



The Canadian Political Science Association

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Association canadienne de science politique

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The State of the Discipline / L'état de la discipline

Les études supérieures / Graduate Programmes

The Practice of Political Science / La pratique de la science politique

Canada: L'avenir de la communauté / The Future of the Community

Canada-Latin America Forum / Le forum Canada-Amérique latine

De l'Irlande / From Ireland

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**The Canadian Political Science Association
Association canadienne de science politique**

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LE MOT DU DIRECTEUR / FROM THE EDITOR

From my point of view, this issue starts very well the year 1992 of the *Bulletin*. We have very good papers from many colleagues plus additional useful information.

Our column on the State of the Discipline, written by Bob Segsworth and Mary Powell, deals this time with the field of Public Administration. Jane Jenson, for her part, has kindly accepted to write our column on Graduate Programmes at Carleton University.

Bob Young, avec la compétence qui le caractérise, a produit un texte fort intéressant pour la chronique sur l'avenir de la communauté canadienne. Enfin, Pierre-Gerlier Forest a gentiment accepté d'écrire la chronique sur la pratique de la science politique dans laquelle on retrouve un texte tout à fait original et corrosif à souhait. Un grand merci à tous ces collaborateurs de nos chroniques régulières.

In addition to our regular columns, this issue of the *Bulletin* includes papers by Edgar Dosman who presents the new Canada-Latin America Forum. Dick Johnston also presents the project on Federal Elections on which he and his colleagues have been working for sometime and Professor Michael Gallagher honors us by sending a paper dealing with the Irish Political Science Association. To all these contributors, a very sincere thanks.

Finalement, je voudrais encore souligner l'appui de Joan Pond et Vincent Lemieux ainsi que la collaboration toujours fort appréciée de **Marie-Pierre Ashby, Claude Goulet et Marie-France Kingsley** qui m'ont aidé à préparer ce numéro. Bonne lecture, et en terminant je voudrais souhaiter tout le succès possible à nos collègues de la SQSP qui viennent de lancer le nouveau Bulletin de la Société.

Gordon Mace

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LE MOT DU PRÉSIDENT / FROM THE PRESIDENT

par Vincent Lemieux

Des professeurs et étudiants en science politique ont profité, dans le passé, du programme de stages à Essex visant à améliorer leurs compétences en méthodes quantitatives. Ce programme a dû être abandonné, malheureusement, lorsque le Conseil de recherches en sciences humaines du Canada a décidé de ne plus le subventionner. Je tiens à remercier Richard Johnston, Réjean Landry et Charlotte Yates, les membres du comité d'évaluation, ainsi que le président sortant, Peter Russell. Ils se sont dévoués jusqu'à la fin pour assurer le bon fonctionnement du programme.

À sa dernière réunion, le Bureau de direction a décidé de lancer un nouveau programme, tel que des professeurs et étudiants pourraient faire un stage non seulement en Grande-Bretagne mais aussi aux États-Unis ou encore en France, dans des universités reconnues pour la qualité et la formation qu'elles donnent en méthodes quantitatives. Doug Williams, qui est membre du Bureau de direction, a accepté de présider le comité qui cherchera à obtenir du financement pour ce nouveau programme. André Blais et Larry LeDuc l'assisteront dans cette tâche. Comment ne pas espérer, avec un tel comité, qu'un nouveau programme de stages en méthodes quantitatives voie le jour bientôt.

Tom Flanagan was the first President of our Trust Fund. Last summer's Kingston setting for our Annual Meeting prompted me to say that he could, if he liked, assume the title of «Founding Father» of the Fund which he had worked so diligently to establish! Tom's successor as President of the Trust Fund is Fred Fletcher who has generously agreed to work to develop it over the next three years. I take advantage of this announcement to urge all members of the Association to subscribe to the Trust. We are looking forward to outside contributions but, in order for the Fund to become an institution with which each of us can identify, it is crucial that as many as possible of us contribute to it, no matter how small the amount. Wasn't it Réal Caouette who said that real attachment to a cause involves giving money without taking any?

Speaking of money, the Board of Directors studied the Association's financial situation. It has been better! For several years our focus has been on taking the initiatives and structuring the committees to enable us to provide better and better service to our members. All of this new activity has brought with it new expenses. And these have been not only questions of the costs of additional translation and of postage but also of increased activity at the Secretariat to the point where Joan, Michelle and Inge are joining us as volunteers

contributing time for which we do not pay them. Given that it is exceedingly difficult to increase our revenues in any significant degree, the main efforts of the Executive and of the Board of Directors will, over the next period, focus on finding ways to contain expenses while taking care to protect the services that are important to our membership.

Il n'y aura plus de numéro de février du *Bulletin* au cours des trois prochaines années. Deux numéros seulement seront publiés, l'un au printemps et l'autre à l'automne. Connaissant les talents du directeur Gordon Mace, qui est d'accord avec cette mesure d'économie, nous sommes convaincus qu'il réussira à fournir, en deux numéros par année, la qualité sinon la quantité d'information qu'il a jusqu'à maintenant fournie en trois numéros.

THE STATE OF THE DISCIPLINE / L'ÉTAT DE LA DISCIPLINE

STATE OF THE ART: PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

Bob Segsworth and Mary Powell
Laurentian University

Reading the *Canadian Journal of Political Science* during the past five years, one might draw several conclusions regarding the state of public administration as a field of academic interest in this country. One impression is that relatively little research is being conducted because so little appears in the *Journal*. A second conclusion would be that the published research, at least, reflects a Canadian parochialism since very few articles deal with international developments in public administration or provide comparative treatments of the subject. Thirdly, Canadian interest in the subject appears to centre around older, traditional topics such as ministerial responsibility and minister-civil servant relationships. Finally, on the basis of the articles published in the *Journal*, one might draw the conclusion that Canada is virtually a unitary state and/or that provincial and municipal administration must be rather trivial in comparison to the national public sector.

Are these impressionistic conclusions valid?

1. Relatively little research?

Despite Pross' (1990) recent disclaimer about the rather small size of the public administration academic community, research in public administration is healthy and growing in Canada. The last *Supplement* (1990) of the *Canadian Public Administration Bibliography* contains more than 4,900 books, articles, cases and simulations which were published during the

1983-1985 period. Almost 1,700 of these treated topics which comprise the traditional core of the discipline as defined by the first eleven major subject headings of the *Bibliography Supplement 3*, (1980) which covered the period from 1976 - 1978, contained less than 1,900 entries. Of these, some 534 were included under the "traditional core" subject headings.

