

MAINTAINING THE NARRATIVE:
A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF THE IMPACT OF POLITICAL DISCOURSE ON NOVA SCOTIA AND
NEWFOUNDLAND AND LABRADOR POLITICAL CULTURE

by

Meghan Carter

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts

at

Dalhousie University
Halifax, Nova Scotia
November 2015

First, I would like to thank Louise Carbert for her guidance through this process. I would also like to thank my family and friends, Mom, Dad, Aleisha, Emily, and my cohort at Dalhousie for their support. Finally, I would like to give a special thanks to my sister, Jillian, who has inspired me to achieve all that I can since the very beginning.

Table of Contents

List of Figures.....	v
Abstract.....	vi
Chapter One: Introduction.....	1
Chapter Two: Literature Review.....	4
What is Political Culture?.....	4
Theories of Political Culture.....	6
Political Culture in Atlantic Canada.....	7
Political Culture in Newfoundland and Labrador.....	9
Political Culture in Nova Scotia.....	12
Issues with Political Culture Research.....	15
Solutions to Stewart’s Paradoxes?.....	18
Chapter Three: Methods Chapter.....	21
Literature Review Research.....	21
Content Analysis of Political Discourse.....	22
Chapter Four: Results Chapter.....	32
Nova Scotia Results.....	32
Nova Scotia Budget Speeches and Throne Speeches, 1960-2013.....	32
Nova Scotia: Breakdown of Budget Speeches.....	34
Nova Scotia: Breakdown of Throne Speeches.....	40
Newfoundland and Labrador Results.....	46
Newfoundland and Labrador Budget Speeches and Throne Speeches, 1960-2013...	46

Newfoundland and Labrador: Breakdown of Budget Speeches.....	48
Newfoundland and Labrador: Breakdown of Throne Speeches.....	53
Chapter Five: Discussion.....	60
Changes in Political Discourse Across Time.....	60
Budget Speeches.....	63
Throne Speeches.....	68
Chapter Six: Conclusion.....	77
Reflections on Results.....	77
Applying Wesley’s Method.....	77
Divergent Paths.....	78
Paradoxes of Political Culture Research.....	81
Conclusion.....	83
Bibliography.....	86

Table of Figures

Figure 1: Nova Scotia Throne and Budget Speeches 1960-2013.....	33
Figure 2: Nova Scotia Budget Speech 1974-2013.....	34
Figure 3: Nova Scotia Budget Speeches 1974-1984.....	36
Figure 4: Nova Scotia Budget Speeches 1993-2013.....	38
Figure 5: Nova Scotia Throne Speeches 1960-2013.....	40
Figure 6: Nova Scotia Throne Speeches 1956-1970.....	42
Figure 7: Nova Scotia Throne Speeches 1993-2013.....	44
Figure 8: Newfoundland and Labrador Throne and Budget Speeches 1960-2014.....	47
Figure 9: Newfoundland and Labrador Budget Speeches 1974-2013.....	48
Figure 10: Newfoundland and Labrador Budget Speeches 1974-1985.....	50
Figure 11: Newfoundland and Labrador Budget Speeches 1999-2013.....	51
Figure 12: Newfoundland and Labrador Throne Speeches 1960-2013.....	53
Figure 13: Newfoundland and Labrador Throne Speeches 1960-1982.....	55
Figure 14: Newfoundland and Labrador Throne Speeches 1993-2014.....	57
Figure 15: Nova Scotia Throne Speeches 1993-2009 (Savage to MacDonald).....	73
Figure 16: Nova Scotia Throne Speech 2009-2013 (Dexter).....	74

Abstract

The following project is an examination of political culture in Canada. More specifically, this work argues that the methods used to study political culture in Canada need to be modified to improve the relevance of political culture research. By doing so, an understanding of political culture in specific political entities will produce a greater understanding of the development of a collectivity over time. In order to test this argument a content analysis of the discourse of political leaders in Nova Scotia and Newfoundland and Labrador was carried out using the qualitative research software, Nvivo, to assist with the large scope of data. It is argued that a content analysis of political discourse in the case studies reveal how political culture has been a contributing factor to the divergent development of Nova Scotia and Newfoundland and Labrador.

Prime Minister Martin: “You can’t walk out of this meeting.”

Premier Williams: “Just watch me.”¹

Chapter One: Introduction

During the negotiations for the extension of the Atlantic Accord in 2005, then Premier of Newfoundland and Labrador, Danny Williams, proposed that the new Atlantic Accord should allow for Newfoundland and Labrador to, “retain 100 percent of the benefit of the offshore petroleum revenues it receives, notwithstanding the treatment of those revenues under the equalization program, which provided that 70 percent of these revenues be clawed back to the federal treasury.”² When the Prime Minister balked at the proposal, Williams ordered that all Canadian flags be lowered from provincial buildings in Newfoundland and Labrador. The flags remained lowered for three weeks. In 2007, Nova Scotia Premier Rodney MacDonald accepted a change to the 2005 offshore oil and gas revenue deal, even though the Premier himself suggested that Nova Scotia would lose hundreds of millions of dollars provided for in the 2005 deal.³ Danny Williams stated publically that Nova Scotia had taken a bad deal and that

¹ Christopher Dunn, “Why Williams Walked, Why Martin Balked: the Atlantic Accord Dispute in Perspective,” *Policy Options*, February 1, 2005.

² Ibid.

³ CBC, “Ottawa Reaches Deal with N.S. Over Offshore Revenue,” *CBC News* October 10, 2007, Nova Scotia section.

Prime Minister Stephen Harper has “a way of preying on the weak.”⁴ What can explain the divergent responses of Williams and MacDonald?

At the time of confederation for both Nova Scotia and Newfoundland and Labrador, the two provinces had much in common: conditions of confederation, demography, resources, institutions, geographic isolation, North Atlantic, etc. Today the provinces are experiencing starkly different economic situations. What explains this economic divergence? The strong similarities between the provinces could have been expected to result in a similar response in both Newfoundland and Labrador and Nova Scotia. This work proposes that the political leadership of Newfoundland and Labrador and Nova Scotia used discourse as one of the contributing factors to arrive at divergent ends.

The purpose of my study is to document the elite level impact of political institutions, specifically political parties, on the development and dissemination of political culture. The discourse of dominant political parties within the Atlantic Provinces will be analyzed to determine if specific political codes have been developed in relation to the values embedded in the political culture of the particular province. This will be accomplished through an analysis of the language used in Speeches from the Throne and Budget Speeches. This study does not propose to disregard decades of research and literature on political culture. Rather, the purpose is to expand the methods used in political culture research, namely, the type of data used to document culture. This work will use a case study approach to compare and contrast the provinces of Nova Scotia

⁴ Ibid.

and Newfoundland and Labrador.⁵ These two provinces were selected as the case studies because of the provinces offshore oil resources and involvement in the Atlantic Accord. These similarities are a level of commonality shared between Nova Scotia and Newfoundland and Labrador not experienced by the other Atlantic Provinces.

⁵ The other Atlantic Provinces, Prince Edward Island and New Brunswick, do not have large offshore oil resources and have not shared in the process of the Atlantic Accord. Therefore it can be expected that there would be less cause for similarity between their political discourse.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

This following chapter explores the definition of political culture and theories of political culture. Followed by a discussion of common understandings of the political culture of Nova Scotia and Newfoundland and Labrador. This is followed by an outline of some of the issues with political culture research as illustrated by Ian Stewart. The chapter concludes with a section discussing the use of discourse from political parties as a tool of research and the precedence for such research.

What Is Political Culture?

When addressing a question of political culture the first thing that must be established is what is political culture? This has not been an easy question for academics to answer. Robert Drummond points out that over time political culture has had a shifting definition resulting in the concept meaning different things to different scholars.⁶ Definitions of the concept vary widely in the elements included in political culture and the specificity of what is part of political culture. McGrane and Berdahl define political culture as, “the basic sentiments of the citizenry within a polity concerning politics and its relationship to the functioning of society.”⁷ This definition is unclear in what exactly political culture involves. As to what these ‘basic sentiments’ are, McGrane and Berdahl do not specify. Differences in the definition of political

⁶ Robert Drummond, “Review: *In Search of Canadian Political Culture*, Nelson Wiseman,” *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 41 (2008): 786.

⁷ Jared J. Wesley, *Code Politics: Campaigns and Cultures on the Canadian Prairies*, (Toronto: UBC Press 2011), 3.

culture also arise through varying understandings of the role of the polity's political structure. A psycho-cultural approach used by some academics places political culture outside of the realm of political structure, arguing that the structure can change but the culture will remain the same.⁸ In *Code Politics*, Wesley, defines political culture as, "a set of common political values and assumptions that underpin a given political system."⁹ He argues that this definition provides a lens for people outside of the society to view the political culture as well as provides a context for how the community views itself.¹⁰ Wesley privileges this definition over psycho-cultural definitions because he argues that it is not possible for the culture to exist outside of the political structure; the two are tied together.¹¹ An understanding of the political culture of a collectivity is an important part of understanding complex issues such as why governments pass certain laws and not others, historical patterns of political party support, and why electoral campaigns emphasize some values over others.¹²

Wiseman (2007) defined political culture as, "deeply rooted, popularly held beliefs, values, and attitudes about politics. Culture is pervasive, patterned, cross-generational, enduring, and relatively stable. It is more like the climate than like the weather of transitory political events."¹³ This is the definition of political culture that will be used for the purposes of this study. The emphasis of the cross-generational and

⁸ Ibid, 5.

⁹ Ibid, 4.

¹⁰ Ibid, 5.

¹¹ Ibid, 5.

¹² Ian Stewart, "Vanishing Points: Three Paradoxes of Political Culture Research," in *Citizen Politics: Research and Theory in Canadian Political Behaviour*, ed. Joanna Everitt and Brenda O'Neill, (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2001), 21-23.

¹³ David McGrane and Loleen Berdahl, "'Small Worlds' No More: Reconsidering Provincial Political Cultures in Canada," *Regional & Federal Studies* (2013): 3. DOI:10.1080/13597566.2013.794415

stable nature of political culture is an important aspect of the concept. Wiseman defines the term in a way which provides a clear understanding of what would specifically qualify as an element of political culture.

Theories of Political Culture

There are three major theories of political culture relating to how it is created and how the political culture is maintained over long periods of time. These theories can be broken up into three main groupings, the freezing hypothesis, socialization, and institutionalization.¹⁴ The freezing hypothesis was pioneered by Louis Hartz. This approach argues that new societies which were founded by Europeans are fragments of Europe.¹⁵ The settlers represent a segment of the broader ideological spectrum that existed within the country of origin. This new society loses the stimulus to change and shift its cultural identity because the impetus of change came as a result of interactions with different ideologies in the country of origin.¹⁶ The ideology of the founders was frozen at the point of origin.¹⁷ This process requires a regeneration to occur because it is the generation after the first group of settlers that are the first ones to not be confronted with competing ideologies.¹⁸ This approach is criticized as being too deterministic and not providing a clear explanation of how new immigrant groups are incorporated into the political culture.¹⁹ The socialization approach to political culture

¹⁴ Wesley, *Code Politics*, 36.

¹⁵ Gad Horowitz, "Conservatism, Liberalism, and Socialism in Canada: An Interpretation," *The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science* 32, no. 2 (1966): 143-144.

¹⁶ Horowitz, "Conservatism, Liberalism, and Socialism in Canada: An Interpretation," 143-144.

¹⁷ *Ibid*, 143-144.

¹⁸ Wesley, *Code Politics*, 36.

¹⁹ *Ibid*, 37.

argues that the study of political culture requires a study of political socialization and that political culture is passed from generation to generation.²⁰ Individuals are socialized into a political culture over time through primary relationships with parents, teachers, peers, and so on, through secondary interactions with figures such as artists or celebrities, and through contact with the political system.²¹ The institutionalization approach states that political culture is transmitted over time through a formal process of institutionalization.²² It is argued that values are embedded in policies, organizations, laws, and so on.²³

Political Culture in Atlantic Canada:

Before addressing how political culture in Nova Scotia and Newfoundland and Labrador have been conceptualized in the literature, it is important to address the fact that political culture in Canada has often been addressed in terms of regions, particularly the region of Atlantic Canada, as opposed to a province by province level.²⁴ This work largely emerged after Simeon and Elkins work in 1974 where they carried out a study to measure perceptions of political efficacy and trust in the provinces. Simeon and Elkin found that in the Atlantic Provinces trust and efficacy levels were lower than elsewhere in the country. This study helped to influence the perceptions of political

²⁰ Ibid, 38.

²¹ Ibid, 38.

²² Ibid, 46.

²³ Ibid, 46.

