

***Due South* and the Canadian image: Three perspectives**

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Due South was one of the most successful TV series ever produced in Canada and the first Canadian television show to air on one of the big three American networks in prime time¹ (McKay 1997, B7). The program, produced by Alliance Communications, debuted as a telemovie simulcast on CTV in Canada and CBS in the U.S. in April 1994 and was subsequently developed into an hour-long weekly series for broadcast on those same two networks as part of their 1994/95 television season.

Despite critical acclaim and respectable ratings *Due South*'s fortunes were short-lived on American network primetime television. Soon after its debut, Jeff Sagansky, President of CBS Entertainment and the show's primary supporter departed the network. The loss of the show's patron saint at CBS led to frequent preemptions, schedule shuffles, and episodes aired out of sequence (Phillips 1997, A16; Atherton 1995, P7). *Due South*'s cancellation by CBS at the end of the 1994/95 season would mark the first of several "neardeath experiences" ("American graffiti Canadian-style," 1995, 12). Over the course of several years *Due South* would be canceled, renewed, and then canceled again by CBS followed by re-funding and renewal without CBS's participation². It continued as a primetime series on CTV for two more seasons³ and as of January 1999 had been syndicated in 149 territories worldwide including the United States⁴ ("World Travelers," 1999). In early 1998, following the completion of 67 episodes, *Due South* permanently ceased production (McLeod, 1999).

Due South's fish-out-of-water premise featured Benton Fraser (played by Paul Gross), a Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) constable from the Northwest Territories transferred along with Diefenbaker, his deaf, lip-reading wolf, to the Canadian Consulate in Chicago. While there, he met Chicago police detective Ray Vecchio and together they engaged in weekly exploits.

Although set in Chicago (albeit filmed almost entirely in Canada), *Due South* interwove a diverse array of distinctive Canadian elements into each episode via dialogue, music, and story lines. These elements imbued the show with a uniquely Canadian character despite its *American* setting. However, *Due South's* heavy reliance upon Canadian stereotypes, especially Mounties, and the image it evoked of the “frozen North” proved controversial in Canada since the country has struggled to overcome many of these stereotypes.

This paper examines *Due South's* use of Canadian stereotypes from three perspectives: (a) the show's creator/producers, (b) Canadian and American television critics, and (c) audience members in Canada and the United States. Specifically, it addresses the following questions: (1) What did *Due South's* creator/producers intend the stereotypes to convey to the audience? (2) How did television critics depict the stereotypes in their reviews? and finally, (3) How did *Due South's* audience members interpret the stereotypes and what impact, if any, did the stereotypes have upon their perceptions of Canada and Canadians? In an attempt to answer these questions, several methods were used. These included: an exploration of the stereotypes in question; an analysis of articles that appeared in magazines and newspapers about *Due South*; an Internet-based survey of *Due South* audience members from 17 countries conducted during the summer of 1999, focusing specifically upon the Canadian and American respondents; and finally, a November 2000 telephone interview with *Due South's* creator/executive producer Paul Haggis⁶.

Canadian and American Stereotypes

Over the years, a number of studies have been conducted regarding the attitudes and stereotypes that Americans and Canadians have about themselves and each other. In 1972, researchers at the University of Alberta noted that Canadians viewed Americans as “[c]orrupt, conceited, inconsiderate, disrespectful of authority, and fixated on status.” Canadians were also

concerned about “excessive American power and influence in Canadian economic affairs,” and favored “restricting the importation of American values and models of behaviour into Canada through the Canadian use of American textbooks and television” (Cullen, Jobson and Schneck 1978, 416).

A 1995-96 multicultural study of stereotyping in nine English-speaking countries (McAndrew and Akande 2000) suggests Canadians opinions toward Americans have changed little, if at all. While Canadians viewed themselves as the least aggressive, most open-minded and second most friendly of the countries in question, they rated Americans as “the least polite, least friendly, least religious, most selfish, and most aggressive of the five stimulus countries.”⁷ U. S. participants in the study agreed with Canadians on most points, “perceiving themselves as relatively unfriendly, selfish, impolite, and aggressive.” Americans regarded the Canadians as more friendly than themselves, although they appeared to believe both groups were just about as open-minded. Americans also considered themselves as the most modern of any of the groups represented in the study (Results section).

