

One Region, Four Movements:

Constructing Cascadia through Rhetoric

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Abstract

Through traditional rhetorical analysis, this thesis examines arguments made for a “Cascadia” regional identity (roughly located around Washington, Oregon, and British Columbia) made by four strands of Cascadian thought: Cascadia as a bioregion, as a nation, as a culture, and as an economic region. From each concept, two texts are analyzed to find the audience being targeted and the arguments being made. Examining how each Cascadia attempts to define itself and draw members—often by contrasting or coordinating with the other versions—shows some similarities, like pride in the natural environment, as well as clear distinctions, like differing opinions as to the boundaries of the region itself. The separate notions of Cascadia come with their own sets of values, and by looking at an overview of the arguments being made, this thesis provides insights into Cascadia specifically as well as regional identities in general.

Introduction

Where are you from? You might say Georgia, but maybe the South provides a richer description. Or maybe you're from Maine, but like the way New England sounds. I'm from Washington State, but call the Pacific Northwest my home. Others would prefer to call it Cascadia.

Larger than states but smaller than countries, regions are playing an ever-more-important role in today's globalizing world. How regions define themselves and argue for those definitions can help us see why they're playing larger parts, in areas from environmental protection to politics to economics.

Cascadia is one such region. More commonly known as the Pacific Northwest, Cascadia is the region that encompasses (depending on who you talk to) at least Washington and Oregon, often British Columbia, and sometimes pieces of Alaska, Idaho, Montana, Utah, Nevada, and California. Although almost all uses of the term are rooted in the environment, different Cascadians have different conceptualizations and goals for the region. Some see it as a shift to a utopic, environmentally-conscious worldview; others use the name for region-centric political advocacy; still more use the term to describe the culture of the area; and finally, it's a way to advocate for stronger economic ties across the region.

Cascadia as an environmental notion is the original vision of Cascadia. It's based on the concept of bioregionalism, the idea that political boundaries are human-made fictions and communities should center on natural borders like watersheds and geologic features. Advocates for a Cascadian bioregion push for a shift in consciousness, from an anthropocentric worldview to an eco-centric one that includes the natural world. Purely bioregional Cascadians want nothing to do with political or economic spheres, seeing them as manifestations of a corrupt—or at least

insufficient—system. They do support social and cultural Cascadian ties, however, as those focus on building relationships between members of the same bioregionally-defined community.

Cascadia as a political or national movement is a fragmented push towards regional autonomy or outright secession. Members of the movement range from political parties and super-PACs meant to influence the current political system to advocates for grassroots revolutions that overrule and replace the national governments of Cascadia. Although they have political goals, these Cascadians often incorporate environmental values that are seen as cornerstones of the Cascadian identity, even using the region's status as a bioregion to advocate for its independence. They also draw on social and cultural unity, but are split as to their reception of the economic Cascadians. While those who fight for greater political power within the system support the building of Cascadian infrastructure, those who want to overthrow the entire establishment see the economic movement as shills for the current power system.

Cascadia as a socio-cultural concept is more mild and widely-accepted than the previous two notions. In this understanding, Cascadia is a region united through cultural aspects like a love of craft beer, soccer, and the outdoors. Anyone from soccer fans to beer connoisseurs can partake in this notion of Cascadia, as it is emphatically non-political and advocates for a weaker environmentalism than bioregionalism. The movement draws its support purely from a sense of regional pride, which may include environmental aspects but is accessible from a number of angles. Supporters of a socio-cultural Cascadia distance themselves from the more radical elements of bioregional and political movements, but are ambivalent to friendly toward the economic movement. As a nebulous group with no clear goals, it's questionable as to whether social Cascadians can even be grouped into a cohesive movement at all.

Cascadia as an economic region is used to support bi-national cooperation and regional infrastructure projects, like high-speed rail from Oregon, through Washington, and into British Columbia. The economic region is focused on the shared industries in the area, like technology and manufacturing, timber harvesting, and Pacific trade; capabilities for regional economic integration and tourism are heavily emphasized and supported. Proponents of the economic region see the environment as a unique resource to be used in the name of economic growth or prosperity, and often are accused as co-opting the Cascadian terminology from the bioregional or political movements. From mayors to think tanks, the economic idea is supported by the current power structure and is a way to bring the region more respect and prosperity.

Research Question

Cascadia holds multiple identities, from its origin in the bioregionalist environmental project, to its political aspirations and social construction, to its use in top-down economics and land-use management. There must be some common thread between them, along with differences that cause the split.

For those within the movement, what attracts them to the idea of Cascadia? What is unfulfilling about their identities as residents of Oregon, Washington, British Columbia, the Pacific Northwest, the United States, or Canada? How does Cascadia handle intra-movement tensions between its anarcho-environmentalist roots and its more recent socio-political and even economic agenda, and how do self-identified Cascadians respond to the use of the movement's language and symbolism by perceived outsiders? Who even determines what counts as Cascadia, or who counts as a Cascadian?

Exigence

As will be demonstrated by the literature review, the Cascadia movement provides a rich fount of source material that touches on a wide range of topics—place, identity, regions and regional exceptionalism, nationalism, sports, and environmentalism. Tying it all together is rhetoric, the study of the material a movement produces in efforts to reach its varied goals.

By studying the arguments and rhetorical strategies used by Cascadia, I hope to draw connections from the many areas mentioned about and expand the field's understanding of collective identities. Globalization and the regional or territorial backlash to it is a growing topic in the humanities; place connections and identities have long been concepts that have importance to everyone on an individual level; and humans' relationship with the environment has always been an area of study, but recently has become more urgent in the face of global climate change and environmental degradation. Looking at the values behind regional identities like Cascadia can help provide insight into how people see themselves in the larger world.

Literature Review

These questions touch on fields ranging from geography, architecture, and regional planning to cultural studies, literature, environmental histories, and rhetoric.

Place, Environment, and Identity

To understand the “rootedness-in-place” espoused by bioregionalism, I will be drawing upon work done in understanding the relationships between place, environment, and identity. As Greg Myers explores in “Where are you from?: Identifying Place,” one’s identity is shaped strongly by where they locate themselves in the world, and the difference between naming a city or naming a county or neighborhood, or even country, as where one is from can show important distinctions in how they self-identify and wish to be seen by others.

Devine-Wright and Clayton state that “the physical environment has been shown to have strong connections to a sense of self,” and in the same special issue of the *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, Scannell and Gifford find a connection between having a strong sense of natural place attachment and pro-environmental behavior. By encouraging people to see themselves as connected to their local environments, the bioregional movement is hoping to draw on this relationship of identity and environmental affinities to move humanity to a more sustainable and eco-friendly lifestyle.

Community identification with the environment has been a successful strategy to affect change, such as the siting of a waste disposal plant in California (Peeples) and in questions of agricultural land-use, also in California (Alkon and Traugot).

Aside from purely environmental concerns, a connection to place can provide a sense of identity or belonging in an era of increasing globalization. Jeffrey St. John teases four

dimensions—foundation, identity, place, and obsolescence—out of the concept of citizenship, exploring how one can be a citizen in a modern world. Schneider follows Polish immigrants as they integrate themselves into Chicago, and notes how they often separate cultural, political, and geographical identities.

In direct response to globalization, Flint recognizes the need for a multiscalar framework, one that is bounded not only at national or state levels, but can be used to look at identifications at the varying levels of place that are being used by those living within the places; Escobar reflects on how globalization is seen as a threat to local places and a sense of home, and argues for using similarly flexible, ~~multi~~-scale, network-oriented subaltern strategies of localization.”

Finally, on a topic that will reappear throughout this work, is Shobe’s analysis of ~~Football and the Politics of Place: Football Club Barcelona and Catalonia, 1975-2005.~~” Sports teams, and in the context of this work, particularly soccer teams, can provoke and build a communal sense of identity and place. The question is, to which level of place—state, region, nation—do soccer teams owe their allegiance?

Regions and Regionalism

Lying between the local and the global, the municipal and the national, is the regional. Regions (and the study of them, regionalism) are an important piece of the Cascadia puzzle.

Closely tied to place and identity, regions are one way of organizing space. Paasi argues that identity is ever-more reliant on regions, as people respond to a globally flattened world, and work on regionalism in the humanities has become a hot topic in recent years (Miller). From Maryland’s Eastern Shore (Stewart) to the South West of Britain (Harvey, Hawkins, and

Thomas), regions that exist in nothing more than the consciousness of their inhabitants are coming under scrutiny.

Also tied into the search for place-identity in the age of globalization is the increase in regionalization. “New regionalism” is focused on creating regions that can be understood in a variety of fields, and serve as a workable scale in a globally connected world (Deas and Lord). Particularly of interest is the rise of regionalism in response to supra-national organizations like the European Union (Giordano and Roller).

Another area picking up on the regional trend is ecology and land-use, as natural regions often cut across political boundaries. As compared to past regionalism, New Regionalism is coming about in response to globalization and the need to incorporate place-based assessments into decision making strategies (Peterson, Mcalpine, Ward, and Rayner). Exploring the environment through a regional framework is useful in the sciences as well as the humanities (Mazel).

In particular, this project will look at the idea of “bioregionalism,” a term coined in the mid-20th century to describe engaging with place and regionalism on a naturally-determined level. Instead of using cultural or political boundaries to form regions, bioregionalism focused on growing connected to one’s natural region, defined through non-human boundaries found in geology, ecology, watersheds, or other factors. As a field, bioregionalism began in anarchist and counter-culture thought, and only grew as a backlash to increasing globalization and environmental degradation. Although most bioregionalists would argue that the only way to truly understand the bioregional movement would be to live it, Michael Vincent McGinnis provides a good start in “Bioregionalism.”

Past regionalist thought, particularly in America, has been championed by both nature writers and historians. Literature from American authors in the 18th and 19th centuries often contained regional themes (Buell). Historically, Frederick Jackson Turner was the main initiator of a school of thought that swept American history from the beginning to more than halfway through the 20th century. His Frontier Thesis suggested that true American spirit resided in the West, on the frontier, and that the proximity to nature is what built self-reliance and independence, essential American traits (Redding). Turner's school of thought pushed the idea that the natural environment shaped regional identities as the most important aspect of studying American, and particularly the American West's, history.

These ideas were forward with only marginal pushback (Kollmorgen) until the massive cultural and academic shifts in the 1960s, as Turner's ideas began to fall apart underneath scrutiny from the angles of race, gender, or class (Jensen). However, moving forward, regionalism and the idea of distinct regional cultures or identities has not been dropped entirely—instead, it has been updated and remains a useful tool for historical and cultural studies (Schlereth).

The American West

Understanding Cascadia requires an understanding of regionalism, and American regionalism in general, but it also calls for a deeper search into specifically Western history and culture. Self-reliance, independence, connection with a vast natural environment, and distance from political centers all are important American West aspects that converge in the formation of Cascadia.

Turner and his frontier thesis, while important for regionalism in general, were specifically interested in the American West. He saw the frontier as an outlet and escape from

the East Coast's "European-ness" and aristocratic ways, and was worried as to what would happen when the United States finally stretched across the continent, with no more frontier left to drive expansion (Lough). Turner might be happy today to see vestiges of a frontier culture in movements like Cascadia, even though his own historical methodology and results have been decried.

Despite the resistance to Turner's participation in ethnocentric and environmentally deterministic theories of the time, modern concepts of the West grow from his work even as they oppose it (Hutton). Newer interpretations take into account a "nationalistic" West...; a variety of "localist" Wests...; and other Wests, including arid, agrarian, Hispanic, Native American, environmental, urban, the built...and of course, the cowboy or Old West" (Nugent).

Regardless of where the Western identity springs from, or even perhaps *which* Western identity one subscribes to, there is a unique history that is often called upon to validate modern-day regional identities. The Pacific Northwest's shared past as "Oregon Country" provides a basis for a cultural connection (Meyer); the geographical proximity and inter-connectedness of the West Coast, and its relative distance from the East, offer another regional tie (Roberts); recurring themes in folk-lore across the West show that there is some basis in history, fictional or not, that binds the region together (Toelken). Immigrants from Japan and other Asian countries shaped the West far more than they did in other American regions (Sailor), and there is a coherent group of media—art, poetry, literature, music— that can be called Western (Hartley). Perhaps most important in establishing a Western regional identity is that Westerners themselves strongly identify with it (Comer).

Social-Political Movements

This strong regional identity has led, more than once, to a range of movements that attempt to capitalize and build the place-identity. Ranging from purely social and cultural to highly political, these movements include Cascadia but go back as far as the earliest European settlements on the West Coast. Studies of place-based movements, whether in the Americas or abroad, have much to inform my work on Cascadia.

Before moving on to the many other movements that exist, there is an interesting piece by Sanford Levinson in the *Arkansas Law Review*, “The Twenty-First Century Rediscovery of Nullification and Secession in American Political Rhetoric: Frivolousness Incarnate or Serious Arguments to be Wrestled With?” Levinson takes a mostly legal view as to whether the talk of secession and nullification are worth considering, and he mostly looks at the American South, but his work demonstrates that there is a rising tide of anti-centralist sentiments, as individual states or regions express dissatisfaction with their national governments.

Of the many regional movements, I have found three distinct socio-political identities that have existed in or near the boundaries Cascadians draw for themselves. First is the California Republic—a nation that never truly existed, but an idea that lives on in the region’s inhabitants. The California state flag retains the words and images used by the 1846 attempt at a California Republic, and the notion of an independent Californian nation appears occasionally in fiction works (Brin). Even though the declared independence was never realized, the notion of independence has long remained a part of a Californian identity (Tays).

A second territory is the Inland Empire. While the term is most well-known when referring to a region in California, the interior of the Pacific Northwest also uses the name as a regional identity. The Inland Empire encompasses the drier, more rural, eastern half of Washington as well as much of northern Idaho and parts of Montana and Oregon. The regional

identity was at its peak in the late 1800s, when local inhabitants found themselves grouped as a more cohesive unit together than split among state lines (Morrissey). Despite having lost momentum since then, remnants of the regional identity remain, such as the Inland Empire Amateur Athletics Union and the Inland Empire Junior Tournament.

Finally, the State of Jefferson is a recurring idea that lives in southern Oregon and northern California. Taking its name from Thomas Jefferson, one of the major proponents of Western exploration, the state was conceived as a way to provide for the mostly rural inhabitants that lived far from the state capitols of Oregon or California. Unfortunately for the supporters of Jefferson, they declared their independence just days before the attacks on Pearl Harbor in December 1941, and any thoughts of secession—even on a state level—went out the window in face of the nationalistic wave that swept the nation (Cherney, Wilson). Some supporters of the movement say even without the attacks, the State of Jefferson would never have amounted to more than a publicity stunt (Laufer). Despite its quick drop in popularity during WWII, the State of Jefferson continued on as a way to build cohesion in the overlooked region, from math conferences my grandfather, Richard Montgomery, took part in (Montgomery and Ryden) to protests and town hall meetings (—Response," Schwarz).

While these three movements are all exemplary of the idea of regional exceptionalism in the American West, and as such are extremely similar to and informative of the notion of Cascadia, movements from across the globe can provide insight into who is building separate social or political identities, and why they are doing it.

In —Critical Geopolitics and Terrains of Resistance,” Paul Routledge argues for a more localized, inside-out view of location-based movements. As space becomes more important, whether being erased through globalization or delved into through localization, Routledge wants

to take into account how movements use their location to both work outside of normal, state-sanctioned political activities and to look at power relations between varying scales. In his paper, Routledge specifically looks at South Asian social movements, but the methods used are broadly applicable.

Another movement is brewing in the Catalonia region of Spain. Heavily based on a separate ethnic identity relative to the rest of Spain, Catalan is pushing for more autonomy and self-determination, politically and economically. Sajjad Ahmad looks at how the movement needs to ensure continuity of identity and an ability to define itself and resist outside influences as two important factors in its success. An important piece of the Catalonian identity is its sports teams, particularly its football (soccer) teams (Pujol and Yuba). As seen before, sports can play an important role in building regional identities.

Finally, two more regions have work done on them that is relevant to Cascadia: Quebec in Canada and Scotland in the United Kingdom. In “Hierarchies of Belonging,” Ailsa Henderson compares the two regional movements and their attempts at creating a political, cultural, or social identity separate from the larger, national identity.