²⁴ Darrell Bricker and John Ibbitson, *The Big Shift: The Seismic Change in Canadian Politics, Business, and What It Means for Our Future* (Harper Collins, 2013). Richard Simeon and David J. Elkins "Regional Political Cultures in Canada," *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 7, no. 4 (1974) <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0008423900040713>., Jennifer Smith, "Atlantic Canada at the Start of the New Millennium," In *Canada: The State of the Federation 2001, Canadian Political Culture(s) in Transition*, ed. Hamish Telford and Harvey Lazar (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001).

culture in Atlantic Canada.²⁵ Simeon and Elkin theorized that this may have been brought on by a pattern of European settlement and economic factors. This brings us to Bliss' concept of Old and New Canada. Old Canada is the past and New Canada is the future. Atlantic Canada falls firmly in the Old Canada camp.²⁶ The issue with Old Canada is a cultural problem. In Old Canada the culture, "is the culture of the government grant, subsidy to business, handout to the unemployed, to your political friends. In Atlantic Canada politicians are content to play the patronage game."²⁷ Ibbitson and Bricker echo a strikingly similar understanding of political culture in Atlantic Canada in their work *The Big Shift*. That Atlantic Canadians are not particularly interested in facts. Rather, the population feels that the government is obligated to support their unsustainable lifestyles.²⁸ In this region of Canada the state is viewed as the obvious solution to solve economic and social issues, in fact it is likely viewed as the only solution to issues. As a result, when the state is not able to fix the perceived issues of the population, the public becomes disillusioned with the state. This disillusionment, theoretically, translates into low levels of political trust and efficacy.²⁹

In 1994, Ian Stewart's *Roasting Chestnuts: The Mythology of Maritime Political Culture* presented findings using 1984-1990 data to show that the level of divergence between Atlantic Canada and the rest of the country in terms of levels of political trust and efficacy was not what Simeon and Elkin had reported in 1974. There was little to no

²⁵ Jennifer Smith, "Atlantic Canada at the Start of the New Millennium," 145

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Darrell Bricker and John Ibbitson, *The Big Shift*.

²⁹ Jennifer Smith, "Atlantic Canada at the Start of the New Millennium," 145., Darrell Bricker and John Ibbitson, *The Big Shift*.

divergence between Atlantic Canada and the rest of the country in terms of trust and efficacy. Stewart asserted that this idea should be put to rest.³⁰ However, this concept has not faded entirely from the literature. Gidengil reported findings using the data gathered during the 1997 general election which showed that region of residence was a strong indicator of vote. She found that Atlantic Canadians expressed more cynicism towards the political process than elsewhere in the country.³¹ This understanding of political culture in Atlantic Canada does not provide a particularly strong understanding of how this culture has been maintained across time or why particular values would be viewed as important to the people of the region. It does not provide a strong insight into much other than whether or not the population feel they can trust the federal government. This work will now look at how political culture has been characterized when addressing Nova Scotia and Newfoundland and Labrador as independent entities.

Political Culture in Newfoundland and Labrador

Political culture in Newfoundland and Labrador is often explored through the concept of Newfoundland nationalism. The logic of Newfoundland nationalism can be traced back over two centuries. In the early 19th century the St. John's reformers were the first to campaign for an increase in local autonomy. "In constructing Newfoundlanders as a special people with a unique past they created a narrative of unremitting tyranny under the system of naval government which had operated since

³⁰ Ian Stewart, *Roasting Chestnuts: The Mythology of Maritime Political Culture*, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1994): 10-15.

³¹ Jennifer Smith, "Atlantic Canada at the Start of the New Millennium," 147.

the 18th century.”³² Since that time Newfoundland nationalism has developed. This concept has been anchored in an understanding of history where the economic issues in the province are as a result of poor resource management from governing forces that existed outside of the province. As well, the belief that only local governance and autonomy would allow Newfoundland and Labrador to flourish economically as it should because of its natural resources.³³ A feeling of injustice has carried across generations as an embedded part of Newfoundland and Labrador’s political culture. Newfoundlanders have a different perspective of English Canada than the rest of Canada dating back to British imperialism. The foreign interests of English merchants, Ottawa bureaucrats, and Nova Scotia businessmen helped to foster a strong sense of nationalism.³⁴ The resources of the province have been exploited and as a result the people have been exploited by exterior administrators in the past and will be exploited in the future if the people of Newfoundland and Labrador not take action and govern Newfoundland internally.³⁵ The sense that outside governments were ill equipped to administer Newfoundland is not simply a remnant of colonialism. Within Newfoundland and Labrador there is criticism of the Department of Fisheries and Ocean, arguing that

³² Royal Commission on Renewing and Strengthening Our Place in Canada, Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, “The Politics of Cultural Memory: Themes in the History of Newfoundland and Labrador in Canada, 1972-2003,” by Jerry Bannister, (March, 2003): 147.

³³ Ibid, 147-148.

³⁴ Ibid, 147-148.

³⁵ James P. Feehan and Melvin Baker, “The Origins of a Coming Crisis: Renewal of the Churchill Falls Contract,” *Dalhousie Law Journal* 30 no. 1, (2007): 209.

the federal government is not able to meet the needs of the fishing communities of Newfoundland and Labrador.³⁶

Nationalism in Newfoundland differentiates the province from the other members of the so called Atlantic Canadian region. Regionalism can be understood as occurring as a result of different political and economic endowments between geographic groups of provinces or territories. Whereas, nationalism develops through a groups territorial principles that produce an understanding of statehood among the group even in the absence of a formal nation state.³⁷ “What makes a group a nation is not the demand for autonomy since many regional groups make the same demand. Rather the key difference is in the political and philosophical principle upon which this claim is made.”³⁸ A nation can exist within a sovereign state if the nation views itself as a community apart and views self-rule as important to protect the nation’s interest.

Scholars argue that Newfoundlanders have always had a weak attachment to the idea of Canada as a nation.³⁹ Newfoundland had been a self-governing dominion of the British Empire since 1907. After World War 1 the dominion found itself near financial ruin as a result of the global economic crisis that followed the war. The British suspended responsible government for the Dominion in 1934 and created a Commission of Government, meaning Newfoundland found itself under British rule again.⁴⁰ A

³⁶ Royal Commission, “The Politics of Cultural Memory,” 150.

³⁷ Valerie Vezina and Karlo Basta, “Nationalism in Newfoundland and Labrador,” in *First Among Unequals: The Premier, Politics, and Policy in Newfoundland and Labrador*, ed. Alex Marland and Matthew Kerby (McGill-Queen’s Press, 2014): 70-71.

³⁸ Ibid, 72.

³⁹ Ibid, 73-74., Royal Commission, “The Politics of Cultural Memory,” 147-148.

⁴⁰ Ibid, 74.

referendum was held in 1948 to determine whether or not Newfoundland would join Canada and responsible government be re-established. The referendum passed by a margin of just 7000 votes. Newfoundland and Labrador became Canada's tenth province on March 31, 1949. Twenty years later there had been little headway in terms of Newfoundlanders identifying as Canadian. On a national survey to measure national identity Newfoundland and Labrador scored the lowest. 52.1% indicated their identification with Canada as low, just 4.2% or respondents scored it as high. More recent polls suggest that this trend has persisted over time.⁴¹ This attachment to Newfoundland nationalism has both been fostered and used by politicians in the province. "Since Confederation, politicians have used a particular form of neo-nationalist Ottawa-bashing to distract the people of Newfoundland and Labrador from the failures of provincial policies and to co-opt their support."⁴² This understanding of political culture in Newfoundland and Labrador is one which focuses on the wellbeing of Newfoundland and Labrador as an entity in and of itself, separate from Canada.

Political Culture in Nova Scotia

Nova Scotia's political culture is often explained through Fragment Theory and the Formative Events Thesis. Louis Hartz presented Fragment Theory to explain the political cultures of the 'new world.' He argued that the new societies of places such as New France and British North America, were made up of settlers who did not represent

⁴¹ Ibid, 74-75.

⁴² Sean T. Cardigan, *Newfoundland and Labrador: A History*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 296.

the entire ideological makeup of the country of origin.⁴³ Rather it was a largely homogeneous fragment with a specific set of shared values and beliefs. In the Case of Nova Scotia the fragment was British with a value and belief system marked by Toryism, the Loyalists. Formative Event Thesis is an extension of Fragment Theory. It argues that significant events can have a major impact on the political culture of a collectivity. These events are the 'founding' moment of the political culture. In the case of North America the American Revolution is the formative event for all of the different political cultures present.⁴⁴ Political culture in Nova Scotia is based on collective and traditional values because Nova Scotia had been heavily influenced by New Englanders under British rule prior to the Revolution and then the large number of, and the elite makeup of, the Loyalists that came to Nova Scotia following the Revolution. Roughly 35,000 loyalists went to Nova Scotia after the revolution, vastly outnumbering the estimated 15,000 English speakers who resided in Nova Scotia before the arrival of the loyalists.⁴⁵

The long term impact of political culture is explained by the Freezing, or Congealing, Hypothesis. Which states that subsequent generations and waves of immigrants become assimilated into the existing political culture because of how it has permeated the political institutions and rhetoric of the collectivity.⁴⁶ What does this mean for Nova Scotia? The founding fragment of Nova Scotia's political culture was British and made up of individuals who ascribed to a set of values and beliefs known as Toryism. This was

⁴³ Gad Horowitz, "Conservatism, Liberalism, and Socialism in Canada: An Interpretation," *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 32 no. 2 (1966): 143-144.

⁴⁴ Ian Stewart, "Vanishing Points," 22-25.

⁴⁵ Edward Grabb and James Curtis, *Regions Apart: The Four Societies of Canada and the United States*, (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2005).

⁴⁶ Ian Stewart, "Vanishing Points," 22-25

congealed as the political culture of Nova Scotia following the American Revolution. Nova Scotia is particularly 'tory' because the British/tory influence was very present prior to the American Revolution and the elitist makeup of the Loyalists who came to Nova Scotia. Added to that, subsequent waves of migration which may have diluted the tory influence in the rest of Canada were less present in Nova Scotia.

What is Toryism? Those who fled America during and following the American Revolution are known as Loyalists. These people fled because their values and beliefs were no longer in line with the values of the emerging country. The United States was viewed as a country that was liberal, individual, populists, and questioning of authority.⁴⁷ Toryism upholds values such as collectivism, elitism, and deference to hierarchic authority. This has resulted in more acceptance of government regulation of economic and social life in Canada in general but in Nova Scotia particularly; as well the respect for and protection of rights of collective identities as well as rights of individuals.⁴⁸

It should be noted that there has been a challenge to this view of the political makeup of the Loyalists. There is an argument that while the loyalists did have a formative impact on the political culture of British North America and in turn Nova Scotia, their impact was not in fact particularly tory.⁴⁹ Rather the makeup of the political elites among the Loyalists was more liberal. In terms of commerce and individual rights

⁴⁷ Edward Grabb and James Curtis, *Regions Apart: The Four Societies of Canada and the United States*.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Janet Ajzenstat, "Durham and Robinson: Political Faction and Moderation," in *Canada's Origins: Liberal, Tory, or Republican?* ed. Peter J. Smith and Janet Ajzenstat (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1995), 139.

the political elites were concerned with protecting individual interests and they viewed the newly formed United States as a threat to individualism.⁵⁰

Issues with Political Culture Research

Interest in the study of political culture and the impact this complex and rather abstract concept has on the development of societies is evident as far back as Tocqueville's *Democracy in America*.⁵¹ However, due to its abstract nature, there are difficulties associated with political culture research and the methodologies used in this research which has resulted in an uncertainty for the ability for political culture research to draw useful and meaningful results. It has been asserted that researchers of political culture, "have promised more than they have delivered."⁵² A common difficulty is distinguishing political culture from public opinion. Both concepts explore values of a society. Public opinion examines short term volatile shifts of opinion. Whereas, political culture research aims to explore deeply embedded and enduring attachments to a value set.⁵³ In Wiseman's definition of political culture, political culture is the climate of a collective. Public opinion would be the weather of a collective. Stewart makes the argument that political culture research has had problems tapping into the deeply embedded, enduring elements which distinguishes the field from public opinion.⁵⁴ There are methodological issue with political culture research which need to be overcome

⁵⁰ Ibid, 140-141, 150.

⁵¹ Ian Stewart, "Vanishing Points," 24.

⁵² Ibid, 24.

⁵³ Ibid, 24-26.

⁵⁴ Ibid, 25-26.

before this field of study can begin to answer the questions this area of research has been attempting to address.

In his work, *Vanishing Points: Three Paradoxes of Political Culture Research*, Ian Stewart has outlined three paradoxes of political culture research which need to be addressed in order for political culture research to be able to make substantive and robust contributions to political science. The first of those paradoxes is the Nuance Paradox. “The more nuanced the understanding of a particular political culture the less useful the understanding will be in comparative analysis.”⁵⁵ Political culture research accepts that there are competing political orientations in a society but that there is a dominant culture which is challenged by minority cultures.⁵⁶ This understanding allows for a more nuanced understanding of society than looking at ‘national character.’ However this has had costs. There is little consensus about what constitutes a collective in terms of political culture. What should be the level of analysis? How can one tell where one cultural community ends and another begins? Examining as diverse a nation as Canada at the national level would likely result in obscuring distinct cultural subsets of the country. On the other hand it is very possible to become too specific. It would be possible to examine the political culture of specific villages or neighbourhoods. This is problematic because understanding the political culture of a collective is only significant if it can be compared and contrasted with other political cultures. There needs to be an

⁵⁵ Ibid, 27.

⁵⁶ Ibid, 27.

appropriate balance struck between too broad and unspecific levels of analysis and levels of analysis which are too specific to be useful tools for comparison.⁵⁷

The second paradox is the Anchor Paradox. “The more anchored the understanding of a particular political culture the narrower the explanatory power of that understanding.”⁵⁸ In order for political culture research to have strong explanatory power it is necessary for the methodologies to adapt to be multifaceted. Using just surveys of voters will be more likely to tap into public opinion rather than political culture. Just as focusing only on literature or electoral data will only reveal a portion of the broader culture of a political collective. Multiple sources should be used, such as leadership styles, political institutions, surveys, and electoral data.⁵⁹

The third paradox is the Acceptance Paradox. “The more accepted the understanding of a particular political culture, the more suspicious one should be of that understanding.”⁶⁰ This paradox occurs when scholars embrace a well-established understanding of a political culture and as a result the knowledge known about that political culture contracts. For example the focus on traditionalism and conservatism in the political culture of the Maritimes. This view has largely been accepted by academics. However, Stewart traced the emergence of this concept back to two works, Thorburn’s *Politics of New Brunswick* (1961) and Belamy’s *The Atlantic Provinces* (1972) where this character of the Maritimes political culture is derived from observances of

⁵⁷ Ibid, 27-29.