Lipset (1986, 1993) posits that the Canadian attitude towards America and Americans can be traced all the way back to the American Revolutionary War, when those loyal to the King pulled up stakes and moved north rather than be part of a revolution. Citing the differences between the stated purposes of the American Declaration of Independence and the British North American Act (Canada’s first Constitution), he argues that the United States has emphasized the idea of the rights of the individual from the very start (“life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness”), while Canada has always been more interested in “peace, order, and good government.” He also points out that obedience to the law is of paramount importance, noting, “Canada is the only country on earth with a policeman, the Mountie, as its symbol” (Lipset 1993, S332).

Since the establishment of the North-West Mounted Police (the forerunners of the modern Royal Canadian Mounted Police) in 1873, the Mountie has collected stereotypes of his own. He has served as a focal point of Canadian, American, and British popular cultures, and has been used to promote tourism, appearing on postcards and many other souvenir products (Berton 1975; Dawson 1998; Gittings 1998). Although the Mountie stereotype has gone through various iterations over the past century and a quarter, a number of classic themes of “mountieness” as described by Dawson (1998) have remained constant: physical strength and beauty, celibacy, chivalry, refinement, and overall gentlemanly behavior. Clad in his scarlet and gold uniform, the Mountie was always male, and always of Anglo-Saxon origin. He was also brave, truthful, honorable, fair, kind, and courteous. He was always right, and always prevailed. When compared with the virtues Canadians typically ascribe to themselves, the stereotypical Mounties' character can be seen as the ideal Canadian man.

Due South's Use of Canadian and American Stereotypes

Relying heavily upon the established stereotypes of Americans, Canadians, and Mounties, *Due South's* deceptively simple premise belied a complex, multi-layered show that some critics likened to a puzzle. Unlike the vast majority of other Canadian-produced television programming seeking foreign distribution, *Due South's* production team opted to emphasize rather than hide the show's Canadian origins.

As shown in Table 1, the distinctively Canadian elements used in *Due South* ranged from references to Canadian historical and political figures and discussions about sports to more serious issues such as the disputed ownership of Inuit artifacts, the Quebec Question, Canada's official bilingualism. A number of these elements appeared in the form of inside jokes designed specifically for Canadian viewers, and seemed to serve as a nod and a wink from one Canadian

to another. Examples of Canadian in-jokes included naming Fraser's wolf after former Prime Minister John G. Diefenbaker and naming a villain after hockey legend Hector "Toe" Blake.

Canadianess was also actively encouraged by CBS. Robert Lantos, then-president of Alliance Communications related in a 1994 interview that actors shooting the *Due South* pilot "initially attempted to tone down their accents for the American audience". Upon viewing the footage CBS's Jeff Sagansky "called Lantos with one suggestion: 'Get those actors to start speaking Canadian'" (Zoglin 1994, 76).

Since the mid-1980's, Alliance Communications had produced and sold telemovies and series such as *Night Heat* (aired in late night slots) to CBS and other American networks although it had yet to sell a television series to a major American network for airing during a prime time slot. In 1993, CBS and Alliance began discussions about possibly producing a series for CBS prime time with CTV also later joining in on the talks (Quill 1994). *Due South* would eventually emerge as the product of these collaborative efforts.

Due South was originally envisioned by executives at Alliance and CBS as a Canadian version of *Crocodile Dundee*. Ontario-born creator/executive producer Paul Haggis used this fish-out-of-water concept as a vehicle to comment upon Canadian and American stereotypes as well as the relationship between the two nations (*Due South Chicago Guardian: Season 1 Press Kit, Production Notes* 1997). Describing how he derived the American and Canadian relationship expressed in the show, Haggis explained:

I am a citizen of one country and have lived in the other for 20 years, so I think I always felt like an outsider in both. There was so much I loved about the Americans, but their arrogance and egocentricity didn't make my top ten list. However, I was continually amused by the fact that they find it almost impossible to see their own flaws, or consider

the possibility that they might be wrong. Canadians on the other hand are handicapped by the fact that they are...well, they're Canadians. Enough said (*Paul Haggis drops by the Due South newsgroup*, 1999).