This productivity is reflected in the creation of newer journals such as the *Canadian Journal of Program Evaluation* and *Canadian Public Policy* and magazines such as *Policy Options* and *Public Sector Management*. In at least one case, *Optimum*, a significant change in the editorial policy of this important public administration journal has taken place. These more recent and revised publications provide a significantly expanded source of material on public administration than was the case a decade or two ago. The reality is that academics and practitioners are engaged in research and publication in a far more significant manner than the volume of articles included in recent issues of the *Journal* would suggest.

2. Little interest in comparative or international issues?

On the whole, this conclusion seems accurate. One finds very few articles or books which devote themselves to discussions of public administration in other countries and even fewer studies which attempt to compare Canadian practices and laws with those of other states in any systematic fashion. A rather cursory review of the articles published in *Optimum*, *Canadian Public Administration* and *The Canadian Journal of Political Science* over the past five years indicates only seven articles which concentrated on international developments in public administration. Approximately the same number of studies provide a comparative perspective. The recent 1991 issue of *Optimum* which contained articles devoted to the equivalent of special operating agencies in the United Kingdom, New Zealand and the United States is an exception to this rule. One can only hope that it is a harbinger of more to come.

In a federal state it is surprising that there are so few comparative treatments of administrative practices and developments between the provinces and between provincial and federal jurisdictions. Commonly, the few studies of this type in recent years have been examinations of budgeting and financial management practices.

In terms of course offerings in public administration, the undergraduate curriculum appears to offer little in either international or comparative public administration.¹ Only two entries in the 1991 *Compendium of*

Outlines of Public Administration Courses address these topics: the Université de Moncton's Administration publique comparée, and the University of Regina's course in the administration of international organizations.

3. Research focuses on older, traditional topics?

Much of what is written *does* reflect long-standing, traditional issues of concern in public administration. The excellent administrative history of Quebec by Iain Gow (1986) follows a tradition of scholarship exemplified over the years by Professor J. E. Hodgetts. Sharon Sutherland's (1991) work on the complex relationships between public servants, Parliament and the cabinet, Peter Aucoin and Herman Bakvis' (1988) analysis of the administrative and political forces which create the "centralization - decentralization conundrum" and Donald Savoie's (1990) concerns about expenditure management systems and the inherently incrementalist nature of budgeting in Canada are other fine examples in the contemporary literature. From the IPAC case program, the most popular case by far is Douglas Hartle's (1977) "Draft Memorandum to Cabinet," an excellent illustration of the continuing interest in fundamental political/administrative questions.

Increasingly, however, such topics are now less dominant as management theory, largely drawn from the U.S., has become central to much of the public administration literature in Canada. This change reflects the powerful management orientation which is prevalent throughout the public sector. Improved management productivity systems, leadership, organizational change, motivation, service-oriented management, TQM, MIS, VFM, IMAA, SMAs and SOAs and the rest of the alphabet soup of North American management "theory" and practice have become the foci of a large percentage of the publications in the academic journals and elsewhere. During the 1986 - 1991 period, for example, discussions, descriptions, analyses and applications of management theory comprised more than one-third of the articles published in the three journals surveyed. Not surprisingly, this emphasis is most evident in *Optimum*, a journal which concentrates on public sector management issues. It is also a trend that is obvious to those who have read *Canadian Public Administration* over the past decade.

This management orientation is also reflected in the national seminars of the Institute of Public Administration of Canada over the past several years and in a

canadienne des programmes en administration publique. His 1991 *Compendium of Outlines of Public Administration Courses* contains course outlines collected from 17 Canadian universities from University of Victoria to Memorial University of Newfoundland.

¹ The data we have used were prepared by David Seigel, President of the Canadian Association of Programs of Public Administration/Association

number of recent special issues of *Optimum* which have treated such topics as information management, special operating agencies, middle managers and innovations and trends in management learning. Graduate programs in public administration reflect the duality of a traditional focus or a management orientation.² Such programs tend to be offered either as a subspeciality within political science, focusing more on traditional political-administrative principles or as separate programs that focus on organizational development and behaviour, and encourage a second-year concentration on policy or management.

The importance of this duality lies in the difference between the "traditional" and "management" literature in Canada. The former reflects greater maturity in that it normally involves the application of theory, principles or concepts to contemporary practice. The conclusions such research generates tend to argue either that the practice requires improvement or that the theory should be revised. Sharon Sutherland's (1991) study of ministerial responsibility is an excellent recent example. In the case of the "management" literature, however, many of the articles are summaries, syntheses or descriptions of particular management approaches. Duncan's (1989/90) discussion of strategic planning theory, for example, outlines its basic elements, describes the management considerations involved, suggests that there are differences in strategic planning between the private and public sectors and offers a few comments about the future of this management function. The work is useful, but does not address fundamental theoretical questions. Given the relatively recent interest in public sector management, it is not surprising that many treatments of this subject reflect what Gow (1989) has called the "diffusion" stage while the older, traditional core of the discipline has long since entered a subsequent state of intellectual development.

4. Virtually exclusive focus on federal public sector?

If one were to apply Henry's (1989) notions of locus and focus as means to assess the development of public administration as a discipline, one could conclude that the locus of attention in English Canada continues to be the federal bureaucracy and that, to a large extent, federal interests have influenced the focus of research in recent years. Our review of the three journals over the past five years indicates that articles dealing with the federal public service outnumber studies of provincial public administration by a ratio of 2:1. In terms of undergraduate course offerings, the focus is

even more clearly federal: of 17 introductory or overview courses, only two focused on provincial rather than federal structures and processes.

Some qualifications to this statement, however, are appropriate. During the past five years more articles dealing with provincial topics such as expenditure management, regional economic development and the merit principle have been published, particularly in *Canadian Public Administration*. This is a helpful trend and may eventually result in a base from which more comparative studies within Canada may emerge. One can only hope that the more frequent studies of British Columbia and Ontario will continue to increase and that we shall begin to see badly needed studies of the public sectors of the other provinces more frequently than has been the case in the past.

For a much longer period of time, our colleagues in Quebec have been examining and commenting upon public administration in their province. The result is that there are more academic studies of the Quebec public service than for the other nine provinces combined. At the same time as the French-language public administration literature in Canada retains its interest in such important topics as administrative law, it too is expanding into the field of management. Our colleagues in Quebec are examining management theory actively and applying it to the Quebec public sector. The recent work of Germain Julien (1989:1991) provides an excellent example of this development and of the difference between the English-language and French-language literature in public administration in general. Julien examines management styles in terms of their application to the Quebec public service. Fricke's (1991) recent examination, in English, of quality assurance, program evaluation and auditing is based largely on the federal government's experience with these initiatives.