Rhetoric

In addition to the general comparisons of Henderson, Tim Mau has compared the Quebec and Scottish movements' rhetoric. He compares how the two use globalization as an exigency to create a need for the new movement, and how the movements use their public dialogue to attract supporters. The two movements have used extremely similar arguments, mostly based on economics, Mau finds. He also looked at a comparison between the rhetoric of the Quebec referendums on more autonomy in 1980 and 1995, finding that the more recent referendum had a

more positive tone focusing on what the regional government could do, whereas the older referendum was on the defensive, justifying its reason for existence.

In a broader scope, Leland Griffin and Herbert Simons provide some context on the rhetorical strategies of social movements, and how to assess their effectiveness. Griffin describes the necessity to separate the rhetorical movement from the social movement, a categorization of the movement's goals, and a determination the stage of the social movement. Simons outlines the goals of social movements, the cross-pressures that movement leaders need to address, and the methods available to address those issues.

Even broader, Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca's treatise on "New Rhetoric" provides many strong foundations for a modern take on the study of rhetoric. Specifically of interest are their sections on the person and their acts, which details how a cohesive identity can be formed out of disparate actions, and the relationship between the identity and actions; and their later section on the group and its members, which scales up the relationship from an individual's character and acts to a group's character and the individuals that make up that group.

Aaron Hess moves the focus from large rhetorical platforms—presidential speeches, for example—and provides examples of how more local, place-based rhetoric can be examined for effectiveness. The use of place in protests and activism provides another avenue for looking at how rhetorical strategies can be influenced through place and place-based goals (Torrens, Endres and Senda-Cook). Using rhetorical strategies to overcome divisions and unite communities around a shared place are discussed in Michan Andrew Connor's paper on color-blindness and urban secession.

Another area in which place-based rhetoric is used strongly is in environmental movements, which is what Cascadia started as. Literary depictions of the environment have

shaped how people interact with their own environment (Buell, Lynch et. al.), and using the environment as a shared bond can help build national or other identities (Wallwork and Dixon, Ewers). Creating a connection to place can be used to “assist the inevitable,” as Steven Hoffman, Paul Lorah, and Joseph Janochoski found when they explore the bonds connecting the broad array of groups that came together to fight back against extracting oil from Canada’s tar sands.

Building regional ties is another area where rhetorical scholarship has been done. Examining how people see the region from within and without (Tell), looking at what makes up a region and how one is defined (Rice), and using history of a place to inform rhetorical analyses (Jackson) have all been aspects of modern work in rhetoric.

Finally, one work which serves as an inspiration and model to my own, is Matthew Ortoleva’s dissertation, “Rhetorics of Place and Ecological Relationships: The Rhetorical Construction of Narragansett Bay.” In his work, Ortoleva looks at how various groups build master narratives around a particular location, depending on the specific group’s history, motives, and goals.

Cascadia

In this thesis, I will be examining how Cascadia supporters rhetorically build their cause. I won’t be the first to directly study Cascadia, though. There has been some work done on the movement already, looking at areas from economics to sports.

In the more mainstream parlance, Cascadia is a convenient way to refer to the Pacific Northwest in a regionally-centric way. The main hubs of Vancouver, B.C., Seattle, WA, and Portland, OR form the economic backbone of the region, and more than just environmental secessionists have looked at creating stronger links along the “I-5 corridor.” From transportation

initiatives (Schultz, Agnew) to sustainability goals (Pivo), the term Cascadia has been used to draw the region closer to itself.

At an environmental and economic level, the trans-national border in Cascadia presents some challenges as well, and the idea of Cascadia is used to combat the separateness that the US-Canada border can cause. Noemi Gal-Or proposes a separate way to solve commercial trade disputes along the border, aside from the usual US-Canada dealings, using Cascadia as a way to promote the region's difference and uniqueness relative to the national governments, and Christopher Brown explores the problems in the environmental management of watersheds and their inhabitants across the national border, as nature doesn't respect the boundaries drawn by humans.

Covering Cascadia from a humanities perspective, William Henkel provides an overview of the wide range of goals participants in the movement have, and what Cascadia means to the various groups within and outside of the movement. He traces its inception as a bioregional experiment to its current socio-political status, and looks at how mainstream economic interests have attempted to use the term as well. Victoria Lennox provides a similar overview of the region and its inception in response to globalization, and provides an in-depth look at what Cascadia is or could be.

Finally, Hunter Shobe and Geoff Gibson take a look at how the soccer teams in the region are some of the leading players in building the Cascadian identity. As mentioned previously, sports teams (and it seems in particular, soccer teams) provide a very strong method of building place-based identities.

Analysis

Methods

To examine how proponents of Cascadia argue, for the very existence of the region and for attracting new adherents for their particular view of the region, I use traditional tools of rhetorical analysis on two texts from each of the Cascadian branches of thought. Each text is examined for its thesis and audience, its arrangement, and appeals to pathos, ethos, and logos. Attention is then given to the impact of the text in context of the various movements supporting the Cascadian region.

From the varied arguments made, I draw conclusions as to the underlying values for each version of Cascadia, and how each version is using its specific values to appeal to a specific audience. This allows for comparison and contrast between each notion of Cascadia, as well as providing an overview of the values that are present in Cascadia as a whole.

Cascadia as a Bioregion

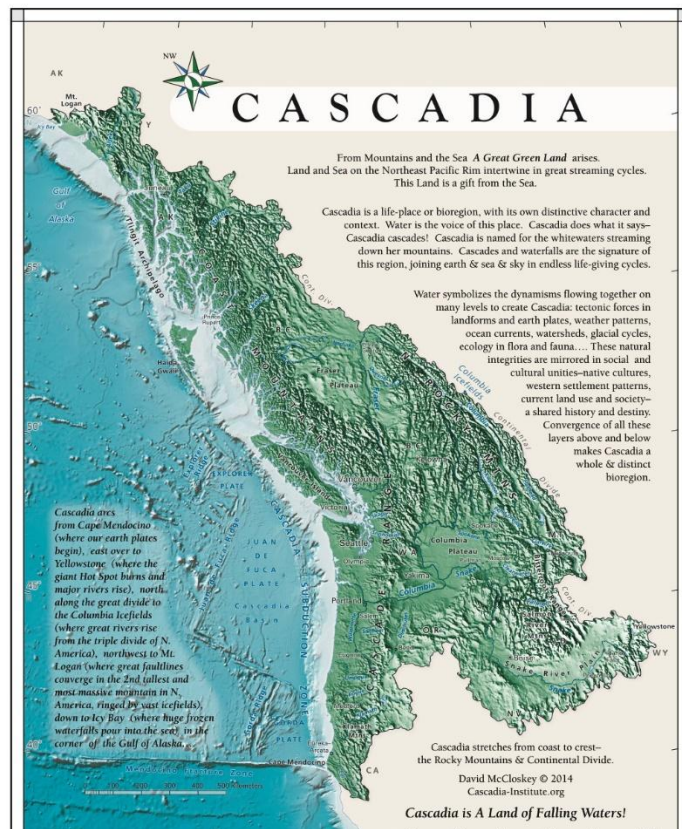
The original vision of Cascadia was as a bioregion: a cohesive, self-contained area defined by natural boundaries. The first person to name the bioregion Cascadia was David McCloskey, a sociology professor at Seattle University. Although McCloskey designed a flag for the bioregion, it isn't the one widely used today. The Doug flag, the most common and easily-recognizable symbol of Cascadia, was created in the mid-1990s by Alex Baretich. Like McCloskey, Baretich saw (and sees) Cascadia as a bioregion, and is an active proponent of the bioregional view.

For my corpus from the Cascadian bioregion movement, I am analyzing one text from each of these authors: McCloskey's description of how the name "Cascadia" came about, Baretich's description of how he designed the "Doug" flag and what it means. Coming from two of the most prominent figures in the bioregional movement, they are representative of the language and arguments used to

support this notion of Cascadia. While they both texts encourage the same Cascadia, they do serve different purposes and reveal different aspects of the movement and its leaders.

Cascadia: Name

David McCloskey is the cofounder of the Cascadia Institute, and this text is from its website, cascadia-institute.org. From what can be found



One of David McCloskey's many maps of the Cascadian bioregion. The map focuses on natural features and ignores political boundaries. (McCloskey)

online, this institute has done nothing but publish David McCloskey's thoughts on the bioregion, and he may be the only member. While the website is custom made and looks clean, it is definitely aging and unfinished, as multiple pages are "Coming Later." Despite being an institute in name only, it still serves as a place where McCloskey can voice his views.

While the main page provides descriptions of the bioregion—from the geology to the population—and philosophical thoughts on the land, the page titled "Name" gives an overview of what the term Cascadia means to McCloskey, and an argument building support for his particular view of Cascadia.

McCloskey's goal in this text is to convince residents of the region that Cascadia is, in fact, a real name referring to a real place. He wants his audience to use a bioregional framework to see their region. "A region's consciousness of itself defines the region," according to Stewart, and so by building a consciousness around Cascadia, McCloskey is hoping to define his home region in a particular manner. His thesis works toward that goal:

We are trying here to learn to tell the story of this place, so we may find ourselves in that story." We need to come home, to accept —the gift
 53 outright," to learn to become inhabitants, to come to terms with the places we live, and cultivate a culture of our true common ground in the lands we love.

McCloskey is challenging his readers to appreciate the land that they live in, and to consider themselves as a part of the Cascadian community.

As evidenced by his thesis, McCloskey has two important factors in mind when determining his audience: he is speaking to people within the region, not outside, and he is especially aiming toward those who don't know or aren't convinced by the idea of Cascadia. As Myers points out, "references to place are important, not just for finding out about places, but

also for finding identities” (321). McCloskey is talking about the place-name of Cascadia, not to describe the region (as inhabitants already know it) but to build an identity. Because he is trying to convince people to be “Cascadians,” he is addressing people who have the ability to be Cascadian by living in the region, but who haven’t yet bought into that possible identity.

McCloskey’s argument is addressed to everyone living in the bioregion, not just environmentalists or anarchists or people who have already heard of Cascadia. The thrust of his argument is one that appeals only to need for place and a shared love of the land. Although anti-imperial sentiments creep in here and there (which could detract from his main point), they aren’t the focus of the argument. He also addresses some skeptics directly in a way meant to answer their questions and sway them. Because he is arguing to expand the Cascadia movement, he doesn’t alienate anyone who could potential join in, but instead offers reasons that he hopes would convince even people who disagree with Cascadia.

McCloskey’s argument follows a traditional arrangement, providing a straightforward path through the text. According to Corbett, rhetorical addresses will generally be arranged into introduction, statement of fact, confirmation, and conclusion, with rebuttals strewn throughout. Finding each section will make it easier to analyze the text piece by piece.

The introduction spans the first three paragraphs, the only section without a subheading. It is also separated from the main body due to being in all italics. These three paragraphs create the exigence to the issue of the Cascadian name—many people are using the title, so it is important to know what it means—as well as providing a brief overview of the argument:

1 Cascadia has shown itself to be an evocative name, conjuring up
visions of a beautiful green land. The lure of this name responds to a
genuine thirst for a home here, for a name and way of life authentically
grounded in the life of the place itself.

The statement of fact follows in paragraphs four through nine, with a description of the region and its boundaries. Non-controversial (at least to McCloskey's audience of people unfamiliar with Cascadia) and full of vivid description, the statement of fact brings the audience up to speed.

The confirmation, where the heart of the argument is, starts in paragraph 10 and ends in paragraph 53. Headings within this lengthy section are each a question that a curious audience member might have, allowing McCloskey to provide his answers and reasoning. The most basic questions are asked and answered first, such as "Why Cascadia? Why not another name?" before progressing into more complex or soul-searching questions about the meaning of language and one's relationship with the land. Throughout the confirmation there are sections of rebuttal, where McCloskey specifically calls out skeptics and attempts to allay their concerns.

Finally, from paragraphs 54 to 65, McCloskey concludes with a return to his main points and strong use of vivid language and pathetic appeals. He uses honorific language about the land itself again, just as in the beginning, and gives his call to action: "And what better way to begin than by learning to speak her name?" This is somewhat metaphorical, as McCloskey isn't asking for his audience to shout "Cascadia" from the mountaintops, but rather to think about themselves and their region in a new manner.

The argument that people should see themselves as Cascadians is an epideictic one. Epideictic, or ceremonial, arguments "concerned with the present," "aim at proving [its subject] worthy of honor" and "treat all other considerations with reference to this one" (Aristotle 15-16). McCloskey is attempting to build a community of Cascadians in the here and now, focusing on

the present rather than past injustices or future action. He is also focusing on praising Cascadia, regardless of its political expediency, or how practical it is.

McCloskey is using this text to prove that Cascadia is the most honorable way to identify as an inhabitant of the region. He isn't proposing any future actions (political argumentation), nor is he arguing that past actions were just or unjust (forensic argumentation), except when he is arguing for why other names for the region might be less worthy than Cascadia. His goal, as stated in his thesis, is for his audience ~~to~~ learn to become inhabitants, to come to terms with the places we live, and cultivate a culture of our true common ground in the lands we love," which is an argument for a state of mind, not any particular action.

In making his argument, he uses strong emotional, or pathetic, appeals to pride, as well as ad hominem attacks against alternative ways of viewing the region. McCloskey's argument relies on values of place-identity and authenticity, and to as Aristotle said, putting one's audience in the right emotional state—in this case, proud—can help them accept the argument that follows. He also discredits other terms or uses of the name Cascadia by questioning the integrity of the people who don't use his name in his intended way, making ethical attacks towards those who don't have the region and its inhabitants' best interests at heart.

The pathetic appeals and the attacks on his opponents' ethos appear most often in the statement of fact and conclusion, fitting with Corbett's analysis of arrangement. This is because by putting his audience in the right emotional state, McCloskey hopes to make them amenable to receiving his argument. McCloskey is building pride and joy in the land, making it more likely for his audience to want to identify themselves in a way that reflects that pride and joy. The

appeals reveal themselves in McCloskey's loving descriptions of the land he and his audience live in.

4 As a land of falling waters, Cascadia names what it does. And what it does is flow in a thousand different streams off a thousand blue hills, white-water streaming down the green flanks of the Pacific slope in a thousand different ways.

5 Water is the voice of this place, sets the land to singing, the voice that calls life into the place, and invites the people to dwell. Cascades are the mountains breaking into song.

6 In this white-water streaming, Cascadia describes itself evocatively in the dynamism of its own expressive action. It says what it does, does what it says. You can hear this rhythmically falling flow in the very shape and sound of the word itself, *Cas-cad-i-a*!

These vivid and evocative scenes can make the audience feel as if they are there, experiencing what is being described, which only serves to strengthen the pathetic appeals. In this case, McCloskey is appealing to pride or joy in the natural wonders of Cascadia, making his audience amenable to his arguments about the importance of authentic place-identity.

The ad hominem attacks begin in the introduction, with the qualification on the fact that many organizations now use the name Cascadia: "others use the name for commercial gain or political advantage." During the confirmation, he attacks names other than Cascadia (e.g. "The Pacific Northwest") as being part of an outsider scheme to get rich, which draws on the long history of railroads and other corporations claiming land over common folk, and the West's fight back against it (Lough).

24 In the late nineteenth century, one name began to emerge as the "handle" for the whole region—namely, "The Pacific Northwest." This moniker was pushed by the railroads who received enormous "land grants" from the U.S. Congress, and had to dispose of the land. "The Pacific Northwest" was part of an ad-campaign by the railroads to sell the region as "a salubrious place to settle." The railroads' real-estate scheme was designed to entice settlers and gain customers.

Just as explorers from the sea bestowed commemorative names (–New Georgia, New Caledonia”) expressing their national loyalties, and just as the over-land fur-trading cartels, such as the old –North West
 25 Company” (which merged with the Hudson Bay Company in 1821), established the –Columbia Department,” so, too, in the later nineteenth century it was the railroads who constructed a regional identity as part of a real-estate promotion scheme.

McCloskey also mentions outsider political powers, who also imposed names on the region to give themselves power over it.

In either case, whether Canadian or American, political interests of the imperial powers and mercantile interests of the great multi-
 26 national corporations of the era bestowed their own names and boundaries on the land. Distant powers, whose political and economic interests often became con-fused, constructed the first territorial identities for our region.

These attacks portray those who use other terms to refer to the region as outsiders or tools of outsiders, as people who don’t truly care about the land and the people who live in it but only want power or money. This sets up McCloskey as an opposing force, as someone who cares about the land and its people. By contrasting himself with these outsiders, McCloskey is appealing to his own authenticity.

He also returns to the topic of those who use the name Cascadia for, in his mind, nefarious purposes.