Due South's lead actor and later executive producer, Paul Gross, shared Haggis's vision though he often joked about the purpose: “Oh, I think it's just a really great piece of deception. We put out the view that all Canadians are essentially honourable and truthful and honest and capable and heroic and trustworthy. Which isn't *true*, but it lets us sneak up on people” (Paul Gross quoted in Simpson 1999).

Haggis used the Mountie and the American cop as representations of each country. “What I wanted to put in the show was the Mountie that all American[s] believe is all of Canada, and the cop that all Canadians believe is all America -- then have fun with everyone” (Paul Haggis quoted in Atherton 1994).

Another reason Haggis cited for using a Mountie as the show's central character was to play with the stereotypes that have been traditionally associated with that image. Haggis specifically drew upon *Sergeant Preston of the Yukon*, an American-made television show from the 1950s for inspiration:

... I remembered Sgt. Preston and his wonderdog Yukon King, and though -- these guys wouldn't last two seconds in big city USA -- unless everything they thought and said, everything they believed in, truth, honor, compassion, civility, offering a helping hand to your enemy ... what if they all actually worked ... And wouldn't that drive a big city cop just crazy? (*Paul Haggis drops by the Due South newsgroup* 1999).

For Gross, “[t]he Mountie is an international icon that is uniquely Canadian and is recognized everywhere. Mounties cut intriguing and romantic figures in most foreign countries, conjuring up

wilderness and vast open territories that most nations don't possess. Off setting that against the familiar American urban cynicism is innately attractive” (“In conversation with Paul Gross,” 1998).

Canada in *Due South* was often depicted as a pristine, pure, untouched, serene wilderness inhabited by a polite and orderly populace. On the few occasions Toronto was identified as itself, it was portrayed as clean, courteous, friendly, civil, and family-oriented. Also, in *Due South's* Canada, it seemed that the only topics Canadians appeared to get overly emotional about were hockey and curling, as can be illustrated by a scene from the episode “Asylum” involving Ray and Constable Turnbull, another Mountie working in the Canadian Consulate:

Ray: Anything that moves that slowly is not a sport.

Turnbull: Not a sport. . . ?

Ray: This is not a sport, it's housework.

Turnbull: It is a calling.

Ray: It may be a pastime, it may even be a hobby, but it is definitely not a sport.

Turnbull: Do you want to fight?

Ray: Over curling?

Turnbull: Yes. What if I made fun of baseball?

Ray: All right.

In contrast to Fraser's civility and gentlemanliness and Canada's bucolic environment, Americans were often portrayed as cynical, impatient, rude, violent, and basically ignorant of their northern neighbors. Ray Vecchio, Fraser's Chicago detective partner, was described as a “cynical, rough-and-tumble, to-hell-with-procedure minion of the law” (Berkowitz, 1998, p. 3E).

The show's setting, Chicago, served as the embodiment of Americans and America --- dirty, dangerous, chaotic, unfriendly, and corrupt.

Canadian Reactions to Due South

Although Haggis originally expected protests from Americans concerning their portrayal, he thought that Canadians would understand his intentions and laugh along with him (*Paul Haggis drops by the Due South newsgroup* 1999). This would not prove to be the case, at least not initially. Instead, Haggis faced a flurry of complaints from Canadian television critics, the RCMP, and even from Canadian schoolchildren over various aspects of the show. Canadian television critics especially took issue with the heavy use of Canadian stereotypes in the program (P. Haggis, interview by the author, November 2000; Adilman 1995, D3). In a November 1999 posting to the *Due South* newsgroup, Haggis recalled, "The Canadians were outraged. The Americans didn't even notice -- or if they did, laughed. Completely the opposite reactions I expected. And the RCMP threatened to toss me in jail unless I removed a long list of items they found offensive to their image" (*Paul Haggis drops by the Due South newsgroup* 1999). One incensed Canadian critic, Ian Johnston of the *Halifax Daily News*, wrote in the March 20, 1994 issue:

I don't know what's worse; the idea that this silly TV movie got financing from Canada's federal-funding organization Telefilm; the possibility that Alliance canceled its fine series *E.N.G.* to make room for stuff like this crap; or that American viewers are going to have access to this bit of homegrown stereotyping. I expect this type of junk from American producers, but Canadians? Et tu, brute?