⁵⁸ Ibid, 29.

⁵⁹ Ibid, 30-32.

⁶⁰ Ibid, 33-35.

the authors with little to no supporting evidence.⁶¹ As a result other possible understandings of political cultures and analysis of evidence supporting these divergent views fall by the wayside as one understanding gains in popularity.

Solution to Stewart's Paradoxes?

In Jared Wesley's work *Code Politics* the author analysed campaign documents of the three Prairie Provinces, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta to construct an understanding of the political culture of each province. Wesley argued that political parties are important agents of socialization and institutionalization. That through the political discourse of dominant political parties strongly held values of the community are incorporated into political messages. These messages become dominant political themes and as a result political parties play an important role in transmitting and emphasizing political culture across generations.⁶² Wesley argues that this can be understood through the concept of political codes, meaning that at the elite level the political culture of the society is expressed through a unique discursive pattern that persists over time.⁶³ Hofstader, Myrdal, and Huntington have argued that in almost all democratic system the elites must share a common set of values in order to maintain political stability, despite policy differences among the dominant parties in a system.⁶⁴ These codes exist independent of the specific governing party leadership. Wesley analyzed the political campaign literature produced by the dominant political parties in

⁶¹ Ibid, 35-36.

⁶² Jared Wesley, *Code Politics*, 49-54.

⁶³ Ibid, 9-10.

⁶⁴ Ibid, 10-11.

the three prairie provinces and determined that each province did have a distinct political code of discourse, for instance Alberta's code has three main elements, freedom, populism, and autonomy.⁶⁵

Wesley's work *Code Politics*, presents a possible solution to the issues of political culture research that were brought forward by Stewart. Wesley states that a code exists if research reveals there to be a relatively cohesive, consistent, and unique set of culturally rooted values expressed by elites over time. A code does not exist if research reveals no consistency, if discourse varies widely over time, or if there is too much similarity between provinces.⁶⁶ It is suggested that the codes of the elite and the political culture of the masses are mutually reinforcing. Through analyzing the political codes it reveals an important element of how political culture is transmitted across generations and to new immigrant groups.⁶⁷ Wesley's work provides a rationalized unit of analysis, the method of revealing codes within a political culture can be easily incorporated into a multifaceted method of research. This method would dissuade against acceptance of a particular understanding of a political culture because as new research would be carried out, more recent discourse will be analyzed and it would be apparent if previously held understandings of a political culture no longer hold true. Wesley's findings supported the existence of political codes in the Prairie Provinces.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ Ibid, 12.

⁶⁶ Ibid, 11.

⁶⁷ Ibid, 9.

⁶⁸ Ibid, 11.

Wesley suggests further research in this area; in other Canadian provinces for example, to better determine the prevalence of these codes in other contexts.⁶⁹

This project uses Throne Speeches and Budget Speeches as units of analysis to explore the political culture in Nova Scotia and Newfoundland and Labrador. There has been precedence of the use of Speeches from the Throne as a tool of analysis in the study of Canadian political culture. James Cairns' work *Ontario Throne Speeches Through the Lens of Mass Media* explores the way in which the advancements in postwar media coverage of legislative openings have changed the way Speeches from the Throne are able to impact the public.⁷⁰ In the pre-war era the media focus on the Speech from the Throne was on ceremony and setting as opposed to partisan discourse or policy. Post-war media coverage is a reversal of this, with the vast majority of the media coverage being on partisan and policy discourse and analysis.⁷¹ Technological advancements have also resulted in the much wider proliferation of the content to the public. Cairns argues that this change in the style and quantity of coverage of Speeches from the Throne have resulted in the public being more tuned into what is discussed during the speech and the political actors being more conscious that the speech is not just delivered to the members of government but also to the general public.⁷²

⁶⁹ Ibid, 11.

⁷⁰James Cairns, "Ontario Throne Speeches Through the Lens of Mass Media," In *Canadian Parliamentary Review* 31 no. 3 (2008): 21 -22.

⁷¹ Ibid, 22.

⁷² Ibid, 22.

Chapter Three: Methods Chapter

The key objective of this work is to determine if an analysis of political leader's discourse can be used to provide a more developed understanding of a political community's culture. To achieve this objective research was done to develop an understanding of current literature on the political culture, how it is studied, and what the current literature has to say about the cultures of Newfoundland and Labrador and Nova Scotia. This research constitutes the literature review. A content analysis of Throne Speeches and Budget Speeches in Nova Scotia and Newfoundland and Labrador was then carried out. The discourse of political leaders in Newfoundland and Labrador and Nova Scotia were compared across time and space. The results of the content analysis were then compared with the findings of the literature review to determine how and if content analysis of political leader's discourse can be used to inform the research and understanding of political culture.

Literature Review Research

The research for the literature review was carried out as a literature analysis of the relevant academic material. This research included broad works which address the definition of political culture, the evolution of the study of political culture, contemporary works on the political culture of the case studies, Nova Scotia and Newfoundland and Labrador. Research was also carried out to understand issues with political culture research, illustrated in the inclusion of Stewart's three paradoxes. This research was done through a search of online journal databases for peer reviewed

material on the subjects as well as a search of books written by academics in the field. After a review of the material common themes and accepted definitions were used to explore what political culture is and how it has been explored in the case studies selected for this study. Particular emphasis was placed on Stewart's paradoxes of political culture research as they provide an important guide of sorts to ensure that research in this area is both meaningful and robust.

Content Analysis of Political Discourse

The theoretical approach adopted for the research carried out for this work is an institutional understanding of political culture. As outlined in the literature review the institutionalization approach privileges the impact of values embedded in policies, laws, and political organizations. This approach provides more meaningful results than the historical approach of the freezing hypothesis because the historical approach does not provide convincing explanation for the transmission of political culture. The socialization approaches does better to explore the transmission of political culture; however, the unit of analysis of the approach can result in the approach falling victim to Stewart's Nuance Paradox.

The institutional approach allows for cross-generational analysis of political culture. The long term stability of political culture is the most important aspect of political culture to be able to identify as it is an essential part of differentiating political culture from public opinion. This approach also allows the researcher to adopt the

province as the level of analysis. The provinces, as distinct political collectives, is a well-established level of analysis in political culture research.⁷³

This approach was also adopted because a goal of this work is to test Wesley's conceptual approach to political culture. Wesley used content analysis to conclude that there were distinct political cultures in each of the three Prairie Provinces. Through his analysis of political documents from the dominant political parties at different times in each of the three provinces he was able to present evidence that the political institutions of the provinces had an important and formative impact of the values of the collective. This work adopts a similar method of analysis in an attempt to help determine if Wesley's approach is a valuable method of studying political culture on a broader scale or if the Prairie Provinces are a unique case which allowed for Wesley to discern distinct cultures using his methodology. Wesley found that Alberta was conservative, Manitoba progressive centre, and Saskatchewan social democratic. Through his research he found the point of divergence for the provinces to be the rhetoric of political leaders which carried the province's cultural values forward across time⁷⁴.

Nova Scotia and Newfoundland and Labrador were selected as the case studies for this study as they are provinces of the same state as the provinces used in Wesley's study. Nova Scotia and Newfoundland and Labrador are two of the Atlantic Provinces, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland and Labrador, Prince Edward Island, and New Brunswick,

⁷³ Jared Wesley, *Code Politics*, Jennifer Smith, Atlantic Canada at the Start of the New Millennium.", Ian Stewart, "Vanishing Points."

⁷⁴ Jared Wesley, *Code Politics*, 8-9.

which have frequently been addressed as a collective in political culture research since Newfoundland and Labrador joined confederation in 1949.⁷⁵ Nova Scotia and Newfoundland and Labrador were selected in particular because of the similarities between the two provinces at the time of confederation, as discussed above. Newfoundland has the fifth highest gross domestic product per capita of the provinces and territories and is considered one of the leaders in economic growth and sustainability in Canada.⁷⁶ Nova Scotia has the lowest gross domestic product per capita and has one of the lowest ratings for economic growth and sustainability.⁷⁷ The selection of Nova Scotia and Newfoundland and Labrador for this study is to determine whether the political culture, as constructed by the political leadership in the provinces, is part of the reason for the economic divergence of those two provinces.

The 1960s to the present was used as the time frame for the political discourse being analysed because prior to that time period the first half of the 20th century was a particularly turbulent time for what would become the province of Newfoundland and Labrador.⁷⁸ Newfoundland went from self-governance, to the loss of responsible government in the 1930s and then became a province of Canada in 1949. Starting the comparison of the political leader's discourse at an earlier time would not have been as effective because Nova Scotia and Newfoundland and Labrador would have been

⁷⁵ Jennifer Smith, "Atlantic Canada at the Start of the New Millennium."

⁷⁶ Conference Board of Canada, "How Canada Performs: Provincial and Territorial Ranking, Economy," <http://www.conferenceboard.ca/hcp/provincial/economy.aspx>.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Royal Commission on Renewing and Strengthening Our Place in Canada, Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, "Newfoundland and Labrador History in Canada, 1949-1972," by Miriam Wright, March, 2003: 93.

fundamentally different types of entities. In addition to this, the welfare state and the idea of the government having an active role in the lives of general population began to emerge after World War 2 and had taken root by the 1960s.⁷⁹

For the content analysis that was carried out for this study Throne Speeches and Budget Speeches from Nova Scotia and Newfoundland and Labrador were collected and analyzed. The Speech from the Throne, or the Throne Speech, is the official opening to a new session of Parliament and the Provincial Legislatures. It is delivered by the Governor General or Lieutenant Governor, respectively. The speech is written by the government of the day and intended to provide details of the goals and initiatives of the government over the next year.⁸⁰ The Budget Speech is delivered by the current Finance Minister when the minister presents a new budget to the Legislature. The Budget Speech is written by the government of the day and details the government's position on the current economic situation of the province and what will be done over the next year to maintain or improve that situation through the new budget.

This project uses Speeches from the Throne and Budget Speeches as units of analysis to explore the political culture in Nova Scotia and Newfoundland and Labrador. There has been some precedence of the use of Speeches from the Throne as a tool of analysis in the study of Canadian political culture. In James Cairns' work *Ontario Throne Speeches Through the Lens of Mass Media* the author explores the way in which the advancements in postwar media coverage of legislative openings have changed the way

⁷⁹ Ibid, 93-94.

⁸⁰ Government of Canada, "Speech From the Throne," <http://speech.gc.ca/eng/frequently-asked-questionsfaqSpeech.gc.ca>

Speeches from the Throne are able to impact the public.⁸¹ In the pre-war era the media focus on the Speech from the Throne was on ceremony and setting as opposed to partisan discourse or policy. Post-war media coverage is a reversal of this, with the vast majority of the media coverage being on partisan and policy discourse and analysis.⁸² Technological advancements have also resulted in the much wider proliferation of the content to the public. Cairns argues that this change in the style and quantity of coverage of Speeches from the Throne have resulted in the public being more tuned into what is discussed during the speech and the political actors being more conscious that the speech is not just delivered to the members of government but also to the general public.⁸³

The texts were obtained from the online database of political texts available on poltext.org. Poltext is a project whose, “main goal is to collect textual data sources used for policy analysis in Canada, to record the data using a variety of recognized coding methods, and to give researchers free access to the scientific knowledge thus accumulated.”⁸⁴ Poltext has amassed a database which includes federal and provincial political party manifestos, federal and provincial Throne Speeches, provincial health minister speeches that were budget-related, provincial education minister speeches there were budget-related, and federal and provincial Budget Speeches. The political manifestos range as far back as the 1930s and government speeches from 1960 and onward. Poltext provides these documents to the public to be used in research. The

⁸¹ James Cairns, “Ontario Throne Speeches Through the Lens of Mass Media,” 21-22.

⁸² Ibid, 22.

⁸³ Ibid, 22.

⁸⁴ Poltext, “Poltext: Données textuelles pour l’analyse des politiques,” <http://www.poltext.org/en/home>.

project also includes a database of research published by their team, which includes researchers from several Canadian universities, graduate students, and undergraduate students.

To analyse the documents collected for this study a qualitative research software was selected. A qualitative approach was adopted because it allows the researcher to use unstructured data, such as speeches, to explore research questions and phenomena. Content analysis is a type of qualitative research. The qualitative research software selected for this study was NVivo. The software allows the user to input a wide range of data types, such as written texts, survey responses, interviews, audio recordings, videos, and social media pages.⁸⁵ Once the data has been loaded in NVivo there are a wide range of tools that users can use to organize, analyze, or streamline their research. NVivo has been used as a method of qualitative analysis of discourse for a wide range of scholarly research in Canada.⁸⁶

For this study the first step taken was to upload all of the Throne and Budget speeches for Nova Scotia and Newfoundland and Labrador from 1960 onward. The documents were downloaded from poltext.org and uploaded to NVivo. Amounting to roughly 200 documents. The documents were sorted into folders based on province, throne or budget, and legislature to allow for easy comparison across province and time. Once the speeches were uploaded and sorted into NVivo a series of Word

⁸⁵ QSR International, "What is Qualitative Research," <http://www.qsrinternational.com/what-is-qualitative-research.aspx>

⁸⁶ Environment Conflict and Democracy in Canada edited by Laurie E. Adkin, Islam in the Hinterlands: Muslim Cultural Politics in Canada edited by Jasmin Zine, Using the Delphi Method for Qualitative. Participatory Action Research in Health Leadership by Amber J Fletcher and Gregory P. Marchildon.