To the hustler, I say: words and names are not arbitrary, to be used however one wishes, to *manipulate* appearance or *deceive* others. If you would *hijack* the good name of Cascadia, for instance, to sell
 39 stuff or push your party’s position, then you borrow its charisma for your own egoistic or narrow ends, and, thereby, depreciate its significance. [*emphasis added*]

There are always opportunists, of course, seeking to capitalize on
 40 the latest currency, who cash in and move on, without a qualm—last year it was this, next year it will be that. Who cares when the coinage

loses its juice,” when they’ve ~~mil~~ked it dry” and discarded the old emblem as useless? ~~Whatever...~~”

41 But when you use words and names to obscure, con, or cover-up, when you depreciate the life of the currency, then you engage in the corruption of discourse and language, our shared world of meaning.

The choice of diction used is pejorative toward those who ~~manipulate~~,” ~~deceive~~,” or ~~hijack~~,” or who ~~without a qualm~~” use the name Cascadia without respecting its meaning. McCloskey is making some attempts to fend off other interpretations of Cascadia and to solidify his own given meaning, by attacking the other meanings’ goodwill.

As for the logos, or the reasons and logical connections given by McCloskey to justify his argument, it relies heavily on the values of home, community, and nature. He sees Cascadia as something settled and rooted in place, something connected deep within the ground.

28 The basic problem in using familiar terminology such as ~~The~~ Pacific Northwest,” is that it describes a vector of national imagination more than a real place. *Always the center lies elsewhere, and we find ourselves on the far, forgotten periphery.* As a regional identifier, you might as well say, ~~I~~m from the Northwind,” and be as substantial. [emphasis added]

29 No, ~~NW~~” remains essentially a direction with an arrow shot through it forever flying on that same old arc around the globe, until it sails off into outer space.

30 Indeed, ~~Northwestern-er~~” has always meant ~~being~~ toward” some other place beyond the margin, and, therefore, *never really being at home anyplace.* But if we have no real address—*no name of our own*—residing merely in a direction--a chronic tendency--we can never find a *true dwelling place.* [emphasis added]

31 I don’t want to ride that arrow anymore. I want to stay here, I like it here. I was born here, my family also, and we shall live our lives, and be buried here, too. *This is our home place* in every sense of the word, not a stopping over point to somewhere else. [emphasis added]

32 We need, finally, to free ourselves of that old American dis-ease of always being ~~on~~ the road” to somewhere else, beyond the beyond.

For the restlessness, insatiability, and anxiety, involved in such an endless movement toward an infinite horizon exhausts people and the land, is inherently destructive and self-destructive.

McCloskey is pointing out the problems of the current name (a challenge he has to overcome, as his audience likely never thought of Pacific Northwest being inadequate) in its lost, directional nature, arguing that the “Northwest” will always be on the edge and never centered on itself. Talking of “dwelling places” is strongly reminiscent of bioregional theory, and draws heavily on connections to place. Toward the end of the confirmation, McCloskey drives home these points.

47 **Meanwhile, another voice, a deeper, older voice, rises, asking: who *are* you people? What are you *doing* here? What “voice” *speaks* through you?**

McCloskey is leaning on the idea that people want to feel connected to a community of something larger than themselves, and he is offering his idea of Cascadia as a community of not just the people but the land itself. His earlier pathetic appeals to pride in the land set up his arguments for a community based around the land, a community rooted deep in its natural environment.

In all of the rebuttal sections of the argument, such as paragraphs 36 and 37, McCloskey is working to instill this need for belonging, fighting back against those who might say it doesn’t matter at all. He names and responds to potential naysayers.

33 But who cares? Why does it matter?

34 Many things in life matter deeply, of course, including the life of words. I would ask: what “voice” stands behind this lonely lament? “Who” is speaking when someone cuts off the whole discussion with a dismissive toss of the hand, “who cares?”

35 The first note we hear in this remorseful voice is that of the lone, isolated ego, who has lost deep relationship with others and the land. To the ego, nothing matters anymore (except the ego).

 The second thing to discern is the standpoint of the voice

speaking—perhaps it’s the voice of *an over-whelmed commuter* too harried to focus on anything, or perhaps the bored, snarky voice of *an adolescent* distracted by digital toys, or perhaps that of *an abstracted philosopher* with his head in the heavens but feet not touching the earth, or perhaps *a world-weary cynic* (that disappointed moralist), or perhaps the voice of *a transient* merely passing through, or even the voice of *a hustler* who manipulates words to con people or sell his stuff. [*emphasis added*]

To the first several voices, I respond, as the poet of Ish River, Robert Sund, once said, “If you don’t know where you are, then you don’t know what you’re doing.” To such folks, the real question becomes: When you’re lost, directionless or ungrounded, do you know how to find your way home again?

McCloskey depends on the values of home or belonging for his arguments to have impact. He hopes that his audience doesn’t want to be lumped in with the ego, who cares for nothing but himself. If the audience falls into one of the other categories, McCloskey believes they can be swayed by Robert Sund’s words regarding the need for a home.

So how does McCloskey’s argument work in the context of the Cascadian bioregional movement? According to Simons, movement leaders

~~must~~ must meet a number of rhetorical requirements, arranged...under three broad headings.

1. They must attract, maintain, and mold workers (i.e. followers) into an efficiently organized unit...
2. They must secure adoption of their product by the larger structure (i.e., the external system, the established order)...
3. They must react to resistance generated by the larger structure.”

Simons also points out that movement leaders face incompatible demands, from within and without, termed crosspressures. To achieve their goals while dealing with crosspressures, leaders can adopt strategies on a scale from moderate to militant.

McCloskey takes an intermediate stance, closer to moderate than militant. His argument is mainly positive, arguing for a Cascadia that connects with the land. His rebuttals don't portray his opponents as the devil incarnate, but just as greedy or power-hungry humans who lost their connection to home. The way McCloskey portrays the larger picture in his introduction—that Cascadia is catching on, but sometimes being misused—plays into Simon's notion that leaders ~~must~~ be ambivalent about successes and failures. '... The moderate requires tangible evidence that the larger structure is tractable in order to hold followers in line; yet too much success belies the movement's reason for being.'

McCloskey is showing that his bioregional Cascadia is something that can catch on, but that there is still work to be done, because the Cascadia name has to be kept from being misused. Without this balance, he would not be able to attract new followers or keep current subscribers interested, one of the key goals of a movement leader. McCloskey's pushback against the greed- or power-driven uses of the name is a way to push back against the ~~resistance~~ generated by the larger structure," as people attempt to assimilate Cascadia into their current, non-bioregional understandings without considering what is, in McCloskey's mind, the true nature of bioregionalism and connection with the land.

■ ■ ■

The Cascadian Flag: A Transformative Icon



Alex Baretich's "Doug Flag," the most widely-used symbol of Cascadia. (Baretich)

The second text supporting a bioregional Cascadia is by Alex Baretich, designer of the Doug flag. —“The Cascadian Flag: A Transformative Icon” is taken from his website, freecascadia.org. As designer of the flag that has come to be used across the board for any meaning of Cascadia, Baretich is somewhat possessive of its use and can be found on online forums and message boards, defending his original vision. This text is an argument of what that original vision is.

Baretich’s thesis is one that identifies a proper (and some improper) uses of the flag.

7 The Cascadia flag captures that love of living communities in our bioregion. Unlike many flags, the Cascadian flag is neither a flag of blood nor a flag of the glory for a nation, but a love of the bioregion; our ecosystems and the dynamics interplay between tectonics, H₂O, atmosphere and life; the place in which we live and love.

He has a specific goal in mind for his argument, and for a specific audience: use the flag like this (bioregionally), not like that (nationally, politically).

There are already some differences from McCloskey's text. Baretich is providing guidelines on what it means to be Cascadian and on how to use the Cascadian flag, which are only interesting to those who already have some idea of what Cascadia is and are interested in showing their support. This notion of audience is also noticeable through some of the more radical values brought up in the argumentation, that might not go over as well in a broader audience but make sense when addressing people who already might agree or at least be open to them.

Baretich's audience is made up of people who already consider themselves part of a Cascadian movement and want to support regional pride, even if they aren't doing so in a way compatible with Baretich's beliefs. Someone who knows nothing about Cascadia is unlikely to read this piece on the history of the Cascadian flag. If they do make it this far, they likely will have read some background on bioregionalism and Cascadia, both of which Baretich also provides on his website. Or perhaps they would have seen the flag and heard of Cascadia in another context, outside of bioregionalism, and decided they wanted to learn more. However they came about it, Baretich's audience is mainly people already somewhat familiar with Cascadia, who would be receptive to guidance as to how to further their Cascadian identity.

This can also be determined by the way Baretich goes about arguing his point. His descriptions of how he engaged in eco-sabotage are not only casual, but are intended to serve as a way to boost his own ethos and provide him with authority. He uses that statement that "Clinton/Gore administration... basically back stabbed environmentalists" as a reason for his argument, and doesn't argue for the statement itself—indicating that Baretich thinks his audience is already be comfortable with the ideas and language he uses, with his presumptions of guilt on the side of the Clinton/Gore administration and a sympathy towards environmentalists. These

views of environmentalism might be off-putting to a general audience who doesn't agree with eco-sabotage or who supported the Clinton/Gore administration. Baretich is not including that general audience in his idea of who he is speaking to, and instead focuses in on people who are already exploring the somewhat fringe notion of Cascadia.

The introduction of Baretich's text consists of the first two paragraphs, in which he provides some background as to what he will be talking about. The statement of fact follows in paragraphs three through five, in which Baretich provides his own personal history that led to his creation of the flag. This serves two purposes—one, to provide ethical appeals to the author's long-time standing as an environmentalist; and two, to build pathetic appeals to encourage the audience to put themselves into the author's shoes, and to feel what he felt that led him to the flag, so that the audience too can accept that reasoning.

The confirmation takes place in paragraphs six and seven, in which Baretich argues for his own interpretation of the flag and works through various other interpretations, rejecting or dismissing each as shallower or inferior to his own. The conclusion wraps up in paragraphs eight and nine, in which Baretich provides a "legalese" version of the use of his flag, once again emphasizing the proper and improper uses.

Baretich's argument not only asks his audience to think differently, but to act differently. He is concerned with the dignity or reputation of the flag he created, and he is advocating that it be used to support his own notion of Cascadia as a bioregion, and not for any other purpose. This makes his argument political, or concerned with the expediency (goodness or harmfulness) of

future actions. Baretich is making the case that Cascadia as a bioregion is the best forward path to take, and other visions of Cascadia—particularly as a nation—are less expedient.

While Baretich does claim that past actions were unjust, he does so only to provoke outrage in his audience, and makes no argumentation for his claims (because he believes that his audience already accepts them as true). Likewise, Baretich praises the land and the Cascadia bioregion, but he does so to emphasize its central importance to the Cascadia region. The main focus of his argument is concerned with future use of the Doug flag.

To support his thesis that the flag should be used as a bioregional symbol, and not for any other purposes, Baretich draws heavily on his own personal history, particularly in regards to his fight against environmental exploitation. These ethical appeals are meant to create identification between himself and his audience, who is comprised of environmentally conscious individuals.

3 When I was in high school (early 1980s) I was fighting against the deforestation and mass building of suburbia around my home in Portland. I was very well in-tune with the forests and the open fields (White Oak Savanna) on the south slope of the shield volcano I grew up on. I would enter the forest after school and just listen to Nature. I would do my version of forest defense which meant pulling up surveyors' stakes, pulling down real estate signs and sometimes damage to equipment. I would even go into a forest where trees were marked with spray-paint (marked to be cut) and repaint them with paint matching the color of the bark so the hired tree cutters could not figure out which tree to cut.

By recounting his days as a high schooler, Baretich is establishing his credentials as a committed environmentalist and convincing his audience that he is one of them.

The ethical appeals and connection with his audience make the pathetic appeals even more forceful. Once Baretich's audience is identifying with him as a dedicated environmentalist, they are likely to feel the outrage of deforestation and suburban sprawl even more than they

would without first being primed. Baretich builds up pride in the land, the same as McCloskey, even with similar language and *energeia*.

1 Our home is of continuous cascading waters flowing from our sky and mountains back to the Pacific. For Cascadia is a land of falling water from the Pacific to the western slopes of the Rockies where water cycles as vapor and then rain and snow to run through creek and river back to the Pacific.

The use of “our home,” especially, makes the audience even more aware that this is their land, and it’s something awe-inspiring and special. The pathetic appeals to pride are throughout Baretich’s piece, especially when describing his own experiences.

He isn’t content to leave the audience with mere pride, though. Along with the pride in the land, Baretich pairs a righteous outrage at the way the land is being treated.

3 One day at my forest, the real estate developer had secretly ordered the cutting of all the trees while he was supposed to be arguing his case before Portland city council. It was an illegal cut as the city council were discussing if the “development” should take place given neighborhood protests and local media coverage. The damage was done, but as we tried to stop the loggers I realized this was a losing battle. [...] I had heard those words repeatedly or from the real estate developer himself “you cannot stop progress.” First of all this was not “progress” it was greed and dominion over Nature. It was death and ecocide and its goal was eventually terricide.

Not only is Cascadia a wonderful place, he argues, but it’s under attack by those who want to “develop” it in the name of “progress.” With his audience already identifying with high-school-aged Baretich, they too can feel outraged about what has happened and still is happening.

With the outrage building up, Baretich presents a problem: the land that he and his audience love so much is being attacked, and just trying to stop the actions of the attack aren’t enough. Multiple times, Baretich mentions that his fight for the environment “was a losing battle,” that just stopping the loggers “was a losing battle,” and that the current rules “made all

the legal victories pointless.” Something needs to be done to save Cascadia, Baretich argues, but traditional protests or legal battles aren’t enough.

Baretich teases a solution to these problems throughout the statement of fact.

3 It was at that point I started to search for some means to shift the consciousness of people from anthropocentric (human centered) to one that was biocentric (life centered). I knew whatever that was, that catalysis, it had to be emotion driven and needed to have that ~~—aha~~” moment or epiphany at the human conscious level. I also knew it was not something one necessarily went out and found, but was something that would reveal itself when it was time. So that began a subconscious search for what I would call a transformative icon.

...

4 ~~—~~Like what I had realized fighting real estate developers in the 1980s, had again surfaced that we needed to create paradigm shift in the minds of those who had power.

As a solution to the problem of environmental degradation, the catalysis and paradigm shift that Baretich sought, he comes to the idea of Cascadia and bioregionalism. While dismissing the origins of bioregionalism as too narrow in scope, he offers his flag as a wider symbol of the bioregion.

5 Prior to the [flag’s] design and its popularity, the idea of Cascadia, specifically the bioregion, was pretty much *an abstract concept reserved for radical geographers, hip sociologists, devoted ecologists and “radical” environmentalists*. There were bioregional congresses, but they were periodic camp and small workshops that were from an older generation from the 1960s and 1970s. The bioregional congress ~~—movement~~” or gatherings was an echo of the alternative culture of a bygone generation. The bioregional congress gatherings were also limited to those that already knew about bioregionalism and often to those who could afford both the cost of camping in some distant place and the privilege to do so. What the flag has done is convey something far more tangible than an abstract concept of demarcation of space. *The flag gave access to the idea of Cascadia* that was not limited to scholarly research or having the privilege of money and time for a camping trip on the other side of the continent. [*emphasis added*]

Baretich is portraying the flag as an inclusive symbol that can be used to spread bioregionalism and Cascadia to the masses, as something that will provoke the paradigm shift needed to fight back against the outrages he had previously discussed.

To be a catalyst, the flag has to be used publicly to raise awareness and proselytize in the name of Cascadia. However, Baretich is specific about the way it should be used. He acknowledges other viewpoints, looking at the concept as being like an onion, i.e., having layers. However, he puts the ideas at the center of the onion at the root of the meaning, making the outer layers less valuable and less insightful.

6 I tend to look at the meme (viral idea) of the Cascadian flag like it's a multilayered sphere or onion entering or implanted in the mindscape of the host and then unfolding while releasing its contagion. The meme conveys multiple layers to understanding Cascadia. As the memetic onion unpeels in the deep subconscious of the host some will stay or linger at one or another layer, but I have seen major shifts into the deeper layers by some who I thought would remain at the first several layers and I have seen some *stay stuck at the first couple layers* who I thought would *delve deep into the core* of the memetic onion. [emphasis added]

He uses his choice of analogy to subtly give negative views of the outside layers, and portraying the people still using the meanings of the outer layers as lagging behind, or not quite yet at the ideal point. He wants to bring everyone down into the core of the onion, to his understanding of the flag and the paradigm it entails.