Johnston's complaints centered on what he considered to be the improbability of the plot and the "clichéd use" of the Canadian Mountie and the American cop.

In a November 2000 interview, Haggis expressed particular dismay with Canadian teachers who had their students write condemnation letters accusing *Due South* of showing Canadians as unintelligent. Haggis felt this and other Canadian criticism of the series was unwarranted since he felt the objections were based solely upon a superficial reading of the show (P. Haggis, personal communication, November 2000).

Paul Gross responded to the show's detractors, stating, "It seems the Americans [as portrayed in *Due South*] are usually portrayed as being messy, sloppy, bumbling and ineffective, and we're extraordinarily nice, heroic and capable and efficient." "If we can spread that kind of disinformation about our country south of the border, I think it's fantastic" (P. Gross quoted in McKay, 1997, p. B7).

Despite protests, many Canadians apparently liked *Due South* and did understand Haggis's intentions since the show would garner Canadian audiences of as high as 2.1 million viewers. It eventually became "the highest-rated television series ever made in Canada," consistently ranking in the top ten shows in Canada's Nielsen ratings (McKay, 1997, p. B7; Dalglish, 1995, p. 40).

A substantial number of Canadian critics were also favorable toward *Due South*. Citing the show's use of distinctively Canadian elements, *Montreal Gazette* critic Wendy McCann wrote, "*Due South* ... will make a career of showing Americans a little Canadian culture" (McCann, 1994, p. F4). Nicholas Read of the *Vancouver Sun* compared Benton Fraser to Superman, declaring:

Far too good to be true -- he is Superman in a scarlet tunic -- but who cares? Everyone loved Superman, so everyone will love Fraser. He embodies all the virtues that Canadians

like to pretend are ours by birthright: honesty, courteousness, honor, purity, and strength.

Fiction can be such a comfort -- especially on TV (Read, 1994, p. C7).

As time went on, criticism against *Due South* waned (though never completely vanished) as more Canadian critics and viewers came to accept its premise. Some critics like Greg Quill of the *Toronto Star* who initially panned the show, later changed his mind:

So here's one we got wrong. *Due South*, a Canadian series premiering tonight ... is smart, funny, exciting and utterly engaging. ... It's creator, Canadian Paul Haggis, a Hollywood veteran, and backers Alliance Communications and CTV (CBS is also an investor) have crafted a show that dares play with our perceptions about what TV can and can't do (Quill, 1994, p. C5).

As *Due South* gained popularity in Canada, the RCMP also changed their opinion of the show as they found "it inspired large numbers of young men to try to join the force." Eventually, the Mounties even "agreed to provide a technical adviser" to the show (Belcher, 1996, p. 4).

A 1999 survey of *Due South* fans from 17 countries worldwide indicated that respondents not only enjoyed the way American and Canadian stereotypes were lampooned but also liked other distinctly Canadian elements in the show as well. Among other things, Canadian respondents cited Canadian in-jokes, the way American and Canadian stereotypes were lampooned, use of Canadian folk music, references to Inuit folklore in episodes, and simply the fact the show was Canadian. Several Canadian respondents also mentioned that they were surprised that they liked *Due South* because it was a Canadian production. As one Canadian respondent explained

Canadians do this thing, which I hate but am sometimes guilty of, where we think that if something is produced in Canada, it can't be any good. I think that this show rose above that idea and showed people that it wasn't true.

The same respondent also noted that she had avoided watching *Due South* for a while

...because I assumed that the show would make Canadians look stupid - the whole Mountie thing, I guess. Boy was I wrong. Even though they stereotyped Canadians ... I didn't mind. Probably because Fraser was usually right or maybe because it was too funny to take seriously (Anonymous survey respondent, personal communication, 1999).

American Reactions to Due South

Most American critics and viewers were apparently unaware of the “kerfluffle” occurring across the border. Instead, many American critics were busily comparing Benton Fraser to everyone from Nelson Eddy, Dudley Do-Right, and Sgt. Preston of the Yukon to Superman, a Boy Scout, and Felix Unger (the latter probably due to Fraser's fastidiousness and personal grooming habits) (Belcher, 1996; Grahnke, 1994; Perigard, 1997). Although American critics often acknowledged that there were jokes in *Due South* that they didn't fully comprehend, overall, they grasped the general concept of the show and understood that the stereotypes used were to be made fun of and not accepted as truth. Fraser was largely viewed as one-of-a-kind-- a throwback to a bygone era who had “come to symbolize the way things used to be, or the way we'd like to think they used to be, in a less hostile, less urbanized, less industrialized America. He seems to embody all the most endangered values: decency, honesty, and compassion” (Shales, 1995, p. C5).

