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‘Like an American, but without a gun’?: Canadian national identity and the *Kids in the Hall*

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Abstract:
Media representation of national identity can be complex and utilise many potential mechanisms for conveying said identity onto both diegeses and series. This paper analyses the mechanisms by which the corpus of texts produced by comedy troupe the Kids in the Hall (KITH) represents and constructs a Canadian national identity for domestic and foreign audiences. Utilising both textual analysis and audience research, this paper examines the banal diegetic nationalism (Beattie 2017a, b) of the corpus as well as how the Canadianness of the series is perceived.

Keywords: Canadian national identity and media, Discursive national identity, Fan studies, Representation, Audiences

Introduction and literature review

Media representation of national identity can be complex and utilise many potential mechanisms for conveying said identity onto both diegeses and series. This paper analyses the mechanisms by which the corpus of texts produced by comedy troupe the Kids in the Hall (KITH) represents and constructs a Canadian national identity for domestic and foreign audiences. Utilising both textual analysis and audience research, this paper examines the banal diegetic nationalism (Beattie 2017a, b) of the corpus as well as how the Canadianness of the corpus is perceived.

This is relevant when viewed in context of Edwardson’s (2008) work on the development of Canadian national identity through its cultural industries. Though his book looks at all of the cultural industries, Edwardson’s negative view of globalisation with regard

to television in particular views the push for transnational television success as leading to the diminishing of Canadian-focused content in favour of what would appeal to a predominantly-American audience.

This is important in the context of my work because those connotations (especially the negative ones) impact interpretation of a globalised (or perceived-globalised) television product. The so-called 'cultural discount' is described by Hoskins and Mirus (1988: 500) as when 'a particular program rooted in one culture and thus attractive in that environment will have a diminished appeal elsewhere as viewers find it difficult to identify with the styles, values, beliefs, institutions and behavioural patterns of the material in question.'

The companion idea of cultural proximity (e.g., Straubhaar 2007) in which it is noted that domestic products are more popular than imports would seem to support this, though what constitutes a domestic and/or imported product is itself often a function of industrial discourses. Iwabuchi (2002) terms the opposing 'cultural odour' to '... focus on the way in which cultural features of a country of origin and images or ideas of its national, in most cases stereotyped, way of life are associated *positively* with a particular product ...' (Ibid: 28, italics in the original). Thus what we see are two apparently opposing viewpoints on transnationally marketed and consumed products. The most obvious difference between the two viewpoints is timing; in 1988, there was no internet nor was satellite television as accessible as it was in 2002, or, indeed, is today. Thus whilst consumers in 1988 might not have been as conversant in cultures outside their own, that would have been less of a problem by Iwabuchi's time. But, though Iwabuchi argues that these cultural features are considered positive, he also notes that they are usually stereotyped. This is broadly similar to Blandford (2005) who notes that touristic or stereotyped representations of Wales (as well as Scotland and Ireland) can be exacerbated by transnational demand.

That stereotypes themselves are often difficult to define and are also generally viewed as being associated with negative representation (despite there certainly being the idea of a positively interpreted stereotype, e.g., the 'model minority', inherent in Iwabuchi's statement) means that interpretation and, in some cases, construction, of someone's understanding of a given culture as viewed through media, means that there can potentially be vastly different interpretations being made.

While his concerns do not quite evoke the concept of 'McTelevision' or its close associate 'Europudding' (e.g., Selznick 2008, Straubhaar 2007, Weissmann 2012), these fears of Americanocentric globalised television do accord with Iwabuchi's (2002) argument for a conscious effort by production teams to reduce the odour in the text, even though that odour can be considered desirable due to its perceived cultural capital. Indeed, multiple respondents did note that the Canadianness of the KITH corpus, regardless of how that Canadianness was interpreted, was part of the attraction to the initial series and the troupe's subsequent work (cf Weissmann 2012). This broadly matches Acland (2003: 189-90) who associates Canadian film with international arthouse cinema precisely because it differs from the American media which had become incorporated into Canadian popular

culture; Acland also notes, however, that the use of Canada as an attractive cultural odour is highly inconsistent (Ibid: 166).

With few studies done specifically on Canadian national identity, discursive or otherwise (e.g., Mackey 2002, Vance 2009 and Edwardson 2008) and the popular press questioning the very existence of a Canadian national identity (Mallinder, 2012) I primarily draw from more general studies of national identity as the theoretical framework for this study. For my research, I follow Anderson (2010) and Billig (1995), *inter multa alia*, in seeing national identity as a discursive construction rather than as an unchanging monolith, as essentialist and heritage-based theories of construction do. This is particularly relevant to the case of Canada which, as noted above, seems perceived as being more fluid or ambiguous than others and is often couched in comparative terms with the US, the UK or both. Acland (2003: 12-13), also argues that Canadian national identity has formed in the context of constant engagement with international cultures and that Canadianness is characterised by a simultaneous attraction to and fear of American culture, leading to an often ironic viewpoint (Ibid: 41, 192). This neither implies that Canadian national identity is consciously understood as discursive nor that Gauntlett's (2007) findings of people's need to find a 'unity' despite having a discursive identity (cf Straubhaar 2007, 2012 and Elliott 2014) do not apply to Canada or Canadians. But it can be argued that a degree of ambiguity or fluidity or incorporation of perceived-outside elements would be perceived as 'acceptable' within the concept of Canadianness. This ambiguity, though typical of any postmodern or poststructuralist interpretation of a media text, also invites a semiotic approach, specifically that which recognises a non-infinite multiplicity of potential readings (e.g., Hall 1980, Sandvoss 2005, *inter multa alia*). This is certainly the case with my respondents as will be shown below.

The combined aural and visual elements of the corpus which both express and are interpreted as Canadianness build what Beattie (2017a, b) terms the banal diegetic nationalism, with nationalism in this case referring to national identity. This concept is built upon Billig's (1995) banal nationalism, or the day-to-day ways in which national identity is maintained, reproduced and, as Anderson (2010) also points out, considered to be natural. Billig's work looks at such methods as 'flagging' – what almost might be termed 'branding' of a country, wherein signifiers of a particular identity are placed everywhere within a particular country as a continual reminder; a national flag being the most obvious. In short, he deals with the day-to-day structures which remind and reinforce national identity. While the idea of a literal 'day-to-day' (re)construction, maintenance and reiteration of anything is impossible with regard to a television series, Gibbs points out that *mise-en-scène* can function as a pattern set up throughout the text (Gibbs 2002: 9, cf Butler 2002: 93). Beattie therefore argues that those elements in the *mise-en-scène* that can be associated with national identity/-ties function as this banal diegetic nationalism.

