratives with far more enthusiasm than the *Edmonton Journal* or the *Lethbridge Herald*. During the course of the year, the *Calgary Sun* consistently attacked the federal government over the GST, the Alberta Senate Election, the federal deficit, and the Meech Lake Accord. While the *Edmonton Journal* and *Lethbridge Herald* also touched on these issues, they did not do so with nearly the intensity that the *Calgary Sun* used. Furthermore, in several cases when the *Edmonton Journal* and *Lethbridge Herald* referred to the narrative, they would do so while attempting to deconstruct the narrative, identifying the narrative and casting doubt on its accuracy. While there may be an issue with the methodology that leads to the higher number of identified narratives in the *Calgary Sun*, it is also clear that the *Calgary Sun* embraces these territorial narratives to a degree that the *Edmonton Journal* and *Lethbridge Herald* resist.

Breaking down the results by narrative, we find that by far the most popular narrative is the “Dominance of Central Canada” narrative. Of the 82 narratives flagged in this study, no fewer than 41, or half, were using the “Dominance of Central Canada” narrative. Furthermore, this tendency remains consistent when the results are broken down by newspaper. In each of the three newspapers, the “Dominance of Central Canada” narrative remains the most prevalent, representing 14 of 22 for the *Edmonton Journal*, 21 of 46 for the *Calgary Sun*, and 6 of 7 for the *Lethbridge Herald*. The dominance of this narrative was followed by the remaining three narratives grouped together with numbers of decreasing significance. The narrative of “Alberta versus the establishment” had 13 instances, followed by “Ottawa dominating Alberta” with 12 instances, and then “Alberta in Ascendance” with 9. In case of each these three narratives, the final numbers were driven primarily by the *Calgary Sun* which accounted for 25 of the 34 instances of these narratives. A particular surprise in this study was the weakness of the “Ottawa dominating Alberta” narrative. Given the often contentious history of the relationship between

the federal government and the provincial government of Alberta in cases such as the National Energy Program and the Kyoto Protocol, the expectation was that this narrative would be far more common. However, this expectation was not matched by the results of this study in which the “Ottawa dominating Alberta” was no more common than the “Alberta versus the establishment” narrative. The weakness of the bottom three narratives, especially the “Ottawa dominating Alberta” narrative, does not suggest that these narratives do not exist in the public discourse of Alberta, for they may be transmitted to the population at large through other media, it simply suggests that the propagation of these narratives does not come significantly from the editorials of the three newspapers in this study. The one exception to this conclusion is the “Dominance of Central Canada” narrative, which is very common in the editorials investigated in this study. Thus, the results of this section of the study suggest that the “Dominance of Central Canada” narrative is the only narrative identified that makes a significant contribution to the development of Albertan territorial identity within the editorial pages of the three Albertan newspapers during the year 1989. However, the second half of the question remains unanswered. If narratives contribute to defining an Albertan territorial identity, then how are the territories used in the narrative characterized? We will attempt to answer this question in the next section when we look at archetypes.

2.4 Archetypes

The final aspect of Albertan territorial identity that will be explored in this study is the use of archetypes in the definition of territorial identities within the public discourse of Alberta. Recall from Chapter Two that a key aspect in the employment of territorial narratives is constructing characters. The purpose of these characters is to carry out the plot of the narrative that creates “a comprehensible and compelling explanation of the complex set of seemingly random events to a target that is easy to accept” (Chapter Two). One element of this character construction in the territorial context is the creation of territorial archetypes – an ideal personification of the territory

in question. These territorial archetypes can also be interconnected with one another, following the Agent-Sufferer dialectic explored in Chapter Two or other dialectics such as the One-Other dialectic. Regardless of the dialectic used, territorial archetypes can be used to define each other as well as the territorial narrative. In this study, three territorial archetypes were tracked: Alberta, Albertan, and Ottawa. The Alberta archetype tracks those personal characteristics that are assigned to the territorial concept of the province of Alberta. This archetype may be opposed by the Ottawa archetype, which defines the character of the territorial concept of Ottawa which stands in for the federal government. The third archetype, Albertan, tracked not the character of a specified territory, but the people within the province of Alberta. Ignoring the diversity of personalities among the millions of people who live in the province of Alberta, the Albertan archetype defines a set of universal character traits that all Albertans share. This process can often be done in opposition to other territorial peoples²¹ but this relationship is not explored in this study, only the Albertan archetype will be tracked. The results of this study regarding archetypes are found below in Chart 14.

²¹ A prominent example is the construction of Western and Eastern archetypes between the people of the “West” and the people of the “Orient”, explored most famously by Edward Said (1995).

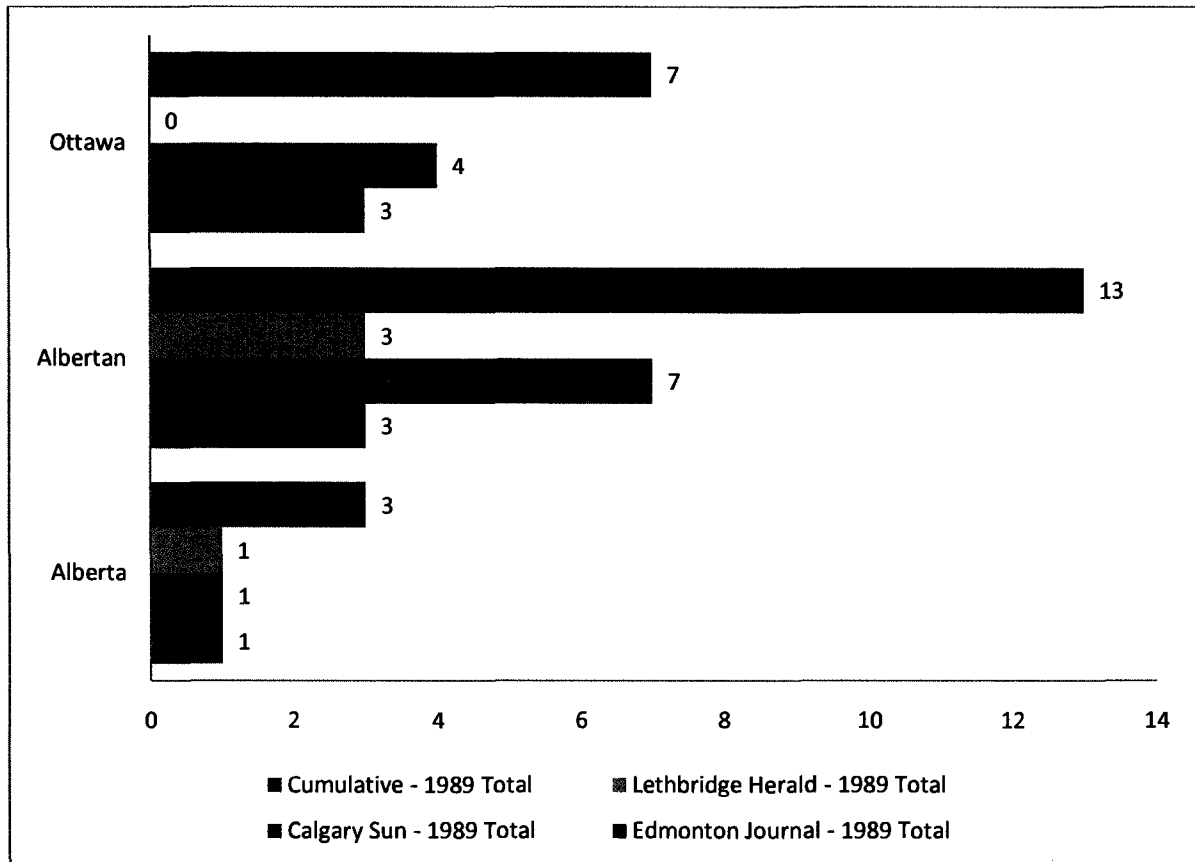


Chart 14: Territorial Archetypes

As we see in the above chart, the construction of archetypes is not a common occurrence in the editorials of the three Albertans newspapers covered in this study. Out of the 1789 editorials that were reviewed, only 24 instances of archetype-construction were found. This result does not suggest that such archetype-construction is rare in Albertan editorials, but may be the result of the extremely narrow focus of this study. Due to the extremely complex lexicographical ways that archetypes can be constructed through language and the need to maintain a consistent criteria for inclusion in this study, the criteria used to identify these archetypes was intentionally restricted. As explained in the Section 1.3 of this chapter, the criteria for archetypes is limited to instances where a character trait is directly referenced without limitation to a specific context. The heavily restricted criteria for inclusion in this study were deemed necessary once it became apparent that archetypes, due to the complexity of language, would be difficult to identify consistently. If a

more open set of criteria were used for this study, the risk of false positives and true negatives would have been raised significantly²². Thus, to reduce the risk of false positive and true negatives and to maximize the consistency of this study, the scope of the criteria used to identify archetypes is kept intentionally narrow, resulting in the low number of cases found.