Before he can get to the core, though, he works his way through the outer layers. This allows the audience to maybe identify where they stand, to see how their opinions on Cascadia line up with Baretich's.

6 So the levels or peels. At first the normal reaction, *the shallow surface level*, is to be of nationalistic. The "oh we are a new country" concept which often ends up being "well if they are America then we are Cascadia." This is the flying of the flag as a form of *simple regional*

identity, but then there is the *deeper layers* of consciousness that emerges as the *simple concepts of nationalism peels away*. The next level then is the awareness that Cascadia is not defined by the limited borders of Oregon, Washington and British Columbia, but has greater broader borders that include Idaho, northern California, and southeast Alaska as well as northeastern Nevada, northwestern Wyoming, northwestern Montana and even a little of northern Utah. Then there is the realization that those borders are based on nation-state concepts and imperialism. This realization is that these lines on a map are dictated by the *conquerors and oppressors who have destroyed so much diversity*. This comes to an awakening that Cascadia the bioregion is based on watersheds or river drainage systems that flow all the way to the Rockies or continental divide. Then a deeper layer of consciousness hits that the flow of water is crucial to a bioregion and that life is based on that water. [*emphasis added*]

There's a lot to unpack there, but the main focus is that all of these ideas are not at the heart of the idea of Cascadia. Cascadia as a nation is a ~~shallow~~" notion, Baretich emphasizes, and there are ~~deeper~~ layers of consciousness that emerge" if one just looks hard enough and realizes that nations and nation-states are oppressors of the land. While it is anti-imperialistic and environmentally minded, those are just the start. So what is at the core?

- After that comes the realization that Cascadia or any bioregion is not just a place, but a living complex of interactions and interconnectedness to many communities, human and nonhuman. That at that realization we are not a human in a vacuum separated from
- 6 Nature, but are extensions of each other and dependent on the health and dynamic interactions with each other. It becomes a consciousness of living dynamic being and is no longer stuck in banal nationalism, but is an awakening to being part of a bioregion which is part of the biosphere which is the living Earth (Gaia).

Baretich is arguing for an entire shift in worldview, one that moves his audience from a focus on human-centered communities to seeing themselves as just one part of a much larger bioregion. Even here though, he can't resist a jab at ~~banal~~ nationalism," one of the earlier and lesser concepts. Baretich is bringing his audience to see that a bioregional conception of

Cascadia is the deepest and most fundamental one, and the most likely to solve Cascadia's environmental problems, as a connection to the natural landscape is more likely to bring about change than a civic or political connection (Scannell and Gifford).

In the conclusion, Baretich outlines the usage of the flag in the form of a creative common's license, and while it is free to use for most purposes, he rules out hate speech and exploitation. In hate speech, he calls out nationalism as being a possible charade for hate speech, along with —White Pride.” This is once again drawing back to Baretich's argument that the flag—and therefore the movement—is a bioregional one. Similarly, in exploitation, Baretich mentions not only exploitation of humans but also exploitation of nature, stating that the flag should not be used “contrary to the ideas of bioregionalism.”

Once again, how does all this relate to building Cascadia as a movement? Baretich's audience is for people already invested in Cascadia, and his goal is to keep the movement cohesive and focused on what he sees as the most important issues. He doesn't want the movement to get sidetracked, but tries to keep it rallied around Cascadia as a bioregion. He is most directly calling out nationalism as an antithesis of the Cascadia movement, and is working hard to keep from slipping from bioregionalism into a more traditional regionalism, which “always entails the risk of degenerating into the sort of environmental determinism that has so often underwritten dehumanizing theories of racial difference and national superiority” (Mazel). A vocal section of Cascadians support a more nationalistic view, and Baretich wants to prevent them from gaining traction.

Baretich protects his version of Cascadia in a militant manner, with the rallies against nationalism and fervent use of environmentalism. He is speaking to members of the group, and

doesn't worry as much about how he would come across to a general public, one that might not agree with eco-sabotage. Baretich aims to fire up the movement's base and encourage them to then in turn go out and spread the message; he isn't worried as much about backlash from outside groups but instead is focused on controlling his own group.

■ ■ ■

McCloskey's argument about the name and Baretich's argument about the flag both provide insights into the bioregional movement surrounding Cascadia. The movement is attempting to grow its base by appealing to broad swathes of people, including anyone who lives in the region, but struggles at the same time to keep its message on point. Outward-facing argumentation is done in a moderate fashion, meant to draw a wide range of support, while inward-looking argumentation is more militant and radical, appealing to a base that is already fired up and likely to do something. Pride in the land and environmental or place-based values are important components to both author's arguments.

Cascadia as a Nation

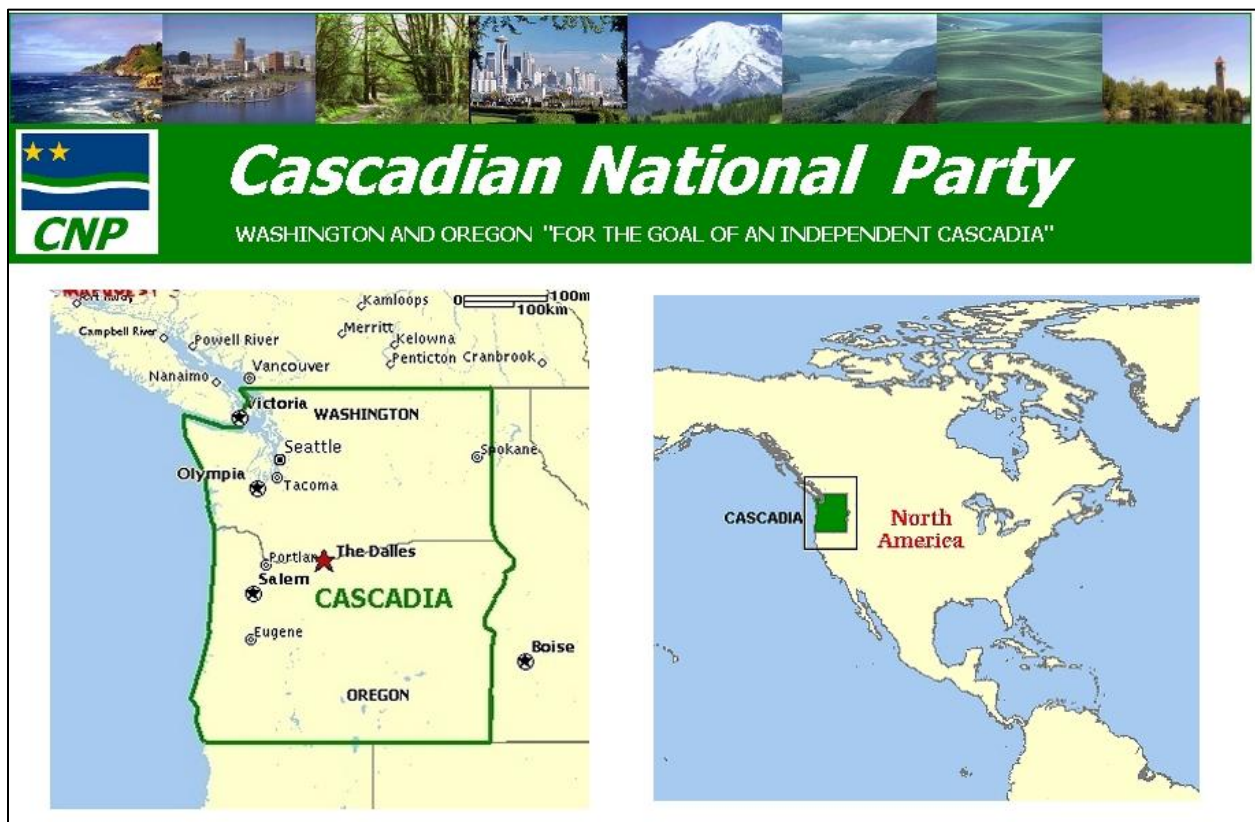
The name Cascadia is not just applied to the bioregion, but is also often used to advocate for political change, up to and including secession. Pure bioregionalists like Alex Baretich are often strongly against the idea of Cascadia as a nation, while others reconcile the two concepts. Some see Cascadia as a political entity first and foremost, with bioregionalism taking a backseat or not being mentioned at all.

When looking for details on Cascadia political movements, it's clear that this notion is much more splintered than Cascadia as a bioregion. There are several non- or barely-functioning groups whose remains litter the internet, including the Cascadia Independence Project, the Cascadia Independence Party, the Cascadia National Party, the Republic of Cascadia, and the Cascadian People's Brigade, to name a few. Some advocate working within the current political system to effect change, while others propose revolution, usually with pseudo-anarchist tendencies. Some are outright racist, white supremacy groups, like the Northwest Front.

The texts I will be analyzing provide a snapshot of the political movement and its struggle for identity. The first is the manifesto for the now defunct Cascadian National Party, a group that formed in 2001 but quickly was overwhelmed by U.S. nationalism after the terrorist attacks of 9/11. The second is a plan that would lead to an independent Cascadian state, from an anarchist blog. Both of these examples demonstrate how ~~scale~~, as discursive and material construction, is used within political struggles to...construct places and networks as acts of political resistance" (Flint).

Cascadian National Party Manifesto

Although the Cascadian National Party (CNP) only existed for a short period of time, its sentiments are shared across many of the Cascadian political groups that came before and after it. The unfortunate timing of its inception—immediately prior to 9/11—means they never ran any candidates or grew beyond the original platform. The CNP is referenced by parties that came afterwards as an example of Cascadian politics, and both the CNP and current parties share many of the same goals. From their archived website, their manifesto argues for why Cascadia needs a national party and what they aim to do as a national party.



The home page of the CNP shows Washington and Oregon blocked off as a separate entity from the rest of the United States, with a header of Cascadian landscapes and cities. ("Manifesto")

The thesis of the manifesto is that national politics aren't addressing regional concerns, but the CNP aims to fix that.

7 The CNP believes the time is coming for Oregonians and Washingtonians to wipe the slate clean in government and truly take charge of their own lives. We can be able to shape our future and create an open, free, and just society without constraints and interference. We can preserve our heritage and quality of life. We can streamline and decentralize social services as well as localize the system and give the people more say in the day-to-day running of government through plebiscite and referendum. Through the rewriting of our respective states' constitutions, we can have a broader version of the Bill of Rights in the form of a Charter of Rights and Liberties that will acknowledge the rights of peoples regardless of race, color, religion, sex, sexual orientation, age, and creed.

The authors intend for their audience to be riled up at the status quo of national politics, and to support the CNP as a better alternative, as one that can take care of people from the area better than any national political party could.

The audience isn't just anyone, however. The CNP is only reaching out to those who are already disgruntled at the current system, residents of Oregon or Washington who already feel frustrated by the standard political choices, which is shown by the arguments made by the CNP. The manifesto lists off problems with the way things are, which would not be very effective if their audience thought things were fine and dandy.

1 There are those Oregonians and Washingtonians who believe the United States has become far too powerful and increasingly oppressive throughout the World and even in it's own borders.

Those Washingtonians and Oregonians who are upset are the ones the CNP is looking to reach. The CNP is targeting people who are already upset with the way things are, and who are looking for a new option.

The manifesto's introduction is the first paragraph, which provides a snapshot of the rest of the piece. It introduces the idea of a Cascadian national party and knocks out the main points that come up later, regarding the way things are going downhill and need to be changed. It also contains some positive descriptions of the region, to show that what's being ruined was something worth saving in the first place.

In this piece, the statement of fact is from paragraph two to six. Here the manifesto lists everything that's going wrong, in the region and in national politics. Because these wrongs are stated and elaborated upon without giving reasons, they must already be accepted by the CNP's audience. This shows the audience already has similar ideas as to the condition of the region. By describing and listing all the problems, the manifesto puts the audience in the right emotional state to be looking for something to do about all of it.

The confirmation proposes the CNP as a solution to all the wrongs that were described previously. Paragraphs seven and eight argue that the CNP will solve the problems and be a step in the right direction. Light on details, the confirmation serves more to draw general interest and support for the CNP, rather than offer specific policies or platform planks.

Finally, the conclusion asks audience members to join the CNP in a rousing call to action.

This argument is political in the rhetorical sense, as well as in the conventional way meaning that it is about politics. The audience is being called to join the CNP and support the future endeavors the CNP was going to take. The manifesto is using past injustices or current outrages to build up anger, but then is calling for the audience to channel that anger into support for the CNP and future votes or actions that would help the CNP.

Similar to Baretich's argument about the use of the flag, the CNP uses emotional appeals to pride and outrage. Pride in the region is mostly built up in the introduction, as the manifesto details a sense of regional exceptionalism:

- 1 Our geography, our environment, our rich vibrant culture, and the way we view life and society dictates that we are unique from that to the rest of the United States. From these, we are worthy of being our own nation and we must guard, promote, and protect it in a peaceful and democratic yet vocal manner.

Residents of Washington and Oregon should be proud of their states and their distinction from the rest of the country, but not just because of the natural landscape (as bioregionalists encourage) but also because of cultural and societal values that make the region a cohesive unit.

This pride is turned to outrage in the statement of fact, as grievances are listed out against the current state of being. Population growth, environmental degradation, and the current political system are all given their own paragraph as to what is happening and why it's bad. Each of the main political parties—Republicans and Democrats—are given their own paragraphs as well, in a turn to ad hominem attacks to focus the outrage on outsiders.

In all of this are constant pathetic appeals to indignation or outrage, pointing out how the changes that are happening around Cascadia are negative ones.

- 2 The good aspect of change is that our economy had become more diverse *but at what price?* We have had a population explosion that would not have been even contemplated in the 1970's. Even the current economic downturn, people are continuing to move here thus creating *stress* on our infrastructure as well as *nearly chronic gridlock* on our highways. Our whole neighborhoods and towns are being *torn down and replaced by gentrification and corporatism*. The poor are being driven out of these communities. Along with this gentrification, our old buildings and symbols of the Northwest are either being *exploited or torn down*. This is particularly evident in Seattle and Portland. Our two largest cities Portland and Seattle and even the other

cities like Spokane and Tacoma are experiencing *unbridled sprawl that make our cities resemble Los Angeles!* We even are witnessing the *breakdown of civility and sense of community* as a result of this population impact and sprawl. [*emphasis added*]

- 3 Our environment is also under the *increased threat* of what corporatists and those who support them as "progress". It is not progress when you have *out of control tearing up of the forests*, particularly in old-growth areas. The fact of the matter is that our *forests are disappearing, plus as a result, the ecosystem is being destroyed*. We see increased mudslides and floods happening annually. Two great symbols of the Northwest, the salmon and the orca killer whale *were once plentiful but now are under threat of extinction and hardly anything has been done to curtail this*. If the bald eagle can be saved so can these symbols! [*emphasis added*]

The use of pejorative language to describe the “population explosion,” and the direct causal connection from the population growth to “the breakdown of civility and sense of community” make it clear that this isn’t a good thing. Using another place (in this case Los Angeles) as a negative comparison is a common tactic to build pride or identity in a region (Alkon and Traugot). In regards to the environment, the CNP’s laments are very similar to what Baretich was saying, about “progress” being used to destroy the natural environment.

The pathetic appeals make it clear that Cascadia is going downhill, and no one is doing anything about it. This bring the audience’s anger to the forefront of their minds, riling them up and making them amenable to taking political action.

As part of building up outrage, the CNP makes ad hominin attacks on both political officials in general and the two main political parties in particular.

- 4 The leaders in the government from the federal to the local level have been *resting on their laurels* from all of the prosperity as well as the *corporate money they receive* for representing their interests. They have been doing plenty of talking but *have not backed up this talk* with actions and plans that have real teeth. The *only promises* they have *really kept* are raising taxes while cutting off essential programs *claiming they are broke*. This complicity harkens back to the last days

of the Roman Empire. Both major political parties are equally guilty of this display of indifference. [*emphasis added*]

- 5 The Republicans, those who now have a stranglehold on the Executive Branch of the federal government, have been a prime example of *pure arrogance and mean-spiritedness*. They all claim they want to get government out of our lives and yet many of them particularly in the leadership roles want to increase surveillance on the populace and have the power to detain those deemed "subversive" or a "threat". They, and particularly in the state of Washington, also want to *force feed their moralist, single-minded Judeo-Christian view on society*. This is the contradiction of what they say when they mean "less government". Not to mention they want to give more breaks to the multinational corporations and the wealthy through tax breaks. [*emphasis added*]

- 6 The Democrats, the supposed "left of center" party has *abandoned their progressive potential a long time ago*. They have a way of *saying one thing* and then turning around and *doing the opposite* of what they say. They preach that they want to be "bi-partisan" and work with Republicans but what good is an opposition party when you do not have the backbone to make a stand and back up your words with actions? The Democrats *sold them out* just like the Republicans and therefore are nothing more than a *token opposition*. The programs that the Democrats have promoted to help people have very little money in order for them to be effective plus they are all geared not to help people but to make them more dependent not INDEPENDENT! People need to have help but not by handouts. It should all be based on "give" and "take". The Democrats have no real powerful leadership and this is no doubt among their handicaps. [*emphasis added*]

Politicians are all corrupt, lazy, and morally repugnant, according to the CNP. When things are going wrong, as described in previous paragraphs, it's easy to bring blame to the people who are supposed to be fixing them. By specifically attacking national parties, the CNP is also building anger towards outsiders who are disinterested in the details of life in Cascadia. These open up the CNP as the only viable alternative, after shooting down the other choices.