Thus this constant, repeated expression of national identity through a series' aesthetics, coupled with other diegetic elements (e.g., plot and characters), grants a perceived-national identity to a series as a whole as well as to individual characters. This

can be intentional on the part of a given production team and/or network (see Beattie 2017a, b on the fourth series of *Torchwood*) though I would argue that in the case of the KITH corpus (save *Death Comes to Town*, discussed below) it was more a function of the Canadian production context.

This concept can, however, be expanded upon as follows. In their work on global fans of *Lord of the Rings,* Kuipers and de Kloet (2009) note that their respondents' reception of the original film trilogy do not strongly correlate to national identity. They attribute this to the likelihood that their respondents were cosmopolitans, 'people whose life orientation revolves around global interconnectedness rather than their local communities' (Ibid: 104). While they acknowledge that this may have impacted the representativeness of their sample, they do argue that the lack of a strong differentiation in results between respondents from different national identities indicates that the films show a strong banal cosmopolitanism 'in which everyday nationalism is circumvented and undermined and we experience ourselves integrated into global processes and phenomena' (Beck, 2002: 12, quoted in Kuipers and de Kloet 2009: 115). Mihelj, van Zoonen and Vis (2011) argue that cosmopolitanism involves 'an aspiration to transcend the particular and tie it to [the] universal' (Ibid: 615-6), requires communication across difference and self-reflection but must also always be seen in the context of inequities of power.

Thus by combining these concepts with banal diegetic nationalism one can also argue for the existence of a banal diegetic cosmopolitanism in which the plots, characters and aesthetic elements constantly circumvent or subvert the national/particular and instead tie it to the global/universal. The high correlation of the series with Canadianness by respondents coupled with the differences between responses from different national identities argues against viewing the series in this way. While formats and scripted series sold transnationally are generally glocalised to and by the cultures who import them (Moran 2009, Straubhaar 2012, Hilmes 2013, *inter multa alia*), that a format or series is part of a global brand can encourage the negotiation between global and local cultures, but as the KITH corpus is sold abroad as-is, however, with the exception of dubbing or subtitling the negotiation would primarily be the foreign viewer engaging with perceived-Canadian culture. This, then, can be read as moving Canadian media from the status of interlocutor between the US and UK (Hilmes 2012) to a more global position as well as establishing itself as distinct while retaining its constant negotiation and international engagement.

Acland (2003: 44) describes a similar concept to cosmopolitanism which he terms felt internationalism. He defines this term as 'a contemporary structure of feeling involving the negotiation and division of global, national and city cultures.' As Shaw (2013: 59) notes, Acland's work does not discuss the text and does not address the fact that audiences within a given national identity can react differently to texts regardless of a shared viewing experience. My research accounts for these factors by analysing the text and the audience responses while also discussing the negotiations between various levels of (perceived and represented) identities, allowing for a deeper interpretation. As stated above, Kuipers and de Kloet (2009) note the fact that all self-identified members of a given national identity will

interpret things differently as well; though they attribute this in their study to the cosmopolitanism of the fans in the sample, they also question the nation-state as a basis for comparison at all (Ibid: 99). This is a fair point, though as my study focuses upon the construction and interpretation of a national identity for and by a global audience, I have retained the usage of 'foreign' (not-Canadian) and 'domestic' (Canadian) as part of my analysis. I return to this in more detail below.

When discussing interpretation of national identity/-ties, it is also relevant to briefly discuss the concept of stereotypes. While a full discussion of the discursive construction and attendant ambiguity surrounding what constitutes a stereotype is beyond the scope of this paper, for the purposes of this study I would refer to Park et al (2006) whose audience research into stereotypes and the action-comedy film *Rush Hour 2*. They found that the perception of the film as comedy ameliorated some of the perceived stereotypes, the genre in essence rendering the recognised stereotypes as acceptable. This permissiveness must be taken into account when interpreting audience data for any similar study, including this one.

One of the major theories with regard to perceived-national identity of a series is Weissmann's (2012) discussion of a national origin (pseudo-)genre which, she argues, was constructed by critics, marketers, academics and audiences; with regard to this particular study, however, it does not seem to apply. Weissmann (2012) argues that national origin is used as a basis of comparison for media that are otherwise disparate; while this has been found to be true in other research (Beattie 2017a, b), despite the fact that *Kids in the Hall* was an international co-production from the outset (though it changed from HBO to CBS after series three) none of my respondents compared the series with any other Canadian show, regardless of genre. Rather, it was compared only with *SNL* and *Monty Python*, generally in a context in which KITH was seen as along a continuum between the two (and thus, by extension, between the senses of humour and cultures of the two countries). Thus, in this instance, national origin seems less important as a (pseudo-)genre than being sketch comedy.

Methodology

In order to examine the connection between the KITH corpus and Canadianness, I opted for a two-fold study which uses both textual analysis and audience research. In terms of textual analysis, in order to maintain a tight focus I examined only the work of the troupe as a unit, rather than their solo work. This was done through watching the various officially-sanctioned DVDs for the original series, the film *Brain Candy,* the two tour films and *Death Comes to Town,* including all of the extras, as well as a handful of footage from the 2015 tour which has been posted to YouTube. I have also watched and read as many interviews from the time surrounding the various broadcasts as are available, though this is of course weighted heavily toward material relating to the miniseries and 2015 tour.

With regard to my audience research, I used semi-structured interviews for this study, disseminated via Survey Monkey. This was done for a number of reasons. Semi-

structured interviews allowed the respondents to reply with as much detail as they wanted or needed, yielding deeper data. Where possible, I was also able to follow up with some respondents (they had the option to leave a contact email address) but response to the follow-up questions was poor. This is one limitation of Survey Monkey (and similar sites) in comparison to email; I would argue that communicating via email from the start allows for a greater sense of privacy or intimacy to develop between researcher and respondent which can then lead to a greater willingness to respond to follow-ups.

I used Survey Monkey primarily for logistical reasons. Sending a link which allowed people from anywhere in the world to reply at any time of day ameliorated the problem of time poverty (Stewart et al, 2007: 60) and the different time zones involved; my respondents were primarily, though not exclusively, located in North America whereas at the time of the study I was working in South Korea, thirteen to sixteen hours ahead. This also made focus groups untenable as I was unable to travel to North America (or anywhere else) and the time zones again would have made online focus groups conducted via Skype or Google Hangout a virtual impossibility.