The third qualification emerges from the non-degree programs in public administration, the 16 certificate/diploma/citation programs that are generally oriented to the professional development needs of government officials. These programs do not concentrate on the federal public sector but address the relevant provincial or municipal context. Five programs, in fact, concentrate exclusively on local government administration. Given that, at a practical level, there is a strong appreciation for the importance of provincial and municipal jurisdictions, we need to encourage faculty and students involved in these programs to submit their research for publication in journals that are accessible to the broader public administration community. Such research may well be a resource that will enrich our understanding of administrative realities in various regions and localities throughout Canada.

Emerging Trends

Our impressionistic conclusions should not stand in the way of recognizing new developments that demon-

² There are at least 19 full and part-time graduate programs offered in Canada by 21 universities (McMaster and Guelph offer a joint program, as do University of Winnipeg and University of Manitoba).

strate the depth of Canadian public administration. One group of scholars has been examining the consequences of management reform for a number of fundamental issues. Sharon Sutherland (1990) has expressed concern about the ability of Parliament to exercise meaningful control over a federal public service which has experienced a series of "rationalist" reforms over the past twenty-five years. Osbaldeston's (1989) study indicated that major reforms were required to restore the accountability of senior officials. Some of Barbara Wake Carroll's (1991) recent work has suggested that the changes have been counter-productive. There is a growing body of serious, careful scholarship which evaluates the nature, direction and consequences of two decades of unceasing management reform in the federal public service. This research needs to be continued, to grapple not only with pressing practical questions but also with profound issues relating to democracy and accountability.

A second example is the increased importance of public sector ethics in the literature. The work of O. P. Dwivedi and Ken Kernaghan (1983) with the International Institute of Administrative Sciences has developed over time. The Institute of Public Administration of Canada has adopted a Statement of Principles which reflects ethical concerns. Special issues of *Canadian Public Administration* and *Optimum* have concentrated on this subject. Public sector ethics courses are more frequently part of public administration programs than was the case in the past. What these various trends indicate is that public administration is evolving into a mature discipline in Canada.

A third example, not yet well established in public administration journals, is found in the efforts to explore the nature and processes of democratic administration. This is a response to ethical concerns among public employees and a broadly political concern that administration not become captive of narrow managerial interests. The York University (April, 1991) conference emphasized the need for theoretical work to advance the field of democratic administration not only for public bureaucracies but also for a wide range of non-governmental, non-profit organizations.

Taken as a whole, we might argue that public administration increasingly conforms to Henry's description of "Paradigm 5" in which the discipline is neither management nor political science, although it contains elements of both. The locus is government bureaucracy, broadly defined. The focus includes "executive management, administrative ethics and all those questions that seek to explain what 'the public interest' is in a technobureaucratic 'Big Democracy'" (Henry 1989 p. 45). But there are at least two challenges facing Canadian public administration that emerge from but go beyond Henry's characterization: 1) the need to recognize organizational and administrative

work done outside the realm of academic public administration (in Faculties of Administration, Business Administration, Health Administration, Commerce, in conferences like Democratic Administration) and 2) the even more pressing need to look more seriously at international and comparative public administration in the light of the enormous political changes that are taking place. These two challenges are not only a question of "keeping up." Public administration must seek to understand these developments, to evaluate them in the light of fundamental values, and to recognize their implications and meaning.

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**LES ÉTUDES SUPÉRIEURES /
GRADUATE PROGRAMMES**

**THE GRADUATE PROGRAMME IN POLITICAL
SCIENCE AT CARLETON UNIVERSITY**

**Jane Jenson
Supervisor of Graduate Studies**

Carleton's graduate programme in Political Science, which awards both the MA and PhD, has a firmly established reputation as one of the largest and the best in Canada. It attracts Canadian and international students of the highest calibre. Its graduates go on to permanent teaching jobs in Political Science departments across the country and abroad, as well as to responsible positions in the public and private sectors.

The Department's long-term success and reputation for excellence in graduate education rests upon two factors: the quality of the faculty and the organisation of the programme.

Any flourishing graduate programme depends upon a strong teaching faculty. Carleton University is dedicated to supporting the Department's standards of excellence. As a result, graduate students enjoy the benefits of working with a large, diverse and active faculty, many of whom are recognised as being at the top of their field. New hirings in the last decade have also built a strong base for the maintenance of this quality programme into the future.

In addition to the Department's own large faculty, other programmes at Carleton — the Institute of Canadian Studies, the School of Public Administration, the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs, the Institute of Soviet and East European Studies, and the Institute of Political Economy — house well-known political scientists. This extra-departmental faculty is available to Political Science students for course work and supervision, thereby broadening the established base of Political Science at Carleton.

The design of the programme maximises interaction between the teaching faculty and graduate students. Extensive student-faculty contact in courses, in tutorials for PhD comprehensive examinations, and during the preparation of both doctoral and Masters theses and research essays facilitates this exchange. The department strongly believes that such interaction is fruitful for faculty and students alike. Regular and frequent contact with graduate students rejuvenates the work of faculty members, linking their areas of specialised research to the broader concerns of the discipline. Therefore, Carleton faculty see their graduate teaching and supervision as a vehicle for generating and testing new research directions and results. In turn, MA and PhD students are exposed to the excitement of working on the research frontier.

The Department has two goals for its graduate education: to provide a solid introduction to the discipline of Political Science and to train research scholars. The programme is carefully designed to translate this commitment into practice.

Course work, comprehensive examinations, and research are organised around five major fields: Canadian politics, comparative politics, international relations, political theory and public administration. All graduate students take courses in at least two of these fields while the Doctoral programme is organised around in-depth study of two major fields. As part of their preparation PhD students take comprehensive examinations which test their mastery of the general literatures of their fields and of two specialised subfields related to their own areas of teaching and research interest.

This intense encounter with traditional literatures as well as the most important contemporary writings ensures that graduates of the Carleton PhD programme are equipped to teach a variety of courses at the undergraduate and graduate level while pursuing

their own research agenda. Employers — particularly university Departments of Political Science — recognise that a Carleton graduate is a broadly trained and well-rounded Political Scientist, rather than an excessively narrow area or field specialist.

Given the intensity of preparation and the normally high level of interaction among instructors and students, the PhD programme is, with very rare exceptions, a full-time one. Some MA students do pursue their studies on a part-time basis, although full-time status is the norm.

PhD students must take the equivalent of at least three full (ie, full-year) courses, normally completed in the first year of the programme. Tutorial courses preparing students for the comprehensive examination occupy most of the second year, with students usually completing their examinations by January or May of that year. Attention then turns to full-time work on the thesis, first to the proposal and then to research and writing. Although it is very unusual for a student to complete the PhD in less than four years, careful monitoring of progress by supervisors and instructors is designed to limit the time in programme and to encourage students to proceed expeditiously.