Despite that limitation, several trends become evident. First of all, just as it was for territorial narratives, the *Calgary Sun* tends to construct these territorial archetypes more than the other two papers, accounting for 12 of the 23 instances identified in this study. The *Edmonton Journal* and *Lethbridge Herald* used the archetypes explored here almost equally with the exception of the Ottawa archetype. As stated before in Section 2.3, this trend may be due to the fact that the *Edmonton Journal* and *Lethbridge Herald* are significantly less enthusiastic about using territorial narratives than the *Calgary Sun*. Considering that in Chapter Two, we argued that there was a connection between narratives and characters in the process of emplotment, it would not be surprising that a reluctance or emphasis in using territorial narratives would be followed with a connected reluctance or emphasis to use territorial archetypes (an idealized form of a character).

Secondly, it appears that the Albertan archetype is the one most commonly used by the Albertan newspapers covered in this study. Out of the 23 instances of archetype construction identified, no fewer than 13 referenced the Albertan archetype. This trend continued with the individual papers with the exception of the *Edmonton Journal*, which referenced both the Ottawa and Albertan archetypes 3 times. However, cumulatively the Albertan archetype was the most common. The Ottawa archetype was the second-most common archetype, with 7 instances in which the archetype was constructed. This archetype was held back by the *Lethbridge Herald*, which did not attempt to define the Ottawa archetype in any of its 440 editorials in 1989. The

²² A false positive occurs when an instance is incorrectly identified as an archetype when it is not according to the defined criteria. A true negative occurs when an instance is not identified as an archetype when it is according to the defined criteria.

least common archetype defined was the Alberta archetype, used cumulatively in only 3 instances, one for each paper.

To know the number of times that the three Albertan newspapers attempt to define these territorial concepts is interesting, but tracking the individual traits they attempt to assign to these territorial constructs is the more essential element of this section. A list of the attempts to construct these territorial archetypes, and the character traits they attempt to assign to these territorialities is shown below in Table 6.

Date	Newspaper	Type	Trait
January 9, 1989	Lethbridge Herald	Alberta	Conservative
February 10, 1989	Calgary Sun	Alberta	Warmth and friendliness
June 14, 1989	Edmonton Journal	Alberta	Reputation for fairness or tolerance
January 20, 1989	Calgary Sun	Albertan	Optimistic
January 26, 1989	Edmonton Journal	Albertan	Reasonable
February 5, 1989	Calgary Sun	Albertan	Ordinary
March 15, 1989	Lethbridge Herald	Albertan	Conservative
March 16, 1989	Lethbridge Herald	Albertan	Conservative; Ordinary
May 10, 1989	Calgary Sun	Albertan	Natural Entrepreneurial Spirit
May 27, 1989	Lethbridge Herald	Albertan	Sober-thinking
June 4, 1989	Calgary Sun	Albertan	Not Stupid; Ordinary
July 14, 1989	Calgary Sun	Albertan	Average
August 24, 1989	Edmonton Journal	Albertan	Not Bashful
August 28, 1989	Calgary Sun	Albertan	Growing Political Sophistication
October 31, 1989	Edmonton Journal	Albertan	Fair-minded
November 9, 1989	Calgary Sun	Albertan	Ordinary
April 19, 1989	Edmonton Journal	Ottawa	Procrastinating
April 29, 1989	Edmonton Journal	Ottawa	Appetite for spending
May 29, 1989	Calgary Sun	Ottawa	Flagrant spending habits
July 21, 1989	Edmonton Journal	Ottawa	Appetite for spending
August 6, 1989	Calgary Sun	Ottawa	Greedy
August 15, 1989	Calgary Sun	Ottawa	Free-spending

Table 6: Character Traits of Territorial Archetypes

The list from Table 6 above allows us to enumerate the character traits assigned to the following territorial archetypes. Alberta, according to the three Albertan newspapers examined in this study, is conservative, warm and friendly, and has a reputation for fairness and tolerance. Albertans are a reasonable, optimistic, conservative, sober-thinking, ordinary, and average

people. Furthermore, Albertans are not stupid or bashful, but fair-minded with a growing political sophistication and a natural entrepreneurial spirit. Ottawa, on the other hand, is greedy, procrastinating, and with a clear and flagrant appetite for spending. While the archetypes explored in this section do not follow the Actor/Sufferer dialectic identified in Chapter Two, there is clearly connection between the three archetypes. Despite the limited number of instances in which to base a conclusion, the character traits assigned to the territorial concept of Albertans, and the territorial people known as Albertans were almost universally positive while the traits assigned to Ottawa were universally negative. Thus, a One-Other dialectic is formed with Alberta and Albertans forming the Good 'One' while Ottawa forms the Bad 'Other'. Alberta is warm and friendly, Ottawa is greedy. Albertans are sober-thinking and have a natural entrepreneurial spirit while Ottawa is procrastinating with flagrant spending habits.

Thus despite the severe limitations under which this section of the study was undertaken, one conclusion becomes abundantly clear. The three Albertan newspapers, in the limited number of archetype construction identified in this study, construct the territorial character of Alberta and the Albertans that live within it as the positive 'One' and the "outsider" character of Ottawa as the negative 'Other'. A clear identity for each of these territorial concepts is created with a direct relationship with their status inside or outside the territoriality of Alberta.

3.0 Conclusion

Despite the large amount of the data that this study has created, and the four distinct areas in which this data was analyzed, a number of significant conclusions were found. Firstly, the use of territorial flags by the editorial boards of Albertan newspapers is incredibly common. Regardless of the situation, there is a consistent baseline “normal” at which territorial flags will be used. No matter the context in which these editorials are written, Albertan editorials will consistently refer to these territorial flags at this baseline level. This baseline level can be affected by political events, such as a provincial election, or crises, such as the aftermath of the Alberta Senate Election, leading to a marked increase in the use of Alberta or Albertan territorial flags. Thus, it is apparent from the results of this study that Albertan territorial identity has a significant political component, as the referencing of the territorial construction of Alberta and territorial people known as Albertans was heavily influenced by political events at both the provincial and federal levels. Secondly, while the analysis of the use of First-Person Plural pronouns by editorial boards revealed that the editorial boards self-identified themselves with the territorial concept of Alberta, they were more likely to self-identify themselves, by a significant margin, with the territorial concept of Canada. If we extend this pattern of self-identification to the province as a whole, then we can conclude that while there is a strong sense of attachment to the province of Alberta, this attachment is not nearly as strong as the attachment to Canada. Thus, while the sense of Alberta territorial identity is strong, the sense of Canadian national identity is stronger. Thirdly, of all the narratives explored in this study, only the “Dominance of Central Canada” narrative was found to have a significant impact. The frequency in which the narrative is used suggests that this narrative forms a key element of articulations of Albertan identity. None of the other narratives, most specifically the “Ottawa dominating Alberta” narrative, were found in numbers deemed to be significant. Fourthly, the use of territorial archetypes was found in this study to be exceedingly rare and for the most part insignificant. However, when these archetypes were used, they did follow a distinct pattern. While “Inside” archetypes such as Alberta and Albertans were

assigned universally positive characteristics, “Outside” archetypes such as Ottawa were assigned universally negative character traits. Thus, these archetypes are formed in opposition to one another along Good/Bad axis. This result may suggest that there is a One/Other dialectic constructed with the territorial character of Alberta and the Albertans that live within it as the positive “One” and the “outsider” character of Ottawa as the negative “Other”. In other words, a clear normative identity for each of these territorial concepts is created with a direct relationship with their status inside or outside the territoriality of Alberta.

Despite the conclusions drawn in this study, numerous questions remain. In what other ways can the Albertan territorial identity be constructed and transmitted? How is the articulation of Albertan territorial identity affected by different media such as television and the internet? How often do the media refer to the territorial scope of Alberta in comparison to other, competing territorialities? The vast majority of these questions lie far beyond the scope of this study. However, this study suggests that the territorial construction of Albertan identity remains an uncharted frontier in the academic sphere, full of possibilities for research.