After establishing the problem and putting the audience in the right mood, the manifesto unleashes its argument, a laundry list of general solutions that the CNP promises to bring, if only

it gets support from people like the audience. In contrast to the pejorative language and negative values used in the statement of fact, the confirmation has positive value after positive value:

7 The CNP believes the time is coming for Oregonians and Washingtonians to wipe the slate clean in government and truly take charge of their own lives. We can be able to shape our future and create an open, free, and just society without constraints and interference. We can preserve our heritage and quality of life. We can streamline and decentralize social services as well as localize the system and give the people more say in the day-to-day running of government through plebiscite and referendum. Through the rewriting of our respective states' constitutions, we can have a broader version of the Bill of Rights in the form of a Charter of Rights and Liberties that will acknowledge the rights of peoples regardless of race, color, religion, sex, sexual orientation, age, and creed.

8 The CNP also believes that it is possible to have a higher standard of living, better education for children, and a cleaner environment, and a return to a sense of community without having to be represented by greed or special interests. We can achieve such things without having to compromise our security and freedom. We can have a Cascadia where our top priorities are safeguarding the environment, education, helping those who need it without a handout of crumbs, greater civil rights and liberties, and promoting peace without the exploiting the will of others through adventurism and corporate gain by a superpower.

All of this sounds great, especially when compared with the statement of fact. The audience already feels that things are going poorly, and the CNP is providing a solution, painting a picture of the way things could be, if only the audience gave the party their support.

This manifesto is a militant effort to create a movement. The ethical attacks on the opposition and the pathetic appeals to outrage make the movement more likely to attract people who already feel the same way and then to urge them on to act on their feelings. It is calling on people who are already upset to channel their anger into the CNP and the hope of a more autonomous Cascadia.

It's also interesting to note that, despite the call for ~~progressive~~ values," this manifesto is actually advocating for a conservative movement. The introduction appeals to nostalgia, a sense that ~~over~~ two decades ago, Cascadia was one of the most pristine and most unique places to live." The CNP wants to return to a previous time, before population growth and environmental degradation. Not only is the focus to ~~shape~~ our future," but also to ~~preserve~~ our heritage and quality of life."

While sharing some ideals and a name, the Cascadian National Party is a distinctly separate vision for Cascadia from the bioregionalist movement. The CNP is building outrage over not just environmental harms, but social and political wrongs. Although concerned about the environment to the point where it's a central plank in their argumentation, the CNP is equally concerned with population growth and the way the government is run.

The solution to the problems is different as well: instead of advocating a shift in consciousness, the CNP wants to take political action, force their way into positions of power, and write laws that will lead to a better life.

This wider range of issues was used by the CNP to target a much wider range of people, in some ways: maybe you weren't concerned with the environment, but you did think that politicians from across the country couldn't represent you well, and you wanted to do something about the gentrification in your neighborhood. However, the broader range of issues also makes the CNP more divisive than the bioregional movement. If someone agrees with current politics, or thinks the population boom is good, while they might be interested in Cascadia as a bioregion they would be turned away from the CNP's stance on those issues.

■ ■ ■

Democratic Confederalism: How Cascadia Can be Free

While some advocates for Cascadian politics see viable pathways within the existing system, others want to secede from national governments (United States of America and Canada) altogether. “Democratic Confederalism: How Cascadia Can be Free” is an article from Communalism for Cascadia, a blog dedicated to advancing a free Cascadia.

Democratic confederalism is a system of government that is organized from the ground up, with smaller citizens’ assemblies from individual neighborhoods joining together to form larger autonomous bodies. These democratically-elected groups would provide an alternative to traditional states, eventually overtaking the nation-states and becoming the sole form of government. The system is relatively recent, having been proposed in its rudimentary form in the 1970s as a post-Marxist form of communalism.

In the article, the unnamed author argues a path to independence using the political framework of democratic confederalism.

7 For the reasons I have mentioned above, I do not believe that the creation of a new state provides a viable means of achieving Cascadian independence, and that if we’re to have a real chance of achieving autonomy, it should be done through a non-state form of social organisation. I am of the opinion that the most likely means of achieving Cascadian independence is through the political theory of democratic confederalism.

Through the body of the piece, the author makes the case that democratic confederalism is both viable and fitting with Cascadian values, asking their audience to take steps to enact it.

As the piece is arguing for one specific method of secession, it is aimed towards people who support the notion of Cascadian secession in general but don't already know about or approve of democratic socialism. If someone is a resident of Cascadia but doesn't want to secede (either because they don't know about Cascadia, or they know but see it as a non-political movement), this article is not meant to convince them that there is a need for secession. The author even says that —binging people to the conclusion of secession from this point is another task on its own.” It presupposes a need for independence, and is concerned with how to go about achieving it.

The arrangement of the piece is relatively straightforward. The introduction is the first three paragraphs, including ethical and pathetic appeals similar to the previous pieces, and a brief introduction to democratic confederalism. The statement of fact, from paragraph four to paragraph six, outlines general information about secession and what it would mean to secede. This includes barriers to secession, such as the lack of popular support and the over-arching power of the United States government. Another problem mentioned is that of American Indians, because forming a new state on top of their land while decrying the old state as imperialistic colonizers seems a little hypocritical. Describing public opinion and problems facing any region that would want to secede are, for the most part, uncontroversial—but the fact they are being discussed at all shows that the audience must take the idea seriously.

The confirmation begins in paragraph seven, when the author returns to the idea of democratic confederalism. Here is where the argument begins: most readers probably don't consider themselves democratic confederalists, or even be familiar with democratic

confederalism. The author works to convince them that democratic socialism is both viable and fitting with Cascadian values.

Finally, the conclusion goes from paragraph 16 until the end. This is a clear call to action, with the claim that “If we are serious about building a better world, we need to start now.”

From the conclusion, we can tell that this is also a political argument, concerned with future action. The author is proposing a specific method to carry forward with, and arguing that it is the most expedient and the best option available: —this is the most ideal form of social organization for Cascadia.” Again, they mention past injustices, but only so as to argue towards their end goal of future action.

In the introduction, some of the only explicit ethical appeals are made (the only personal experiences described and the use of the word “I”).

1 Especially as a small child, I marveled at the beauty of the West Coast. On family road trips to Vancouver Island, I spent the duration of the drive gazing out the window in starry-eyed amazement. I was captivated by the rolling mountains covered in the great Douglas fir and Redwood trees, both of which towered above me like giants. I was enchanted by the luscious green rainforest from which all manners of life seems to grow, and which in the eyes of a child seemed as though it could only be explained by magic. The bald eagle, as it soared magnificently above struck me with awe, and I longed to have wings to fly as they do to distant lands. I was humbled by the respectable power of the moose, and enthralled with the playful intelligence of the Orca and Raccoon. In a word, I fell in love with the Earth.

The ethical appeals are the author’s way of showing that they’re in the movement for the right reasons: love of the land. The descriptions also serve as pathetic appeals to pride in nature, just like every text before this one has included.

For the rest of the essay, except for the conclusion, the argument is based most heavily on logos. The introduction introduces the values around which the argument is centered:

2 However it was not until much later in life that I learned that this land has another name: Cascadia, a name designated to this bioregion by a movement for the *protection of its ecosystem and for its independence*, as well as a movement that holds dear to it *autonomy, equality, and protecting our future*.

The author is setting out these ideals as what Cascadia stands for, and from there-on-out, shows how democratic confederalism can achieve those ideals.

Knowing that while maybe their audience believes in an autonomous Cascadia but is skeptical about democratic confederalism, the author needs to bridge that gap and show that democratic confederalism is the best route for Cascadia.

9 Democratic confederalism is directly compatible with Cascadian ecological values. It was initially conceived under the name “libertarian municipalism” by the libertarian socialist Murray Bookchin as the political component of the philosophy of social ecology, which locates the roots of the ecological crisis in the relations of domination between people. The domination of nature is seen as a result of domination within society, and under capitalism the domination of nature reaches the crisis proportions that we see today. Social ecology holds that there presently exists a crude dualism between human and non-human nature, and that rather than dominate and subsequently destroy the Earth, humans should exist in a complementary relationship with non-human nature in which they foster biodiversity. It is through this principle of complementarity that social ecology seeks to overcome this dualism, and unite human and non-human nature as a whole. As such, living in ecological balance with the earth is an intrinsic part of democratic confederalism, and so a democratic confederalist movement in Cascadia would have immediate interests in the preservation of our beautiful ecosystem and be a form of social organisation that respects the ecological limits of our bioregion. [...] Libertarian socialist and horizontally democratic in its political orientation, democratic confederalism is also compatible with the principles of autonomy and equality held so dearly by the Cascadian movement.

This direct comparison of values is meant to convince the author's audience that democratic confederalism really is a fitting political system for Cascadia. The author appeals to a bioregional sensibility about the relationships between humans and nature, and then demonstrates how democratic confederalism can meet bioregional ideals. Other values are also demonstrated to fit both Cascadia and democratic confederalism, like independence or self-sustainability in paragraph 12. This alignment of values is to show that this particular political system is in fact a good fit for the Cascadian movement, drawing in readers who share those values and are looking for a way to express them.

In addition, the use of value arguments is made to solve the problem of forming a new state on Native American land, arguing that it would be unfair or unequitable to continue on in the colonial pattern, replacing one imperialistic state with another.

6 Any social movement which values equality and that seeks to secede from Canada or the United States must have as a part of it a sense of fairness for the original inhabitants of this land. I speak of course of the numerous Indigenous peoples who inhabit the region of Cascadia. [...] Seeking to establish a new state on land belonging to these First Nations is myopic and has an air of colonial pretensions to it, as it doesn't consider the role that the state has historically played in being complicit in colonialism in North America. It has been hundreds of years since North America was first colonised, and we cannot simply turn back the clock and undo what has been done. However, we must find a solution to the issue of colonialism which is based in respect, solidarity, preservation of Indigenous cultures, and autonomy, especially for First Nations, who have historically been subjugated to domination and deprived of their right to self-determination as well as their ancestral lands.

However, later on, the author writes that:

13 I have stated that any social movement which values equality and that seeks autonomy from Canada or the United States must have as a part of it fairness for the Indigenous Nations of this land, and support a position of anti-colonialism. Democratic confederalism is directly compatible with this. To see how it is compatible we must look at how

democratic confederalism is already a part of anti-colonial struggles elsewhere in the world. I have stated that democratic confederalism is the political system of the autonomous region of Rojava in Syria, and that the democratic confederalist system in Rojava is being organised by members of the PYD, TEV-DEM, and YPG/J.

To show that democratic confederalism respects values of fairness and is an anti-colonial ideology, the author uses the example of

Rojava.

—Examples‘ are most suitable to deliberative speeches,” Aristotle writes, —for we judge of future events by divination from past events.” By describing how democratic confederalism is being used currently in Rojava, the author makes the case for democratic confederalism’s use in Cascadia’s future.



Presumably made by the author of “Democratic Confederalism: How Cascadia Can Be Free,” this flag is a cross between the Cascadian flag and the flag of Rojava. (“Democratic”)

The question remains, what is the relevance of democratic confederalism to decolonisation struggles in Cascadia? Kurdistan, like Cascadia, is home to numerous different peoples. Armenians, Assyrians, Arabs, Kurds, Turks, Czechs, Yazidi, Alevi, Sunni Muslims, Jews, Christians, and others all live within the borders of Kurdistan.

- 15 Democratic autonomy seeks to guarantee the protection and development of these cultures, and its activists organise these diverse social groups through bottom-up democracy by creating councils in their communities. The councils are organised in a way that rejects statist centralism, insisting that decisions must be made by the base. Democratic confederalism, in following the example of the democratic

autonomy of the KCK, would respect the autonomy of all peoples in Cascadia, and assist in the preservation of their cultures.

The list of various identities working together under a system of democratic confederalism is used to show that it is possible to respect a number of groups living together, showing the same value of autonomy that Cascadia holds.

The author also makes use of examples to argue that democratic confederalism is a viable option, as well as a fair one. In addition to aligning the values of democratic confederalism with the values of Cascadia, the author uses examples to show how democratic confederalism has worked in the past and so can be reasonably expected to work again.

Another example is used to show that democratic confederalism is a functional system. Because they are proposing the idea that “secession would begin at the local level, achieving autonomy for a particular municipality” through the use of organizations that provide services previously provided by a larger state, they use the Black Panthers to show how non-state services could be offered.

11 This strategy has been an essential element of past revolutionary struggles, and there are even examples of it in North America. Though we may not agree with all of their politics, the Black Panther Party, at the peak of their organisation, operated over sixty social programs which provided for Black communities. These included meal programs, community pantries, free clothing programs, free health clinics, and numerous others. One does not have to agree with the politics of the Black Panther Party to see why this is an effective strategy for building a mass movement, and one that can be used by a democratic and libertarian socialist one.

The author draws upon the Black Panthers services like to show the of democratic confederalism. This model is a way to solve the problem of lack of popular support or political

pathways for secession, as well, because it just continues to provide services until the old state has become obsolete.

These examples show that the audience is already familiar with Rojava and the Black Panthers. Aristotle says that —~~w~~hen two statements are of the same order, but one is more familiar than the other, the former is an example.’’ The more familiar cases of Rojava and Black Panthers are used to argue for the less familiar case of a democratic confederalist Cascadia. This means the audience must have a passing familiarity with the two examples, showing that the authors assumes that they are already somewhat knowledgeable about secessionist movements.

In the conclusion, the author reiterates that the values of Cascadia and democratic confederalism are aligned, warning against ~~an~~authoritarian or fascist’’ groups, and arguing that the ideas are ~~not~~ complex’’ but are ones that work (referring to the examples shown).

Still, democratic confederalism is not a complex idea. We don’t need complex ideas. We need ideas that work. For democratic confederalism to begin tangibly manifesting itself at the levels of our local communities, requires only that local assemblies are organised according to the principles of mass direct democracy, that they create a vibrant and participatory political life, and that these assemblies talk to others in different municipalities. That is, they must confederate. We can begin organising these assemblies now, and through
 18 these assemblies we can begin to assert a moral influence over the municipality. We can also run municipal candidates to help organise these assemblies. Assemblies already organised can provide a movement which will support these candidates. It is from here that a mass movement will begin to form, and from where we will begin to realise our revolutionary praxis.

My fellow Cascadians, it is our dream of freedom that sustains us, however dreaming alone does not bring about action. We must not only dream, but we must believe that freedom is possible. We must rise up. An autonomous
 19 Cascadia free from ecological destruction and oppression can be ours, if we have the will to organise it.

This is a clear call for secession supporters to begin working towards secession in this particular manner. It hopes to unite Cascadian secessionists behind one idea, an idea that will work to replace the current political system in a viable way. It is aimed inwards towards people who are already interested in the movement, and aims to bring everyone together through shared values and examples of how to accomplish its goals, by providing a method to achieve its goals despite challenges the current system poses.

The author strikes a militant pose, calling out against the current political system in its entirety and appealing to controversial groups such as the Kurds and Black Panthers. This ties in with its goal of energizing and rallying existing members of the movement. The goal is not to be brought into the current power structure, but to create a new one.

...

Fighting for an independent Cascadia is a radical endeavor, one that seems to require militant rhetoric. Arguments tend to be made to already-frustrated residents, or Cascadians who are already entertaining the notion of secession, while outward facing, moderate argumentation meant to grow the movement seems to be less common. Arguments include strong appeals to pride in the region—including its natural landscape—but also are grounded in ideas of autonomy and self-determination.