Some American reviews of *Due South* were less glowing although few, if any, dismissed the show outright. *People* magazine's David Hiltbrand described Fraser as a “straight-arrow who makes Dudley Do-Right look dissipated. ... But beneath his humorless, robotic manner, he's a sharp observer and deducer. Yes it's an old formula, sort of a cross between *McCloud* and the Arnold Schwarzenegger film *Red Heat*” (Hiltbrand, 1994, p. 11). Alternately, Joane Ostrow of

the *Denver Post* described the show as “*Walker Texas Ranger* crossed with *Nanook of the North*” (1997, p. E1) while Ed Bark of the *Dallas Morning News* characterized it as a sort of “*Northern Exposure* in reverse”. Bark also commented, “It has its moments, but not enough to merit a cheerleading squad of TV critics” (1995, p. C2).

A number of American television viewers also seemed to enjoy *Due South's* American-Canadian culture clash since *Due South* performed well in the United States during its initial Thursday 8-9 p.m. time slot, despite competition with NBC comedies including *Mad About You* and *Seinfeld* (Dalglish, 1995). It would prove to be the highest-rated new CBS program during the fall 1994/95 season and eventually finished tied for 58th (with *Lois & Clark: The New Adventures of Superman*) out of 142 series in Nielsen's 1994-95 prime-time rankings (Grahnke, 1995). During this time, *Due South* attracted an enthusiastic U.S. fan base that later became a crucial factor in rescuing the show after its first cancellation by CBS in 1995 (Shales, 1995; “American graffiti Canadian-style”, 1995; Grahnke, 1995).

In the 1999 *Due South* fan survey discussed above, American respondents cited a variety of reasons for liking the show: Benton Fraser; Ray Vecchio; the relationship between Fraser and Vecchio; the interplay of American and Canadian stereotypes; that the main character was a Mountie; the theme of friendship; the American and Canadian in-jokes; the use of Inuit folklore; the music used; the dog; Ray Vecchio's car and other things. Many respondents also indicated that their initial attraction to *Due South* was because it was Canadian (Tate and Allen, 2000).

Like the critics, American audience members surveyed compared Benton Fraser to Dudley Do-Right, Sgt. Preston and Superman. Viewers also admired the principles Fraser stood for: “duty, honor, responsibility, kindness, etc.” (Anonymous survey respondent, personal communication, 1999). A number of respondents noted that they did not get all of the in-jokes

although some of them were interested enough to pursue their meaning by either online interaction with fans from Canada and throughout the world or through independent research (Tate and Allen, 2000). One thirteen-year-old respondent was so impressed with Benton Fraser that he intended “to become Canadian, a Mountie, and live in the Northwest Territories when I grow up” (Anonymous survey respondent, personal communication, 1999).

Two Canadian respondents living in the United States and one American respondent who had lived in Canada for six years particularly enjoyed the border humor because they fully understood it. One of the Canadians originally tuned into the show just to see a Mountie because she was homesick (Anonymous survey respondents, personal communications, 1999).

Discussion

Due South's creative team was not interested in reinforcing the existing stereotypes of the Canadian, the American, and the Mountie. On the contrary, they attempted to take the popularly held attitudes and assumptions about these three stereotypes and make fun of them in an attempt to change those very perceptions. While at first glance *Due South* seems to convey that all Canadians are polite and honest and all Americans are rude, amoral and armed, the show's underlying tone indicated that the production team wasn't expecting everything to be taken at face value. The Mountie was used partially for his instant association with Canada, thereby easily recognized as the quintessential Canadian. Since a number of myths and assumptions about Mounties preexisted in the popular cultures of Canada and the United States, he was also a great source of stereotype gainsaying all on his own.