Conclusion

In this thesis, we have explored the impact of territoriality on articulations of identity. In Chapter One, we found that the literature from the Canadian school of normative pluralism has polarized conceptions of identity into one of two poles – cultural and national. These two categories of identity were the main forms deemed significant enough to require reconciliation in the academic literature. Furthermore, these two categories were often seen as mutual exclusive and opposing concepts. Witness the differentiation of rights between nationalities and immigrant groups by Kymlicka or Seymour’s strained and logically inconsistent attempts to define Quebec as a nation and not a minority group within the Canadian federation. Thus the pattern of the academic literature on normative pluralism in Canada has been clear and bipolar – there are two forms of legitimate identity and that each category requires different collective rights and forms of recognition in order to coexist peacefully in a modern plural state. What is particularly surprising about the contemporary literature from the Canadian school of normative pluralism is that it neglects the central importance that territoriality plays in forming cultural and national forms of identity. Consider the symbolic importance of the “homeland” in articulations of both national and cultural forms of identity. Both of these categories of identity build a sense of communal attachment to a physical place, a metaphysical territory demarcated by boundaries upon a map. The only difference between these two groups is that for national groups, the territorial homeland lies within the boundaries of their current state, and for cultural groups, the territorial homeland lies abroad. The impact of territoriality in structuring these two forms of

identity is largely neglected in current literature from the Canadian school of normative pluralism. However, if the importance of territoriality in formulating cultural and national forms of identity is accepted, then it leads to a new question: if territoriality plays a crucial role in developing national and cultural forms of identity, then can mainly territorial forms of identity exist and demand accommodation within the modern plural state? It is this question that has driven this thesis.

In Chapter Two, we explored the concept of territorial identity more deeply and developed a theory of territorial identity. In this theory, we argued that territorial identity is developed as a convergence between three distinct phenomena: territoriality, narrative, and banal flagging. Territoriality refers to the process in which abstract territories are created and become concrete within the minds of the target population. However, the existence of a territory does not automatically create a sense of identification with that territory by a target population. In order for a group of people to identify with an abstract territory, this territory must be given meaning in language. A territory must not only exist, but must symbolically represent the population within. The process by which this need is accomplished is through narrative. Territorial narratives assign meaning to one or more territories through the use of stories that not only define the character traits of the territories in question, but structure their relationships in manner that is easy for the target population to understand and remember. Through this process, individuals can accept the constructed territoriality as legitimate and identify it with their own personal identity, reinforcing the articulations of power that are inherent within the territoriality. In other words, territorial narratives can bring stability to abstract territorial constructions by tying the territory to the social identities of the individuals within. However, the process of territorial identity construction is not purely the result of articulations of social power. For while territorial narrative construction is a powerful strategy to legitimize and solidify articulations of territoriality and their boundaries, it does not follow that such narratives are created by political or social elites through meticulous intention. Much of the process flows organically as the territoriality is solidified in the minds of

the target population. The solidification of a form of territoriality is accomplished by a phenomenon known as “banal flagging”. The process of banal flagging, based upon the work of Michael Billig, solidifies an abstract territory into an object that is real and tangible in the minds of the target population by the common use of “banal flags” in everyday language. These “banal flags”, innocuous by themselves, over time solidify the territory in question by constantly referencing the territorial concept in the discourse of society. This phenomenon is commonly seen in newspapers in which territories are often identified through the use of a single identifier so often that the reader becomes used to the concept being referenced and accepts the flagged territory as normal. Thus, through the convergence of the phenomena of territorial, narrative, and banal flagging is the theoretical construction of territorial identity performed.

However, for the theory explored in Chapter Two to have any argumentative strength, it must bring new insights into the articulation of identity in the real world. Thus, in Chapter Three, we apply the theory developed in Chapter Two to the case study to find whether or not a mainly territorial form of identity can be identified. For this practical study, the case used was the province of Alberta, a province within which there appears to be a strong sense of identification with the province that is not cultural or national in nature. The case study, limited to the editorial sections of three independent Albertan newspapers over the year 1989, revealed five conclusions. First, there was significant evidence that territorial flagging was used to constantly remind Albertans of the province’s existence and importance in everyday discourse. Second, the trend of how these territorial flags were used over the course of the year suggest that the territorial identity of Alberta is heavily tied to political events at both the provincial and federal levels of government. Third, the use by the editorials of the First-Person Plural suggest that while Albertans identify with the territorial province of Alberta, they identify far more strongly with the territorial country of Canada – possibly because this was viewed as their “national” identity. Fourth, the study found that the use of territorial narratives was not uncommon, but relatively insignificant. Only the “Dominance of Central Canada” narrative was found to exist in

significant numbers. However, the number of narratives investigated was limited and the study did provide evidence that territorial narratives are used, just not in the numbers expected by the theory developed in Chapter Two. Fifth and finally, the use of archetypes (a subset of narratives), although rare, did provide evidence that “Inside” territorial constructions such as Alberta were assigned positive character traits by the editorials while “Outside” constructions such as Ottawa were generally assigned negative character traits. This evidence suggests that when archetypes are used, they are used to construct a One/Other dialectic of territorial narrative. In brief, the case study carried out and analyzed in Chapter Three provides significant evidence to support the theory of territorial identity in Chapter Two.

The existence of this evidence leads this thesis to conclude that territorial identities form a “Third Category” of identity alongside national and cultural identities and must be included within our theoretical frameworks of normative pluralism. This conclusion does not suggest that these three categories of identity are mutually exclusive. Far from it, as seen in the first part of Chapter One, territoriality plays a significant role in the development of cultural and national forms of identity. Thus these categories should be considered as overlapping rather than as mutually exclusive. However, the three categories demarcated here should not be considered an exhaustive list of all categories of identity. A strong case could be easily made that social identities such as gender, sexuality, or class could be considered as a fourth category of identity. However, such an investigation was beyond the scope of this thesis. Therefore, the results of this thesis suggest that the current limitation of the Canadian school of normative pluralism to reconciling forms of national and cultural identity must be loosened to address other forms of identity such as territorial identity. In other words, normative pluralism must begin to view identity on a multidimensional plane, rather than on a bidimensional axis.

Finally, the results of this thesis suggest several future avenues of research into the concept of territorial identity developed theoretically in this thesis. First and foremost, the investigation of purely territorial forms of identity can be expanded to investigate to what degree and at what

levels these territorial forms of identity exist. In the Canadian context, do territorial identities exist for all provinces, for all Cities, for all Regions? Such a comprehensive study on territorial identity has not been conducted within Canada and would do much to deepen our understanding of the multiplicity of identities that exist with the modern plural state of Canada. Secondly, the investigation of territorial levels can be expanded to see how these varying levels of territorial identification can coexist in everyday language. As was found in this study, individuals have an uncanny ability to “flip a switch” and change levels of territorial abstraction. How then, do individuals order such a multiplicity of possibly conflicting territorial identities? Thirdly, the lexicographical study that was used in Chapter Three could be expanded to investigate how territorial identities are referenced in everyday public discourse. This may include examining the territorial scope to which each article in a journal or newspaper references within the context of its text. As stated earlier, territorial, national, and cultural identities are not mutually exclusive categories but overlap in many ways. A fourth and final future avenue of research would be to investigate the overlap between these categories and ascertain if territorial identities are an initial form of identity that, over time, evolve into national, and then cultural forms of identity.

Appendices

Appendix One: Raw Data - Edmonton Journal

	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa													
Number of Editorials	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3						
Flags																																																							
Alberta (noun)	1				2	1	4	4	1																																														
Alberta (subject)	2				2	1	4	4	1																																														
Alberta (adjective)	1	2	1	1	1	4	4	4	1																																														
Albertan (adjective)					2																																																		
Alberta's (possessive)	2				2	1	4	4	1																																														
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Central Canada (all)																																																							
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People of Alberta																																																							
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First Person Plural - Alberta																																																							
First Person Plural - Western Canada																																																							
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Alberta versus the Establishment																																																							
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Archeology																																																							
Alberta																																																							
Albertan																																																							
Ottawa																																																							