Frequencies were carried out. By using the Word Frequency function of NVivo, it is possible to organize the words of the specified pieces of text by how frequently they are used. NVivo provides the option to adjust the parameters of the word frequency to best fit the user's research purposes.⁸⁷ For this work the frequency was set to identify the top 50 most frequently used words and to group root and stemmed words together. This was done as the role of the word frequencies was to determine what the main themes of discussion were during particular time periods. The Word Frequencies were done to allow comparison of results between provinces, across time, and between Throne Speeches and Budget Speeches.

It is important to make note while discussing the method of my study that there is a potential limitation to the software used to facilitate my research. When a word frequency is created NVivo is not able to consider the full context in which words are being used.⁸⁸ The same word could have a variety of different meanings depending on how it was used in the source. When the researcher is reviewing the word frequency to determine whether the words listed are content-rich or if the word should be added to the stop words list, they should also consider the ways in which a word is being used.⁸⁹ In my study, for example, *community* was the most frequently used word in the Nova Scotia Throne Speech, 1993-2013, frequency. The majority of the references to

⁸⁷ QSR International: NVivo, "Understanding Word Frequencies." http://help-nv10.qsrinternational.com/desktop/procedures/run_a_word_frequency_query.htm

⁸⁸ Graham Hughes and Christina Silver, "Qualitative Analysis Strategies for Analysing Open-Ended Survey Questions for Nvivo," National Center for Research Methods, University of Surrey. http://www.surrey.ac.uk/sociology/research/researchcentres/caqdas/support/analysingsurvey/qualitative_analysis_strategies_for_analysing_openended_survey_questions_for_nvivo_v78.htm

⁸⁹ QSR International, "An Overview of Nvivo: Software to Support Qualitative and Mixed Methods Research." <http://download.qsrinternational.com/Resource/NVivo10/nvivo10-overview.pdf>

community when I delved deeper into the Throne Speeches, were to geographic communities, particularly rural communities. However, there were also some references to specific demographic communities such as youth or seniors. These two different uses of the word community can have very different meanings. References to geographic communities may simply be more of a colloquial way of referring to a municipality. Whereas, demographic communities could potentially be viewed as a tool of identity politics. NVivo does not carry out high level analysis on sources. The purpose of Nvivo is to facilitate analysis of large quantities of data.⁹⁰ If the researcher is too reliant on how NVivo is creating the word frequencies there is a potential for the results to be distorted.⁹¹

There were 7 frequencies carried out for both provinces, one overall from 1960s-2013, all throne speeches from 1960s-2013, all budget speeches from 1974-2013, and then each province has two more budget and throne speech frequencies. One of those frequencies for each speech type spans a series of legislatures from the 1960s-1970s and one frequency that includes the last few legislatures leading up to 2013. These frequencies do not overlap exactly in terms of years. This is because an important part of Wesley's method is that common themes would transcend political parties. It was important that the frequencies were not made up exclusively of a single political party. Efforts were made to have the frequencies line up as closely as possible in terms of

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Graham Hughes and Christina Silver, "Qualitative Analysis Strategies for Analysing Open-Ended Survey Questions for Nvivo."

years. However, efforts were also made to include a variety of legislatures and political leaders.

NVivo has an established Stop Words List which is a default list of words that would not be relevant to analysis. This list includes prepositions and conjunctions.⁹² The researcher is also able to add additional words to the Stop Words list. When a word is added to the Stop Words list it will not appear in a Word Frequency. For the purpose of this study some additional words were added to the Stop Words list, these words were words such as Members, assembly, Newfoundland and Labrador, and Nova Scotia. These words were removed as they were used frequently due to the context of the speeches but did not provide an understanding of the topics being discussed by the political leaders. NVivo also produces Word Clouds of the Word Frequencies. The Word Clouds provide a visual representation of the frequencies and allow the viewer to understand the weighting of the words within the frequency in relation to each other. In the text the words that are drawn directly from the word frequencies are italicized. The word frequency words are italicized as many of the terms that appear in the word frequencies are words that will be used as part of the analysis of the word frequencies. Italicizing the word frequencies provides a clarity as to which context a word is being used.

The results of the word frequencies were then compared across time and space to determine what, if any themes could be identified and if the discourse changed over

⁹² QSR International: NVivo, "Set the Text Content Language and Stop Words." http://help-nv10.qsrinternational.com/desktop/procedures/set_the_text_content_language_and_stop_words.htm

time. Once the results had been compared between provinces, across time from 1960-present, and between Throne Speeches and Budget Speeches, the results were then compared to the findings of the literature review. This was done to determine how the results compared to other literature on political culture in Nova Scotia and Newfoundland and Labrador. More broadly the results were compared with the literature on what political culture is, how it is studied, and issues with political culture research to determine if content analysis of political leader's discourse is a possible avenue for improving the field of political culture research.

Chapter Four: Results Chapter

Nova Scotia Results

For this project the analysis of political discourse in Nova Scotia began on a broad level and then was broken down to allow comparison across time and space, between provinces and across time within Nova Scotia.

Nova Scotia Budget Speeches and Speeches from the Throne, 1960-2013

The broad grouping of analysis for Nova Scotia was done to act as a baseline of sorts to provide a point of comparison when the results are broken down to show how the focus of certain ideas and topics might have shifted over time and between Throne Speeches and Budget Speeches. The word frequency for the broad grouping of content from Nova Scotia revealed that the top ten most frequent and weighted words used during these speeches were a combination of economically focused words and community or caring focused words.

- | | |
|-----------------------|---------------------|
| 1. Services- 1665 | 2. Increase- 1608 |
| 3. Developments- 1492 | 4. Provide- 1471 |
| 5. Health- 1281 | 6. Continuous- 1239 |
| 7. Taxes- 1204 | 8. Caring- 1183 |
| 9. Economic- 1107 | 10. Plans- 1035 |

Word clouds have been used to demonstrate the weighting of words identified through the word frequency. The word cloud is a visualization of the frequency which shows the most heavily weighted words as the largest and the least frequent words as the smallest.



Figure 1: Nova Scotia Throne and Budget Speeches 1960-2013

This word cloud presents the 50 most frequent words used in Throne Speeches from 1960 to 2013 and Budget Speeches from 1974 to 2013. During this time there were seven Progressive Conservative governments, three Liberal governments, and one government formed by the Nova Scotia New Democratic Party. With this word cloud there are four stand outs, *services*, *developments*, *increase*, and *provide*. These words dominate the visualization, with the exception of a few other fairly heavily weighted words like *health* and *continuously*. However, the smaller weighted words are still important as they can indicate the topics that were commonly addressed by political leaders. For example *homes*, *family*, and *school* are some of the lowest weighted words. Take those words and consider them in conjunction with more heavily weighted words such as *caring* and *health*. The 'smaller words' provide an indication for the context in

which the more heavily weighted words are being used. Alternatively *resources* and *industry* are lower weighted words but can be better understood through their association with *developments*. The results for Nova Scotia now breaks down the general results across time and space to identify changes over time and the emergence of patterns. Breaking down the results by type of speech and across time provides an understanding of how language choice has changed or stayed the same across time.

Nova Scotia: Break down of Budget Speeches



Figure 2: Nova Scotia Budget Speech 1974-2013

This frequency spans the Budget Speeches delivered in Nova Scotia from 1974 to 2013. During this time period there were five Progressive Conservative premiers, Robert Stanfield 1956-1967, George Smith 1967-1970, John Buchanan, 1978-1990, Roger

Bacon, 1990-1991, Donald Cameron, 1991-1993, John Hamm, 1999-2006, and Rodney MacDonald, 2006-2009, four Liberal premiers, Gerald Ragan, 1970-1978, John Savage, 1993-1997, and Russell MacLellan, 1997-1999 and one New Democratic premier, Darrell Dexter, 2009-2013. The top ten words in this frequency are:

- | | |
|--------------------|------------------|
| 1. Increase- 1083 | 2. Taxes- 1027 |
| 3. Services- 954 | 4. Health- 803 |
| 5. Provide- 746 | 6. Invests- 713 |
| 7. Caring- 649 | 8. Economic- 596 |
| 9. Continuous- 588 | 10. Costs- 581 |

As would be expected from a Budget Speech topics such as taxes and investments are common topics of discussion in the Budget Speech. Concerns over the cost of providing health care were frequently references. *Health* was the fourth most frequently discussed word in the Budget Speech. The Health Services Tax was the issue being addressed the majority of the time. However, discussion of implementing health services in communities and the accessibility of quality health care in all areas of the province was also a topic which was commonly discussing throughout the Budget Speeches. The high ranking of *care* on the frequency may seem an unusual addition to the most frequently referenced words in the Budget Speeches. There were three main ways in which *care* was referenced. One being in the context of health care. The second was continual references to the fact that Nova Scotia, meaning the government, must be careful with how it addresses the budget and distributes its resources to meet the needs of the people of the province. The third was that the government of Nova Scotia cares for the wellbeing of its citizens. *Community* is present on the frequency, ranking

31st. Within the context of the Budget Speeches there are some references to community in terms of 'local' and 'rural' communities and how to preserve their economic viability. However, the majority of the references to *community* in this context have to do with the business community, the province as a community, and particular communities such as the educational community or the technology community.



Figure 3: Nova Scotia Budget Speeches 1974-1984

This word cloud spans the Liberal government of Gerald Ragan, 1970-1978, and the first two assemblies of John Buchanan's Progressive Conservatives Government, 1978-1984. The ten most frequently used words were:

- | | |
|----------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Increase- 404 | 2. Services- 224 |
| 3. Developments- 223 | 4. Economic- 219 |
| 5. Taxes- 201 | 6. Expenditure- 181 |
| 7. Estimates- 180 | 8. Cost- 172 |
| 9. Continuing- 172 | 10. Departments- 160 |

There are some strong similarities between the frequencies for Budget Speeches in Nova Scotia overall and the frequency from this set of legislative assemblies. *Increase* remains the most commonly used word. *Services, costs, continuing, economic, and taxes* are all present in both frequencies top ten words. *Expenditure* and *estimates* are heavily represented in this frequency. However, *estimates* and *expenditures* are ranked 29th and 31st respectively in the overall Budget Speech for Nova Scotia frequency. A noticeably absent word from the frequency is *caring* which had a prominent place in the overall frequency. *Health* is still present in this frequency but it is weighted much lower. *Health* has gone from the fourth most frequent word to the 16th most frequently used word in

the frequency for the 50th to 53rd legislative assembly.



Figure 4: Nova Scotia Budget Speeches 1993-2013

During this time there were governments formed by three different political parties. The Nova Scotia Liberal Party formed government from 1993-1999 with John Savage serving as premier from 1993 to 1997 and Russell MacLellan taking over until the 1999 election. John F. Hamm became premier in 1999 when the Progressive Conservative party formed government. Mr. Hamm was premier until he resigned in 2006 and Rodney MacDonald was selected as premier. In 2009 the Nova Scotia New Democratic Party formed the government and Darrell Dexter became premier.

The top ten most frequent words present in this frequency:

- | | |
|-----------------|------------------|
| 1. Taxes- 676 | 2. Invests- 586 |
| 3. Health- 561 | 4. Increase- 553 |
| 5. Caring- 524 | 6. Services- 504 |
| 7. Provide- 417 | 8. Plans- 404 |

There are some similarities in the top ten for all three frequencies of Nova Scotia Budget Speeches. *Taxes, services, and, increase* have all been present in the top ten of all three frequencies. There are some interesting differences between this frequency and the frequency from the 50th-53rd assembly. *Expenditure* and *estimates*, eighth and ninth respectively in the 50-53 legislature frequency, are not present in the top 50 words in this frequency. Whereas, *health* and *caring* are the third and fifth most frequently used words. The prominence of *health* and *caring* in the budget speeches is somewhat of an unexpected result. In this frequency the use of *care* is even more focus on health care than it was in the overall Budget Speech frequency. The concern with careful planning and spending that was present in earlier Budget Speeches is much less common in more recent years. The context in which *Needs* is being discussed in the Budget Speeches is the need to meet the needs of Nova Scotians, more specifically, low income individuals and small communities that are struggling to survive economically.

Debt is ranked 34th in the top 50. While words such as deficit or frugal , which might be expected to have a prominent place in the Budget Speech for a province having financial difficulties as Nova Scotia has in the last several decades, are not part of the top 50 frequency. The term 'living within our means' is only used three times during this time period. All of which were during the 61st assembly, the New Democratic government.

Nova Scotia: Break down of Throne Speeches



Figure 5: Nova Scotia Throne Speeches 1960-2013

During this time period there were seven Progressive Conservative premiers, three Liberal premiers, and one New Democratic premier. Progressive Conservative Robert Stanfield was first elected in 1956 and served as premier until September of 1967. George Smith was named as premier after Stanfield and served from 1967 until October of 1970. Gerald Ragan, a Liberal, was elected in the 1970 election and was re-elected in 1974. Following the Ragan years the Progressive Conservatives rose to power again with John Buchanan leading the province from 1978 until 1990. Following Buchanan there were two interim premiers, Roger Bacon and Donald Cameron, who served until the election in June of 1993. Power switch from the Progressive Conservatives to the Liberals with the 1993 election and John Savage became premier.