Students in the MA programme have a menu of choices for completing their studies. They may take five courses, followed by a comprehensive examination which encourages integration of their learning across courses. Alternatively, they may take four courses and write a research essay, in a detailed exploration of a topic of interest to them. The third choice is to complete three courses and write an MA thesis, which constitutes an original research project. None of these options is preferred by the department; the choice depends solely on students' interests and goals for the future.

In recognition of the costs of graduate studies and the desirability of pursuing them full-time, the department provides major support to many of its graduate students.

All full-time PhD students receive funding. This comes in two components: teaching assistantships and scholarships. Teaching assistantships are awarded to all doctoral students who are eligible for them (some scholarships limit the types of funding their recipients may receive). Teaching assistants at Carleton University are organised by the Canadian Union of Public Employees in CUPE local 2323. Wages and working conditions are established under the terms of the contract. Of particular note is the collective agreement's guarantee of at least ten terms of employment for all TA's in the Doctoral programme (MA students are guaranteed four).

The university's practice is to maintain the level of funding students receive on admission for at least three years into the Doctoral programme. Thus,

students awarded a financially interesting scholarship on admission do not risk having it reduced in subsequent years. In addition, Political Science students have been very successful in internal university scholarship competitions, which provide additional financial support as well as recognition of their academic excellence.

Of course, many Carleton graduate students seek and win the prestigious national and provincial scholarships available to them. The department supports this practice by providing workshops and detailed advice about applying for scholarships. In large part the success of our students follows from the admissions policy. The Department accepts only applicants with an A-level average to the PhD programme.

Our students are, then, among the most successful in external competitions. For example, of those currently enrolled in the graduate programme (1991-92), there are 4 Commonwealth Scholars, 9 recipients of the Social Science and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC) Doctoral Fellowships, 5 Ontario Graduate Scholars, 1 recipient of a scholarship from the Fonds pour la formation de Chercheurs et l'Aide à la Recherche (FCAR), and a winner of the Sir James Lougheed Award of Distinction from Alberta. Moreover, several Carleton PhD candidates, including one in 1991-92, have received the IDRC Young Researchers Award.

One particular source of long-standing pride for Carleton is the diversity of its graduate student body, which includes many women students and students from outside Ontario. In 1991-92, for example, Canadian students drawn from almost all provinces studied with students from, *inter alia*, Bangladesh, China, Ethiopia, the Federal Republic of Germany, France, India, Iran, South Africa, Sri Lanka, Thailand, Turkey, and Zimbabwe. The department considers that this gender and national diversity makes an important contribution to graduate education and is determined to maintain it. The university supports this commitment materially with fee waivers for those required to pay foreign-student fees.

In recognition of its location in Canada's capital, the department has long been dedicated to including francophones in the graduate programme. Students may, with the permission of their instructors and supervisors, submit written work in either official language. In recent years there has been a substantial increase in the number of Québécois students studying Political Science at Carleton.

Long committed to including students in departmental decision-making, the Department includes graduate students elected by their peers on the major committees, including Appointments, Curriculum and Priorities, and Graduate Studies. Graduate students themselves have a departmental organisation, GAPS (Graduate Association of Political Science) which

provides a location for discussion of common concerns and organisation of activities for students and the whole department.

Such democratic practices as well as the design of the graduate programme itself contribute to the congenial and collegial environment for graduate studies found at Carleton. This intangible but important sense of community facilitates the intellectual and professional growth of the whole Department.

Given the size of the department of Political Science and the wide-ranging expertise of its faculty, graduate students undertake research in an impressive variety of fields. This expertise equips them for employment in an equally wide variety of institutions. Listed below are a very partial sample of the names of recently completed doctoral and Masters students. The selection is not intended to be fully representative but rather to demonstrate the range of work which might be undertaken in the department at Carleton and the kinds of employment to which it leads.

Ph.D.s

H.M.A. Herath

Assistant Professor

Department of Public Administration, University of Sri Jayawardenepura, Sri Lanka

Decentralization for Rural Development in Sri Lanka

Supervisor: Professor Donald Rowat

Date of defence: January 17, 1992

Louis Massicotte

Professeur adjoint

Science politique, Université de Montréal

Un Parlement provincial en transition: le cas du Québec (1867-1990)

Supervisor: Professor Robert J. Jackson

Date of defence: January 10, 1992

Mark Neufeld

Assistant Professor

Department of Political Science, Trent University

The Restructuring of International Relations Theory

Supervisor: Professor John Sigler

Date of defence: November 23, 1990

Jean-François Rioux

Research Associate,

Canadian Institute for International Peace and Security

La Politique canadienne de non-prolifération nucléaire, 1943-1991

Supervisor: Professor John Sigler

Date of defence: May 6, 1991

Mineko Sasaki-Smith

Head of Industrial Research

Crédit Suisse, Tokyo

Recent Trends in Japan's Political Economy: The Industrial Policy for the 1980s

Supervisor: Professor Lynn K. Mytelka

Date of defence: November 26, 1990

Richard Saunders

Freelance journalist, Zimbabwe

Information in the Interregnum: The Press, State and Civil Society in Struggles for Hegemony, Zimbabwe 1980-1990

Supervisor: Professor Lynn K. Mytelka

Date of defence: January 15, 1992

Brian Tanguay

Assistant Professor

Department of Political Science, Wilfrid Laurier University

Rediscovering Politics: Organized Labour, Business, and the Provincial State in Quebec, 1960-1985

Supervisor: Professor Jane Jenson

Date of defence: July 25, 1990

Douglas West

Assistant Professor

Department of Political Science, Lakehead University

Re-Searching the North: An Introduction to the Canadian Northern Discourse

Supervisor: Professor Peter Emberley

Date of defence: June 25, 1990

Sandra Whitworth

Assistant Professor

Department of Political Science, York University

Feminism and International Relations: Gender in the International Planned Parenthood Federation and the International Labour Organization

Supervisor: Professor Jane Jenson

Date of defence: January 6, 1992

M.A.s

Byron Berry, M.A., 1991

Researcher,

Parliamentary Centre for Foreign Affairs and Foreign Trade

German Unification and Global Security

Supervisor: Professor Robert J. Jackson

Nicole Henderson, M.A., 1991

Director of Communications,

Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada

Évolution et contraintes de l'aménagement linguistique au Québec

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Our mistake

In David Haglund's paper in the column on Research in Political Science in our last issue, a missing line made it appear that a project was funded by the Canadian Institute for Strategic Studies. It was in fact funded by the Canadian Institute for International Peace and Security. Our apologies.