	Jan 29, 1989	Jan 30, 1989	Jan 31, 1989	Feb 1, 1989	Feb 2, 1989	Feb 3, 1989	Feb 4, 1989	Feb 5, 1989	Feb 6, 1989	Feb 7, 1989	Feb 8, 1989	Feb 9, 1989	Feb 10, 1989	Feb 11, 1989	Feb 12, 1989	Feb 13, 1989	Feb 14, 1989	Feb 15, 1989	Feb 16, 1989	Feb 17, 1989	Feb 18, 1989	Feb 19, 1989	Feb 20, 1989	Feb 21, 1989	Feb 22, 1989	Feb 23, 1989	Feb 24, 1989	Feb 25, 1989
	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa
Number of Editorials	1	3	3	3	4	3	3	4	3	3	3	2	4	3	3	2	4	3	3	3	3	2	4	3	3	3	3	3
Flags	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
Alberta (noun)																												
Alberta (subject)	2		1	2		1	4					13	1	2	1		2	2	2	23			2	2	2	3		
Alberta (adjective)			1	2		1	4					13	2	2	1		2	2	1				2	2	3			
Alberta's (possessive)			1	3		2	4					1	13	1	3		2	1					2					
Albertan (adjective)																												
Albertan (noun)	2		3	3		2	4						1	1	1		1	1					1					
Albertan (subject)	2		2	2		2	4						1	1	1		1	1					1					
Albertan's (possessive)	2		2	2		2	4						1	1	1		1	1					1					
Ottawa (noun)																												
Ottawa (subject)																												
Ottawa (adjective)																												
Ottawa's (possessive)																												
Central Canada (all)																												
Central Canadian (all)																												
Alberta assumed	2		3	1	2	2	4									13	1	1	1				2	12	12			3
People of Alberta																												
Pronouns																												
First Person Plural - Editorial Board																												
First Person Plural - City																												
First Person Plural - Alberta																												
First Person Plural - Western Canada																												
First Person Plural - Canada																												
First Person Plural - The West																												
First Person Plural - The World																												
First Person Plural - Other																												
Narrative																												
Albert Lecturer Narratives																												
Dominance by Century of Canada																												
Ottawa dominating Alberta																												
Alberta-Superior Narratives																												
Alberta versus the Establishment																												
Alberta in Ascendance																												
ArcheType																												
Alberta																												
Albertan																												
Ottawa																												

	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	
February 26, 1989																							
February 27, 1989																							
March 1, 1989																							
March 2, 1989																							
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March 21, 1989																							
March 22, 1989																							
March 23, 1989																							
March 24, 1989																							
March 25, 1989																							
Number of Editorials	1	4	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	
Flags																							
Alberta (noun)																							
Alberta (subject)																							
Alberta (adjective)																							
Albertan (adjective)																							
Albertan's (possessive)																							
Albertan (noun)																							
Albertan (subject)																							
Albertan's (possessive)																							
Ottawa (noun)																							
Ottawa (subject)																							
Ottawa (adjective)																							
Ottawa's (possessive)																							
Central Canada (all)																							
Central Canadian (all)																							
Alberta assumed																							
People of Alberta																							
Pronouns																							
First Person Plural - Editorial Board																							
First Person Plural - City																							
First Person Plural - Alberta																							
First Person Plural - Western Canada																							
First Person Plural - Canada																							
First Person Plural - The West																							
First Person Plural - The World																							
First Person Plural - Other																							
Narrative																							
Alberta-Led Narrative																							
Dominant Narrative in Central Canada																							
Ottawa dominating Alberta																							
Alberta-Superior Narratives																							
Alberta versus the Establishment																							
Alberta in Ascendancy																							
Archetype																							
Alberta																							
Albertan																							
Ottawa																							

	March 26, 1989	March 27, 1989	March 28, 1989	March 29, 1989	March 30, 1989	March 31, 1989	April 1, 1989	April 2, 1989	April 3, 1989	April 4, 1989	April 5, 1989	April 6, 1989	April 7, 1989	April 8, 1989	April 9, 1989	April 10, 1989	April 11, 1989	April 12, 1989	April 13, 1989	April 14, 1989	April 15, 1989	April 16, 1989	April 17, 1989	April 18, 1989	April 19, 1989	April 20, 1989	April 21, 1989	April 22, 1989	
	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su
Number of Editorials	1	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	
Flags																													
Alberta (noun)																													
Alberta (subject)				12	13	3	13	1	1	3	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2
Alberta (adjective)				1					1	3	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2
Albertan (adjective)				1	1	2	1	1	1	3	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1
Albertan's (possessive)				1	1	2	1	1	1	3	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1
Albertan (noun)				12				1	1	3	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1
Albertan (subject)				2				1	1	3	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1
Albertan's (possessive)								1	1	3	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1
Ottawa (noun)				3	1			2																					
Ottawa (subject)				3	1			2																					
Ottawa (adjective)																													
Ottawa's (possessive)																													
Central Canada (all)																													
Central Canadian (all)																													
Alberta assumed				1	12	23	2	13	1	1	3	3	1	3	4	3	4	1	2	234	1						1	2	3
People of Alberta																													
Pronouns																													
First Person Plural - Editorial Board								1				2																	
First Person Plural - City																													
First Person Plural - Alberta								3																					
First Person Plural - Western Canada																													
First Person Plural - Canada																													
First Person Plural - The West								2																					
First Person Plural - The World																													
First Person Plural - Other																													
Narrative																													
Alberta-Letter in Narratives																													
Dominance by Central Canada																													
Ottawa dominating Alberta																													
Alberta-Superior Narratives																													
Alberta versus the Establishment																													
Alberta in Ascendancy																													
Archetype																													
Alberta																													
Albertan																													
Ottawa																													1

	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	
Number of Editorials	1	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Flags																														
Alberta (noun)																														
Alberta (subject)																														
Alberta (adjective)																														
Albertan (adjective)																														
Alberta's (possessive)																														
Albertan (noun)																														
Albertan (subject)																														
Alberta's (possessive)																														
Ottawa (noun)																														
Ottawa (subject)																														
Ottawa (adjective)																														
Ottawa's (possessive)																														
Central Canada (all)																														
Central Canadian (all)																														
Alberta assumed																														
People of Alberta																														
Pronouns																														
First Person Plural - Editorial Board																														
First Person Plural - City																														
First Person Plural - Alberta																														
First Person Plural - Western Canada																														
First Person Plural - Canada																														
First Person Plural - The West																														
First Person Plural - The World																														
First Person Plural - Other																														
Narrative																														
Albertan Narratives																														
Dominance by Central Canada																														
Ottawa dominating Alberta																														
Alberta-Superior Narratives																														
Alberta versus the Establishment																														
Alberta in Ascendence																														
Archetype																														
Alberta																														
Albertan																														
Ottawa																														

	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	
Number of Editorials	1	1	2	3	3	3	3	3	3	1	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	4
Flags																							
Alberta (noun)																							
Alberta (subject)																							
Alberta (adjective)																							
Albertan (adjective)																							
Alberta's (possessive)																							
Albertan (noun)																							
Albertan (subject)																							
Albertan's (possessive)																							
Ottawa (noun)																							
Ottawa (subject)																							
Ottawa (adjective)																							
Ottawa's (possessive)																							
Central Canada (all)																							
Central Canadian (all)																							
Alberta assumed																							
People of Alberta																							
Pronouns																							
First Person Plural - Editorial Board																							
First Person Plural - City																							
First Person Plural - Alberta																							
First Person Plural - Western Canada																							
First Person Plural - Canada																							
First Person Plural - The West																							
First Person Plural - The World																							
First Person Plural - Other																							
Narrative																							
Albertan/Alberta Narratives																							
Dominance by Central Canada																							
Ottawa dominating Alberta																							
Alberta-Superior Narratives																							
Alberta versus the Establishment																							
Alberta in Ascendence																							
Archetype																							
Alberta																							
Albertan																							
Ottawa																							

	June 18, 1989	June 19, 1989	June 20, 1989	June 21, 1989	June 22, 1989	June 23, 1989	June 24, 1989	June 25, 1989	June 26, 1989	June 27, 1989	June 28, 1989	June 29, 1989	June 30, 1989	July 1, 1989	July 2, 1989	July 3, 1989	July 4, 1989	July 5, 1989	July 6, 1989	July 7, 1989	July 8, 1989	July 9, 1989	July 10, 1989	July 11, 1989	July 12, 1989	July 13, 1989	July 14, 1989	July 15, 1989		
	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa		
Number of Editorials	1	3	3	3	3	3	4	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	2	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	4	
Flags																														
Alberta (noun)																														
Alberta (subject)				1	2	3																								
Alberta (adjective)				1	2	3																								
Albertan (adjective)		1	1	2	23	2																								
Alberta's (possessive)				2	3																									
Albertan (noun)	1				23																									
Albertan (subject)																														
Albertan's (possessive)																														
Ottawa (noun)																														
Ottawa (subject)				1		3																								
Ottawa (adjective)				1																										
Ottawa's (possessive)																														
Central Canada (all)																														
Central Canadian (all)																														
Alberta assumed																														
People of Alberta																														
Pronouns																														
First Person Plural - Editorial Board																														
First Person Plural - City																														
First Person Plural - Alberta																														
First Person Plural - Western Canada																														
First Person Plural - Canada																														
First Person Plural - The West																														
First Person Plural - The World																														
First Person Plural - Other																														
Metaphor																														
Alberta-Letter to the Editor																														
Domination by Central Canada																														
Ottawa dominating Alberta																														
Alberta-Superior Narratives																														
Alberta versus the Establishment																														
Alberta in Ascendancy																														
Archetype																														
Alberta																														
Albertan																														
Ottawa																														