Critics in both Canada and the United States compared Fraser to Superman and Dudley Do-Right, though it should be noted that the latter is not necessarily a complimentary description. Do-Right, while possessed of the superficial attributes of the Mountie (physically fit, handsome,

courteous, brave), was a bit of a bumbler, and extraordinarily thickheaded whereas Fraser was portrayed as agile, intelligent, and well-read despite pastoral roots.

Canadian critics were not vague about their feelings on the show. They either loved it or hated it, and this depended most upon to what extent they grasped the production team's intentions. Those who understood what Haggis (and later Gross) was trying to do enjoyed the show and the way Canadian and American stereotypes were lampooned. Those critics who did not get the joke were dismayed at the way Canadians, and Mounties in particular, were being portrayed -- especially since this show was being exported to the United States and elsewhere around the world.

On the whole, most American critics liked *Due South*, understood some of the border humor, but tended to look at Vecchio and Fraser more as individuals than as stereotypes -- unless, of course, the stereotypes were already so accepted south of the border that they didn't feel the need to comment on them. Most described it as a fish-out-of-water or a buddy-cop show reminiscent of *Northern Exposure* in the early 1990's and Taos New Mexico Deputy Marshal Sam McCloud's seven-year "temporary assignment" with Manhattan's 27th Precinct during the 1970's. For the most part, these critics saw Fraser less as a product of his country than as a symbol of a bygone era, possessing all of the values that America once had and had lost somewhere along the way.

Most American viewers, it seems, thought of Benton Fraser as embodying a vanishing breed of humanity who just happened to come from Canada. It may be that the reason Americans could look at the stereotypes and laugh was because they knew that they were not quite as rude and violent as they were portrayed, and it would therefore follow that the Canadian stereotype had been exaggerated as well. Also, most Americans were familiar with the stereotype of the

cynical American cop and his the flexible sense of morality, because it is a type of character that has been seen on American television for decades as has the out-of-town law enforcement official, with a different (and usually more effective) way of doing things.

It appears that most of the Canadian public and television reviewers enjoyed *Due South*, despite the initial outcry from the RCMP and others. Those opposed to *Due South* were concerned with the danger that other countries would interpret the image of the Mountie as standing for everyone in Canada, but for the most part this fear appeared to be unfounded. It should be noted that in less capable hands, the kind of stereotype-bending that took place on *Due South* may have yielded disastrous results. Fortunately, *Due South's* creative team were largely able, through the use of humor and sly admonishments, to educate viewers and prompt Americans and Canadians to see past their assumptions.

Of course, some Americans did take Benton Fraser to represent all of Canada, or at least to represent Mounties (such as the youth described above), but the impression it left them with was a favorable one. The young man cited above was so impressed by Canadians that he wanted to be one, and it is difficult to see that result as a negative side effect. Another positive side effect of *Due South* is that a number of Americans came away from the show a bit more knowledgeable about Canada. While they may not necessarily have learned what Canadians were like, they did learn a little about the history, politics, and cultural institutions of the country.

Conclusion

Due South's success challenges several popularly held views regarding the use of Canadian and Mountie stereotypes as well as other distinctively Canadian elements in television programming. First, stereotypes such as those used in *Due South* need not be viewed as necessarily negative. If used deftly, stereotypes can be a valuable source of and education.

Secondly, it suggests that distinctive Canadian elements should not be viewed as detriments to a show's success at home or abroad but rather be regarded as potential assets that can be used to help a program distinguish itself from its competition.

It is still to be seen whether other Canadian television series can use stereotypes and distinctly Canadian elements to their advantage. *Power Play*, a series about a struggling hockey team, lasted two seasons in Canada but only two weeks on American television. It is the authors' opinion that this is not nearly enough time to attract and retain an audience, and therefore no conclusions can be drawn about its success or failure in the United States. *The Red Green Show*, another Canadian production, enjoys great popularity on American public television nationwide. While it does deal in stereotypes, and does use humor to poke fun at them, there are very few distinctly Canadian elements in the show, most of which are very hard to find for the average American viewer.

On another media front, Paul Gross is immersed in yet another project that explores American and Canadian stereotypes -- although this time involving curling, rather than Mounties. It is a film tentatively planned for release in Canada and the United States, and the authors feel it will provide further insights into the questions discussed here.