Cascadia as a Socio-Cultural Movement

While bioregions and independent republics might be appealing to some, many people are introduced to the term —“Cascadia” through more innocuous mediums, like fan gear at soccer games or labels on beer bottles. Cascadia considers its culture distinct—and superior—than the rest of its countries, from the beer to the sports to the music. Some of the largest organizations advocating for Cascadia are cultural ones, putting on regional music festivals and art shows, poetry slams and camping trips, soccer leagues and brewery tours. There’s a type of beer (Cascadian Dark Ale) and music (Cascadian black metal) named after the region, as well as a soccer competition (the Cascadian Cup). These social and cultural activities often incorporate parts of bioregionalism or politics, but usually take them less seriously or see them as side issues.

The two texts I will be analyzing were shared on the website of CascadiaNow!, the largest social organization for Cascadia. CascadiaNow! has more than 16,000 people "liking" its Facebook page, 3,500 followers on its Twitter, and almost 9,750 members of its forum on Reddit, making it one of the leading Cascadian organizations in terms of engagement. Its status as a 501(c)3 non-profit organization makes it explicitly non-political.

“Cascadia: A state of mind, a bioregion of beer” was originally published in *The Growler*, “[British Columbia]’s quarterly craft beer guide,” and provides an overview of the region’s beer culture. “The Cascadia Cup and the Cascadia National Team (CAFF)” was published on IBWM, an international soccer blog, and details the region’s push for its own soccer team. These two articles give an overview of the various social uses of the term Cascadia, as well as providing context as to how social Cascadians see themselves.

Cascadia: A State of Mind, a Bioregion of Beer

Written for *The Growler*, a journal dedicated to craft beer, this text is focused on the role of beer culture in the region. It also touches on Cascadian secession and has a relatively large focus on the bioregional aspects of Cascadia, including interviews with Alex Baretich. The author, Jan Zeschky, is a food and beer writer for a Vancouver, B.C. newspaper. This article looks at the



Yet another version of the Cascadian flag, this time with the Doug Fir replaced by a beer bottle and pint glass. (Zeschky)

beer culture in relationship to Cascadia.

In writing this article, Zeschky is calling attention to how beer functions to grow a regional identity. He is arguing for a community built on a love of beer.

- 14 This sense of shared values and purpose has resonated with the region's brewers and beer drinkers. And something of the frontierism in the push west is still alive in Cascadia's craft beer movement today. Brewers are still exploring, pushing boundaries, seeking new horizons, using their creativity and resourcefulness.

Zeschky is supporting a regional pride based around beer. His goal is to make his audience think a little wider about the beer they drink, and to look at the social aspects of it as well, all while celebrating how great it is.

Zeschky is writing to quite a wide audience: craft beer aficionados in Cascadia. Washington and Oregon have some of the highest concentrations of craft breweries in the United States, and (along with Idaho) grow almost the entirety of the country's hops, marking the region as one with both a favorable climate and favorable clientele to the craft beer industry. Although originally published in a somewhat specialized magazine, the article was republished to a general newspaper's website and shared by CascadiaNow!, among other organizations. While it might appeal more to beer or Cascadia experts, it is accessible to anyone interested in either topic, and possibly even more effective on people who aren't already involved with the Cascadia movement.

This is because the article uses a relatively narrow, bioregion-focused idea of Cascadia to connect to the beer culture. It mentions secession and the idea of an independent Cascadia, but immediately puts the notion down—something that would be alienating to people who see Cascadia as a political entity. The interviews with Alex Baretich serve to define Cascadia as a bioregion, with the social aspects (like beer) layered on top. Even the idea of a bioregion is relatively watered down from Baretich's own views, making the idea more palatable to a broad audience. The regional exceptionalism that is present, however, makes it clear that this is meant for people residing inside the Cascadian region.

As far as arrangement goes, the introduction starts with descriptions of the natural land, very similar to the bioregionalists' texts. Then it moves to beer, touting Cascadia's position as ~~the~~ "the engine room of beer's global reinvention as craft beer," and brings the two together, mentioning the shared beer culture along with other factors like ~~geography~~, climate, history, and people."

The statement of fact starts with a bioregional map of the region by McCloskey, along with a clear indicator of what the Cascadian movement is not, according to Zeschky: ~~But~~ "first, let's put the political concept to bed." He then moves into a brief introduction to bioregionalism as a concept, including some interviews with Baretich. Making the audience familiar to the concept of bioregionalism—especially with the political concept put to bed—is uncontroversial.

The confirmation starts in paragraph 14, when Zeschky comes back around to beer and its role in the region. Here is where Zeschky starts tying together the pride in craft beer and pride in the region, making the case for a Cascadia united by beer. Despite having denied the explicitly political idea of Cascadia, the values used to make the argument supporting the region and its beer include independence and a willingness to try new things, expanding frontiers and pushing boundaries. Environmental awareness is also included, pulling Baretich back in for some more quotes on this topic that overlaps with bioregionalism. The confirmation includes quotes from several breweries in Cascadia, each one giving credence to the idea that the beer isn't just beer, but something tied to the region and its culture.

The conclusion ends with the idea that Cascadia is ~~a~~ "a tricky concept to pin down; a lot like craft beer." The analogy comparing the two is an argument that they are similar, and should be seen together. Making beer an essential component of the Cascadian identity will bring beer

drinkers into the Cascadian movement, as well as maybe driving up beer sales for local breweries from supporters of Cascadia.

While possible outcomes—cross-overs between the beer and bioregional movements—are something that Zeschky is promoting, he isn't doing so in a call to action. His argument is more of an epideictic argument, one that aims to build pride and assign praise. He isn't directly telling beer drinkers to attend the next CascadiaNow! event, or to go read Baretich's articles about bioregionalism, and he isn't directly telling Cascadians that they should drink beer from these particular breweries to support their region. Instead of advocating for action directly, Zeschky is building the underlying mental framework. He's working to build pride and to change the mental framework, bringing beer and Cascadia closer together in his audience's mind. The argument uses a unique history to argue for this praise of the region and its beer, and the future actions are implied, but the argument itself is focused on the present, on appreciating Cascadia's beer culture.

The main ethical appeals in the piece are to outside sources, other than to the author himself. However, by denying the political aspects of Cascadia, Zeschky is making an ethical appeal to show that he's not too ~~—r~~fringe" or radical.

5 But first, let's put the political concept to bed. The chances of Canada and the U.S. allowing B.C., Washington and Oregon secede to form a new North American republic – even if the majority of residents agreed to it – are, pretty much everyone agrees, slim.

Because of his immediate shutdown of the political aspect, Zeschky is making it clear that he thinks his audience might not be on board with the ideas of secession. By focusing on

bioregional and cultural aspects, Zeschky is making the claim that he's just another beer lover, and not crazy, by writing off any political goals of independence.

Although Zeschky doesn't make many other ethical appeals for himself—being a beer writer, it's assumed that he's both one of the audience and knowledgeable about the subject—he does reach out to several other experts to make his point. This is partially because this text is journalism, a genre that highly recommends outside sources, but also because it is working to show how this Cascadia idea is something that is catching on, and worth buying into. By bringing in Baretich to describe bioregionalism, it becomes a real concept instead of something the author may have made up (especially since it's outside of Zeschky's area of expertise).

Cascadia as described by Baretich isn't particularly beer-y, however, so Zeschky uses the brewers to entice beer drinkers into paying attention. While it might be easy to blow off a bioregionalist, or even say that a beer writer isn't a definitive source, beer enthusiasts are much more likely to listen to the people who are actually brewing their beer. When a brewer brands their beer as “~~p~~roudly Cascadian” or “~~m~~ade in the Republic of Cascadia,” and extols the virtue the region has on the craft, a beer drinker is going to pay some attention to the topic. Even just using the word “~~r~~epublic,” despite not having overt political goals, makes it clear that Cascadia and Cascadian beer place a strong emphasis on autonomy, a value shared across Cascadia.

The pathetic appeals present are very similar to what has been in previous texts: a tremendous focus on pride.

- 1 It's an evocative name. It conjures up images of dense evergreen forests, soaring snow-capped peaks and water, water everywhere: from rain and snow and ice and glaciers to mountain creeks, mighty rivers and the boundless Pacific.

The *energeia* in describing region makes the audience think of the beauty of the outdoors—not just any outdoors, but their outdoors. The awe in nature is a pathological appeal that every Cascadian argument has made so far.

The pride isn't just about the land, but also in the beer and everything surrounding it. ~~In~~ an environment like Cascadia," one brewer proclaims, ~~—~~we're used to pushing boundaries, [experimenting] makes sense. And it's found a home here because we've got the best beer drinking customers on the planet that are very accepting of experimentation." Cascadian beer drinkers being the targeted audience, statements like these build pride in the community and show the community as being unafraid of standing on its own and pushing back against imposed boundaries. Just mentioning pushing boundaries draws a connection to Cascadia's past as a frontier, and "any deployment of the language of the frontier resurrects an entire mythic apparatus of American genesis, character, and values" (Redding). The logos of the piece draws connections from the region's history of having an independent streak and the current craft beer culture, as well as between the natural environment and the beer itself. By making the connections from something the audience already is proud of and supports (beer, craft brewing) to the other aspects (environmentalism, Cascadian culture), Zeschky is hoping to draw beer drinkers into the Cascadian movement (or Cascadians into the beer enthusiast movement).

Regional exceptionalism is brought up quite often, which often includes values like those seen in the political Cascadian movement, values like independence or self-reliance. One brewer notes that

- 12 —There's an assumed idea that the establishment doesn't meet the needs of us out here. And so we've got to do it ourselves, we've got to do it different, we're good enough, we're smart enough," says Max Dejarnatt, sales and marketing manager for Fish Brewing Company in Olympia, Wash., whose labels once stated that its beer was made in ~~—th~~ Republic of Cascadia."

The importance of independence, and the lack of connection to the national government or culture, is very similar to the Cascadian national sentiments regarding political power and self-governance, despite Zeschky ruling out the possibility of those national sentiments ever becoming anything. The regional exceptionalism isn't just brought up and left for the audience to ponder, but is connected directly to the beer culture: —“And something of the frontierism in the push west is still alive in Cascadia's craft beer movement today.”

The text also connects beer culture to the natural landscape. From the opening descriptions of the land to the outline of bioregionalism in the statement of fact, Zeschky is making it clear to his audience that the environment is important. In the confirmation he links the land with the beer, quoting several brewers:

21 The wild grandeur of the Cascadian landscape is another source of
inspiration for the no-holds-barred beer brewed here: big flavours inspired by a
big country to cater to big appetites for something different.

22 —I'm not surprised that craft beer really started booming in this region
early on. There's something esoteric about the dreary weather but also beautiful
summers, windy coastal areas, evergreen forests,” Dejarnatt says.

23 —With big geographic features come big flavours, big personalities,”
Ettinger says. —. It's important that the style caters to what the Cascadian beer
drinker wants, and they want a ton of flavour.”

Following that, being sustainable and environmentally conscious is also linked to beer quality, bringing back bioregionalist ideas and praising the people who serve as good stewards of the land.

24 Ettinger also draws a parallel between beer culture and the friendly
openness of Cascadian residents.

25 —There's generally an inclusive nature about beer and I feel like when I
travel around Cascadia there's a very friendly attitude as well. I feel very much
at home moving around Cascadia,” adds Ettinger, who, as if to underline the
point, was due to be heading for a vacation in Vancouver.

26 With a connection to the land and an innate sense of its awesomeness
 come an instinct to protect what's there.

27 –We live in such a beautiful area and we strive to be stewards of
 Cascadia. So there are things to be proud of in terms of our resources we use to
 make the beer, but also the environment that allows for those resources to be
 cultivated and successfully harvested. When we have a nice resource it's up to
 us to protect it. So there's an attitude of environmentalism here that's cool,"
 Ettinger says.

By praising the beer, the land it comes from, and the people who are involved with the industry and culture, Zeschky is arguing for a strong connection among the region. The beer itself is connected to the land and the people who love both of them, forming a cohesive whole of Cascadia.

With the appeals to pride in the landscape, as well as the beer and people who drink it, this is a clear epideictic argument meant to extol the virtues of Cascadia. While bioregionalism and environmentalism are an important aspect, and political notions of self-sufficiency and regional exceptionalism are also significant, the focus is on their connection with the culture of the people. As part of the Cascadian socio-cultural movement, this text draws upon the more radical elements but focuses on the more moderate, accessible portions, casting a relatively wide net. The fact that pathetic appeals remain prideful, without moving into ~~outrage~~, "is also a significant distinction between this text and those in previous categories. With a wide audience of beer drinkers who live in Cascadia, Zeschky takes a moderate stance to appeal to them.

■ ■ ■

The Cascadia Cup and the Cascadia National Team

Published in the soccer news source of IBWM and reshared by CascadiaNow!, this text provides an update on the state of Cascadian soccer, specifically the Cascadia national team. Written by Dan Roberts, it subtly praises the Cascadia region for its dedication to soccer and the unity that comes from it.



An example of a Cascadian flag “tifo,” or large fan-made display, at a Portland Timbers soccer game (Roberts).

Similar to the last text, this one was written in the journalism genre. This piece was also written by someone outside the region. Because of the genre and the distance of the author, the argument here is relatively weak and muted. For the most part, it is reporting facts on the state of Cascadian soccer. However, the way it goes about doing so shows a support of the Cascadian region for its dedication and highlights some of the reasoning behind it. In a quote from Lenny

Laymon, president of the Cascadia Association Football Federation (CAFF), which organizes the national soccer team, Roberts' argument is stated most boldly:

7 —This is about the sport first and foremost and pride in what this region
of diverse peoples has become in that context.”

Roberts follows that up with a compliment to Cascadia's devotion to soccer.

8 From chat room _what-ifs' to seriously planning to be part of the 2014
VIVA Cup, the speed that the Cascadian association have moved to put
themselves in the position they now are is staggering and to be applauded. Only
one month after their first official board meeting in the headquarters of an
energy drink manufacturer, the CAFF have been accepted by the NF Board and
are now hoping that the swiftness shown on the administrative side is matched
by players, coaches and, most of all, the fans taking up the cause.

The article's goal is to draw awareness and support the Cascadian soccer project.

And where is that support supposed to come from? Other soccer fans, both in the region and outside of it. The focus on the soccer, as opposed to politics or environmental concerns, makes it clear what the audience is most concerned with. Coming from an online publication that prints soccer news from around the world, the article is meant to educate soccer fans far and wide about the national soccer team that could, as well as being an exciting boost to those who already support a Cascadian soccer team.

The introductory first two paragraphs hint at big things brewing in Pacific Northwest soccer, while emphasizing the genuine nature of the region's fervor and fandom. In the statement of fact, Cascadia is introduced as a concept, a very condensed concept relative to the other texts analyzed. The situation—some history of the teams involved, mentioning that they're asking for a representative team—is laid out for the worldwide audience, and for self-indulgence's sake for the Cascadian audience.

When the confirmation hits in paragraph five, it's subtle: —The long term aim is to assemble a team this year and begin playing friendlies in preparation for the next VIVA World Cup.” Describing the progress made towards this goal in glowing terms as well as pointing out possible stumbling blocks—and addressing them—make the most of the confirmation, showing that this endeavor is a possible one and that it is well on its way.

The conclusion finishes the piece up with more praise for the movement, as well as an implied call to action. Rather than asking for support from the audience, Roberts merely states that

8 the CAFF have been accepted by the NF Board and are now hoping that the swiftness shown on the administrative side is matched by players, coaches and, most of all, the fans taking up the cause.

While somewhat meaningless to the world-wide audience, this is a reminder to Cascadian fans that their support is appreciated, necessary, and should be kept up.

This indicates that the main argument is ceremonial, with a dash of political at the end for good measure. The main focus is on praising the CAFF and Cascadia in general for its support of a soccer team to represent the whole region. This appeals to both non-Cascadians and Cascadians alike. For the residents of the region, though, there is an underlying political argument that they should continue their support for the sport.

The appeals to pride (for those in the region) or respect (for those outside) are one of the most important aspects of the argument, as the author repeatedly praises the region's soccer culture.

2 The football teams of the Pacific North West are well known throughout MLS for their passionate supporters who proudly unfurl impressive tifo displays before matches, especially when they come up against each other. The intense rivalries between the Portland Timbers, Vancouver Whitecaps and Seattle Sounders are not some marketing wheeze dreamt up by league officials.

These are real fans whose devotion to their clubs goes back generations creating atmospheres that many, rather more sterile grounds, on the other side of the pond could take a lesson from.