	July 15, 1989	July 17, 1989	July 18, 1989	July 19, 1989	July 20, 1989	July 21, 1989	July 22, 1989	July 23, 1989	July 24, 1989	July 25, 1989	July 26, 1989	July 27, 1989	July 28, 1989	July 29, 1989	July 30, 1989	July 31, 1989	August 1, 1989	August 2, 1989	August 3, 1989	August 4, 1989	August 5, 1989	August 6, 1989	August 7, 1989	August 8, 1989	August 9, 1989	August 10, 1989	August 11, 1989	August 12, 1989						
	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa						
Number of Editorials	2	3	3	3	3	3	3	1	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	1	3	3	3	3	4	3						
Flags																																		
Alberta (noun)	13	2	12	5					1		1									123	2							2						
Alberta (subject)																					3													
Alberta (adjective)	13		1	15	2						3	123	12	15						4	3	2	3				2	4						
Albertan (adjective)																																		
Alberta's (possessive)																																		
Albertan (noun)																																		
Albertan (subject)	3																																	
Alberta's (possessive)																																		
Ottawa (noun)										2																								
Ottawa (subject)																																		
Ottawa (adjective)																																		
Ottawa's (possessive)																																		
Central Canadian (all)																																		
Central Canadian (all)																																		
Alberta assumed	13	2	1	15						1	3	123	2	1		2	4	12	23							2	2	13	4					
People of Alberta																																		
Pronouns																																		
First Person Plural - Editorial Board	2	1																																
First Person Plural - City																																		
First Person Plural - Alberta																																		
First Person Plural - Western Canada																																		
First Person Plural - Carada																																		
First Person Plural - The West																																		
First Person Plural - The World																																		
First Person Plural - Other																																		
Narrative																																		
Alberta-Inferior Narratives																																		
Dominance by Central Canada																																		
Ottawa dominating Alberta																																		
Alberta Superior Narratives																																		
Alberta versus the Establishment																																		
Alberta in Ascendance																																		
Archetype																																		
Alberta																																		
Albertan																																		
Ottawa																																		

	August 13, 1989	August 14, 1989	August 15, 1989	August 16, 1989	August 17, 1989	August 18, 1989	August 19, 1989	August 20, 1989	August 21, 1989	August 22, 1989	August 23, 1989	August 24, 1989	August 25, 1989	August 26, 1989	August 27, 1989	August 28, 1989	August 29, 1989	August 30, 1989	August 31, 1989	September 1, 1989	September 2, 1989	September 3, 1989	September 4, 1989	September 5, 1989	September 6, 1989	September 7, 1989	September 8, 1989	September 9, 1989	
	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	
Number of Editorials	2	3	3	3	3	4	3	1	4	4	3	4	3	3	2	4	3	3	3	3	3	1	3	3	3	3	4	3	
Flags																													
Alberta (noun)			1	1	3	1	3	1	1	1	1	1		3	1	1												2	
Alberta (subject)					3	1	1							3	1														
Alberta (adjective)					3	1	1							3	1														
Albertan (adjective)						1	1		2	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	1						1	2			3	
Alberta's (possessive)													1			13							1						
Albertan (noun)	1	1	3	3	3	4	3	1	12	1	1	1		3	1	1	1	1	1	1								3	
Albertan (subject)	1		3	3	3	4	3	1	2	1	1	1		3	1	1	1	1	1	1								3	
Alberta's (possessive)																													3
Ottawa (noun)										1				1								3	2					1	
Ottawa (subject)										1				1								3	2					1	
Ottawa (adjective)			1																						2				
Ottawa's (possessive)										1				1								3	2						
Central Canada (all)																													
Central Canadian (all)																													
Alberta assumed																													
People of Alberta																													
Pronouns																													
First Person Plural - Editorial Board																													
First Person Plural - City	2									1				2															
First Person Plural - Alberta	1	3									34																		4
First Person Plural - Western Canada	1									1				3		13	1					2	1						1
First Person Plural - Carada																													
First Person Plural - The West	1	1	25							2	2	14	3	2		2	2	2	2	2	3	1	2						1
First Person Plural - The World													2																
First Person Plural - Other	1																												1
Narrative															2														
Alberta-inflector Narratives																													
Dominance by Central Canada																													
Ottawa dominating Alberta																													1
Alberta Superior Narratives																													1
Alberta versus the Establishment																													
Alberta in Ascendence																													
Archetype																													
Alberta																													
Albertan																													
Ottawa																													

	September 11, 1989	September 12, 1989	September 14, 1989	September 19, 1989	September 20, 1989	September 21, 1989	September 22, 1989	September 23, 1989	September 24, 1989	September 25, 1989	September 26, 1989	September 27, 1989	September 28, 1989	September 29, 1989	September 30, 1989	October 1, 1989	October 2, 1989	October 3, 1989	October 4, 1989	October 5, 1989	October 6, 1989	October 7, 1989		
	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su		
Number of Editorials	1	4	3	4	3	3	3	1	4	4	3	3	3	4	3	1	4	4	4	3	4	3		
Flags	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■		
Alberta (noun)																								
Alberta (subject)			1			2	13	2												4	2	13	1	
Alberta (adjective)																				4				
Alberta (adjective)	3		1		2	2	3	2			2									3	3	13	12	
Alberta (adjective)																								
Alberta's (possessive)																								
Albertan (noun)	3	1	2	1	3			2													34	23	13	1
Albertan (subject)	3	1	2	1																	34	23	13	
Albertan's (possessive)																								
Ottawa (noun)									1	1	3													2
Ottawa (subject)																								
Ottawa (adjective)																								
Ottawa's (possessive)																								
Central Canada (all)																								
Central Canadian (all)																								
Alberta assumed	23	1	2	2	13			2	3	2				4		2				4				3
People of Alberta																								
Pre nouns																								
First Person Plural - Editorial Board																								
First Person Plural - City	2																							4
First Person Plural - Alberta																								2
First Person Plural - Western Canada																								4
First Person Plural - Canada																								2
First Person Plural - The West																								1
First Person Plural - The World	1																							1
First Person Plural - Other																								1
Narrative																								
Alberta-Inferior Narratives																								
Dominance by Central Canada																								2
Ottawa dominating Alberta																								3
Alberta Superior Narratives																								1
Alberta versus the Establishment																								
Alberta in Ascendancy																								
ArcheType																								
Alberta																								
Albertan																								
Ottawa																								

	October 8, 1989	October 9, 1989	October 10, 1989	October 11, 1989	October 12, 1989	October 13, 1989	October 14, 1989	October 15, 1989	October 16, 1989	October 17, 1989	October 18, 1989	October 19, 1989	October 20, 1989	October 21, 1989	October 22, 1989	October 23, 1989	October 24, 1989	October 25, 1989	October 26, 1989	October 27, 1989	October 28, 1989	October 29, 1989	October 30, 1989	October 31, 1989	November 1, 1989	November 2, 1989	November 3, 1989	November 4, 1989	
	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	
Number of Editorials	1																												
Flags																													
Alberta (noun)			24	1	1	1				2											2			1	1	3	1	1	
Alberta (subject)			2		1																								
Alberta (adjective)			2	23	1					1	3	2	12	24	2						2			1			1	2	3
Albertan (adjective)					3																								
Alberta's (possessive)				2						4	2	1	4	12	1	2							1		1	12	1		
Albertian (noun)			4	2	1				1	4	1	24			3				1	2			1		3	12			
Albertian (subject)			4	2	1				1	4	1	24			3				1	2			1		3	12			
Albertian's (possessive)					1																								
Ottawa (noun)			4		1				4		1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1							1	1	1		
Ottawa (subject)			4										2	1	1										1	1	1		
Ottawa (adjective)																													
Ottawa's (possessive)													1																
Central Canadian (all)													1		4				2										
Alberta assumed			2	12	1	2	1	1	12	1	24			1	1	3			2				1		3	12	1	3	
People of Alberta						1				2																			
Pronouns																													
First Person Plural - Editorial Board						1	2		4	12				1										1		23		2	
First Person Plural - City																													
First Person Plural - Alberta			3			2									2	24	3	13											
First Person Plural - Western Canada									4	2	1	24																	
First Person Plural - Carada																													
First Person Plural - The West																									1				
First Person Plural - The World																1	4	3	1	3	12	3	2						
First Person Plural - Other																													
Narrative																													
Alberta inferior Narratives																													
Dominance by Central Canada																													
Ottawa dominating Alberta																													
Alberta Superior Narratives																													
Alberta versus the Establishment																													
Alberta in Ascendance																													
Archetype																													
Alberta																													
Albertan																													1
Ottawa																													