In order to balance depth and breadth of data, I opted for snowball sampling wherein I disseminated the survey link via my own social media networks and asked for reposts on the various platforms. I ultimately had thirty-two respondents, all of whom consented to having anonymised quotes used in my subsequent work. Twenty-two respondents (68.75%) self-identified as female, five (15.63%) as male and two (6.25%) as non-binary, one of whom also identified as trans. Two respondents declined to answer (6.25%) and one identified as 'genderless' (3.13%). In terms of age, no respondents were younger than twenty-five. In the twenty-six to forty age range were fourteen people (43.75%), in the forty-one to fifty-five range were sixteen people (50%), there was one respondent over fifty-six (3.13%) and one who declined to answer (3.13%).

The overwhelming majority identified as middle class (twenty-two respondents, or 68.75%), though five (15.63%) of those identified as having grown up working class. There were five respondents who identified as working class (15.63%), with one of those identifying as having grown up middle class (3.13%). One respondent identified as upper class (3.13%) and four declined to answer (12.5%). In terms of orientation, one respondent each identified as lesbian, gay, queer and questioning (3.13% each). Six (18.75%) respondents identified as bisexual (with one as bisexual/pansexual), three (9.38%) as asexual and fifteen (46.86%) as heterosexual with three (9.38%) declining to answer and two (6.25%) not understanding the question. In terms of national identity, seventeen respondents identified as American (53.13%), thirteen as Canadian (40.63%), one as English (3.13%) and one as Swedish (3.13%). In terms of race or ethnic background, the majority (thirty, or 93.75%) identified as white and of various mixes of European descent; one respondent identified as Asian American (3.13%) and one as Latina (3.13%), though she also referred to herself as 'white' in another question. Thus the majority of respondents were North American, older, white and female, with a variety of orientations. The majority being middle class, white and female is typical of audience research; the other aspects can be

attributed to the age of the original series (only one respondent became a fan starting with the later works), the dearth of transnational exposure beyond North America and the visible, positive homosexuality represented in the corpus.

Respondents were invited to choose their own pseudonym from the list of Atlantic hurricane names; each respondent was asked to choose two, in case one was already taken by the time I received their questionnaire. In any instances where respondents were unable or unwilling to choose or asked to be assigned a pseudonym at random I did so. In many instances, the respondent-chosen name does not correspond with the respondent's self-identified gender; therefore, when first quoting or discussing any respondent I will list their self-identified gender, age range and other relevant demographic information.

One of the major limitations of both this methodology and, arguably, the application of Canadianness itself to the corpus is the fact that the majority of the corpus is in English and is focused upon either Toronto or Ontario more generally. Though I return to this point repeatedly in both the textual analysis and audience response, it is important to note here that Anglophone media penetration into Francophone Canada may have been poor. This, then, can potentially have reduced the representativeness of the Canadian-identifying sample as the call for participants required that respondents had seen the series.

Having completed my discussion of methodology, I turn to my analysis. The first section focuses upon a textual analysis of the corpus and the second section focuses upon audience interpretation.

Textual analysis

To begin the analysis of the KITH corpus, however, it is necessary first to give a brief introduction to the troupe itself as well. The Kids in the Hall (hereafter KITH, with the eponymous series as *KITH*) developed after two Canadian comedy troupes, the Kids in the Hall (centred on Dave Foley and Kevin McDonald) and the Audience (Bruce McCulloch and Mark McKinney) combined to form KITH, later to be joined by Scott Thompson. Having been discovered by *Saturday Night Live*'s (*SNL*) Lorne Michaels, the troupe eventually shot a pilot in 1987 (which aired in 1988) and thence had a five series sketch comedy programme. A film, *Brain Candy (BC),* followed, which has gained cult status though was not a commercial success. Two major tours were filmed in 2000 and 2002, *Same Guys, New Dresses (SGND)* and *Tour of Duty* (*ToD*) respectively, and a further tour in 2007 ultimately led to the miniseries *Death Comes to Town* (*DCtT*) in 2010. They toured again as a group in 2015 (Myers 2018)[1] and, as of the time of writing, a new series of *KITH* has been commissioned by Amazon Prime. *KITH* and the troupe themselves were primarily located in Toronto or Ontario and has been almost exclusively in English;2 though I shall discuss this in more depth below it is important to note here that French-Canadian identity is strongly associated with the French language (see Thomson 1995 on Quebecois and Comeau and King 2011 on Acadian French). Thus the fact of the corpus being almost exclusively Anglophone automatically limits its ability to be a representation of anything other than Anglo-Canadian identity. This is relevant as the respondents often also attributed

Canadianness to the fact that the troupe and their additional writing staff are identified as coming from Canada; the non-specific responses can also potentially be interpreted as including the CBC as producer as also contributing to this, though respondents do not state this aspect specifically (cf Gray 2010 on casting). Thus we are seeing strong evidence of the author function as being important with regard to the perceived-national identity of a series. This broadly matches Weissmann (2012) and Beattie (2017a). It also seems to be the primary reason for attribution of a Canadian identity to the corpus, though this reading is complicated by the fact that the writers and cast are primarily the same people. As the embodied Canadianness of the cast and their characters is part of the overall aesthetics of the KITH corpus, I return to this point below when discussing respondents' interpretations of Canadianness.