Russell MacLellan took over as party leader after Savage and served as premier until 1999. At which point in time John Hamm and the Progressive Conservatives were elected to form government. Hamm served as Premier until 2006. When Hamm stepped down Rodney MacDonald became premier until the 2009 election. The New Democratic Party won the 2009 election and Darrell Dexter became the first New Democratic premier of the province. The top ten of the frequency are:

- | | |
|---------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Development- 902 | 2. Provide- 668 |
| 3. Industry- 665 | 4. Services- 652 |
| 5. Continuing- 604 | 6. Community- 528 |
| 7. Increase- 474 | 8. Works- 462 |
| 9. Economic- 451 | 10. Canada- 449 |

Developments is far and above the most commonly discussed topic in the Throne Speeches. The topics being discussed in terms of development are varied and range from rural development to development of specific sectors, such as housing and renewable resources. There is also a strong focus on the development of social services. *Canada* finds itself in the top frequencies on the list. *Canada* is discussed in terms of cooperation with the federal government to achieve the betterment of Nova Scotia. There is also discussion of the province as a part of Canada as a whole. *People* is the 20 most frequently discussed topic in the Throne Speeches. The discussion of *people* makes some references to the people of Nova Scotia as a collective. However, those references are outnumbered by the references to specific groups of people within the province, the elderly, people who live in rural communities, people who have taken advantage of specific programs. *People* was often referenced in conjuncture with the sixth most

frequently used term, *community*. *Community* is used to discuss rural areas and the development of particular areas, as well as in references to sectors such as the business sector.



Figure 6: Nova Scotia Throne Speeches 1960-1970

This section of analysis looks at the Throne Speeches for the 46th to the 49th legislative assemblies, spanning from 1960 to 1970. Robert Stanfield was the premier during the 46th, 47th, 48th, and part of the 49th assemblies. George Isaac Smith took over as premier shortly after the 1967 election and served until the 1970 election. Stanfield and Smith were both members of the Progressive Conservative Party of Nova Scotia. There is a clear difference in the language being used in this time frame than the most frequently used language overall. The top ten most frequent words are:

- | | |
|------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Provide- 173 | 2. Assistance- 169 |
| 3. Increase- 153 | 4. Municipal- 149 |
| 5. Canada- 143 | 6. Asked- 133 |
| 7. Proposes- 131 | 8. Continue- 116 |
| 9. Services- 114 | 10. Improvement- 109 |

As opposed to the two groupings of topics into economic or community focused topics, the discourse of political leaders during this time had a distinctly governance focus. This can be shown through the weight of words like *municipal*, *commissions*, *grants*, and *facilities*. *Municipal* is the fourth most frequent word in the frequency. References to *municipal* had to do with the development of municipal governments. There are also many references to provincial-municipal and federal-municipal programs. *Canada* is the 5th most frequently discussed topic. The discussion of *Canada* was largely centered on the federal government providing funding for infrastructure and programs. Throne Speeches during this time period discussed governance and the operations of the provincial government in relation to other levels of government. Health, needs, and caring are not part of the frequency.



Figure 7: Nova Scotia Throne Speeches 1993-2013

This section looks at the Throne Speech discourse for the 56th-61st Legislative assemblies in Nova Scotia, spanning from 1993 to 2013. John Savage became premier after the 1993 election. Savage resigned from office in July of 1997 and Russell MacLellan was selected to take over as premier. He was re-elected after the 1998 election. Both Savage and MacLellan were members of the Liberal Party of Nova Scotia. Progressive Conservative John F. Hamm became premier in 1999. He was re-elected in 2003 and resigned from office in 2006. Rodney MacDonald took over as leader of the Progressive Conservative Party of Nova Scotia and the party won election under MacDonald’s leadership in the election following Hamm’s resignation. There was a second election held later that same year and MacDonald’s government was re-elected. In 2009 MacDonald’s party was defeated by the Nova Scotia New Democratic Party and Darrell Dexter became premier of Nova Scotia for the 61st legislative assembly. The discourse

presents a significantly different picture of the province than the discourse from the 1960s provided. The top ten words in the frequency are:

- | | |
|---------------------|------------------|
| 1. Community- 431 | 2. Caring- 377 |
| 3. Services- 329 | 4. Health- 328 |
| 5. Working- 299 | 6. Support- 284 |
| 7. Development- 272 | 8. Needs- 271 |
| 9. Help- 247 | 10. Provide- 236 |

The community themed discourse has become the dominant discourse for political leaders when delivering their Throne Speech. Topics such as health, schools, and caring for the population have become important parts of political leaders' dialogue when establishing the direction for the province over the upcoming year. *Community* and *caring* are the most heavily weighted topics. Care is most commonly used in conjunction with health and the implementation and availability of health care. *Community* is used in several different contexts including community services and education. A common use of *community* has to do with political leaders' discussing the struggles that face small rural communities in Nova Scotia and the leaders' perceived importance of continuing to support those communities. In the Nova Scotia Throne Speech frequency from 1960-1970 *municipal* was the fourth most frequently used word. In the 1993-2013 frequency *municipal* does not appear. However, in this instance it appears that a shift in type of language may account for *municipal* disappearing from the conversation. *Community* now occupies the ground where *municipal* used to stand. The political leaders have turned from addressing municipal governments or particular municipalities, and instead refer to specific geographic communities. This would allow

the political leaders to, in a sense, identify more personally with the populations of these communities, or municipalities.

While there was some discussion of topics related to business, investments, and the economy they are not heavily weighted compared to the most common topics. Also, when discussed those topics were often discussed in conjunction with one of the heavily weighted 'community' topics. For example several times when economic or economy was referenced it was during a discussion of preserving small rural communities because of those communities importance to Nova Scotia's identity. *Support, needs, and help* are among the top ten of the frequency. These terms are used to reference helping rural communities to grow and thrive, to support those in need of assistance, and addressing the needs of low income Nova Scotians.

Newfoundland and Labrador Results

Newfoundland and Labrador Budget Speeches and Speeches from the Throne, 1960-2013.

As with the Nova Scotia results, the starting point for the Newfoundland and Labrador results was the frequency which included all of the Speeches from the Throne, 1960-2013, and all of the Budget Speeches, 1974-2013. This provides a generalized snap shot of the province in terms of the discourse used by political leaders while making formal speeches over the past roughly 50 years.

ten words for the overall frequency. However, there are some interesting variations between the two frequencies. *People* has a very prominent role in the discourse of political leaders in Newfoundland and Labrador. Almost all of the uses of the word *people* was in the context of 'our people' or 'the people of Newfoundland'. The word *benefit* is a part of the frequency, at number 47 on the list. *Benefit* was mostly used to discuss the resources and fisheries of the province in the context of, the 'benefit of our people,' 'ensuring we maximize benefit,' and the 'benefits of the province.' Breaking down the frequency across time and by type of speech allows for an understanding of how political leadership discourse varied across time and space.

Newfoundland and Labrador: Break down of Budget Speeches



Figure 9: Newfoundland and Labrador Budget Speeches 1974-2013

This frequency spans the Budget Speeches from 1974 to 2013 in Newfoundland and Labrador. During this time there were five Progressive Conservative Premiers and four Liberal Premiers of the province. The top ten words were:

- | | |
|-----------------------|---------------------|
| 1. Increase- 1486 | 2. Provide- 1409 |
| 3. Developments- 1284 | 4. Services- 1255 |
| 5. Investments- 1218 | 6. Funds- 1087 |
| 7. Taxing- 978 | 8. Economic- 917 |
| 9. Health- 831 | 10. Continuous- 819 |

Given the nature of the Budget Speech there are certain topics which the Minister of Finance would be expected to devote some time to discussing such as, *increases, taxing, and investments*. However, the frequency does reveal some interesting trends. *People* is ranked 16th in the frequency. Again displaying the importance of the people of Newfoundland and the understanding of them as a people upon themselves. *Health* is ranked at number 9. The overwhelming majority of the discussion regarding health has to do with costs of health care. *Community* was the 36th most heavily weighted word. However, relatively few of the references to community were with regards to a specific physical community as opposed to the investment or financial community.



Figure 10: Newfoundland and Labrador Budget Speeches 1974-1985

This frequency includes the Budget Speeches delivered between 1974 and 1985. The Progressive Conservatives Frank Moores and Brian Peckford were the premiers during this time. The top ten most frequent words are:

- | | |
|----------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Increase- 645 | 2. Developments- 601 |
| 3. Provide- 508 | 4. Services- 419 |
| 5. Expenditures- 412 | 6. Financial- 400 |
| 7. Canada- 373 | 8. Cost- 359 |
| 9. Economize- 359 | 10. Industry- 346 |

There is some cross over between the top ten most heavily weighted words of the Budget Speech frequency and the Speech from the Throne frequency. *Developments*, *provide*, and *Canada* are all present in both lists. However, as might well be expected, the budget speech frequency shows more explicit focus on the finances and economy of the province. Whereas *people* was ranked 2nd in the Speech from the Throne frequency,

people just barely made it in the frequency at number 50. That is, by far, the lowest *people* has been placed in a frequency so far for Newfoundland. *Resource* was at the 17th most weighted and *fisheries* made the frequency at 44. For this frequency there is no presence of ‘community’ focused discourse in the top 50 most frequent words used by the political leaders when delivering the Budget Speech. Health, caring, and community are not on the list. This frequency reveals a relatively cohesive discussion of the financial situation of the province. The focus was on developing industry and resources as well as discussing the fiscal situation of the province and its economic future.



Figure 11: Newfoundland and Labrador Budget Speeches 1999-2013

Over the period of time that this frequency spans, there were 3 Liberal premiers and 2 Progressive Conservative premiers. For the Liberals, Brian Tobin’s government

was re-elected in the 1999 election. Beaton Tulk served as premier when Tobin stepped down in 2000. Roger Grimes took over leadership of the Liberal Party in February of 2001 and served as premier until the 2003 election. Progressive Conservative Danny Williams was the leader of the party when they formed government after the 2003 election. Williams' Progressive Conservatives were re-elected in the 2007 election. Williams stepped down in December 2010 and Kathy Dunderdale took over leadership of the party. Under Dunderdale the Progressive Conservatives were re-elected in the 2011 election. The top ten weighted words in the frequency were:

- | | |
|---------------------|-----------------|
| 1. Invests- 1091 | 2. Provide- 651 |
| 3. Increase- 620 | 4. Health- 592 |
| 5. Services- 591 | 6. Funds- 557 |
| 7. Development- 504 | 8. Support- 458 |
| 9. Care- 424 | 10. People- 409 |

The first point of import is that *people* has return to the top end of the frequency. Once again 'our people' and the 'people of our province' is a strong trend running through the discourse of the speeches. Another point of interest is the gap between *invests* and the rest of the words in the top of the frequency. Invest, investments, and investing was referenced over than four hundred times more than the next most frequent word. None of the other frequencies, for Budget Speeches in Newfoundland and Labrador or Nova Scotia, had such a large gap between the one and two rankings. The Finance Ministers were talking about investing and re-investing in resources, social programs, employment, long term goals, short term gains, and the future. No matter what aspect of the Newfoundland economy that was being discussed, investment was a priority. In addition to discussing the strength and future development of Newfoundland and

Labrador's fiscal situation. There was also discussion of addressing revenue issues. *Reduce*, 47th, and *deficit*, 39th, are both within the top 50 frequency. Living within our means, was referenced in the Budget Speech in 2000, 2001, 2011, and 2013. *Debt*, in the context of both the need to reduce further and discussing how much has been reduced in the past number of years was referenced 177 times. Some of the 'community' focus discourse was present in this frequency. With *health* being the 4th most weighted in the frequency, much of the discussion regarding health had to do with the cost of health care. *Care* is also on the frequency at number nine and *community* is number eleven. Discussion of community was relatively split between access to community health care and references to the business community.

Newfoundland and Labrador: Breakdown of Throne Speeches



Figure 12: Newfoundland and Labrador Throne Speeches 1960-2013

- | | |
|----------------------|------------------|
| 1. Development- 1606 | 2. People- 1216 |
| 3. Industry- 828 | 4. Economic- 795 |
| 5. Resources- 784 | 6. Canada- 718 |
| 7. Continuously- 689 | 8. Provide- 668 |
| 9. Servicing- 617 | 10. Plans- 605 |

The top five words in the frequency tell a story of where Newfoundland and Labrador was at the time. So soon after confederation, the dominant questions were about Newfoundland and Labrador as an entity upon itself, its relationship with Canada, and Newfoundland and Labrador providing for its own future.

While *development* is used in several different contexts. It was commonly used to discuss the development of specific resources of the province, hydro-electric, the fishery, mineral, and forestry. *People* has a very prominent role. In this case it was again overwhelmingly used to discuss 'our people' or the 'people of Newfoundland.' *Future* appears as the 27th most frequently used word. The uses of the word are focused around securing and ensuring the strong future of the province. With particular emphasis being placed on the future of the natural resources of the province.