THE PRACTICE OF POLITICAL SCIENCE / LA PRATIQUE DE LA SCIENCE POLITIQUE

LA GUERRE DES MONDES RÉFLEXIONS SUR LA SCIENCE POLITIQUE ET LA RECHERCHE INTERDISCIPLINAIRE

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Je crois qu'avant tout il faut que vous sachiez bien une chose : il vous sera impossible de jamais ignorer les Martiens totalement — surtout si leurs paroles ou leurs actions sont inattendues. Ce point ne devrait venir en principe qu'en conclusion, mais il n'est pas inutile de l'établir dès le départ.
 Fredric Brown, Martiens, go home !

Un savant article paru dans *Critique*, faisant écho à quelques travaux récents sur les régimes d'action, m'assure que je peux « agir dans plusieurs mondes » (Dodier 1991). Agir ? La belle affaire ! Une carrière hasardeuse, pleine de secousses, de bifurcations, de remords, m'ayant d'abord conduit aux marches de la

science politique, loin des miens et de leur commerce, j'ai appris qu'il ne suffisait pas « d'agir » pour gagner sa place dans l'estime des aînés, pour être en crédit auprès des collègues, et qu'il fallait aussi prospérer : des publications, des projets, des titres. Or, à traverser plusieurs mondes, on développe peut-être le doigté politique et le sens de la diplomatie, mais on n'acquiert pas les qualités sur lesquelles les jeunes politologues sont jugés : l'habitude d'un certain discours, la méfiance à l'égard des pairs, la mesure dans l'enthousiasme — cet *ennui supérieur* dont parlait Julien Gracq. Pire encore, le bénéfice de ces expéditions est souvent maigre ; peu d'articles ou de subventions, pas de prix ou de distinctions, aucune charge publique.

Le titre de cet essai, emprunté à un roman de H. G. Wells, semblera quand même excessif : *la Guerre des mondes* ! Il traduit pourtant l'âpreté des mœurs dans les provinces frontalières de la science politique, où chacun lutte pour imposer son langage, sa bibliothèque et les objets de sa culture. Je sais bien qu'en apparence, les procédés interdisciplinaires sont toujours empreints de courtoisie : « Messieurs, semble-t-on dire à ceux d'en face, signez les premiers ! » Mais les vrais chercheurs ne sont pas dupes. La guerre courtoise est encore la guerre, et comporte sa part de plaies et de bosses, surtout pour la piétaille des thésards et des assistants : colonnes de guerriers imprudents précipités dans la bataille des concepts et des méthodes, sans programme ni nécessité.

Pour l'édification des plus jeunes lecteurs de ce *Bulletin*, et pour le divertissement des autres, je vais donc tenter de mettre en ordre quelques idées sur l'interdisciplinarité, malgré la difficulté du sujet. (On pourra d'ailleurs ignorer la première section du texte, où je n'ai pu faire l'économie de quelques abstractions sur la formation des disciplines scientifiques, et passer directement aux suivantes). Je n'aurais pas pris cette liberté si le directeur de cette publication ne m'avait encouragé à tirer la leçon de mes expériences et à la faire entendre au-delà du petit cercle où j'ai maintenant des habitudes. Au reste, j'avoue que j'ai tiré de mes heures d'aventure la plus haute idée de chercheurs qui ne sont ni de mon clan ni de mon camp — ce texte est un hommage maladroit à toutes leurs vertus.

La discipline et son substrat

La notion de discipline est parfois utilisée, notamment depuis Foucault, pour désigner « un principe de contrôle de la production du discours » — un système anonyme constitué d'objets, de méthodes, de propositions, de règles et de définitions, de techniques et d'instruments, destiné à formuler indéfiniment des propositions nouvelles (Foucault 1971, 32-37). Dans l'usage que j'aimerais privilégier ici, cependant, et qui ne s'éloigne pas tellement de l'emploi courant, le terme ne devrait pas recouvrir seulement des éléments intellectuels, des principes ou des règles, mais aussi le

substrat institutionnel et humain sur lequel ils reposent.

S'il en est ainsi, il ne saurait y avoir de système disciplinaire vraiment anonyme, puisque cette forme d'organisation suppose aussi bien quelque identité institutionnelle que la visibilité de certains praticiens. De surcroît, loin de se projeter indéfiniment dans l'avenir, comme un algorithme idéal, la discipline est menacée à tout moment par la rupture et par la division, comme n'importe quelle organisation, ou par l'effacement, jusqu'à l'oblitération. Enfin, elle ne produit pas seulement des propositions, ou même du discours, mais elle ajoute des ressources à celles qu'elle permet d'abord d'assembler, et des forces neuves aux groupes qu'elle réunit.

Certes, cette conception est imparfaite : outre la *discipline*, d'autres formes d'organisation scientifique offrent des possibilités pour rassembler avec profit des groupes faits de chercheurs, d'enseignants et d'administrateurs : spécialités, réseaux, collègues invisibles, écoles de pensée, professions, etc. — ou même, dans une perspective sans doute mieux adaptée à la science politique, des unités changeantes, constituées par ceux qu'attirent temporairement un résultat, un objet ou une représentation. En principe, de surcroît, aucune nécessité n'oblige à choisir une formule avant une autre, du moment que l'aménagement de la coopération interne atteint un équilibre approximatif.

En revanche, il n'est pas sûr que toutes les formes d'organisation offrent des solutions viables au problème de la hiérarchie des acteurs scientifiques et de l'autorité qu'elle conditionne. En termes très généraux, on peut formuler la difficulté comme suit : le souci commun de la finalité du travail scientifique devrait assurer la coexistence de tous ceux qui se reconnaissent dans ce projet, comme s'il s'agissait d'un libre marché de producteurs. Comme l'avait montré Merton (1973), le développement, la transmission et la conservation des connaissances ne requièrent donc *a priori* aucun « appareil », et reposent d'abord sur une culture et des normes communes — l'éthique de la science.

On observe néanmoins que certains scientifiques imposent leur fait, soit qu'ils craignent d'être inquiétés par des concurrents vigoureux, soit qu'ils tentent d'instaurer un certain « ordre de réussite », permettant de reconnaître et de valoriser les résultats de leurs entreprises (Lemaine et al. 1969, 147-150). Ce phénomène est d'autant plus vif que les inégalités sociales ne peuvent pas être conjuguées pour asseoir l'écart entre les groupes scientifiques, comme c'est le cas dans la stratification d'autres unités sociales complexes. Dans un champ scientifique, en effet, les acteurs influents ne cumuleront pas nécessairement les avantages de la formation, de la naissance, de la fortune et de l'intelligence... Au contraire, les positions relatives de chacun tiennent à un mode unique de différenciation, qui

justifie tous les privilèges et toutes les obligations : ce qu'on appellera, faute de mieux, l'ordre disciplinaire.