	November 5, 1989	November 6, 1989	November 7, 1989	November 8, 1989	November 9, 1989	November 10, 1989	November 11, 1989	November 12, 1989	November 13, 1989	November 14, 1989	November 15, 1989	November 16, 1989	November 17, 1989	November 18, 1989	November 19, 1989	November 20, 1989	November 21, 1989	November 22, 1989	November 23, 1989	November 24, 1989	November 25, 1989	November 26, 1989	November 27, 1989	November 28, 1989	November 29, 1989	November 30, 1989	December 1, 1989	December 2, 1989
	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa
Number of Editorials	1	3	3	3	3	3	3	1	4	3	3	4	3	4	3	4	1	3	3	3	3	3	1	3	3	3	3	3
Flags																												
Alberta (noun)		13	12	5	13			1	1	3	13	3	1	1				3	2									
Alberta (subject)		13	12	3	3	1		1	1	3	3	3	1	1				3	2									
Alberta (adjective)	1	13	13	5	13	1	1	1	1	23	3	3	1	1				3				23				1		
Albertan (adjective)																												
Alberta's (possessive)		13	12	5	3							3	3					3				3				1		
Albertan (noun)	1	13	13	13	1	1	1	1	1	23								3				3				1		
Albertan (subject)		13	3	3	13	1	1	1	1	23								3								1		
Albertan's (possessive)																												
Ottawa (noun)	13	2	13									1											1					2
Ottawa (subject)	13					3						1											3	1				2
Ottawa (adjective)								1																				
Ottawa's (possessive)	13	1				3																						
Central Canada (all)																												
Central Canadian (all)																												
Alberta assumed																												
People of Alberta																												
Pronouns																												
First Person Plural - Editorial Board																												
First Person Plural - City	2		1																									3
First Person Plural - Alberta	1												3															
First Person Plural - Western Canada																												
First Person Plural - Canada			1																									
First Person Plural - The West								1	3		4			1		2						3	1	13			3	
First Person Plural - The World										1																		
First Person Plural - Other																												2
Narrative																												
Alberta-Inflector Narratives																												
Dominance by Central Canada																												
Ottawa dominating Alberta																												
Alberta Superior Narratives																												
Alberta versus the Establishment																												
Alberta in Acknowledgment																												
Archetype																												
Alberta																												
Albertan																												
Ottawa																												

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December 2, 1989	1																					
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	December 21, 1989																					
Number of Editorials	1																					
Flags	[Black squares]																					
Alberta (noun)	[Black squares]																					
Alberta (subject)	[Black squares]																					
Alberta (adjective)	[Black squares]																					
Albertan (adjective)	[Black squares]																					
Alberta's (possessive)	[Black squares]																					
Albertan (noun)	[Black squares]																					
Albertan (subject)	[Black squares]																					
Alberta's (possessive)	[Black squares]																					
Ottawa (noun)	[Black squares]																					
Ottawa (subject)	[Black squares]																					
Ottawa (adjective)	[Black squares]																					
Ottawa's (possessive)	[Black squares]																					
Central Canadian (all)	[Black squares]																					
Central Canadian (all)	[Black squares]																					
Alberta assumed	[Black squares]																					
People of Alberta	[Black squares]																					
Pronouns	[Black squares]																					
First Person Plural - Editorial Board	[Black squares]																					
First Person Plural - City	[Black squares]																					
First Person Plural - Alberta	[Black squares]																					
First Person Plural - Western Canada	[Black squares]																					
First Person Plural - Canada	[Black squares]																					
First Person Plural - The West	[Black squares]																					
First Person Plural - The World	[Black squares]																					
First Person Plural - Other	[Black squares]																					
Narrative	[Black squares]																					
Alberta-Inferior Narratives	[Black squares]																					
Dominance by Central Canada	[Black squares]																					
Ottawa dominating Alberta	[Black squares]																					
Alberta Superior Narratives	[Black squares]																					
Alberta versus the Establishment	[Black squares]																					
Alberta in Ascendancy	[Black squares]																					
Archetype	[Black squares]																					
Alberta	[Black squares]																					
Albertan	[Black squares]																					
Ottawa	[Black squares]																					

Appendix Two: Raw Data – Calgary Sun

	January 1, 1983							January 2, 1983							January 3, 1983							January 4, 1983							January 5, 1983							January 6, 1983							January 7, 1983							January 8, 1983							January 9, 1983							January 10, 1983							January 11, 1983							January 12, 1983							January 13, 1983							January 14, 1983							January 15, 1983							January 16, 1983							January 17, 1983							January 18, 1983							January 19, 1983							January 20, 1983							January 21, 1983							January 22, 1983							January 23, 1983							January 24, 1983							January 25, 1983							January 26, 1983							January 27, 1983							January 28, 1983						
	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa																																																																																																									
Number of Editorials	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1																																																																														
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First Person Plural - Canada																																																																																																																																																																																																				

	January 29, 1989	January 30, 1989	January 31, 1989	February 1, 1989	February 2, 1989	February 3, 1989	February 4, 1989	February 5, 1989	February 6, 1989	February 7, 1989	February 8, 1989	February 9, 1989	February 10, 1989	February 11, 1989	February 12, 1989	February 13, 1989	February 14, 1989	February 15, 1989	February 16, 1989	February 17, 1989	February 18, 1989	February 19, 1989	February 20, 1989	February 21, 1989	February 22, 1989	February 23, 1989	February 24, 1989	February 25, 1989	
	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	
Number of Editorials	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Flags																													
Alberta (noun)	1								1																				
Alberta (subject)						1																							
Alberta (adjective)						1																							
Alberta's (possessive)						1																							
Albertan (noun)	1								1																				
Albertan (subject)																													
Albertan's (possessive)																													
Ottawa (noun)	1	1																											
Ottawa (subject)																													
Ottawa (adjective)																													
Ottawa's (possessive)																													
Central Canada (all)																													
Alberta assumed	1																												
People of Alberta																													
Persons																													
First Person Plural - Editorial Board																													
First Person Plural - City																													
First Person Plural - Alberta	1																												
First Person Plural - Western Canada																													
First Person Plural - Canada																													
First Person Plural - The West	1																												
First Person Plural - The World																													
First Person Plural - Other																													
Narrative																													
Alberta-Inferior Narratives																													
Dominance by Central Canada																													
Ottawa Dominating Alberta																													
Alberta-Superior Narratives																													
Alberta versus the Establishment																													
Alberta in Ascendence																													
Archetype																													
Alberta																													
Albertan																													
Ottawa																													

	February 26, 1989	February 27, 1989	February 28, 1989	March 1, 1989	March 2, 1989	March 3, 1989	March 4, 1989	March 5, 1989	March 6, 1989	March 7, 1989	March 8, 1989	March 9, 1989	March 10, 1989	March 11, 1989	March 12, 1989	March 13, 1989	March 14, 1989	March 15, 1989	March 16, 1989	March 17, 1989	March 18, 1989	March 19, 1989	March 20, 1989	March 21, 1989	March 22, 1989	March 23, 1989	March 24, 1989	March 25, 1989
	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa
Number of Editorials	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Flags																												
Alberta (noun)	1																											
Alberta (subject)	1																											
Alberta (adjective)																												
Alberta (adjective)																												
Alberta's (possessive)	1																											
Albertan (noun)																												
Albertan (subject)																												
Albertan's (possessive)																												
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Ottawa (subject)																												
Ottawa (adjective)																												
Ottawa's (possessive)																												
Central Canada (all)																												
Central Canadian (all)																												
Albta assumed	1																											
People of Alberta																												
Pronouns																												
First Person Plural - Editorial Board	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
First Person Plural - City																												
First Person Plural - Alberta																												
First Person Plural - Western Canada																												
First Person Plural - Canada	1																											
First Person Plural - The West																												
First Person Plural - The World																												
First Person Plural - Other																												
Narrative																												
Alberta-Inferio- Narratives																												
Dominance by Central Canada	1																											
Ottawa Dominating Alberta																												
Alberta-Superior Narratives																												
Alberta versus the Establishment	1																											
Alberta in Ascendence																												
Archetype																												
Alberta																												
Albertan																												
Ottawa																												