There is also the question of how to define whether or not something is or can be read as being associated with Canada or Canadianness in the corpus. To do this, it seems necessary to differentiate between explicit and implicit Canadianness. To wit, when characters specifically acknowledge, verbally or otherwise, that they are Canadian or that the setting is in Canada, this can be considered to be explicit 'flagging' of the nation. There are many examples of this, including with several of the series' recurring characters (e.g., Buddy Cole, who spent a full monologue discussing his Canadianness, as well as the Chicken Lady, the Head Crusher, the Quebecois fur trappers, the various characters at AT&Love, Thompson and Foley's prostitute characters and their pimp, etc). These recurring characters are not explicitly identified as Canadian in every sketch in which they appear, however. Thus we can consider Canadianness to be implicit in those sketches, with the interpretation of Canadianness dependent upon the awareness of the audience that the series was shot in Canada and/or co-produced by the CBC, their ability to recognise Canadian accents as opposed to American ones and/or their previous viewing of the series, either as a regular viewer or as one who happened to see one of the earlier sketches which did acknowledge this. This also impacts interpretations of the rest of the corpus as recurring, Canadian characters from the series are featured in both tour films but also in *BC* and *DCtT*; the racist cabbie, Raj and Lacey, Mrs Hurticure, Melanie, the bartending school/white trash couple, Thompson's homeless/'speak English' man, Nina, McCulloch and McKinney's cops and Bellini are all in *BC*[3] and the Chicken Lady, McCulloch and McKinney's cops and Bellini all appear in *DCtT*. This is relevant as *BC* is not explicitly stated as taking place in Canada, though Thompson's Queen Elizabeth is instrumental in approving the film's drug for use, further implying Canadianness. *DCtT*, though set in Canada is not set in Toronto, whence at the least the Chicken Lady diegetically hails. Thus the national identity of the former and regional identity of the latter can be read as mixed, though the presence of these previously-identified Canadian characters imply both texts as being Canadian.

Accents are another main way in which respondents identified the actors and characters as being Canadian; the implication is that most (though by no means all) of the respondents felt able to discern a Canadian accent from American. This contrasts to Beattie's (2017a, b) research on *Torchwood*, which is one of the few studies that examined

respondents' ability to recognise accents at all. In her work she notes that Americans in particular have an inability to tell the difference between the suite of British accents. It is difficult to tell, however, if the respondents could identify the accents because they knew ahead of time that the series was produced and filmed in Canada and featured Canadian actors, thus making the accent identifiable due to extradiegetic information, or if the respondents had been familiar before. Regardless, both clearly reinforce each other and, therefore, function to reinforce the reading of the series as well as the overall corpus as Canadian.

Death Comes to Town is, however, unique in the corpus for its reference to and use of Indigenous Canadians in the text. That the mayor, played by McCulloch, takes an Indigenous Canadian character's food in the first episode and then gives it to other, Caucasian diners, is an obvious reference to how European settlers treated Indigenous Canadians (as Foley and McCulloch note in the commentary to episode 1.1). The main way in which this commentary was expressed, however, was through the character of Crim. The character's excuse for not being perceived as Indigenous was given as his being 1/16th Indigenous; this type of blood quantum is itself a colonial construct. Claiming a distant relation was of Indigenous descent is an occasional excuse used when a Caucasian actor plays an Indigenous character; as Crim is very obviously played by the Scots-Irish Thompson (whose lineage was the subject of an episode of the Canadian iteration of *Who Do You Think You Are*) this can clearly be read as a commentary upon that, especially as the explanation is accepted without further question the two times it is given (first to the Caucasian police officers and then later a clearly Indigenous man). It is, however, revealed at the end of the serial that Crim is, in fact, actually Caucasian and has just been pretending to be Indigenous. This makes the commentary clear, as Crim's pseudo-Indigenous 'rituals' and references to his 'spirit bear' which he sees when in an altered mental state (a take on the spirit animal) thus are shown both diegetically and knowingly by the production team to be a Caucasian approximation and/or appropriation. This was done in the series as well, with McKinney's 'Blues Guy' Mississippi Gary being shown to be a Caucasian student in blackface (from Vermont in the series and from Ottawa in *ToD*) who are clearly appropriating, though because *DCtT* is a serial with a limited number of characters rather than a sketch show, the critique of such appropriation is more obvious.

Crim also serves as a commentary on Indigenous stereotypes, racial profiling and cultural appropriation. The character is considered to be the town criminal (hence the name, though his full given name is said to be Crimson) and, though shown to be using an alcohol-based hand sanitiser as a substitute for ethanol, seems not to be involved in any major criminal activities. When he is found with blood on his hands and unable to recall what happened – which, as his not-terribly competent lawyer (McDonald) points out is circumstantial – he is easily believed by the rest of the town to be guilty, is convinced of his own guilt by these fallacious arguments and is put through what is essentially a show trial before being convicted and sentenced to death.[4] This can clearly be read as a commentary on how people of colour in general and Indigenous Canadians in particular are assumed to

be addicts, to be unintelligent – though Crim is shown offering his lawyer legal precedents to cite, subverting this stereotype – and are often railroaded by the legal system in which they are assigned overworked and underskilled representation for their defence against elite prosecutors. Given the level of subversion, it seems unlikely that this would relate to Blandford's (2005) note about stereotypical representations in transnational series. Indeed, the only characters who were at all discussed as being stereotypical in the audience research were the Quebecois fur trappers and that only tangentially.

Perhaps just as noteworthy are the characters who are specifically coded as being outside Canada and/or as being not Canadian. Recurring characters from the series such as the Head Crusher and the racist cabbie, both clearly of Eastern European origin and Fran's Scottish neighbour, are shown as resident in Toronto; thus, they would be considered more indicative of Toronto's multiculturalism. I shall discuss Thompson's Queen Elizabeth elsewhere; here I instead begin with a discussion of the characters who are identified and/or coded as American before discussing representation of the US as a whole. I discuss two one-off characters to start. The first is a crass American played by McKinney with a pseudo-Texan accent looking for shampoo to kill his crab infestation, a clear American stereotype used to contrast with the calmer, more reserved Canadian characters. More relevant is Thompson's character Hildegard, a woman who is ostensibly very successful and sophisticated and 'married that Frenchman from Buffalo.' Thompson uses a broad Buffalo accent during the sketch, but, as the character went to school in Brampton (near Toronto) the implication is that this is artifice and that the Americanness is an affectation, though this is muddled by one of the other characters referring to her (insultingly) as an American. Regardless, Hildegard is shown to have tried to sleep with McKinney's character when they were in high school, which prompts Foley's character Jean to order Hildegard out of the house and for her and McKinney (Jean's cheating husband who is trying to deflect attention away from his infidelity) to ally against her and for McKinney to shout 'Yankee go home' at her. This can be read in a number of ways, though the rejection of Americanness as artifice is perhaps the most relevant in this context.