Figure 13: Newfoundland and Labrador Throne Speeches 1960-1982

During the time period for this frequency the Progressive Conservatives won elections and formed governments 4 times under Joey Smallwood, 1959, 1962, 1966, and 1971. Smallwood himself actually won 7 elections including the 1949, 1951, and 1956 elections. There were two Liberal Premiers, Frank Moores who led the party to victory in the 1972 and 1975 elections. As well as Brian Peckford who was the leader of the Liberal Party during the 1979 and 1982 elections. The top ten words of the frequency were:

- | | |
|----------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Developments- 568 | 2. People- 355 |
| 3. Resources- 329 | 4. Canada- 323 |
| 5. Present- 271 | 6. Industry- 268 |
| 7. Legislation- 229 | 8. Continuous- 214 |
| 9. Provide- 205 | 10. Fishery- 197 |

This frequency has more of an emphasis on legislating and governance than the later frequency for speeches from the throne will display. This is evident from the presence of *legislation, agreement, departments, commissions, assistance, policy, and programmes*

in the top 50 most frequent words. *Canada*, 4th most frequently used word, was discussed by the political leaders for a number of different reasons. There are references to the union of Canada and Newfoundland and Labrador in 1949, the construction of the Trans-Canada highway and the federal government's commitment to its construction, policies of the Government of Canada and the positive or negative impact the policy has on Newfoundland and Labrador, as well as references to Newfoundland and Labrador being a province of Canada.

Resources was a very heavily weighted area of discussion for the political leaders. The *fishery* was discussed on its' own to place it at number ten on the frequency. With the focus on resources being on ownership of natural resources as well as developing the resources in a more efficient and sustainable way. *Development* dominates this frequency. However, much of the discussion of developments was about the development of the provinces natural resources.



Figure 14: Newfoundland and Labrador Throne Speeches 1993-2013

During the time period of this frequency there were 4 Liberal Governments with Clyde Wells serving as premier after the 1993 election. Brian Tobin led the Liberals to victory again in the 1996 and 1999 elections. Beaton Tulk and Roger Grimes were appointed as inter-election leaders. The Progressive Conservative Party formed government three times, under two different leaders during this time period. Danny Williams lead the PC's to victory in the 2003 and 2007 elections. He served as premier until he stepped down in December of 2003 and Kathy Dunderdale was appointed as leader and premier. With Dunderdale as leader the PC's also won the 2010 election. The top ten most frequently used words were:

- | | |
|----------------|----------------------|
| 1. People- 646 | 2. Developments- 641 |
| 3. Works- 401 | 4. Opportunity- 388 |

5. Industry- 377
7. Community- 348
9. Investments- 330

6. Economic- 368
8. Health- 346
10. Plans- 328

People has moved up to the most commonly used word. It continues to be used in the context of 'our people.' *Canada* has fallen out of the high position it was at for the earlier Newfoundland and Labrador frequency for Speeches from the Throne. *Canada* is now ranked 25th, down from the 4th highest frequency from 1960-1982. *Opportunity* has emerged as a very prominent word. Used in the context of improving the employment and economic opportunity of the province. There is a strong emphasis on being more economically focused. Eight of the top ten words in the frequency are part of the political leader's discourse on the economic situation of the province, *developments*, *works*, *opportunity*, *industry*, *economic*, *investments*, and *plans*. There is a strong focus on industry, and particularly the industries surrounding the natural resources of the province. The emphasis is on preserving and expanding the industries of the fisheries, hydro-electricity, petroleum, and mining. While *resource* itself is only ranked 20th in the frequency, it does not really convey the weight of which resources have been discussed by political leaders during the speech from the throne.

Resources- 246
Fishery- 181
Petroleum- 60
Hydro-electric- 43
Mineral- 34
Total- 564

A total count of which would place the broader grouping of resources at number three on the frequency.

Of the more community focused end of the spectrum, only *health* and *community* are in the top ten. *Caring* is also present in the frequency, ranked at 22 of the most frequently used words.

Chapter Five: Discussion

Changes in Political Discourse across Time

There is a clear shift in the type of language being used by political leaders in the 1960s and 1970s as compared to the present. In James Cairns' work *Ontario Throne Speeches through the Lens of Mass Media* the author makes the argument that the way that the mass media covers Speeches from the Throne in Ontario has changed in the post-war era. In the pre-war era the media would focus on the ceremony of the speech, more a description of the event than a discussion of the speech.⁹³ With the advancement in technology in the post war era the media has increasingly focused on the content of the speeches. As a result of this Cairns argues that the public has become more aware of the Throne Speeches, in addition to this, the political leaders are now aware they are delivering a speech to the general public, not just the members of government.⁹⁴

While Cairns' work was specific to Ontario, the results presented in this work on Newfoundland and Labrador and Nova Scotia point to the fact that the trends that Cairns described have occurred outside of Ontario as well. My results support Cairns conclusion that political leaders are now talking to the public as opposed to the other elected members. However, the analysis of Newfoundland and Labrador and Nova Scotia across time provides a clearer understanding of how Speeches from the Throne have developed and changed in content. In the 1960s much of the discourse was

⁹³ James Cairns, "Ontario Throne Speeches Through the Lens of Mass Media." 21-22.

⁹⁴ Ibid. 22.

focused on governance. In the frequencies for Newfoundland and Labrador and Nova Scotia during this time words such as *commissions, legislation, programme, departments, grants, and facilities* are all present in the top 50. In Nova Scotia the entire top 50 frequency could be classified as falling into that category as opposed to including topics of discussion more specifically focused on the people of the province or the economic development of the province. Newfoundland and Labrador does show some more diversity in the discourse used by the political leaders. The *fishery, resources, economic, and people* are all present in the frequency. However, there is also governance language present. The scope of this project was limited to Newfoundland and Labrador and Nova Scotia and as a result this work cannot show whether Nova Scotia or Newfoundland and Labrador's political leader's discourse during this time period falls in line with the discourse used in other provinces. It may be useful for future research to compare these results with other provinces in an effort to determine if there was a common pattern across provinces. It is possible that for Newfoundland and Labrador having recently joined confederation had a strong impact the on discourse used during that time.

The Throne Speech frequencies spanning from 1993-2013 are vastly different than the frequencies from the 1960s. Gone is any focus on grants or facilities. The topics of discussion span a vast collection of topics, with very little attention being paid to the operations of the government itself. The most frequently used words now generally fall into two categories, economic and community. The economic category is for words and discussion that pertain to the current and future economic state of the province.

Economic would include discussion of resources, investments, business, and industry. Whereas, the community focused category includes social services, community preservation, and more broadly how the government can help the community. The category would include community, caring, families, health, and schools.

There has clearly been a significant change in the type of discourse that is being used by political leaders in Nova Scotia and Newfoundland and Labrador. As technology was advanced and the media began to use faster and more broadly reaching methods of disseminating information the political leaders in Newfoundland and Labrador and Nova Scotia changed Throne Speeches from being relatively none consequential speeches to be an annual opportunity for the political party to reach out to the public and discuss the topics that are perceived as important to the electorate. Thanks to the media coverage of Throne Speeches the public does not actually ever need to read the speech or listen to the speech to know what was discussed in the speech. For example after the 2011 Throne Speech in Nova Scotia CBC News had an article titled, *Nova Scotia Throne Speech Promises Improved Health Care*. The article provides a brief discussion of new strategies the government intended to take to ease overcrowding in the health care system as well as improve health care in rural areas.⁹⁵ After the 2013 Newfoundland Throne Speech CBC News published an article titled, *Throne Speech Focuses on*

⁹⁵ CBC, "N.S. Throne Speech Promises Improved Health Care," *CBC News* March 31, 2014. <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/nova-scotia/n-s-throne-speech-promises-improved-health-care-1.1085549>

Streamlining Costs. The article discusses the focus of the Throne Speech for fiscal prudence in the province.⁹⁶

Throne Speeches continue to be important because they are an important tool for political leaders to be connected with mass society. As stated by Robert Everett and Frederick Fletcher, “for the majority of citizens in mass societies such as Canada, The principal continuing connection to leaders and institutions is provided by the words, sounds, and images circulating in the mass media.”⁹⁷ Political leaders must craft the content of Throne Speeches carefully because the media will focus on one or two main topics discussed in the Throne Speech, as evident in the examples cited above. That will be the content disseminated to society. If those crafting the speech have particular messages they would like to get out to the voting public, it would be in their best interest to emphasise that point and make it a repetitive theme throughout the speech. An individual does not necessarily have to read the speech or listen to the speech in its entirety because the media will produce a concentrated version of the ‘important’ aspect(s) of the speech.⁹⁸ The political leaders of these two provinces have moved on from the formal speeches of the past. They are now speaking directly to the public and focusing on political issues.

Budget Speeches

⁹⁶ CBC, “Throne Speech Focuses on Streamlining Costs,” *CBC News*, March 25, 2014. <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/newfoundland-labrador/throne-speech-focuses-on-streamlining-costs-1.1385038>

⁹⁷ Robert Everett and Frederick J. Fletcher, “The Mass Media and Political Communications in Canada,” in *Communications in Canadian Society*, 5th ed. Ed. C. McKie and B. D. Singer, (Thompson Educational Publishing, Toronto, 2001), 167.

⁹⁸ John Cairns, “Ontario Throne Speeches Through the Lens of Mass Media,” 24-25.

The introduction for this work details the strong set of similarities between Nova Scotia and Newfoundland and Labrador at the time of confederation. The current economic report card from the Conference Board of Canada places Newfoundland and Labrador and Nova Scotia at opposite ends of the spectrum. Newfoundland comes out on top with an overall grade of A+ for economic wealth, economic disadvantage and hardship, and economic sustainability.⁹⁹ Nova Scotia was one of two provinces to receive the lowest grade awarded, a D.¹⁰⁰ Do the Budget Speeches from recent decades illustrate how the political leadership is communicating with the public regarding the economic position of their respective provinces?

During the time frame of the Budget Speeches, 1974-2013 that were analysed for this project, of the ten most frequent words used in Nova Scotia and Newfoundland and Labrador eight of the words were found in both frequency. The cross over words are: *increase, provide, services, investments (invest), taxes (taxing), economic, health, and continuous*. Due to the nature of a Budget Speech, the words found most commonly in the frequencies are not particularly surprising. There is much discussion of the provision of services in the provinces, of continuing the work being done in previous years, and taxation and investing in the province. When the Budget Speeches are broken down across time some interesting developments can be identified.

There is a strong level of consistency across time and space with the Budget Speeches. Four of the overall frequency commonalities continue to be present in both

⁹⁹ Conference Board of Canada. "How Canada Performs: Provincial and Territorial Ranking, Economy."

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

the Nova Scotia and Newfoundland and Labrador top ten frequencies in the later time period, *invests*, *provides*, *increase*, and *health*. There are also some new words that both provinces have in common, including *funds* and *care (caring)*. On the surface there seems to be little difference between the two provinces with regards to this type of discourse.

Invests was the top most and second most frequently referenced term in Newfoundland and Labrador and Nova Scotia respectively. However, when the number of times that the term *invests* was referenced in each province are compared it shows there was a significant difference in the weight that the concept of investments and investing between Newfoundland and Labrador and Nova Scotia. To capture the same number of legislative assemblies and in an attempt to ensure a strong range of political actors, the later Budget Speech frequencies include the 6 most recent legislative assemblies, excluding the current governments. As a result Nova Scotia spans from 1993 to 2013 and Newfoundland and Labrador ranges from 1999-2013. Nova Scotia captures 20 years of discourse while Newfoundland and Labrador examines 14 years. During that 20 year time frame in Nova Scotia *invests*, *investments*, and *investing* was discussed 586 times during the Budget Speeches. *Invests*, *investments*, and *investing* was reference 1091 times during the 14 years' worth of Budget Speeches in Newfoundland and Labrador. The second most frequently used term in Newfoundland and Labrador was *provide* and it was referenced 651 times. For most of the words in the top ten of the frequency, *Invests* is referenced close to, or more than, twice as often. Whereas, with

the Nova Scotia frequency the most frequently referenced term was referenced just 291 times more than the tenth most frequently referenced word.

Invest in this grouping of Budget Speeches in Newfoundland and Labrador is weighted far more than any other word. Finance Ministers were discussing investing in resources, social programs, long term goals, short term goals, etc.,. The Budget Speeches discussed the future of Newfoundland and Labrador and the need to invest in that future. There is no such clear focus in the Nova Scotia Budget Speeches. Another interesting development in the Newfoundland Budget Speeches is that *People* has entered the top ten. *People* is being used to reference 'our people' and the 'people of our province'. It serves to develop the understanding of Newfoundland and Labrador as a province concerned with the future of the Province and its' people. In the Nova Scotian context the introduction of *needs* in the top ten of the frequency is an interesting development. In the earlier frequency words such as *expenditures* and *estimates* were present in the top ten of the frequency. The focus on careful spending and planning has become less prominent in more recent years. *Needs* is used in the context of meeting the economic needs of low income Nova Scotians and rural communities in the province. The word *help* is the eleventh ranked word on the Nova Scotia frequency.

The focus on *Invests* and *people* in Newfoundland and Labrador and *needs* and *help* in Nova Scotia both show a discourse where the political leaders of the provinces are concerned with the economic fortunes of the people of the province. However, the

provinces have framed the discourse with different tones. In Newfoundland and Labrador the discussion is one of looking to the future and developing the general economic position of the province. With regards to Nova Scotia, the discourse takes on more of a welfare focus. There is discussion of the poor economic situation of the residents and the fact that the province needs to provide help with addressing this situation. To an extent the economic position of Nova Scotians is discussed more in terms of acknowledgement of the current conditions and the provinces commitment to providing relief for the situation. Whereas, in Newfoundland and Labrador the discussion focuses more on improvement and developing sectors and industries to protect the people of Newfoundland in the future.