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Number of Editorials	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Tags																													
Alberta (noun)																													
Alberta (subject)																													
Alberta (adjective)																													
Alberta's (possessive)																													
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Alberta's (possessive)																													
Ottawa (noun)																													
Ottawa (subject)																													
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Ottawa's (possessive)																													
Central Canada (all)																													
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Alberta assumed																													
People of Alberta																													
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First Person Plural - Editorial Board																													
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Narrative																													
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Dominance by Central Canada																													
Ottawa Dominating Alberta																													
Alberta-Superior Narratives																													
Alberta versus the Establishment																													
Alberta in Ascendence																													
Archetype																													
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Alberta																													
Ottawa																													

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Number of Editorials	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Days																												
Alberta (noun)					1																							
Alberta (subject)											1																	
Alberta (adjective)	1																											
Alberta (adjective)																										1		
Alberta's (possessive)																												
Alberta (noun)											1																	
Alberta (subject)																												
Alberta's (possessive)																												
Ottawa (noun)						1																						
Ottawa (subject)																												
Ottawa (adjective)																												
Ottawa's (possessive)																												
Central Canada (all)																												
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Alberta assumed	1																											
People of Alberta																												
Pronouns																												
First Person Plural - Editorial Board																												
First Person Plural - City	1																											
First Person Plural - Alberta																												
First Person Plural - Western Canada																												
First Person Plural - Canada	1																											
First Person Plural - The West																												
First Person Plural - The World																												
First Person Plural - Other																												
Narrative																												
Alberta-Inflected Narratives																												
Dominate by Central Canada																												
Ottawa dominating Alberta																												
Alberta-Superior Narratives																												
Alberta versus the Establishment																												
Alberta in Ascendence																												
Archetype																												
Alberta																												
Alberta																												
Ottawa																												

	May 21, 1989	May 22, 1989	May 23, 1989	May 24, 1989	May 25, 1989	May 26, 1989	May 27, 1989	May 28, 1989	May 29, 1989	May 30, 1989	May 31, 1989	June 1, 1989	June 2, 1989	June 3, 1989	June 4, 1989	June 5, 1989	June 6, 1989	June 7, 1989	June 8, 1989	June 9, 1989	June 10, 1989	June 11, 1989	June 12, 1989	June 13, 1989	June 14, 1989	June 15, 1989	June 16, 1989	June 17, 1989
	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa
Number of Editorials	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Tags																												
Alberta (noun)																												
Alberta (subject)																												
Alberta (adjective)																												
Alberta's (possessive)																												
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Ottawa (noun)																												
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Alberta assumed																												
People of Alberta																												
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First Person Plural - Editorial Board																												
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Narrative																												
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Dominance by Central Canada																												
Ottawa Dominating Alberta																												
Alberta-Superior Narratives																												
Alberta versus the Establishment																												
Alberta in Ascendence																												
Archetype																												
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Albertan																												
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Number of Editorials	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Tags																													
Alberta (noun)																													
Alberta (subject)																													
Alberta (adjective)																													
Alberta's (possessive)																													
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Ottawa's (possessive)																													
Central Canada (all)																													
Central Canadian (all)																													
Alberta assumed																													
People of Alberta																													
Pronouns																													
First Person Plural - Editorial Board																													
First Person Plural - City																													
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Narrative																													
Alberta-Inferior Narratives																													
Dominance by Central Canada																													
Ottawa Dominating Alberta																													
Alberta-Superior Narratives																													
Alberta versus the Establishment																													
Alberta in Ascendence																													
Archetype																													
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Ottawa																													

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Number of Editorials	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Flags	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Alberta (noun)																													
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Albertan's (possessive)																													
Ottawa (noun)																													
Ottawa (subject)																													
Ottawa (adjective)																													
Ottawa's (possessive)																													
Central Canada (all)																													
Central Canada's (all)																													
Alberta assumed	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
People of Alberta	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Prenouns	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
First Person Plural - Editorial Board	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
First Person Plural - City	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
First Person Plural - Alberta	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
First Person Plural - Western Canada	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
First Person Plural - Canada	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
First Person Plural - The West	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
First Person Plural - The World	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
First Person Plural - Other	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Narrative	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Alberta-inferior Narratives	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Dominance by Central Canada	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Ottawa dominating Alberta	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Alberta Superior Narratives	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Alberta versus the Establishment	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Alberta in Ascendence	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Archetype	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Alberta	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Albertan	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Ottawa	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	

	August 13, 1989	August 14, 1989	August 15, 1989	August 16, 1989	August 17, 1989	August 18, 1989	August 19, 1989	August 20, 1989	August 21, 1989	August 22, 1989	August 23, 1989	August 24, 1989	August 25, 1989	August 26, 1989	August 27, 1989	August 28, 1989	August 29, 1989	August 30, 1989	August 31, 1989	September 1, 1989	September 2, 1989	September 3, 1989	September 4, 1989	September 5, 1989	September 6, 1989	September 7, 1989	September 8, 1989	September 9, 1989
	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa
Number of Editorials	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Flags	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Alberta (noun)						1																						
Alberta (subject)						1																						
Alberta (adjective)						1																						
Albertan (adjective)																												
Alberta's (possessive)						1																						
Albertan (noun)																												
Albertan (subject)																												
Alberta's (possessive)						1																						
Ottawa (noun)									1																			
Ottawa (subject)									1																			
Ottawa (adjective)									1																			
Ottawa's (possessive)																												
Central Canada (all)																												
Central Canadian (all)																												
Alberta assumed																												
People of Alberta																												
Pronouns																												
First Person Plural - Editorial Board	1	1	1	1	1				1	1																		
First Person Plural - City																												
First Person Plural - Alberta																												
First Person Plural - Western Canada																												
First Person Plural - Canada																												
First Person Plural - The West																												
First Person Plural - The World																												
First Person Plural - Other																												
Narrative																												
Alberta-Inferior Narratives																												
Dominance by Central Canada																												
Ottawa dominating Alberta																												
Alberta Superior Narratives																												
Alberta versus the Establishment																												
Alberta in Ascendance																												
Archetype																												
Alberta																												
Albertan																												
Ottawa																												

	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa
Number of Editorials	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Flags																												
Alberta (noun)																												
Alberta (subject)																												
Alberta (adjective)				1																								
Albertan (adjective)																												
Alberta's (possessive)																												
Albertan (noun)																												
Albertan (subject)																												
Alberta's (possessive)																												
Ottawa (noun)	1																											
Ottawa (subject)	1																											
Ottawa (adjective)																												
Ottawa's (possessive)																												
Central Canadian (all)																												
Alberta assumed																												
People of Alberta																												
Pronouns																												
First Person Plural - Editorial Board	1																											
First Person Plural - City																												
First Person Plural - Alberta																												
First Person Plural - Western Canada																												
First Person Plural - Carada																												
First Person Plural - The West																												
First Person Plural - The World																												
First Person Plural - Other																												
Narrative																												
Alberta-Inferior Narratives																												
Dominance by Central Canada																												
Ottawa dominating Alberta																												
Alberta Superior Narratives																												
Alberta versus the Establishment																												
Alberta in Ascendance																												
Archetype																												
Alberta																												
Albertan																												
Ottawa																												

	October 8, 1989	October 9, 1989	October 10, 1989	October 11, 1989	October 12, 1989	October 13, 1989	October 14, 1989	October 15, 1989	October 16, 1989	October 17, 1989	October 18, 1989	October 19, 1989	October 20, 1989	October 21, 1989	October 22, 1989	October 23, 1989	October 24, 1989	October 25, 1989	October 26, 1989	October 27, 1989	October 28, 1989	October 29, 1989	October 30, 1989	October 31, 1989	November 1, 1989	November 2, 1989	November 3, 1989	November 4, 1989
	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa
Number of Editorials	1	1	1	1	1	1																						
Flags	1																											
Alberta (noun)																												
Alberta (subject)																												
Alberta (adjective)																												
Albertan (adjective)																												
Alberta's (possessive)																												
Albertan (noun)																												
Albertan (subject)																												
Alberta's (possessive)																												
Ottawa (noun)																												
Ottawa (subject)																												
Ottawa (adjective)																												
Ottawa's (possessive)																												
Central Canadian (all)																												
Alberta assumed																												
People of Alberta																												
Pronouns																												
First Person Plural - Editorial Board																												
First Person Plural - City																												
First Person Plural - Alberta																												
First Person Plural - Western Canada																												
First Person Plural - Canada																												
First Person Plural - The West																												
First Person Plural - The World																												
First Person Plural - Other																												
Narrative																												
Alberta inferior Narratives																												
Dominance by Central Canada																												
Ottawa dominating Alberta																												
Alberta Superior Narratives																												
Alberta versus the Establishment																												
Alberta in Ascendance																												
Archetype																												
Alberta																												
Albertan																												
Ottawa																												