Three recurring characters also use American accents and/or self-identify as Americans. Two of these are swindlers played by McCulloch and McKinney, explicitly identified in *ToD* as American but also having been coded as such in earlier sketches (e.g., McKinney masquerading as a US Marine). The two characters can clearly be read as mocking American commercialism and, arguably, capitalism in general, as well as reinforcing the lack of trust relating to perceived American self-interest. McCulloch's grotesque Cabbagehead, who blatantly sexually harasses women and is only interested in emotionally manipulating women into sex, also uses a broad American accent, thus associating the US and/or American men with predatory behaviour regarding sex.[5]

Thus, with the American characters we are seeing associations with intolerance, self-interest to the detriment of others and strongly and negatively sexual behaviours. This is further reinforced by McCulloch's 'This Is America,' which further associates the US with violence, specifically gun violence (cf a character of Foley's description of a Canadian as

being 'Like an American but without a gun'). This can, I would argue, function along with the ironic viewpoint inherent in the comedy to minimise or at least ameliorate any concerns over the series being American-influenced (due to its having been a co-production) or any subsequent concerns that including American characters or references would somehow devalue any part of the corpus. What is clear here is that the series is also positioning itself as 'Not-American.' This can in part be read as a form of distinction, but it also represents the ambivalence with which Acland (2003: 44) argues Canadians feel with regard to American culture. While progressiveness and multiculturalism are strongly associated with Canadianness by the majority of respondents, almost all of them view Canadianness generally and/or KITH specifically in contrast with Americanness and American media. I return to this below.

While the KITH corpus in all its forms frequently includes characters and occasionally settings from outside Canada, that the cast and production context remain the same and that those characters and settings are almost exclusively still positioned as in relation to Canada or Canadians, means that the vast majority of respondents will still view KITH as Canadian. This is despite the fact, unmentioned by any respondent, that the series was an American co-production from the start. Thus Edwardson's (2008) concern that American co-productions would negatively impact Canadian content seem, in this case, unfounded; that said, one can certainly argue that the Canadianness being constructed for individuals outside Canada is incomplete. It is to the specifics of that construction and interpretation by respondents which I shall now turn.

Respondents' interpretations of Canadianness

I begin here by analysing the interpretations of Canadianness by those outside Canada, later to be contrasted with those from within. The majority of responses from the American respondents characterised Canadians and Canadian national identity in positive, almost idealised terms. When asked about the characteristics she associates with Canada and Canadians, Fiona (F, forty-one to fifty-five, bi/pansexual, American) states 'Lack of bigotry, acceptance of all people. Most of the Canadians I have known have been disturbed to find out how much everyday bigotry still exists in the US (racism, homophobia).' Olga (F, twenty-six to forty, heterosexual, American) similarly states that she sees Canadians as 'Polite, smart, kind. Because I live on the border of the US and Canada, and that has been my personal experience.' These responses are representative of one of the two mutually-reinforcing mechanisms by which overall construction of Canadianness occurs amongst this group of respondents.

This reliance, at least in part, on their personal experiences in order to develop an interpretation can be interpreted as an example of what Sandvoss (2005) calls neutrosemy. Both Fiona and Olga apply their knowledge of specific Canadian individuals and/or experiences to the whole of the country, whether or not those individuals and/or experiences are representative. This is not to say that their responses are 'wrong' or 'right',

merely that these experiences help to construct and reinforce their interpretations. The KITH corpus, then, both impacts and is impacted by those pre-existing interpretations.

The other mechanism for construction to be examined in this paper is through media exposure. As noted above, with only one exception – respondent Bill (M, forty-one to fifty-five, heterosexual, English) who believed the troupe were American – the KITH corpus has been perceived as being Canadian by all respondents, regardless of national identity. Accent and awareness or inclusion of location (both in terms of filming and diegetic locations) were referenced by all respondents, again regardless of national identity. I would note that the embodied characteristics of both the troupe and the landscape/locations are thus key signifiers of national identity in this context and form the banal diegetic nationalism which conveys that perceived Canadianness onto the series as well as both reinforcing and reinforced by the information of the corpus and production team as being Canadian. This also makes the production team's other embodied characteristics (i.e., being white, middle class men, albeit ones who are perceived as being socially progressive) also potentially perceived as being part of this representation. Tobias (M, twenty-six to forty, heterosexual, American) states that 'the difference [between *KITH* and perceived-American series] became very much what I saw becoming part of the definition of Canadianness, national identity for me is informed by those representations ...'. As Tobias identifies as an academic, one can see this both as a statement derived from familiarity with sociocultural theory as well as his own perspective. Paula (F, forty-one to fifty-five, heterosexual, American) states that 'the show makes Canada seem like a creative and magical place.' I would argue that this can be interpreted in two ways, which are not mutually exclusive. The first interpretation relates to the above discussion of distinction, where the fact of the corpus being different to other sketch comedy series (particularly *SNL*) is itself an attractive element. As the distinction is connected to the corpus' perceived origin then the Canadianness itself becomes part of the attraction – the positive 'cultural odour,' in Iwabuchi's (2002) terms.

The second interpretation of Paula's statement relates to her description of herself as a 'reluctant American;' iterations of this discomfort with one's Americanness are not uncommon in the responses. We can potentially interpret this lauding as an example of reading Canada in relation to the US as discussed above with regard to its prevalence in the corpus, i.e., that Canadianness is, to some extent, 'not-Americanness' and that the engagement with Canadian media functions as a way to challenge the dominant hierarchy (Acland 2003: 192). In this case, then, that type of response can potentially be thought of as idealising Canada as part of a dissatisfaction with one's own country. That Paula is from persecuted minorities (she identifies as Latina) supports this supposition that Canada's perceived progressiveness could be idealised even without direct and positive experience with Canada or Canadians. That said, being 'unhappily American,' as Tobias puts it, does not necessarily mean that one is unable to critically analyse either the corpus or the concept. He argues that KITH 'played with what it meant to be Canadian ...' and, with regard to characteristics associated with Canadianness, he states:

> I think being considerate, not necessarily polite, I think politeness is often exaggerated and associated with British and American rudeness in some ways … For me there is an association with paying attention to other people, in a considerate if not always sympathetic way, like you'd still be careful to give someone a dollar even if you didn't like them because it's the right way to treat someone ... I also associate Canada with fights over monolingualism, making fun of Newfoundlanders, and having provincialism that is maybe quieter than the regional political conflicts in the US but is very much central to the nation. The balance between conservatives from the plains, and coastal folk, the ongoing inability to reconcile crimes and colonialism against the First Nations.

This statement shows both an idealisation of Canadianness, characterised by what can be interpreted as empathy or compassion, and a critique of various sociocultural and sociopolitical problems. Yet both also still are characterised in contrast to the US, as has been seen above, and also to UK. Thus this can still be interpreted as showing some signs of neutrosemy but also showing that interpretations of national identity (Canadian or otherwise) can carry seemingly contradictory aspects simultaneously.