Notez bien que ce n'est pas la loi d'airain de la maturation organisationnelle, mais l'argumentation du groupe scientifique — sa sociologie *immanente* — qui donne créance à la forme disciplinaire, qu'il s'agisse de l'exercice de l'autorité ou de la définition de l'identité (Cambrosio et Keating 1983). Porté par un élan favorable, un groupe peut soumettre un champ intellectuel au renforcement symbolique de la distribution de l'autorité scientifique, en capturant les instruments qui fixent et canalisent cette autorité : les revues, les colloques savants, les programmes d'enseignement supérieur, etc. Un groupe peut encadrer d'autres groupes, *en imposant au champ où ils se côtoient, où ils se coudoient, la forme efficace de la discipline*. Il n'a pas manqué d'historiens et de sociologues pour saluer dans des termes voisins la création des sciences modernes — Kuhn ou Merton, par exemple — mais je voudrais insister ici sur les avantages *stratégiques* du statut disciplinaire : l'élection de cette forme d'organisation réduit la « surcharge » que supporte un système assailli d'exigences trop nombreuses et trop diverses, au profit du groupe initiateur.

Il est certes facile de se représenter le champ politologique dans cette optique. La science politique émergente était manifestement traversée par des stratifications multiples et concurrentes ; elle payait ainsi les liaisons d'influence avec des groupes puissants. De nos jours, les politologues transigent toujours avec les milieux dirigeants de la société, mais la prévalence de valeurs « scientifiques » donne une forte assise au groupement des spécialistes. Tel est le lot qui échoit à ceux qui jouissent de la légitimité et de la sécurité disciplinaires : en adoptant les traits convenus d'une discipline, un champ intellectuel se prémunit contre les clivages plus ou moins nombreux qui le divisent en profondeur.

Attention : la forme disciplinaire n'est pas supérieure ou structurellement plus profonde que les autres modes d'organisation des sciences ou des techniques. L'administration publique consent ainsi généralement au « dominion de la science politique », selon la belle image de Roscoe Martin : les relations s'équilibrent alors avec une clientèle de praticiens qui n'apprécient pas les objectifs intellectuels des chercheurs. Dans les domaines où les forces en présence sont moins disproportionnées, où rien ne menace vraiment les acquis théoriques ou méthodologiques, la notion même de discipline a d'ailleurs fait long feu, au profit de formes aux contours flous, regroupant tout exprès chercheurs et techniciens autour d'énigmes et de problèmes de recherche. Ces constatations n'ont rien pour surprendre : nulle direction privilégiée ne gouverne le devenir scientifique, en dehors des règles fixées ou transmises par les acteurs.

Il est possible que le geste de hiérarchisation et d'annexion des connaissances, des personnes et des

institutions qu'ébauchent à l'occasion certains acteurs, *savants* ou *profanes*, ne puisse se réaliser nulle part plus idéalement que dans le partage en disciplines. Mais on voit aussi que l'identité disciplinaire entretient l'autorité des acteurs qui s'en réclament, en gratifiant une « découpe du savoir » de la légitimité qui entoure le système des sciences dans son entier ; d'une façon presque circulaire, cette autorité se renouvelle en puisant l'énergie qui vient des autres niveaux d'intégration de l'activité scientifique, de la vie de laboratoire à la science publique — comme l'État qui profite de la vitalité de la société civile et de ses relations extérieures pour affermir sa puissance.

Voilà pourquoi l'articulation des trois éléments qui servent habituellement à représenter l'activité scientifique — l'organisation, la doctrine et la communauté — est un problème si délicat : on doit d'abord s'habituer à l'entendre comme une question empirique sur l'organisation scientifique, qu'il faut alors décrire et comprendre, mais on doit ensuite y songer comme à un système idéologique émanant d'un groupe social particulier. Le danger est donc grand d'exalter les pratiques qui entretiennent et enrichissent le cadre disciplinaire, et d'ignorer celles qui le débordent et le contredisent de toutes parts.

Le développement disciplinaire

Les remarques qui précèdent peuvent sembler abstraites, mais il y a un exemple où toutes les questions convergent : la différenciation des disciplines, qu'il s'agisse de la stratification d'un champ existant, par la mise à l'écart de certains savoirs ou leur subordination à des approches plus complexes ou plus « fortes », ou de l'apparition d'un champ nouveau, par institution d'un corpus de problèmes et de méthodes ou même, par isolement d'une simple attitude théorique. On sait que d'aucuns cherchent encore dans les frontières entre les disciplines, malgré leur caractère contingent, le dévoilement progressif de quelque classification des sciences ; ruptures ou fusions sont alors rattachées aux classes d'un système historique ou logique, comme si de nécessité, on pouvait faire raison. Dans une figure inverse mais symétrique, de nombreux appels à l'interdisciplinarité sous-estiment la rigidité des obstacles qui interdisent la réconciliation, au nom d'un passé mythique — l'*Encyclopédie* — où les sciences vivaient en accord avec l'unité de la nature ou de la société.

L'analyse de la formation des spécialités scientifiques par Chubin (1976) permet d'accéder à un point de vue plus juste. Après avoir posé que les spécialités sont des formes sociales situées directement sur le front de la recherche, où elles cristallisent le nouveau savoir en permettant l'interaction des chercheurs, Chubin suggère que les disciplines sont le produit, à un point donné de cet enchaînement, de ce qu'on pourrait appeler la « sédimentation » des connaissances, désormais éprouvées et transmissibles. L'innovation ne se produit donc pas à ce niveau d'organisation, mais

appartient plutôt aux marginaux, aux *migrants*, qui profitent des passages ouverts entre les réseaux spécialitaires pour imposer en des lieux nouveaux les idées auxquelles ils ont été exposés pendant leur formation. En ce sens, l'innovation scientifique est *inter-spécialitaire* avant d'être interdisciplinaire.

Cela n'entraîne pas que le développement de spécialités et la création du front de recherches soient les seules voies vers la formation d'une discipline. L'enseignement ou l'administration des unités de recherche sont aussi des « rôles scientifiques » ; ils ouvrent donc leurs propres routes, plus proprement *interdisciplinaires*. Même des tâches qui sortent apparemment des conventions provoquent à l'occasion la naissance de nouvelles exigences intellectuelles, qu'il s'agisse de préparer des techniciens, de rassembler des connaissances utiles ou de gérer des ressources collectives. On pourrait accumuler les exemples empruntés pêle-mêle à tous les domaines du savoir, de l'hydraulique aux recherches d'intelligence artificielle, en passant par la botanique et les études d'administration. Il est vrai que ces activités ne sont pas toutes des « sciences », au sens étroit du terme, mais elles affichent néanmoins leur volonté de contrôle sur un objet et une méthode, à l'égal des démarches scientifiques les plus exigeantes et les mieux reconnues. Il existe donc, en troisième lieu, une catégorie d'innovations *inter-professionnelles*, distincte des deux catégories précédentes.