	November 5, 1989	November 6, 1989	November 7, 1989	November 8, 1989	November 9, 1989	November 10, 1989	November 11, 1989	November 12, 1989	November 13, 1989	November 14, 1989	November 15, 1989	November 16, 1989	November 17, 1989	November 18, 1989	November 19, 1989	November 20, 1989	November 21, 1989	November 22, 1989	November 23, 1989	November 24, 1989	November 25, 1989	November 26, 1989	November 27, 1989	November 28, 1989	November 29, 1989	November 30, 1989	December 1, 1989	December 2, 1989
	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa
Number of Editorials	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Flags	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Alberta (noun)	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Alberta (subject)	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Alberta (adjective)	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Albertan (adjective)	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Alberta's (possessive)	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Albertan (noun)	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Albertan (subject)	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Alberta's (possessive)	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Ottawa (noun)	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Ottawa (subject)	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Ottawa (adjective)	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Ottawa's (possessive)	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Central Canadian (all)	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Alberta assumed	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
People of Alberta	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Pronouns	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
First Person Plural - Editorial Board	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
First Person Plural - City	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
First Person Plural - Alberta	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
First Person Plural - Western Canada	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
First Person Plural - Canada	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
First Person Plural - The West	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
First Person Plural - The World	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
First Person Plural - Other	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Narrative	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Alberta-Inferior Narratives	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Dominance by Central Canada	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Ottawa dominating Alberta	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Alberta Superior Narratives	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Alberta versus the Establishment	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Alberta in Ascendence	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Archetype	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Alberta	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Albertan	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Ottawa	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

	December 3, 1989	December 4, 1989	December 5, 1989	December 6, 1989	December 7, 1989	December 8, 1989	December 9, 1989	December 10, 1989	December 11, 1989	December 12, 1989	December 13, 1989	December 14, 1989	December 15, 1989	December 16, 1989	December 17, 1989	December 18, 1989	December 19, 1989	December 20, 1989	December 21, 1989	December 22, 1989	December 23, 1989	December 24, 1989	December 25, 1989	December 26, 1989	December 27, 1989	December 28, 1989	December 29, 1989	December 30, 1989	December 31, 1989									
	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su									
Number of Editorials	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1									
Flags																																						
Alberta (noun)																																						
Alberta (subject)						1																																
Alberta (adjective)						1																																
Albertan (adjective)						1																																
Alberta's (possessive)																																						
Albertan (noun)																																						
Albertan (subject)																																						
Alberta's (possessive)																																						
Ottawa (noun)																																						
Ottawa (subject)																																						
Ottawa (adjective)																																						
Ottawa's (possessive)																																						
Central Canada (all)																																						
Central Canadian (all)																																						
Alberta assumed																																						
People of Alberta																																						
Pronouns																																						
First Person Plural - Editorial Board																																						
First Person Plural - City																																						
First Person Plural - Alberta																																						
First Person Plural - Western Canada																																						
First Person Plural - Canada																																						
First Person Plural - The West																																						
First Person Plural - The World																																						
First Person Plural - Other																																						
Narrative																																						
Alberta-Inferior Narratives																																						
Dominance by Central Canada																																						
Ottawa dominating Alberta																																						
Alberta Superior Narratives																																						
Alberta versus the Establishment																																						
Alberta in Ascendence																																						
Archetype																																						
Alberta																																						
Albertan																																						
Ottawa																																						

	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su
	December 23, 1989														
Number of Editorials	1														
Flags															
Alberta (noun)															
Alberta (subject)															
Alberta (adjective)															
Albertan (adjective)															
Alberta's (possessive)															
Albertan (noun)															
Albertan (subject)															
Alberta's (possessive)															
Ottawa (noun)															
Ottawa (subject)															
Ottawa (adjective)															
Ottawa's (possessive)															
Central Canadian (all)															
Central Canadian (all)															
Alberta assumed															
People of Alberta															
Pronouns															
First Person Plural - Editorial Board															
First Person Plural - City															
First Person Plural - Alberta															
First Person Plural - Western Canada															
First Person Plural - Canada															
First Person Plural - The West															
First Person Plural - The World															
First Person Plural - Other															
Narrative															
Alberta Inferior Narrative															
Dominance by Central Canada															
Ottawa dominating Alberta															
Alberta Superior Narrative															
Alberta versus the Establishment															
Alberta in Ascendancy															
Archetype															
Alberta															
Albertan															
Ottawa															

Appendix Three: Raw Data – Lethbridge Herald

	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	
Number of Editorials																							
Tags																							
Alberta (noun)																							
Alberta (subject)																							
Alberta (adjective)																							
Alberta's (possessive)																							
Alberta (noun)																							
Alberta (subject)																							
Alberta's (possessive)																							
Ottawa (noun)																							
Ottawa (subject)																							
Ottawa (adjective)																							
Ottawa's (possessive)																							
Central Canada (all)																							
Central Canadian (all)																							
Alberta assumed																							
People of Alberta																							
Pronouns																							
First Person Plural - Editorial Board																							
First Person Plural - City																							
First Person Plural - Alberta																							
First Person Plural - Western Canada																							
First Person Plural - Canada																							
First Person Plural - The West																							
First Person Plural - The World																							
First Person Plural - Other																							
Narrative																							
Alberta-Inferior Narratives																							
Dominance by Central Canada																							
Ottawa dominating Alberta																							
Alberta-Superior Narratives																							
Alberta versus the Establishment																							
Alberta in Ascendence																							
Archetype																							
Alberta																							
Alberta																							
Ottawa																							

	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su				
Number of Editorials	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		
Flags																																								
Alberta (noun)																																								
Alberta (subject)																																								
Alberta (adjective)																																								
Alberta's (possessive)																																								
Albertan (noun)																																								
Albertan (subject)																																								
Albertan's (possessive)																																								
Ottawa (noun)																																								
Ottawa (subject)																																								
Ottawa (adjective)																																								
Ottawa's (possessive)																																								
Central Canada (all)																																								
Central Canadian (all)																																								
Alberta assumed																																								
People of Alberta																																								
Pronouns																																								
First Person Plural - Editorial Board																																								
First Person Plural - City																																								
First Person Plural - Alberta																																								
First Person Plural - Western Canada																																								
First Person Plural - Canada																																								
First Person Plural - The West																																								
First Person Plural - The World																																								
First Person Plural - Other																																								
Narrative																																								
Alberta-Inferior Narratives																																								
Dominance by Central Canada																																								
Ottawa Dominating Alberta																																								
Alberta Superior Narratives																																								
Alberta versus the Establishment																																								
Alberta in Ascendance																																								
Archetype																																								
Alberta																																								
Albertan																																								
Ottawa																																								

	February 26, 1989	February 27, 1989	February 28, 1989	March 1, 1989	March 2, 1989	March 3, 1989	March 4, 1989	March 5, 1989	March 6, 1989	March 7, 1989	March 8, 1989	March 9, 1989	March 10, 1989	March 11, 1989	March 12, 1989	March 13, 1989	March 14, 1989	March 15, 1989	March 16, 1989	March 17, 1989	March 18, 1989	March 19, 1989	March 20, 1989	March 21, 1989	March 22, 1989	March 23, 1989	March 24, 1989	March 25, 1989
	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa
Number of Editorials		2	1	2	1	2	1						1	2	1	2	1	2	2	1		1	2	1	2	1	1	1
Flags																												
Alberta (noun)					1	1																						
Alberta (subject)		2		1	1												12	1	1	1				12				
Alberta (adjective)		2		1	1												2							2				
Alberta (possessive)																	2											
Albertan (noun)		2		1	1												2	1	1	1								
Albertan (subject)		2		1	1												2	1	1	1								
Albertan's (possessive)																												
Ottawa (noun)						1											1	12						1				
Ottawa (subject)						1											1	1										
Ottawa (adjective)																												
Ottawa's (possessive)																		2										
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