While the differences in how the political leaders address the economic situation of the province to the public can be discerned through analysis of the Budget Speeches, the type of discourse being used in general raises another question. Who is the intended audience of the Budget Speech? Are the political leaders more concerned with the message being conveyed to the public or is the discourse focused more on the business and private sectors? Topics such as *deficit*, *debt*, *frugal*, and *reduction* rank low on the top 50 frequency or, as in the case of Nova Scotia with regards to *deficit* and *frugal*, are not part of the top 50 at all. More common topics of discourse are taxes, investing in different sectors, and creating a more business friendly environment. The scope of this project is limited to how discourse is used by political leaders as a means of communicating with the general population of the province and the impact it can have on the province. An interesting area of future research would be to analyze more closely

whether the Budget Speech is primarily viewed as a means to communicate the current situation of the province and the economic actions the government intends to take over the next 12 months, or if it is a tool used by political leaders in the relationship between government and the private sector.

Throne Speeches

The Throne Speeches provide a much more distinctive image of the individual provinces. For the frequencies done on the earlier Throne Speeches from Newfoundland and Labrador and Nova Scotia there were just three words in common, *provide*, *continue (continuous)*, and *Canada*. *Continue* is expected to be present at the top of both frequencies as they span periods of time where there were long time sitting Premiers. During the Throne Speech there are references to continuing the work that was started in the previous years by that government. The Throne Speeches in both provinces make numerous references to what the government currently provides to the people, as well as what the government will be providing in the future. During this time period references to Canada in both Newfoundland and Labrador and Nova Scotia were generally in regards to either the Trans-Canada Highway or the provincial government working with the Government of Canada on a variety of issues. The other top words in the frequency provide a better understanding of the mindset of the political leaders at this time.

In Newfoundland and Labrador *developments*, *resources*, *industry*, and *fishery* were all among the top ten of the frequency. The discourse was dominated by

discussion of natural resources and the development of these resources. The fishery was viewed with such importance that *fishery* on its own was part of the top ten of the frequency. This focus on the resources of the province is not present in Nova Scotia. Resources is not part of the top 50 most frequently referenced terms. *Coal* was present on the frequency, ranked at 35th most frequent. Instead at the top of the frequency for Nova Scotia there is *municipal, assistance, services, and improvement*. The discourse can be viewed as a discussion of the province which is strongly focused on the administration of the province. There is an emphasis on the relationship between the levels of government and how to best govern and administer the services provided by the Provincial government.

In the Newfoundland and Labrador frequency *People* was the second most frequently referenced term. *People* was used to address the population of the province as a collective. There are hundreds of references to ‘our people’ and the ‘people of Newfoundland’. The political leadership of Newfoundland and Labrador was just as likely, if not more likely to discuss Canada and Newfoundland and Labrador’s place as a part of Canada as their Nova Scotian counterparts. However, the political leadership also placed a great deal of emphasis on establishing the view of Newfoundlanders as their own people. This is not a trend that was present in Nova Scotia. People is not part of the top 50 frequency. In the Throne Speeches analysed for the early frequency in Nova Scotia, the term, ‘our people’ was used twice and the term, ‘the people of the Province’ was used once. Instead of nationalistic dialogue there is an importance placed on topics such as *grants, commissions, facilities, highways, and construction*, all of which

are part of the top fifty frequency. During these years Nova Scotia's political leadership discussed the infrastructure and services of the province as opposed to the collective identity of the province.

This divergence in the discourse of the political leaders has laid the foundation for the current discourse and the divergence of topics of conversation among the provinces. As technology and media made the Throne Speeches more accessible to the public the language has changed, by varying degrees, within Newfoundland and Labrador and Nova Scotia. In general there is less focus on administrative procedures. As discussed in the cross time analysis of the language used during these speeches the political leaders have moved away from speaking to their fellow legislators and are now interacting directly with the populous. Some divergent themes have emerged in the two provinces, building on the differing areas of focus for earlier governments. Newfoundland and Labrador's political leaders have created a discourse focused on the people of Newfoundland and Labrador and self-sustained economic success for the province. In Nova Scotia the conversation is focused on providing for the welfare of particular communities, whether they be rural communities or other vulnerable communities within the province.

In the Throne Speech frequency for the most recent legislatures in Newfoundland and Labrador *people* was the most frequently referenced term in the political discourse and continued to be used in the context of the 'people of Newfoundland' and 'our people.' *Canada* had fallen out of the top ten of the frequency

and is now ranked 25th. The common use of People in this context provides a nationalistic tone to the discourse of the political leadership in Newfoundland and Labrador. By extension it can be viewed as a demarcation between the people of Newfoundland and Labrador and the general population of Canada. This is a sentiment echoed in the political culture discourse of Newfoundland and Labrador discussed in the literature review.

The Newfoundland and Labrador frequency also has a strong economic focus. *Opportunity* was not a part of the earlier top fifty frequency. It now occupies the 4th highest position on the frequency from the previous two decades. *Opportunity* is used by the political leaders to discuss improving employment and economic opportunities in the province. As previously discussed Newfoundland and Labrador is one of the high ranked provinces in Canada on economic performance.¹⁰¹ Eight of the top ten words in the frequency reflect the political leaderships focus on the economic situation of the province, *developments, works, opportunity, industry, economic, investments, and plans*. While *resources* is only ranked 20th on the frequency, it is because the different resources are being discussed independently. If the frequency of which *resources, fishery, petroleum, hydro-electric, and mineral* were all combined together they would total 564 references. Which would place the broader resources category at number 4 on the frequency. The picture painted by the discourse of the political leadership, across party lines, is one of a province concerned with its identity and ensuring its ability to provide for the people independent of the situation outside of the province.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

In Nova Scotia there is an acutely different discourse taking place between the political leadership and the public. The discourse is focused on, what this work will call, community welfare. Of the top ten words in the frequency 6 would fall into this category, *community, caring, health, support, needs, and help*. *Community* is the most heavily weight word. It is used in the terms of addressing the needs of particular communities in the province, both geographic and demographic. These communities include rural communities, often referenced by name such as Clare, and demographic communities such as seniors, Acadian, and visible minorities. *Caring* was the second most frequently used word. *Caring* was most commonly used in the context of health care, child care, and home care. The most popular topic of discussion for the political elites was the provision of services for particular groups of people within the province.

In the Nova Scotia frequency spanning from 1993-2013 *families* is the 17th most frequently referenced term. The discussion focuses around helping families, whether it be financial assistance for families or improving health and education services for the betterment of families in Nova Scotia. Families does not appear in the Newfoundland and Labrador frequency during the same time period. The New Democratic Party is the self-professed champions of Canadian families.¹⁰² In an effort to determine whether or not the presence of families in the frequency in Nova Scotia came as a result of partisan discourse from the New Democratic Government elected in 2009, the 1993-2013 results

¹⁰² Thomas Mulcair, "On Your Side: Standing up for Canadian Families," <http://www.ndp.ca/news/your-side-standing-canadian-families>

were broken down to compare the New Democratic results with Liberal and Progressive Conservative governments.



Figure 15: Nova Scotia Throne Speeches 1993-2009 (Savage to MacDonald)

- | | |
|---------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Community- 330 | 2. Services- 266 |
| 3. Caring- 246 | 4. Health- 238 |
| 5. Development- 212 | 6. Working- 191 |
| 7. Support- 191 | 8. Continuing- 181 |
| 9. Provide- 174 | 10. Public- 173 |
| 23. Families- 126 | |

Showing that while there may have been some partisan influence on the frequency with which Nova Scotian families were discussed by the New Democratic political leadership, it was still a popular topic of discussion for leaders from other political parties.

As was observed in the overall frequency from 1993-2013 for Nova Scotia, specific references to the economy and how to improve said economy were not among the most frequent topics of discussion. *Investment* was ranked 23rd on the frequency and references to the economy were often in relation to the preservation of small rural communities. *Resources* is ranked at number 37 on the frequency. There are no particular resources, such as coal or petroleum, on the frequency.

This analysis of the Throne Speeches shows that as technology developed and the media coverage became more substantive, there was a change in the content of Throne Speeches. The Throne Speeches have developed into narratives for their provinces. The Throne Speeches from the 1960s to the 1970s could be viewed, for the most part as administrative. There was more discussion of legislation and the relationship between the levels of government than has been used in more recent years. Although admittedly, Newfoundland and Labrador's political leaders were using more emotive discourse during that time than the Nova Scotian leadership. The word frequencies from 1993-2013 show that distinctive narratives have developed regarding the role of the government in Nova Scotia and Newfoundland and Labrador. Speeches crafted by the political leaders of the province are the clearest way that the governing party communicates with the public outside of election time. Across political parties

there are common themes referenced repeatedly in the Throne Speeches. In Newfoundland and Labrador the political discourse is framed by protecting the economic future of the province and establishing the identity of the Newfoundland people distinctive of Canada. For Nova Scotia the narrative is that of the government providing for the welfare of particular communities, improving access to health care, education, and assistance for rural and low income areas. The fact that these themes remain relatively constant over time and across parties reinforces the fact that this is a dialogue. Political parties are motivated by electoral success. If the public was not responding to the themes being focused on in these speeches, the political leaders at the time would change the conversation. The narratives in Newfoundland and Labrador and Nova Scotia are cyclical understandings of the relationship between government and the public. Whether these themes were first articulated by the political leadership or by the mass public of the provinces is difficult to determine. What can be known is that these themes are articulated by political leaders and reinforced by the public accepting this understanding of the government's role in society.

Chapter Six: Conclusion

Reflections on Results

This research enables me to reflect on three questions arising from previous research on provincial political cultures. First, do the results of this work support Wesley's contention that the discourse of the political leadership of a province provides an avenue for understanding its political culture? Second, what insights do these results provide into the divergent paths of Nova Scotia and Newfoundland and Labrador over the past 60 years? Lastly, how does this study help to address Ian Stewart's paradoxes of political culture research?

Applying Wesley's Method

As discussed in the literature review, Wesley's work *Code Politics* used campaign documents from the three Prairie Provinces to develop an understanding of distinct narratives of political cultures in each of the provinces. Wesley suggested that further research would need to be carried out to determine if this method is a valuable approach to better understanding the political culture outside of the case studies of his work. The results of this study suggest that this method of analyzing the discourse of political leaders across time and across party lines is an effective way to determine whether or not there are unique themes of discourse present within provinces. Future research will be needed to determine whether this approach is applicable outside of Canada.

Divergent Paths

The first step in determining whether political culture research can contribute to the explanation for the divergent paths of Nova Scotia and Newfoundland and Labrador, is to determine whether it is appropriate to address the political cultures of Nova Scotia and Newfoundland and Labrador as separate or if they should be studied together as part of a larger region. This project makes an important contribution to the literature on political culture by addressing the notion of Atlantic Canada as a distinct and coherent region. Atlantic Canada may be a convenient unit for administration within the federation of Canada, but it is not a coherent product of social and political behaviour. The results of this study have demonstrated that there are distinctive narratives that are characteristic of Nova Scotia and Newfoundland and Labrador. By lumping the Atlantic Provinces together the literature has imposed an appearance of similarity among the provinces which has distorted the actual differences between the provinces.

When comparing the present Nova Scotia results with the common approach to addressing political culture in Nova Scotia, a historical approach, it becomes apparent that the historical approach will benefit by including a method of discourse analysis. Whether one subscribes to a theory of conservative tory influence on Nova Scotian political culture or to an understanding that the Loyalists were actually liberals, as discussed in the literature review, both approaches rely on a historical approach. Political culture by definition is cross-generational, but it is not static. The historical approaches are so strongly focused on the events following the American Revolution

that they does not provide an adequate explanation for how political culture has evolved over time. Wesley's method of analyzing political discourse across time provides a tool to fill this hole in political culture research.

Political culture has been studied in Newfoundland and Labrador in terms of a strong sense on nationalism, the results of this study provide support for this approach. Much like the literature on Nova Scotia, the literature on nationalism in Newfoundland and Labrador focuses largely on the historic events leading up to confederation in 1949. The results of this study contribute to understanding how the idea of the people of Newfoundland and Labrador as a collectivity apart from the rest of Canada has been established and maintained post-confederation. The results also demonstrate that there continues to be a strongly held belief that Newfoundland must protect its own economic future.

Nova Scotia and Newfoundland and Labrador have a striking number of similarities including demography, resources, and geographic situation. Despite these similarities Newfoundland and Labrador is considered one of the leaders in economic growth and sustainability in Canada. Nova Scotia has one of the lowest ranking of the same measures.¹⁰³ There is no single overarching factor that has the ability to explain the diverging economic trajectories of Nova Scotia and Newfoundland and Labrador. This work did not set out to determine a definitive explanation for this difference. Rather, the object of this work was to establish whether or not it is possible that the

¹⁰³ Conference Board of Canada. "How Canada Performs: Provincial and Territorial Ranking, Economy."

distinct political culture in each province, as manifested in political discourse, is a contributing factor.

The lack of focus on the economic situation in Nova Scotia as compared to the high level of concern for the economic prospects of the province in Newfoundland and Labrador indicate that it is indeed a factor. The relationship between political discourse and political culture is interactive. The primary objective of political parties is to be elected and stay elected. Common themes are employed across time by political parties because they are the themes that resonate with the voting public. Whether the theme arose spontaneously from the body politic, or the theme was invented by a political party and absorbed into the political identity of the populace is not necessary to understand. What is important is the fact these themes and ideas have been absorbed into the political culture and continue to be transmitted over time through the discourse of political leaders and the voting habits of the people. In Nova Scotia the common narrative focuses largely on the provision of services to Nova Scotians. Whereas, in Newfoundland and Labrador one of the most common themes was the need to provide for and protect the ability for Newfoundland and Labrador to sustain itself economically.