The emphasis on the fans' dedication inspires feelings of pride (for the readers who are fans) and respect or admiration (for the readers who aren't part of the group being described).

The admiration continues when talking about the national team,

5 A representative of the Cascadian association attended the New Federation board meeting held in Munich at the end of February where their case was put forward. They *obviously liked what they heard* as, alongside Franconia and Helgoland, Cascadia was invited to join the federation. [emphasis added]

6 After the *momentous decision* in Munich, Cascadia have been *flooded* with offers of friendlies with Northern Cyprus, Occitania, Raetia and Sealand. Close contact has been made with the Quebec association who have already agreed to home and away meetings and the nascent beginnings of a North America and Arctic federation being set up alongside Greenland and, in the future, New Brunswick. The *clamour* for a Cascadian team has come too quickly for some invitations though, including taking part in a tournament in England this summer, but the association are hoping to have a side playing matches by the end of the year.

The governing body being pleased and making a ~~momentous~~ "momentous" decision, along with the warm welcome Cascadia received from other teams shows the author's appreciation of the team, and their argument that the audience should see the Cascadian team as something admirable, too.

Tied in with the pride/admiration for Cascadian soccer culture is the emphasis on its homegrown nature. Roberts makes it clear that this is a fan-driven movement, with a focus not on the teams or the teams' management or the MLS, the organization the teams play in, but on the fans themselves.

3 Lenny Laymon, President of the Cascadia Association explains: *"This sport is woven into the fabric of life here in a way that is a bit different than other parts of the US and Canada.* The Cascadian MLS clubs go back to 1974 for Vancouver and Seattle and in the case of the Portland Timbers 1975. While

this is not as long as the hundred year histories many clubs around the world boast, it is older than the rest of MLS and most fans come from families where being a fan of the Whitecaps, Sounders or Timbers spans several generations.”

- 4 Alongside a *real sense of regional identity* felt by many of the fans attending matches in Portland, Vancouver and Seattle, it’s not difficult to see why the support for a Cascadian representative side has been so popular. Controversy over the MLS’ attempts to trademark the Cascadia Cup - secretly filing the name in Canada without consulting any of the fan groups from the three clubs - alongside *long-held grudges held by Pacific North Westerners* against the league and a feeling that the US international set up has been reluctant to stage matches in the region have all no doubt helped. Many fans also feel that *the MLS were slow to pick up on the level of passion* for football in the area, not awarding a franchise until the Seattle Sounders joined the big league in 2009. The associations are *quick to confirm their support for the Cascadia Cup Council’s position against the MLS* but feel that the feeling of unity between fans of bitter rivals shows that *the idea of Cascadia extends beyond interleague games.* [emphasis added]

Once again, there is a focus on the region being misunderstood or not represented by outside interests, and building a unique identity for itself. Having national organizations treat the region poorly is a theme seen through other versions of Cascadia, and the independent nature of the region shines through once again.

The long, shared history and the distrust of the MLS are both used as reasons to support the creation of a national team to represent the region on a larger stage. However, the movement is portrayed by Roberts to be an entirely soccer-focused, positive one. This has nothing against FIFA, the super-dominant worldwide soccer organization (as Cascadia is attempting to join VIVA, a smaller worldwide league), and it isn’t a political movement at all. These rebuttals, or definitions of what the movement is not, is making sure that Cascadian soccer isn’t seen as something radical, but instead will be appealing to soccer fans regardless of political views. Similar to the article about beer in Cascadia, this soccer article is depoliticizing the movement and focusing on the cultural aspects—in this case, soccer.

7 These beliefs can sometimes take an overtly political stance but Lenny Laymon sees Cascadia's campaign as a purely football thing. ~~While~~ we welcome the support of any Cascadia organisation and have several who follow and support us, we do not necessarily endorse all of their platforms. This is about the sport first and foremost and pride in what this region of diverse peoples has become in that context."

In the third paragraph, right at the beginning of the statement of fact, Roberts writes that ~~although~~ there are those living in the region that campaign for political independence, the fans are all about the football. The early de-politicization mirrors the way the previous article regarding beer handled the political movement as well. The goal is to avoid any radical political notions, and keep on topic with Cascadia as a region of soccer (or beer).

Similarly, Roberts makes it clear that the push for a national team in a non-FIFA league is not a knock against either FIFA or the United States team.

7 Playing non-FIFA football doesn't tie a player to only that side. It is important to note that the term given to these regions – non FIFA – is in no way a negative stance or against FIFA. The New Federation see themselves as complementary to its big brother. But there is no doubt that areas within countries who feel they have a distinct personality and history are given the chance to represent themselves on a grander stage.

Tying in with the fact that this isn't political, it also is taking care not to take on FIFA, which is the dominating organization for international play.

These careful statements that bound the movement to just soccer are clear indications of a moderate tone. Because Roberts is speaking to a wide audience and is seeking support for the movement, he makes sure not to portray it as something that would rock the boat, and instead keeps it on track as a social movement in support of soccer.

The article also demonstrates how soccer is both a cause and effect of group identities. While the love for soccer grew out of the region, the teams and fans ~~—d~~ not just mirror dynamics of the city or region in which they are located but rather are actively drawn upon to advance ideas about places” (Shobe). In using Cascadian imagery, the soccer teams are contributing to the regional identity, and the particular image of a depoliticized, cultural identity. Pujol and Yuba write that ~~—t~~hanks to sporting events, it becomes possible to make the notion of an imagined community...more real,” and the Cascadian soccer teams serve as a concrete outlet to represent the region. Soccer is an influential part of the region and its identity.

■ ■ ■

From where the texts are published to what they talk about, Cascadia as a social movement is distinctly different from the national and bioregional movements within Cascadia. The social movement advocates take care to distance themselves from the political movement, which is too radical to draw the sort of support the social movement is looking for. Asking people in Cascadia to support local beer or local soccer is something much easier and more mundane than asking them to support independence or secession, even if the underlying ideas of regional exceptionalism are the same. Similarly, while bioregionalism is mentioned in the article about beer, the goal here isn’t for the audience to experience a complete paradigm shift from an anthropocentric to an eco-centric worldview. Instead, it’s used only to draw on pride in the natural land and the connection between the land and the beer.

The social concept is likely how most Cascadians take part in Cascadia—through waving the Doug flag at soccer matches to drinking beer that is ~~—p~~roudly made in Cascadia.” It doesn’t require an overthrow of any existing power structures and is looking for recognition of the

region's distinctness and a celebration of the unity within the region. The same pride that runs through national and bioregional Cascadia is present in the social and cultural aspects, but pride in the region is the extent of the Cascadia social movement.

Cascadia as a Megaregion

Intertwined by the natural landscape, by political aspirations, and a distinct culture, Cascadia's component parts also have shared economic interests. From trade with other regions (especially overseas) to transportation within the region (light rail linking Vancouver, Seattle, and Portland), think tanks and mayors have been promoting Cascadia as a cohesive economic unit since the 1990s. The Cascadia Institute (separate from David McCloskey's institute), Discovery Institute, Sightline Institute, Cascadia Center, the Pacific Northwest Economic Region, and others serve as think tanks advocating for greater regional ties, while the Cascadia Mayors Council, founded by Paul Schell, mayor of Seattle 1998-2002, serves as a regional get-together for Portland, Seattle, and Vancouver.

The texts here are a newspaper article and an academic report, both describing the region's potential as an economic powerhouse and the challenges it faces. The newspaper article, published in the Chicago Tribune, makes the case for stronger regional ties to an audience both within and outside of the region. Cascadia Ecolopolis 3.0 is a report by a graduate class at Portland State University, examining how the region can realize its potential.

Northwest's Economy Defies National Borders

Written for the Chicago Tribune, "Northwest's Economy Defies National Borders" is a piece of journalism meant to make the general public aware of Cascadia's growing economic power. The author, Vincent J. Schodolski, points out the commonalities in the region as well as the challenges facing it.

Similar to the article about Cascadian soccer, this text doesn't make an overt argument but maintains journalistic restraint. However, by covering Cascadia, Schodolski makes it clear that the region is something to keep an eye on.

19 By marketing its assets-from high-tech industries to tourism-as a region, Cascadia hopes to expand its prosperity far better than it could through intra-Cascadian rivalry.

20 "The idea is to have a larger pie where people can get larger slices," said Agnew.

21 The Cascadian pie is impressive. The regional gross domestic product totals \$250 billion, almost equal to that of Australia.

The case is being made for regional integration in pursuit of economic prosperity, a way for the region to grow.

This argument is being made to a very different audience than previous Cascadian arguments. Instead of being made to residents of the region who have environmental, political, or cultural aspirations, the audience is composed of financially conservative readers throughout the country. The Chicago Tribune is one of the largest newspapers in the United States, with an editorial focus on limited government and free markets. In examining a region, the Tribune's audience will likely be interested in seeing how those principles play out, with less concern about things like soccer, independence, or bioregionalism.

The arrangement of the article is a little unusual, likely because of its journalism genre. The introduction gives the same wondrous intro to the natural region as is seen in many of the other texts, before shifting focus to Interstate-5 and the economic side of the area. From there, the article goes straight to the confirmation. There is no statement of fact, likely because the entire piece is meant to educate the readers, and every possibly-unfamiliar issue is explained as it comes up. There's also a lack of a real conclusion, as the article ends suddenly with a brief look towards the future in the very last paragraph. Originally being published in a print newspaper, the very simple and straightforward arrangement is likely appealing, as readers could get the main points without having to go through a statement of fact, and because the argument is a quiet one, a strong conclusion is unnecessary.

Although quiet, the argument remains that Schodolski wants his audience to pay attention to this economic region on the far end of the country. The text is an epideictic argument praising Cascadia's efforts to unite for a common goal. The very fact that he's writing about the area shows that he thinks it is worthy of attention, and although challenges are described, Schodolski focuses on the potential for growth.

Pathetic appeals to awe or wonder at the natural landscape of Cascadia appear in the introduction before quickly fading away. The piece begins with an intrepid explorer looking out over the natural landscape:

1 VANCOUVER, British Columbia — When Scottish explorer Sir David Douglas first gazed upon the mountain spires that provide this city its splendid backdrop, he envisioned mighty rivers pouring through ancient forests and plunging into the Pacific.

2 Thus the range was christened the Cascades.

3 When modern visionaries-with the help of satellite photos-look down on
this coastal corridor of lakes, rivers and fir trees they see a "slender line of
glistening light" connecting the region from Vancouver to southern Oregon.

4 The less poetic refer to this glimmering spine as Interstate Highway 5,
but the current crop of Northwest visionaries share their 19th Century forebears'
dream of a mythic land called Cascadia.

The dateline provides a setting, and the narrative brings out ideas of powerful natural resources with strong diction. The audience is meant to be awed by the natural landscape and environment, before drawn into the economics and commerce, as denoted by I-5.

However, beyond the introduction the pathetic appeals fall off, as the topic quickly shifts from the landscape to the economic factors. The awe in nature is meant to grab the audience's attention and to set them up to think of the Cascadia region in a powerful, positive light. Being foreign to the region, this also might be the audience's only knowledge of Cascadia, as the rainforest on the western edge of the continent. After it introduces the area and frames Cascadia in a positive light, the pathetic appeals to awe no longer appears in the text.

Being a newspaper article, Schodolski does his best to remove himself from the text itself. The use of ethical appeals is relegated to the minimal descriptions of the people Schodolski quotes for the story. Two of the three sources are very similar: one is the "director of the Cascadia Project, a private foundation that promotes regional integration," while the other is "executive director of the Cascadia Institute, a privately financed think tank in Vancouver." The way they are described is notable, in that the funding sources are highlighted. Both come from privately owned institutions, which shows an important part of the audience. Remember, the Chicago Tribune believes in small government, and so its readership likely does as well.

Introducing sources as privately funded then helps build their credibility with the audience as living up to those ideals of limited government. The third source, introduced nearly at the end of the article, is —growth management expert with the city of Portland,” a government worker but one who’s job is to keep things small.

The value of small government—and the corresponding value of a large public sector—plays an important role in Schodolski’s argument for Cascadia.

7 The emergence of such regions around the world—"common production platforms" are what muse-deprived economists call them-has transcended some national borders, even making them outright barriers to economic growth.

8 "We are finding borders and national government policies increasingly irrelevant and even crippling," said Bruce Agnew, director of the Cascadia Project, a private foundation that promotes regional integration.

9 For example, plans have been prepared by private groups to speed up cross-border truck traffic, which is increasing as a result of NAFTA-related trade. But attempts to get the U.S. and Canadian governments to cooperate have been frustrating, Agnew said.

National borders are seen as —outright barriers to economic growth,” as government red tape inhibits economic potential. The mention of potential for economic growth (even if the government is getting in the way) is both a praise of private industry in the region and an attack on the regulation that’s blocking it. These arguments are similar to those Tim Mau found in the Quebec nationalist movement, which argued that —only a sovereign Quebec government free from the restraints of overlapping responsibilities and inter-governmental quarrels was thought to be able to provide the state response appropriate to satisfy the exigencies of the international political economy” (–Referendum”). While not going as far as advocating for a separate nation, the economic movement for Cascadia sees the same problems of non-cohesive regulation.

Other important aspects that Schodolski focuses on are foreign trade and transportation, arguing for increases in both. The idea of progress takes center stage, with bigger being equated with better—something very different from the values being proposed for a bioregional Cascadia. Here, the focus is entirely on economic progress and prosperity.

10 Agnew and others see an economically united Cascadia as far more than the sum of its parts and an important player in the global marketplace. By promoting joint export programs and attracting foreign investment in the region, the U.S. and Canada can *broaden free trade and expand their economies*, a key goal of NAFTA. [*emphasis added*]

11 "There are a lot more things we could do to improve our lives together," said Marian Robson, executive director of the Cascadia Institute, a privately financed think tank in Vancouver.

12 Among their common traits, the roughly 11 million residents of the province and two states also share a passion for trade, especially with Asia.

13 Washington is the most export-dependent state in the union, with a quarter of its jobs linked to foreign trade. Last year one of every six planes sold by Washington-based Boeing was bought by China.

14 Oregon, its traditional timber-based economy *weakened by environmental curbs* on logging, has become increasingly reliant on trade for survival. Portland is the primary gateway for Asian-built cars coming to the western part of North America. [*emphasis added*]

15 And British Columbia, which a century ago forced Chinese immigrants to pay a substantial fee before they could get off the boat, now finds 30 percent of its capital's population is Asian, many of them fleeing Hong Kong in advance of China's scheduled 1997 takeover of the British colony. The influx of more than \$10 billion in investments from Hong Kong over the past eight years has led some local businessmen to dub the city "Hongcouver."

Working together, the region can capitalize on its economic strengths, one of which is trans-Pacific trade. Schodolski also makes off-hand mentions about environmental regulations being in the way of fully realizing economic potential, which shows an emphasis on prosperity over the environment.

Tourism and associated transportation are other key planks in building a united Cascadia, as Schodolski argues for a high-speed rail line to connect the region:

- 24 The same goes for tourism. A joint U.S.-Canadian project to promote Cascadia in Europe and Asia is in the initial planning stage. By showcasing the region and "bundling" its three major airports, planners hope to attract more flights from overseas.
- 25 The "Two-Nation Vacation" concept will point out the wide range of activities vacationers find once they reach Cascadia. The ultimate aim is to get them to stay longer and spend more money.
- 26 One of the key elements in the tourism project-and in the entire future of an integrated Cascadia-is a high-speed rail link running from Eugene, Ore., through Portland and Seattle to Vancouver.

Being able to commute throughout the region is very important to the economic Cascadia, allowing both residents and tourists to travel through the region in a few hours, making it more easily seen as a whole.

Worries that economic growth could lead to population growth present, and they reveal themselves in similar ways as in the nationalistic idea of Cascadia.

- 34 The planners also hope this would provide a way to manage growth and prevent the urban sprawl that Cascadians see when they look south to California.
- 35 "We don't want this to turn into another Los Angeles," said Agnew of the Discovery Institute.

This worry about growth bringing sprawl is reminiscent of the Cascadian National Party's argument. Once again, Los Angeles is used as a negative comparison in order to show how Cascadia is different, a common strategy (Alkon and Traugot). Instead of arguing for a new political party and a public, government-centric method to address the issue, like the CNP, Schodolski sees the solution in better technology and planning, not cutting back on the growth.