Any potential idealisation is also somewhat problematised by Wanda's (F, twenty-five to forty, heterosexual, Swedish) response about Canadianness. She is from Sweden, thus outside North America, and states:

> It's funny because Canada and Sweden (and to some extent Japan) often get ascribed the same characteristics: polite, a well-ordered society, high standards of living. Also cold. Based on that I feel a bit of affinity towards Canada, but I have no idea if any of it is true. It's all relative and since it's mostly Americans describing Canada this way that might skew impressions a bit.

Like several other respondents from the US, Wanda draws upon her own experiences to interpret the discourses surrounding Canadian national identity. That said, she is also reflexive (Giddens 1991, Sender 2012) in that she recognises the potential biases inherent in uncritically relying upon primarily American perspectives. As she was not specific with regard to where she had encountered these American-mediated descriptions this argument cannot reliably be taken further.

Thus those outside Canada have a largely positive, somewhat idealised view of what Canadianness means which is both constructed and reinforced by the corpus. This view also exists in some of the responses from Canadian fans. Julia (F, twenty-five to forty, lesbian, Canadian) sees characteristics of Canadianness as 'Friendliness, acceptance, hockey – I guess I connect them because hockey is our national sport, we have a history of progressive politics, and I don't know how the "Canadians are nice" stereotype happened but I'm happy

to keep believing in it and upholding it.' Ana (F, forty-one to fifty-five, declined, Canadian) states that in the corpus she sees '... Canada's penchant for surreal comedy, for reason, poignancy and reflection. Our collective interest in societal issues and civil rights.' She further argues that Canada is '... the best educated country in the world and I see as fairly rational and moderately accepting. We are honest but not mean, so we use humour to provoke thought and reflection.' Intelligence and humour (often characterised as absurdist, surreal or 'weird') are the most common assessments of both the corpus and Canadianness, with Odette (F, forty-one to fifty-five, asexual, Canadian) describing *KITH* as 'feeling' Canadian; when asked about the national identities she saw in the corpus she states 'Canadian (some English, some Scottish, a bit of French, filtered through Canada)' and then elaborates, saying:

> I think it's a very Canadian type of humour, in that it has the weirdness I associate with Canadian humour vs something like SNL or SCTV or Monty Python. Like if you took that British style of humour and filtered it through 9 months of cold and darkness, what you get out the other end is Canadian, and KITH fits that aesthetic. Don't think I could pick a single sketch, it's just the overall feel that this is a show that could only have come out of Canada.

Odette's statements here also are relevant to several elements discussed elsewhere. Though she does not see Canada or Canadian media as an interlocutor per se (cf Hilmes 2012), she both includes and contrasts the series to both Americanness and Britishness (and reads the Canadian-produced SCTV as American). Her reference to 'filtration' can be read more as a glocalisation or adaptation; as she does not refer to Canadian media as a means of translation between cultures but rather an end product in its own right, that ameliorates or arguably eliminates the idea that Canadian media only exists in relation or service to other perceived-national media forms. That said, her points of reference are relational and illustrate the negotiations between global and local as discussed above; when trying to articulate what qualities they associated with Canada and Canadians, many respondents made comparisons between Canada and both the US and the UK.

A representative example is from Richard (M, forty-one to fifty-five, gay, Canadian) states that '[t]here's a certain relational dialogue with the US that informs what it's like to be Canadian – we're very similar to the US but have differences I consider important and that tends to make many Canadians feel superior (including me if I'm not careful.)' In addition to the ambivalence Canadians have regarding American culture noted elsewhere (Acland 2003: 44), I would argue there are two main reasons for this. One would be that Canada has been treated by external academics and popular press alike as being an interlocutor between the US and the UK (e.g., Hilmes 2012) when it is credited with a distinct media at all (Straubhaar 2007). Jackson (2018) further notes that, into the mid-twentieth century Britishness was still being infused into Canadian national identity through education. In terms of the corpus itself, Queen Elizabeth, played by Thompson, is

occasionally brought into the series. In some instances she appears simply as the titular head of state of Canada, though in others she is shown to be close friends with Thompson's Buddy Cole, an openly gay, femme alpha male who advises the queen on personal matters. That Buddy is also explicitly Canadian ('Buddy's Canadian,' the fifth sketch in which he appears discusses this, as well as the difficulties of finding work as a Canadian in both the Canadian and American film industries) reinforces this connection between the countries.

I would argue that the other main reason for this use of the US and UK as comparisons is that both have strong traditions of sketch comedy. Canadian Lorne Michaels is the creator of the American *SNL* which McCulloch and McKinney had both worked on as well, and the UK have *Monty Python*, whose absurdist yet oft-cerebral and oft-socially progressive tendencies can be seen as similar in style to the later *KITH*.6 Kirk, (M, twenty-five to forty, heterosexual, American) states 'I also think the humor is distinctly Canadian, somewhere between the weirdness of Python and the broad laughs of *Saturday Night Live*.' Yet the respondents do express a positive identity rather than just a negative; that is to say, they are not describing either the KITH corpus, the troupe or Canadian culture as simply 'not-American' or 'not-British' but as containing or expressing other, similar or related elements. These can broadly be categorised as absurdist or surrealist humour, multiculturalism and progressiveness. Victor (F, forty-one to fifty-five, heterosexual, Canadian) notes that 'Even though we have a reputation for being polite and friendly, I think Canadians are quite capable of being total dicks. KitH seemed to acknowledge that, then they would just blow up it to the next level. We can also be pretty good at laughing at ourselves.' Such 'weirdness' and self-deprecation are both strongly associated with both the corpus and Canadianness by respondents regardless of their national identities (and are noted strongly in the 'Buddy's Canadian' sketch), but further articulation by respondents did not occur.

Both the concepts of multiculturalism and overall progressiveness, though often idealised by American respondents are most strongly critiqued by Canadians, with Sara (F, forty-one to fifty-five, queer, Canadian) stating:

> Canadianness is a mix of hokey/square, passive aggression, wonderful multiculturalism and yet denied deep racism, it's about both the celebration and oppression of First Nations, Metis and Inuit. It's about the idea of North and the world's assumption that we live in snow.