La place existe même pour une sorte de théorie du « détour » dans l'histoire des sciences : détour technique, quand les ingénieurs « dérivent » du côté de la recherche fondamentale ; détour de l'intérêt ou du profit, quand une théorie sort de l'inventaire requis par quelque commanditaire ; détour pratique, quand le souci du bien public pousse une administration au développement des connaissances. La variété des institutions qui accueillent aujourd'hui les entreprises issues de ces efforts est d'ailleurs un très bon indice du décalage qui s'opère entre les finalités primitives — *découvrir, inventer, former, servir* ou *gérer* — et l'entrée sur un terrain d'investigation homogène.

Les usages interdisciplinaires

Ces aperçus ont sans doute dégoûté plusieurs lecteurs, qui ne peuvent admettre qu'on tire des principes d'action d'un tel galimatias. Je veux quand même m'y employer, en insistant sur les conséquences de la distinction qui s'opère entre les trois terrains où l'innovation scientifique se développe : la spécialité, la profession, la discipline.

Entre spécialités, en effet, les ouvertures peuvent être très fécondes. Mais il faut prendre garde aux moyens mis en œuvre, car les champs scientifiques ne s'échangent pas contre des miroirs ou de la verroterie. Il s'agit en effet de s'approprier tout à fait les méthodes de l'*autre*, en transformant la façon même dont vous avez posé les problèmes jusqu'alors, pour appliquer

ensuite les idées neuves aux objets ou aux situations que vos pairs et vous-mêmes avez l'habitude d'étudier. Les problèmes des linguistes n'intéressent pas les ethnologues ; les problèmes des biologistes n'intéressent pas les statisticiens ; les problèmes des philosophes n'intéressent pas les sociologues. (Si ces énoncés vous déconcertent, songez à votre attitude habituelle devant les querelles d'historiens autour d'un document, ou à l'indifférence polie avec laquelle vous accueillez la publication de la nième version d'un mythe chicolain.) Mais tous peuvent trouver en d'autres domaines, en d'autres traditions, la résolution de leurs difficultés ou la satisfaction de leurs besoins. Les sursauts conceptuels ou méthodologiques n'ont pas d'autre raison d'être.

Certaines œuvres magistrales ont été fondées de cette manière, après un double apprentissage : d'abord, toute une discipline, et puis, toute une autre. Il faut pour cela un esprit et un courage hors du commun. Le plus souvent, on quitte simplement le territoire où l'on fut formé, sûr de n'y trouver jamais une place à soi, et l'on va s'installer ailleurs, en quelque endroit du système des sciences où l'on peut monnayer sa compétence. Sur le front de la recherche, celui qui peut résoudre les difficultés d'autrui est assuré d'un gîte et d'une rente. Si les problèmes sous examen sont importants — ou pérennes, comme l'avunculat en ethnologie ou l'idéologie en sociologie politique — il est même possible de s'installer à demeure et, pour ainsi dire, d'être *naturalisé*.

On aura compris que le fait dominant des relations inter-spécialitaires est l'emprunt, étant entendu, comme on le sait bien en sociologie des sciences, qu'il faut souvent *emprunter* les personnes et les « laboratoires » en même temps que les concepts ou les techniques (Latour 1987). Au risque de me répéter, j'ajouterai que le processus suppose la maîtrise de la discipline d'accueil : le politologue qui coiffe la casquette de l'historien est contraint par les règles de son nouveau métier ; le statisticien qui se mêle de stratification sociale doit fréquenter les classiques ; le sociologue qui veut réformer la linguistique doit savoir ce que parler veut *vraiment* dire. La raison de cette obligation est fort simple — pour être reconnu et évalué comme un fait de politique, de sociologie ou de linguistique, pour trouver son rang dans un « ordre de réussite », il faut apporter des réponses aux questions que se posent déjà les politologues, les sociologues ou les linguistes, il faut s'inscrire dans une vraie controverse.

Les relations inter-professionnelles ne sont pas moins exigeantes, mais elles se font sur le mode du don — et sur un indéniable fond de compétence — plutôt que sur celui de l'emprunt. Il s'agit d'appliquer à des problèmes pratiques l'éclairage original qui vient de la familiarité avec certains aspects des questions sous examen. En laissant chez soi les hésitations et les embarras qui caractérisent les discussions entre membres d'une même famille disciplinaire, on peut

même contribuer à la solution de questions difficiles, qui arrêtent les praticiens. Du reste, les expériences de consultation ainsi que plusieurs témoignages d'experts de l'industrie constitutionnelle procèdent de cette logique, qui n'est pas sans affinité avec celle de la vulgarisation scientifique.

Un modèle périmé du point de vue disciplinaire ne conduit plus à des explications sanctionnées par la publication d'un article dans une grande revue ; il peut néanmoins fournir un bon moyen diagnostique pour faire ressortir les tensions politiques dans une société ou dans une organisation, à condition de s'en servir pour décrire plutôt que pour expliquer et d'accepter que la solution concrète du problème n'appartienne pas à l'expert mais au praticien, à qui l'on fournit simplement une carte du monde. Dans une de mes vies antérieures, il m'est arrivé d'user ainsi de la théorie générale de Parsons pour faire le ménage dans les outils de gestion, ou de resservir les théories de l'intégration politique pour mettre en perspective les problèmes de fusion entre différents hôpitaux.

Le cas des relations proprement interdisciplinaires est le plus difficile, car les disciplines sont normalement des « monades aux volets clos ». L'enseignement interdisciplinaire présente un certain intérêt, mais il faut admettre que la synthèse appartient alors aux étudiants. Quant à la recherche, il m'apparaît que les groupes de rencontre, formés pour monter à l'assaut des organismes subventionnaires, ne font guère mieux que les gouvernements du même genre : bibliographies faites par assemblage des « bibliothèques » personnelles des chercheurs, problématiques où l'illusion d'unité est créée par quelque jargon méthodologique, pluralisme de façade qui dissimule les compromis auquel chacun condescend, sûr de pouvoir faire à sa guise quand le butin sera partagé. C'est ici que se rencontrent les assistants lancés sur la voie de synthèses impossibles — les politesses que s'échangent leurs directeurs ne sont pas des passerelles théoriques, tant s'en faut — ou les jeunes chercheurs décontenancés par la brutalité des carrières universitaires.