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Footnotes

¹ In August-September 1987, six episodes of the Canadian-produced series *Night Heat* were aired in the U.S. during primetime (10 – 11 p.m.) on CBS as a experiment. However, unlike *Due South*, *Night Heat* was originally produced for airing on CBS late-night (i.e., 11:30 p.m. or after) rather than primetime (Brooks & Marsh, 1999).

² CBS's investment in *Due South* was critical for defraying the production costs of the series and CTV was eventually unable to shoulder the financial burden alone. However, given respectable audience ratings in Canada and United States coupled with similar successes in Britain and Germany prompted CTV, Alliance, and broadcasters in Britain (BBC), France (TF1), and Germany (Pro Sieben) to partially make up the funding shortfall enabling Alliance to keep *Due South* in production for a further 26 episodes ("American graffiti, Canadian-style," 1995, p. 12).

³ During Seasons 3 and 4, the look and feel of *Due South* changed significantly with many of the changes directly or indirectly linked to force cutbacks in the production budget. Paul Gross took over as executive producer from Paul Haggis. In addition, Gross also worked on the writing team for the series.

⁴ *Due South* was largely relegated to late-night time slots and received little promotion during first-run syndication in the United States during the 1997/98 season. Ironically, many of the stations that picked up *Due South* in syndication were CBS affiliates.

⁵ During the third and fourth seasons, David Marciano was replaced with Callum Keith Rennie, who joined the cast as Detective Stanley Kowalski. Marciano would make an reappearance as Ray Vecchio in the final episode of the series.

⁶Paul Haggis served as Executive Producer of *Due South* during the show's first season. Jeff King and Kathy Slevin replaced Haggis during season two while Paul Gross and R. B. Carney shared the duties during seasons three and four.

⁷Participants in the study were drawn from the following English-speaking countries: Australia, Botswana, Canada, Kenya, Nigeria, South Africa, the United States, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. They were asked to describe the typical citizen of five English-speaking countries: Australia, Canada, Great Britain, Nigeria, and the United States.

Table 1

*Selected Canadian References Integrated into Due South Episodes***Artists/Entertainers**

- Group of Seven (Canadian painters)
- Wayne & Shuster (Canadian comics)

Bilingualism (e.g., scene featuring a Canadian government receptionist who claimed she "couldn't speak French" although she answered each incoming phone call with an English & French greeting)

Currency (e.g., references made in numerous episodes to the "color" and valuation of Canadian currency)

Canadian Cultural Industries

- Filmmaking (Scene in episode *Perfect Strangers* featured commentary on the lack of opportunities for Canadian filmmakers that the characters attributed to the massive flow of American films into Canada).
- *Maclean's*

Historical Events

War of 1812 (from the English Canada perspective, i.e., the war ended without a decisive victory on either side. "Fraser" points out that most Americans assume the United States did win decisively)

Historical Figures/ Politicians (Names used for characters)

Diefenbaker (i.e., John G. Diefenbaker)	Mackenzie King
Esther Pearson	Brock
Louise St. Laurant	Frobisher

Inuit Artifacts/Culture

Inuksuk (e.g., one was featured in the episode *Seeing is Believing*)

Masks (e.g., the plot of one episode revolves around the theft of Tsimshian masks from a museum. The episode also dealt with aboriginal versus government rights to the ownership of these types of artifacts.

Laws & Statutes (e.g., Canadian gun laws)

Music/Musicians (e.g., Stan Rogers. Also, lyrics of various songs used referred to Canadian historical events/figures, etc.)

NAFTA (e.g., a NAFTA meeting provided the backdrop for the episode *The Edge*)

Place names

Beaufort Sea	Northwest Territories	Tuktuyktok
Inuvik	Ottawa	Yellowknife
Moose Jaw	Toronto	Yukon

Pronunciation of Words/Terminology

Lieutenant
Schedule

Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP)

Duties and responsibilities	Uniforms
Musical Ride	

Quebec Question (e.g., A bumper sticker with a slogan supporting Canadian unity appeared on a vehicle featured in the episode *The Man Who Knew Too Little*)

Sports & Individual Athletes

Current and past hockey players (e.g., Hector "Toe" Blake)	
Basketball (Canadian origins described)	Curling

Author Note

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