Schodolski's version of Cascadia is an almost entirely economic one, concerned with prosperity and progress. Although the natural splendor of the region is appealed to in the beginning to wow the audience, the rest of the argumentation is concerned with how trade and the private sector can build a strong Cascadia. Aimed towards an audience who has no reason to care about the region, Schodolski makes his argument around values that have an appeal to fiscally-minded people: prosperity, progress. The argument is to see Cascadia as a potential powerhouse, a region that is highly capable in providing economic value.

■ ■ ■

Ecolopolis 3.0

The third in a series of five reports, Ecolopolis 3.0 is a report on ~~Infrastructure and~~ sustainability in Cascadia.” The Ecolopolis reports were produced by graduate classes in Cascadia, first only at Portland State University before being joined by the University of Washington. Each report focuses on a separate set of issues facing Cascadia, with some overlap—for example, 5.0 is about the potential high-speed rail system that would span the region, while 4.0 is discussing livability in Cascadia. The first three reports each have detailed sections on what Cascadia is and what the reports hope to achieve for the region, and Ecolopolis 3.0 is the most polished of the three.

As a whole, it contains very specific proposals and arguments for them. However, the first two sections are the most interesting for this analysis—~~Introduction”~~ and ~~Competencies: Sharing a Culture and an Economy”~~—in which Cascadia and the report's role in Cascadia is

discussed. Diving into the details of the amount of greenhouse gases emitted by the tech industry or the number of trucks driven on I-5 is an important task, but too narrow in scope for the purposes of this project. The first two sections provide an overview of the region, with a vision for an economically prosperous Cascadia.

With the focus on Cascadia's infrastructure and sustainability, Ecolopolis 3.0 hopes to provide the path forward for Cascadia to be a global leader in both those areas. —With Ecolopolis 3.0 we have attempted to identify an infrastructure agenda for the Cascadian megaregion, one that is attuned to creating an Ecolopolis,” the authors write.

Our intent is to present this Cascadian agenda for infrastructure and sustainability to local, state, and national decision makers engaged in or soon to engage the emerging national dialogue about infrastructure and the role of the Federal government. Our hope is that by doing so, we both advance the idea of a unified and integrated Cascadia, and prepare Cascadian decision makers to be effective on behalf of the megaregion and its evolution into an Ecolopolis as the details get worked out in Washington DC.

The authors are clearly stating their thesis of providing an agenda for Cascadia that will turn the “megaregion” into an “Ecolopolis.” The argument is aimed primarily at decision makers within the region, with outside decision makers being a second audience.

As described in the Introduction section, “megapolis” is a term first used in the 1960s. The term is somewhat unfamiliar, so the report opens with a brief history.

1 Jean Gottman's “Megapolis”, first described in 1964 as the urbanized area stretching from Boston to Washington, DC, has inspired the contemporary use of the term “megaregion” to describe linked cities and the micropolitan areas between them.

Noting that the urban focus doesn't fit with “Cascadian sensibilities” of “access to the outdoors, open space, and preservation of agricultural land,” the authors then propose

a new name, Ecolopolis, as a Cascadian-themed alternative to megalopolis or megaregion.

2 The heavily urbanized nature of Megalopolis immediately seems to clash with Cascadian sensibilities. After all, access to the outdoors, open space and preservation of agricultural land provide many residents here with a strong sense of place and pride. People are attracted to the quality of life in our cities. Proximity to pristine mountains, rivers and forests, and the ocean is a top draw for skilled workers and young people. Cascadia's competitive advantage lies, at least in part, in the fact that it is NOT a continuously urbanized region, yet still provides cosmopolitan amenities like arts and culture, fine food, shopping and sports.

3 What kind of Pacific Northwest do we want to live in? Can celebrating our uniqueness be the cornerstone for boosting our competitiveness? How can we prosper, accommodate a growing population and remain livable? The answer lies in the commitment of decision makers, developers and citizens to develop the Cascadian megaregion into what we've called an "Ecolopolis," rather than a Megalopolis.

4 What is an ecolopolis? We have defined it as a networked metropolitan system consisting of the metropolitan areas for Portland, Seattle, and Vancouver, BC, and the vital working and wild landscapes between them. The Cascadian Ecolopolis is, in our view, a continental and global economic subunit that gets its identity and global "brand" identity from the unique Pacific Northwest bioregion and culture.

Already we can see that this text is drawing upon both the bioregional and cultural aspects of Cascadia to further its own focus on infrastructure and sustainability. There's much to address, but before moving forward it will be easier to outline the arrangement of the piece to make it more manageable.

Each of the two sections has its own internal structure, although in the larger scheme of the entire report the Introduction is the introduction and the Competencies section works as the statement fact. The Introduction's introduction is the "What is an Ecolopolis" subsection, describing the name of the report and introducing the argument.

The statement of fact is the following subsection that describes results of past reports, giving the state of the Ecolopolis. The confirmation beings in the subsection that begins describing the current report, arguing for the continued study and exigence of the two issues in particular being looked at. Finally, the last two paragraphs are a conclusion that reinforce the overall argument of what they are trying to accomplish and to whom it is aimed towards.

In the “Competencies” section, the introduction provides an overview of Cascadia, naming the term and limiting its use in this report to “that part of Cascadia located along a 300-mile stretch of the I-5/Route 99 corridor.” The statement of fact covers the history of the region, focusing on political and economic histories of past national allegiances and trade. The confirmation includes arguments for the strengths of Cascadia, identifying key areas of industry that give Cascadia its “hand.” The conclusion comes in “Challenges to Planning for Cascadia,” a subsection in which the authors recognize that not everything is going well in their Ecolopolis, but they provide hope that their initiatives can help promote the region.

Because of the fact that they’re making explicit suggestions for a path forward, Ecolopolis 3.0 is a political argument, meant to convince its audience of decision makers that it offers the best initiatives for a better Cascadia. Political arguments require the authors to show that the actions proposed are feasible and produce the most good out of alternative options. Less regard is given to assigning praise or blame or worrying about past injustices, except as they can be used to show a future action is a good one.

Because of its shifted focus compared to epideictic arguments, pathetic appeals to pride are weaker in this text than in previous ones. The appeals to pride are present, but muted. Also, being an academic report meant to be used in policy-making means a more dignified tone is required to reach its audience. No ~~ra~~ah rah rah's can be found in the report. However, there are still ways in which the authors draw upon their audience's emotions.

Because it is primarily aimed at decision makers within the region, the authors can ask questions that presume a regional exceptionalism. In the introduction of the introduction, they ask if ~~celebrating~~ celebrating our uniqueness be the cornerstone for boosting our competitiveness." This gives the audience a reminder that yes, the region is both unique and competitive, drawing on the pride for the region's culture and economy. In the introduction of ~~Competencies~~Competencies," the authors draw on pride for the natural landscape.

22 Rugged beaches, tall stands of timber, fertile farmland, cascading waterfalls, and snow-capped mountain peaks complete the picture.

This description both celebrates the environment as well as pointing out its use as a valuable resource.

Throughout the piece, the authors refer to various parts of Cascadia as having ~~earned~~ earned numerous awards and accolades," being ~~a~~ a land of vast natural resources," with a goal of being ~~the~~ the greenest city in the world," "having a world-class metropolis within wild, beautiful surroundings," as having ~~ambitious~~ ambitious planning policies" and ~~pushing~~ pushing the envelope when it comes to more routine traditions." When describing Cascadia's competencies, the authors are choosing to focus on Cascadia's strengths, which is sure to

make residents feel proud. These choices of description and the focus on the strengths work to grow a pervasive sense of pride in the region.

The ethos of the authors is built by their consistent use of first person to describe their relationship to Cascadia. When asking what can be done to improve regional ties and economy, they use “we” or “our,” both planting themselves firmly in the region as well as building identification between the audience and themselves. Inclusive pronouns show that the authors and the audience are in this together, working to build a better Cascadia.

21 As with our previous efforts, we welcome your comments and suggestions. This is a work in progress, just as the very idea of Cascadia and conception of megaregions themselves are works in progress. We are optimistic in our belief that acting on behalf of the megaregion will ultimately prove to be a useful strategy for achieving the kind of future that residents of this megaregion would prefer for Cascadia in the generations to come.

The authors make it clear that the report is meant to be working with the decision makers and helping them, building their ethos as having goodwill towards their audience.

The statement of fact in the introduction, detailing past years' reports, also serves to show that the authors are serious and invested in the Cascadia project. Despite changing hands every year, being a class-based project, the report has a continuous history under the guidance of a professor. Drawing back on the history is meant to convince the audience that the Ecolopolis reports are not just a one-time project done by un-invested college students, but instead is an ongoing project that continuously builds on itself.

The values espoused are similar to the economic progress and prosperity values seen in the Chicago Tribune article, but with an added emphasis on cultural and

environmental values as well. By framing their argument in the first paragraphs with the discussion of ~~“megalopolis,”~~ the authors are putting growth and prosperity front and center. However, immediately following, they question if those values are all that is needed. The shift in the name to ~~“Ecolopolis”~~ sends a strong message to their audience that not just economic, urban values are guiding the report. This ties into past studies that show effective environmental and civic advocacy requires a mix of values (Peterson et al, Alkon and Traugot).

This addition of other values has everything to do with the audience. As seen before, the Chicago Tribune article is written for a nation-wide audience of fiscal conservatives, meaning it appeals only to those values Schodolski knows will be accepted. However, Ecolopolis is meant to appeal to decision makers in the region. If the authors were to take an entirely economic approach, they would be rubbing up against the values they list as being important to the Cascadian residents.

The primary focus, however, is on those economic values of progress and prosperity. It is clear to see this through the ~~“History and Borders”~~ subsection, the statement of fact in Competencies. The history ends with where Cascadia is today:

7 Today, Cascadia is divided by multiple jurisdictional boundaries, including city county, state, and national boundaries. However, placed in a historical context, these boundaries are a recent condition, while economic ties across the region long established. Additionally, these patterns are largely rooted in the natural resources that characterize the region: first with furs and salmon, then, later on, with timber, mining, and agriculture.

While the history does include mentions of the geography, it places a heavy emphasis on national treaties, infrastructure such as railroads, industries including

farming, mining, and logging, and issues like population growth. By setting Cascadia's history as one of growth and resource use, it frames the issues as economic.

Even when discussing the regional culture, the report is more concerned with turning cultural issues into ways to prosper. Outside perception of Cascadia as a land of ~~highly~~-caffeinated, liberal ~~tree~~-huggers' wearing North Face fleece" can be turned into ~~underlying~~ values associated with each of those trademarks—namely entrepreneurship, civic engagement, and concern for and enjoyment of the natural world—Cascadia can continue to brand itself in a unique way." The business language—~~trademark~~, "~~brand~~"—place the emphasis of the conversation on economic growth.

In identifying competencies of the region, the authors also focus solely on economic competencies. The four categories described (green technology, creative services, agriculture and food production, and high-tech) are all economic industries. When identifying what Cascadia does best, the authors are not looking for intangibles about culture or politics. The audience—decision makers in the region—aren't looking for those issues either. They are looking at how Cascadia makes its money, how it grows and develops, and how it prospers economically.

This focus on economics and industry—but not the extent of entirely excluding other values—is the vision of Cascadia that Ecolopolis is pushing forward. They are hoping to integrate and build the Cascadian economy, both within the region and without. Looking to gain access to power centers (instead of subverting or bypassing them) makes the Ecolopolis argument a moderate one, aimed towards growing the Cascadia that already exists within current power structures.

■ ■ ■

Cascadia as an economic ~~“~~megaregion” is an idea built on core values of prosperity and growth. While pride in the region and environment play a role in building support, and ecological or cultural values can impact how those economic values are pursued, the main focus is on Cascadia’s ~~“~~competitive advantage” as a region. This view is very moderate, being attractive to a wide audience and espoused by those who already have power and sit at the decision-making table—mayors, think tanks, national newspapers, academia.

The economic Cascadia, because of its mainstream values of prosperity and its moderate methods of building on those goals, doesn’t need to make arguments about culture, or a sense of place. Instead, it can rely on everyone’s worry about economic security and future growth as the driving forces to build its movement. As Tim Mau found, ~~“~~for minority nationalist movements in countries of the developed west, where financial prosperity is a foremost concern, the economic arguments tend to predominate” (~~“~~Globalisation”). While still including environmental and cultural values (sometimes begrudgingly), the economic movement seeks to maximize Cascadian growth in a way that would appeal to most residents.

Conclusion

Similarities

There are two main similarities that can be seen across all the Cascadian movements: pride in the natural land and a sense of independence. These two characteristics pervade writing about region and provide a grounding for Cascadia.

Pride in the natural landscape is essential to the bioregionalist construction of Cascadia, as the movement is based in a shift to an ecocentric worldview. The pride also appears in the political movement, as a way of unifying those who live in the region. Cascadian culture is seen as growing from the physical geography, and the economics of the region have a history of relying on the natural resources. Each individual movement sees the natural landscape as something particularly special, giving the Cascadia movement as a whole something to coalesce around.

Sentiments of independence are also seen across the region. The shared history as a unified Oregon Territory gives some credence to the feelings of independence or regional exceptionalism, and those values can be seen across all Cascadian movements. The bioregionalists are tired of being called the Pacific Northwest, as it places the region on the periphery. The political Cascadians see the region as somewhere that can do better on its own, without interference from capitols across the continent. Culturally, there's a strong notion that things are just different—in a good way—in Cascadia. And economically, the region is seen as something of a self-sustaining powerhouse.

Differences

Even with these similarities, each Cascadian movement has its own unique take on the region, as well. Bioregionalists focus on pride in the land to the exclusion of anything else. Political Cascadians see larger-scale power structures as encroaching on the well-being of the region. Proponents of Cascadia as a social movement usually want nothing more than to play soccer, drink beer, and enjoy the mountains. Economic Cascadians want the region to grow in prosperity and power, working with the existing structures.

The most interesting interactions are between the bioregionalists and the political or national Cascadians, between the nationalistic Cascadians and the economic Cascadians, and in the way the cultural Cascadians do their best to stay out of everything.

Despite bioregionalism's adoption by many other movements in Cascadia, pure bioregionalists like McCloskey or Baretich would rather see the region used solely as a way to connect with the land. This creates friction between bioregionalists and those who have other goals, especially explicitly political ones. While the political movements within the Cascadian umbrella do value the land and the people's connection with it, they rank political independence or autonomy above the bioregional values—or at least see political independence as a necessary part of caring for the environment.

In the same way, Cascadians advocating for political independence are set at odds with Cascadians who push for economic growth. While both groups share a similar goal of prosperity for the region, they see differing paths to reach it. Both movements are worried about unbounded and uncontrolled growth causing problems like urban sprawl, and both movements want Cascadia to be able to move forward as a strong, united entity in the future. However, they rank independence differently. Those grouped within the political movement want to improve the

region by taking control back from the outsiders who live across the country. Those who see Cascadia as an economic region want to work within existing power structures.

Finally, the cultural movements does its best to stay out of the tussles that occur when values are ranked. While embracing the ideas of caring for the environment, being a region distinct from the rest of the country, and looking toward growth, the cultural movement refuses to take a side as to how to achieve those goals, or how to rank those values. Instead, it focuses purely on non-controversial topics like beer or soccer as ways to promote unity within the region. This both makes the cultural Cascadia the most accessible movement as well as the least effective movement, if it could be called a movement at all.

Cascadia in Context

Without a shared language or a (deeply rooted) national history, Cascadia has managed to mold itself into a distinct entity. What exactly that entity is remains to be determined, as the various groups fight for their own visions of Cascadia.

The importance of place in Cascadia is one way of pushing back against globalization, and an especially effective way of building support for environmental goals. Cascadia's very existence gives credence to the importance of regionalism, and demonstrates as well as strengthens the notion of regions as a functional scale in a global world. Many of the movements within Cascadia explicitly draw upon the American West's past of independence and autonomy, and use that history to frame the current Cascadia. By looking closely at the arguments made, it's possible to see that Cascadia places itself in between the past of rugged frontiers and the future of population growth and globalization.

Going forward, Cascadia has several challenges. How will the region reconcile the values of independence and economic growth, and will either of those overpower the underlying environmental concerns? The region will also have to acknowledge the differences it contains, including natural ones like the wet coastal land west of the Cascades compared to the dry desert to the east, and human ones like the minority populations of Native Americans, Asian-Americans, and Hispanics. While attempting to build a movement based on similarities, Cascadians are quick to gloss over or completely ignore their differences.

This rhetorical analysis may help in making those similarities and differences more apparent. While I do break Cascadia apart into four movements, it is important to see that they share common ground, despite their sometimes-heated attacks on each other. One region can contain multiple movements, and studying how they interact provides a fuller picture of the region itself.

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