Though multiculturalism can, in and of itself, be viewed as part of a socially progressive outlook, for respondents of any national identity both moderation and/or tolerance and the representation of women and LGBTQ+ people was most noteworthy. The corpus features a number of recurring gay characters, written primarily (though not exclusively) by Scott Thompson and/or Paul Bellini, both of whom have been out since before the original series. In terms of LGBTQ+ representation in the small-town Canadian set *DCtT*, while the character of Dusty is clearly gay and in an unrequited love with the mayor, his sexuality is Othered

only in that he steals the mayor's body and believes they are in a (post-mortem) relationship. Somewhat more relevant, however, is the fact that, when addressing the crowd and jury in the courtroom scenes, the judge (McKinney) twice begins with 'Ladies and gentlemen – and,' he continues, as though reminding himself, 'transgender people.' Thus while this is certainly comic, it is also markedly inclusive. This broadly matches the corpus' (and troupe's) general progressiveness which, in this instance as it is in an official setting is further tied to Canada as a nation and culture. This aspect of *DCtT* was not commented upon by any respondents, however, though the majority of respondents spoke primarily about *KITH* and occasionally about the various tours.

Julia (F, twenty-five to forty, lesbian, Canadian) notes that 'KITH is probably one of the most progressive and gay-friendly and feminist sketch shows EVER , which is impressive considering it's an all-male show from the early 1990s!' This statement is broadly representative of responses, with many respondents who identify as LGBTQ+ focusing specifically on Thompson's role as both an openly gay actor and for his creation and inclusion of gay characters in the corpus. While this was noted as being imperfect – for example, Victor (F, 44, heterosexual, Canadian) states that 'I think they had a somewhat narrow view on gender and queer issues as an all-male troupe only one gay member' – the majority of respondents from all national identities view both KITH and Canadians as progressive on these issues. Other than the fact that the troupe are Caucasian, the corpus' representation of race was rarely discussed by respondents with the exception of Sam (genderless, twenty-five to forty, demisexual, Nova Scotian/Canadian) who states that they see some elements of 'brownface/minstrelry' in Crim, though they acknowledge that this was the point of the character, i.e., commentary and critique on this practice. As they primarily saw *DCtT* rather than the majority of the corpus, there is no way to compare their interpretation of Crim with that of Mississippi Gary who is similarly positioned in *KITH*. Sara (F, forty-one to fifty-five, queer, Canadian) notes that the prevalence of Eastern Europeans in the corpus is also a signifier of multiculturalism, though she associates that particularly with Toronto rather than Canada.

While all representations are incomplete, what is particularly noticeable in the responses from Canadian (and/or highly culturally competent non-Canadian) respondents is both the above deconstruction of a Canadian ideal as well as an awareness that KITH represent a primarily Torontonian (or Ontarioan) regional identity which is not necessarily a representation of Canada as a whole. Sara (F, forty-one to fifty-five, queer, Canadian), who self-identified as having grown up in British Columbia, notes that '*Kids in the Hall* didn't speak to me because it was Toronto.' Sam (genderless, twenty-six to forty, demisexual, Nova Scotian/Canadian) similarly notes that

> I've never noticed any 'national' identity in their work, though it might be a central Canadian identity. I'm from Nova Scotia: the accents, props, and sets struck me as very Ontario (barring Crim's pseudo-western First Nations accent).

> Some of the issues in DCtT are common to small towns, like the infighting & gossip when everybody knows everyone else, but they're not *Canadian*.

This reinforces an important point, yet one which many respondents from outside and inside Canada have not addressed. As has been noted elsewhere, KITH were based in Toronto, though several of the troupe members were not from there. Tour musical director Craig Northey's Vancouverite background was mocked during *Tour of Duty,* in the sketch 'Activist – Death,' Heaven is described as being like Vancouver (though Death in *DCtT* says it is like Calgary in the sixties) and Foley's prostitute character is Quebecoise. American respondents did occasionally reference regions beyond Toronto/Ontario, such as Tobias above and Emily (F, forty-one to fifty-five, heterosexual, American) who connected the two Quebecois fur trappers played by Foley and McDonald to both a preservation of Quebecois identity and associated it further with discussions of and preparation for the independence referendum that was ultimately held in 1995. That dearth of regionality did not, however, impact or diminish responses to either the corpus or overall interpretation of Canadianness for those outside Canada. Danielle (F, forty-one to fifty-five, bisexual, Quebecoise/Canadian) states:

> I don't know what characteristics I associate with Canada ... I'm from Quebec and we get a lot of mixed messages here. Like if anyone so much as whispers the word "referendum" everybody panics at the thought that Quebec might see itself as anything other than Canadian, but anyone who tries to do something like describe what Canadians are like, or what the Canadian identity is, systematically either forgets my entire province, or awkwardly and unsuccessfully tries to include it by mentioning poutine. But mostly they forget that Quebecers, who represent a full 20% of the country's population, are technically Canadians. Like I'm pretty sure a significant number of Canadians identify with *The Kids in the Hall* in terms of identity, but *The Kids in the Hall* are absolutely not representative of any kind of Quebec experience.

Thus the major criticism of interpretation by Canadians does not hinge upon concern for the propagation of stereotypes (primarily due to the corpus being comedy, cf Park et al 2006) so much as the flattening out of Canadianness to represent only Toronto or Ontario and the various associated elements (e.g., snow). Thus the qualities which, for many respondents from outside Canada construct or have constructed their interpretation of Canadianness seem to be based upon a Torontonianness, which is borne up by the dearth (though not complete absence) of regional discussions by non-Canadian respondents. This flattening is not uncommon (cf. Beattie 2017a, b) but can give a distorted construction which excludes a significant number of regions. This then, can exacerbate regional tensions when a media product is positioned as representative of a country but in fact represents only one area. This also illustrates Acland's (2003: 44) point that felt internationalism can involve

negotiation of urban or regional identities as well as national and global. Regional or urban identities, as we see here, can be quite different from the representation of the national identity which can leads to a marginalisation of those identities as presented globally as well as a feeling of 'foreignness' despite residing in the same country.