Political culture is complex and multifaceted. A single method cannot address all of the different elements of political culture. However, this approach provides researchers with the ability to explore unique themes and points of importance within a political community's political culture which other methods have not been able to provide.

Paradoxes of Political Culture Research

Finally, this research speaks to the conceptual paradoxes identified by Ian Stewart. The first of those paradoxes is the Nuance Paradox. “The more nuanced the understanding of a particular political culture the less useful the understanding will be in comparative analysis.”¹⁰⁴ The results of this study have shown that addressing political culture at the level of Atlantic Canada does not provide a particularly useful understanding of political culture. Whereas, using the province as the level of analysis has provided the ability to understand the unique characteristics of political cultures. The provinces have institutional expression as the governments of the provinces have the ability to exercise power. Regions lack this ability. Added to this, the provinces as the level of analysis is appropriate as it is broad enough to allow for meaningful comparison. The results of this work also demonstrate that the political leaders of the provinces have an impact on political culture.

The second paradox is the Anchor Paradox. “The more anchored the understanding of a particular political culture the narrower the explanatory power of that understanding.”¹⁰⁵ This work was focused on determining whether or not an analysis of discourse of political leaders in Nova Scotia and Newfoundland and Labrador can contribute to a more accurate understanding of their political cultures. As a result it did not use a multifaceted approach for its methodology. However, with the establishment of this method’s ability to demonstrate how political culture is carried

¹⁰⁴ Ian Stewart, “Vanishing Points,” 27-28.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid, 31-32

across time, future research could combine methods such as historical research, surveys, and this method of analysis to provide a more robust understanding of political culture.

The third paradox is the Acceptance Paradox. ‘The more accepted the understanding of a particular political culture, the more suspicious one should be of that understanding.’¹⁰⁶ This method of studying political culture is an effective tool for addressing the acceptance paradox. By using the discourse of political leaders from recent decades it is possible to answer the question if the accepted concepts regarding a polity’s political culture continues to be relevant or if the accepted understanding of a particular political culture needs to be adapted to develop a more accurate understanding. The results of this work have demonstrated that the research, outlined in the literature review, on nationalism in Newfoundland and Labrador continues to be relevant. However, the research on the colonial impact on Nova Scotia is no longer able to provide an understanding of the current situation in Nova Scotia. This method of research provides a dynamic approach to the study of political culture. It is a progressive method which is able to avoid the acceptance paradigm by being able to compare and contrast current discourse with earlier eras.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid, 34-35.

Conclusion

This study started with a skepticism regarding political culture research. However, the results of the study support the assertion that political leadership uses culture to communicate policy. The political leadership of Nova Scotia and Newfoundland and Labrador used discourse to achieve divergent ends, reacting to and shaping the culture of their respective provinces, Nova Scotia to get re-elected and Newfoundland to modernize. This work has been able to trace the build up to the current political state in the respective provinces. Whether conscious or not, politicians across political lines have conformed to and adapted acceptable themes of discourse to craft the provinces as they exist today.

The discourse coming out of the provinces is not necessarily best understood through their long history or the contemporary experiences of the provinces as parts of Canada. The Freezing Hypothesis is not necessarily wrong. However, the moment of congealment may not have been the American Revolution. As some prominent scholars on the history of the Atlantic Provinces have asserted, that moment was actually confederation in 1867 for Nova Scotia and 1949 for Newfoundland and Labrador. In the lead up to confederation, Nova Scotia's manufacturing industry developed a relationship with the government of the colony.¹⁰⁷ The emergence of responsible government resulted in a government that was beginning to be directly answerable to

¹⁰⁷ D. A. Muise, "The 1860s: Forging the Bonds of Union," in *The Atlantic Provinces in Confederation* ed. by E. R. Forbes and D. A. Muise (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993): 46.

at least some elements of the mass population in Nova Scotia.¹⁰⁸ The driving forces behind the provinces successful manufacturing industry felt the government had a responsibility to care for the needs of the province.¹⁰⁹ The conditions of confederation solidified this understanding of the relationship between the government in Nova Scotia and the citizens of the province. Nova Scotia at confederation was a thriving, economically stable area. The province was more concerned with the quality of life of the people of Nova Scotia than the economic future of the province.

In “The Politics of Cultural Memory,” Jerry Bannister argued that the traumatic experience of confederation has had a lasting impact on Newfoundland.¹¹⁰ The author argues that the people of Newfoundland have developed a culture in reaction to a perceived lose which occur at the moment of confederation. There is a persistent understanding that Britain and the federal government of Canada colluded to achieve a shared goal of having Newfoundland join Canada.¹¹¹ Not only did Newfoundland receive a poor deal during confederation but the people of the province lost their identity. The people understood themselves as Newfoundlanders, in control of their own future.¹¹² With confederation all of the struggle the people of Newfoundland had gone through to try and preserve their independence as a people, was set aside. The people were told by

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid, 46-47.

¹¹⁰ Royal Commission on Renewing and Strengthening Our Place in Canada, Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, “The Politics of Cultural Memory: Themes in the History of Newfoundland and Labrador in Canada, 1972-2003,” by Jerry Bannister, (March, 2003): 130-132.

¹¹¹ Ibid, 140.

¹¹² Ibid, 140-142.

outside forces what the future of Newfoundland would be.¹¹³ Newfoundland and Labrador was forced into confederation after a debilitating era of poverty and loss of self-control.

In conclusion, understanding political culture in relation to formative historical events has considerable explanatory power. It could explain, in part, the urgency and obsession with which the political elites of Newfoundland and Labrador address preserving Newfoundland and Labrador as a self-sustaining entity above and beyond all other issues. By contrast, Nova Scotia has an appearance of complacency. This work is not suggesting that political culture is able to account for the entirety of the divergence between the two provinces. Political culture is a part of a complex explanation. This method of political culture research provides firmer ground for political culture and should be incorporated into future research as part of a multifaceted approach.

¹¹³ Ibid, 142-145.

Bibliography

- Ajzenstat, Janet. "Durham and Robinson: Political Faction and Moderation." In *Canada's Origins: Liberal, Tory, or Republican?* Edited by Peter J. Smith and Janet Ajzenstat, 139-158. Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1995.
- Bricker, Darrell and John Ibbitson. *The Big Shift: The Seismic Change in Canadian Politics, Business, and What It Means for Our Future*. Harper Collins, 2013.
- Cairns, James. "Ontario Throne Speeches Through the Lens of Mass Media." In *Canadian Parliamentary Review* 31 No. 3 (2008) 21-26.
- Cardigan, Sean T. *Newfoundland and Labrador: A History*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009.
- CBC. "N.S. Throne Speech Promises Improved Health Care." *CBC News*, March 31, 2014.
<http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/nova-scotia/n-s-throne-speech-promises-improved-healthcare-1.1085549>
- CBC. "Ottawa Reaches Deal with N.S. Over Offshore Revenue." *CBC News*, October 10, 2007, Nova Scotia section. <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/nova-scotia/ottawa-reaches-deal-with-n-s-overoffshore-revenue-1.644346>
- CBC. "Throne Speech Focuses on Streamlining Costs." *CBC News*, March 25, 2014.
<http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/newfoundland-labrador/throne-speech-focuses-on-streamlining-costs-1.1385038>
- Conference Board of Canada. "How Canada Performs: Provincial and Territorial Ranking, Economy." <http://www.conferenceboard.ca/hcp/provincial/economy.aspx>.
- Drummond, Robert. "Review: *In Search of Canadian Political Culture*, Nelson Wiseman." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 41 (2008).
- Dunn, Christopher. "Why Williams Walked, Why Martin Balked: the Atlantic Accord Dispute in Perspective." *Policy Options*. February 1, 2005.
- Dyck, Rand. *Provincial Politics in Canada*. Scarborough: Prentice-Hall Canada, 1991.

- Everett, Robert and Frederick J. Fletcher. "The Mass Media and Political Communication in Canada." In *Communications in Canadian Society, 5th Edition*. Edited by Ed. C. McKie and B.D. Singer, 165-178. Toronto: Thompson Educational Publishing, 2001.
- Feehan, James P., and Melvin Baker. "The Origins of a Coming Crisis: Renewal of the Churchill Falls Contract." *Dalhousie Law Journal* 30, no. 1, 2007: 207–257.
- Flatt, Jacqueline. "The Security Certificate Exception: A Media Analysis of Human Rights and Security Discourses in Canada's *Globe and Mail* and *National Post*." Edited by Jasmin Zine in *Island in the Hinterlands: Muslim Cultural Politics in Canada*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2012.
- Fletcher, Amber J., and Gregory P. Marchildon. "Using the Delphi Method for Qualitative, Participatory Action Research in Health Leadership." *International Journal of Qualitative Methods* 13 no. 1 2014: 1-18.
- Fluet, Colette, and Naomi Krogman. "The Limits of Integrated Resource Management in Alberta for Aboriginal and Environmental Groups: The Northern East Slopes Sustainable Resource and Environmental Management Strategy." In *Environmental Conflict and Democracy in Canada*. Edited by Laurie E. Adkin. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2009.
- Government of Canada. "Speech From the Throne." <http://speech.gc.ca/eng/frequently-askedquestions-faq>
- Grabb, Edward and James Curtis. *Regions Apart: The Four Societies of Canada and the United States*. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Horowitz, Gad. "Conservatism, Liberalism, and Socialism in Canada: An Interpretation." In *The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science* 32. No. 2 (1966).

Hughes, Graham and Christina Silver. "Qualitative Analysis Strategies for Analysing Open-Ended Survey Questions for Nvivo." National Center for Research Methods, University of Surrey.

http://www.surrey.ac.uk/sociology/research/researchcentres/caqdas/support/analysing_survey/qualitative_analysis_strategies_for_analysing_openended_survey_questions_or_nvivo_v78.htm

McGrane, David and Loleen Berdahl. "'Small Worlds' No More: Reconsidering Provincial Political Cultures in Canada." *Regional & Federal Studies* (2013).

DOI:10.1080/13597566.2013.794415

Muise, D. A. "The 1860s: Forging the Bonds of Union." In *The Atlantic Provinces in Confederation*. Edited by E. R. Forbes and D. A. Muise, 13-47. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993.

Mulcair, Thomas. "On Your Side: Standing up for Canadian Families."

<http://www.ndp.ca/news/yourside-standing-canadian-families>

Poltext.org

Poltext. "Canadian Provinces Budget Speeches: Newfoundland and Labrador."

<http://www.poltext.org/en/part-1-electronic-political-texts/canadian-provinces-budget-speeches>

Poltext. "Canadian Provinces Budget Speeches: Nova Scotia."

<http://www.poltext.org/en/part-1-electronic-political-texts/canadian-provinces-budget-speeches>

Poltext. "Canadian Provinces Throne Speeches: Newfoundland and Labrador."

<http://www.poltext.org/en/canadian-provinces-throne-speeches>

Poltext. "Canadian Provinces Throne Speeches: Nova Scotia."

<http://www.poltext.org/en/canadian-provinces-throne-speeches>

Poltext. "Poltext: Données textuelles pour l'analyse des politiques."

<http://www.poltext.org/en/home>.

QSR International, "An Overview of Nvivo: Software to Support Qualitative and Mixed Methods Research." <http://download.qsrinternational.com/Resource/NVivo10/nvivo10overview.pdf>

QSR International: NVivo. "Set the Text Content Language and Stop Words." http://helpnv10.qsrinternational.com/desktop/procedures/set_the_text_content_language_and_top_wds.htm

QSR International: NVivo. "Understanding Word Frequencies." http://helpnv10.qsrinternational.com/desktop/procedures/run_a_word_frequency_query.htm

QSR International. "What is Qualitative Research?" <http://www.qsrinternational.com/what-is-qualitative-research.aspx>

Royal Commission on Renewing and Strengthening Our Place in Canada, Government of Newfoundland and Labrador. "Newfoundland and Labrador History in Canada, 1949-1972." By Miriam Wright, March, 2003.
<http://www.exec.gov.nl.ca/royalcomm/research/pdf/history.pdf>

Royal Commission on Renewing and Strengthening Our Place in Canada, Government of Newfoundland and Labrador. "The Politics of Cultural Memory: Themes in the History of Newfoundland and Labrador in Canada, 1972-2003." By Jerry Bannister, March, 2003.
<http://www.gov.nl.ca/publicat/royalcomm/research/Bannister.pdf>

Simeon, Richard, and David J. Elkins. "Regional Political Cultures in Canada." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 7, no. 4 (1974): 397-437.
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0008423900040713>.

Smith, Jennifer. "Atlantic Canada at the Start of the New Millennium." In *Canada: The State of the Federation 2001, Canadian Political Culture(s) in Transition*. Edited by Hamish Telford and Harvey Lazar. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001.

Stewart, Ian. *Roasting Chestnuts: The Mythology of Maritime Political Culture*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 1994.

Stewart, Ian. "Vanishing Points: Three Paradoxes of Political Culture Research." In *Citizen Politics: Research and Theory in Canadian Political Behaviour*. Edited by Joanna Everitt and Brenda O'Neill, 21-39. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2001.

Vazina, Valerie and Karlo Basta. "Nationalism in Newfoundland and Labrador." In *First Among Unequals: The Premier, Politics, and Policy in Newfoundland and Labrador*, edited by Alex Marland and Matthew Kerby, 70-80. McGill-Queen's Press, 2014.

Wesley, Jared J. *Code Politics: Campaigns and Cultures on the Canadian Prairies*. Toronto: UBC Press, 2011.

Wiseman, Nelson. *In Search of Canadian Political Culture*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007.