Despite this, it is clear that the banal diegetic nationalism, in aural and visual forms, seems to play as strong a role as other textual content (e.g., plots, characters and lines) in the attribution of a perceived-national identity. Regardless of the respondents' national identity, accent was mentioned as a main reason for this by the majority of respondents as were recognisably Canadian, specifically Torontonian, filming locations. These are not necessarily touristic locations, however; the closest to Blandford's (2005) tourist shots would be wide shots of the North Bay area during *DCtT.* I would argue, however, that those can be considered more as establishing shots than touristic or 'beauty' shots. While much of *KITH* was studio-bound (and the tours were stage-bound), there were some scenes shot on location. These scenes frequently featured identifiably Torontonian locations such as the Danforth, where the scenes with Thompson and Foley's prostitutes were often set, and also often featured snow, another [East] Canadian signifier for the audience. In addition, there were a number of instances where Canadian flags are seen, such as in the various courtroom sketches, and 'Buddy's Canadian;' images of (and references to) various Toronto sports teams also frequently appear as do symbols of the Ontario Provincial Police (OPP) and the CBC. Though these do not appear in every sketch or, indeed, every episode, they are prevalent enough to remind a returning audience that the series was shot in Canada and, in so doing, conveying Canadianness onto the series through perceived-authorship. This constant repetition of characters who are explicitly Canadian as well as literal flagging of the nation via set decoration and props also are very commonly stated by respondents as reasons for why they view the series as Canadian. It is, of course, impossible to determine for certain whether or not KITH led to these respondents' views on Canadianness. What can be said, however, is that both seem to reinforce each other. Thus KITH and its banal diegetic nationalism can help to create Canadian national identity in a global context through this representation.

Conclusion

This study has yielded a plethora of relevant data. To begin with, it has shown the efficacy of combining textual and audience research, as doing so allows one to act as a check on the other as well as providing greater clarity as to how the interaction of text, extratextual information and audience reading creates meaning in this case.

In contrast to earlier studies on co-productions with American networks (whether cable or broadcast network), the American elements expressed throughout the various incarnations were not considered either a devaluation of the corpus or incompatible with its overall Canadianness. In addition to Acland's (2003: 12-13) point that Canadians have always had a high level of international engagement, one can perhaps argue that the interconnectedness of North America, here including both Canada and the US (though not

Mexico) allows for Canadianness to not be the zero sum game that Weissmann (2012) noted in her work on US and UK drama or that Beattie (2017a, b) noted in her work on *Torchwood*. One can also argue that, as many of my respondents did, one of Canada's overriding traits is its (admittedly imperfect) multiculturalism. Thus, if one argues that the incorporation of elements from other cultures without devaluing those elements is Canadian, then this use of American (and occasionally British) characters, settings and references would still be possible without the corpus being seen as 'less' Canadian in any way. This, therefore, would potentially have strong ramifications for the study and interpretation of any perceived-Canadian media product.

The fact that the corpus is comedy also allows for some amelioration of concerns with regard to stereotypes (Park et al 2006). That said, as the corpus tends toward social commentary, particularly with regard to sexual orientation though also gender and race, something which the majority of respondents reacted to overwhelmingly positively. The idea of Canadian progressiveness seems clearly tied to the corpus being perceived as Canadian, especially with regard to the original series' time period (1988-96). These, then, at the very least reinforce each other for the audience, especially for those outside Canada. These constructions seem quite long-lasting; the non-Canadian respondents all began watching the KITH corpus many years ago. While calling their interpretations as 'foundational' may be too strong a term, it does illustrate the prominent role media of a perceived national identity can play in the overall construction, modification and reinforcement of that perceived national identity.

That said, this study was limited by a number of factors. As useful as Survey Monkey is in enabling easy access to interview questionnaires for respondents while allowing them to remain anonymous, thus increasing their comfort and improving the probability of acquiring enough respondents, the difficulties in asking follow-up questions can pose problems if a respondent is not clear or does not explain something that would be of benefit. Though my study does have over thirty respondents who gave a great deal of valuable information, more respondents from a wider range of backgrounds would almost certainly have yielded even more valuable data. Recruitment may have been a problem due to the fact that the troupe had nothing in production as of the time of gathering the data nor were reruns available nor were they currently touring together, though each member of the troupe continues to work in film and television and Amazon has commissioned a new series of *KITH*. Ideally, I would also have been able to conduct focus groups for this project but, as noted above, that was logistically impossible. There also were no active internet fora or other websites with comments relating to the corpus upon which to perform a virtual ethnography and, even if there were, it is nearly impossible to obtain demographic information as most of the sites pertaining to *Kids in the Hall* are dormant. It is, however, quite likely that these fora will redevelop once the Amazon series begins production and will almost certainly redevelop once it is released.

Finally, the dearth of both industrially-created and fan-created paratextual material from the time the various parts of the corpus were airing and tours were occurring does

limit the ability to analyse how those paratexts impacted interpretations. While the majority of industrially-and fan-created paratexts in this instance are no longer extant or, in the case of the upcoming Amazon series, not yet created, the extratextual embodied Canadianness of the troupe themselves functions quite clearly as one of the strongest factors toward reading the series as Canadian (Gray, 2010). The origins and contemporary history of the corpus can serve to guide interpretation, however, with at least one respondent tying the Quebecois trappers to the independence referendum and the social history of contemporary debates around sexuality (especially the AIDS epidemic) and gender seems also to have been strongly involved in guiding interpretation. Again, however, it is likely that future work on the corpus will be able to draw from any industrially-created and fan-created paratexts associated with the Amazon series.

In future, similar studies on Canadian national identity should be done in order to develop a better idea of what is perceived as being 'Canadianness' and how that then impacts how perceived-Canadian media are interpreted. Further studies of regional identities, especially Francophone Canadian identities, should also be done in order to further broaden our understanding of Canadian media and Canadian national identity. While KITH may describe a Canadian as '[l]ike an American, but without a gun,' the reality is, as always, far more complex than the representation.

Biographical note:

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Notes:

1 In 2011 McDonald and Thompson also toured as a double act ('Two Kids: One Hall'), blending stand-up comedy/monologues and sketches.

2 French phrases are occasionally spoken in a handful of otherwise Anglophone *KITH* sketches as well as *BC* and *DCtT;* the *KITH* sketch 'Feelyat' from episode 5.1 was performed entirely in Dutch.

3 As is Cancer Boy, but he is not explicitly Canadian.

4 Canada, of course, does not have the death penalty in reality, but in the series Marilyn Bowman arranged for its return in order to increase the town's revenue.

5 McCulloch has noted in interviews that the character was based upon men he would see in restaurants in New York City, who would continually hit on women trying to dine alone.

6 This is more a function of genre than a transnationally-sold format, so banal cosmopolitanism would not apply.