En fait, les projets engagés de cette façon ne laissent pas subsister longtemps la passion et le plaisir des débutants, tout en corrodant au passage les meilleures qualités des chercheurs plus aguerris — à trop mentir aux organismes subventionnaires, pour apaiser leur soif inextinguible de fausses promesses et d'engagements solennels, on prend le pli de se mentir à soi-même. De plus, parce qu'une discipline est un mécanisme destiné à protéger un champ scientifique des tensions intérieures et des pressions extérieures, les contacts à ce niveau ne peuvent manquer d'exaspérer les antagonismes, d'exciter les querelles de préséance, de réveiller les jalousies. Il est facile d'ignorer les habitudes de ses partenaires quand on se trouve au stade du projet, mais il est difficile de les éviter sur le terrain, quand il faut mettre en route un projet ou, pire, quand il faut tirer les leçons d'un échec.

On m'objectera, non sans raison, qu'on ne doit pas se couper de l'évolution des autres disciplines. Que les mœurs de nos voisins ne devraient pas nous les faire apparaître comme des Martiens — des Persans techno-scientifiques, en quelque sorte. Mais j'en conviens sans réserve. Je dis seulement que les entreprises conjointes, stratégiques et subventionnées ne mènent pas très loin. L'apprentissage individuel et l'immersion dans la culture des autres disciplines, y compris celles qui sont éloignées de nous par la classification des sciences, sont les seuls moyens d'inspirer des œuvres qui renouvellent, en même temps que les instruments de la pensée, notre conception des choses politiques.

Les monades ouvertes

La situation que je viens de décrire ne s'accorde pas avec celle qui est faite à l'interdisciplinarité dans le discours public et dans la pratique des institutions scientifiques. D'innombrables barrières sont mises pour ajouter aux obstacles naturels qui se dressent entre les spécialités. Le travail inter-professionnel est peu valorisé, quand il n'est pas présenté comme une trahison des idéaux universitaires. La recherche interdisciplinaire est toujours louée par-dessus les nues, en dépit de la pauvreté relative des résultats.

Pour ouvrir les volets, pourtant, il vaudrait mieux favoriser les échanges au niveau du front de recherches. Ce qui signifie prendre des risques : risques dans la gestion des carrières et des formations ; risques dans les thèmes et les méthodes de recherche ; risques dans la production intellectuelle. Pour les plus jeunes d'entre nous, cela implique par exemple de ne pas (ou plus) pénaliser ceux qui choisissent de changer de domaine de recherche entre la maîtrise et le doctorat, ou entre le doctorat et la formation post-doctorale. Pour tous les autres, il faut maintenir à tout prix la tradition de ressourcement périodique. Une tendance qui commence à poindre, nous conduisant à profiter des congés sabbatiques pour améliorer *sur place* notre taux de publication plutôt que de nous précipiter ailleurs à la rencontre des idées nouvelles, est une aberration dont tous feront les frais.

Le travail inter-professionnel se taillera lui-même une meilleure place, à mesure que se réduiront les fonds de recherche et que nous serons poussés vers la commandite et la consultation pour financer notre curiosité. Les collègues des sciences humaines et des sciences pures devraient d'ailleurs vivre cette crise du financement plus durement que nous, qui coiffons plus facilement la casquette de l'ingénieur social ou de l'organisateur expert.

Quant à la solution de continuité entre les disciplines, elle me semble inévitable, comme le sont les luttes pour imposer en chacune d'elles ce que Bélanger (1990) appelle très justement les « orthodoxies passagères ». Mais il ne sert à rien de participer à la guerre des mondes, puisque ceux qui triomphent

aujourd'hui seront déposés demain par leurs troupes. À vrai dire, les Martiens que je connais n'ont que faire des combats et du pillage, ils goûtent le travail et les idées, les monades largement ouvertes. Dont acte : je vais aller jardiner ma culture, en compagnie de ceux qu'amuse encore l'idée de frontière et que les détours n'effraient pas.

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CANADA: L'AVENIR DE LA COMMUNAUTÉ/ THE FUTURE OF THE COMMUNITY

LIFE IN THE CONSTITUTIONAL LANE

Robert A. Young
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i. Last time

In June 1972, north of Kingston at the Maberly crossing, I stuck my thumb out to head west on Highway 7 and soon got a lift with an elderly gent from nearby Tweed: so began my first real research in political science. Over the next 35 minutes, I casually led him to speak his mind about Quebec and Canada and the USA, and finally to muse about the prospect of Quebec's independence. And thus, over the next two months and across the country from Abraham's Cove to North Van, in malls and parks and trains and laundromats

and anywhere else people could be met and engaged in conversation, I slowly accumulated the unvarnished views of 80 Canadians.

My purpose? To distill from these hazy and uncalculated opinions a complex of fundamental attitudes towards Canada — a sense, or senses, of national identification — so as to determine whether Quebec independence literally was conceivable for «English Canadians». If so, my hypothesis stated, then a smooth transition to independence might be managed, and the citizens of Quebec could choose that path without fearing economic retaliation or, as I later put it, «repression more severe than that which Quebeckers may sense within the federation»¹.

Now, almost twenty years later, I find myself having to contemplate the same questions. Would the rest of Canada react to Quebec sovereignty in such a way as to impose costs on Quebec? Could the transition to independence be managed without major disruptions? Would there be substantial economic cooperation over the long term? These questions are not similar to those posed in my work of long ago — they are identical. When I dig it out, my old M.A. thesis proposal reads just like the parameters of my current research. And as I gaze out over my frozen garden, where the snow lies flat and blank, this realization can be awfully depressing.

It need not be so. I can draw a lesson or two upon coming around the constitutional track again. Before getting to those, given the purposes of this space in the *Bulletin*, I will proceed with the current analysis.²

One difference from twenty years ago is that I will refer to the «Rest of Canada» as ROC, however illusory in the end may be this term's connotations of solidity.

ii. Will ROC refuse to maintain its links with a sovereign Quebec?

This basic question animates or underlies constitutional debate across the country. The response to it will shape our expectations about Quebec independence, our behaviour in referenda (in Quebec and probably in the rest of Canada), and, in a real way,

¹ R.A. YOUNG, «National Identification in English Canada: Implications for Québec Independence», *Journal of Canadian Studies*, 12:3 (July 1977), 69-84.

² This is a shortened version of a piece to appear in Alain G. GAGNON et François ROCHER, *Répliques aux objections à la souveraineté du Québec* (Montréal: V.L.B. Éditeur, 1992). I thank the editors for permission to use this material, and Tom Courchene and Paul Boothe for comments on an earlier version.

the costs and benefits of Quebeckers' collective decision.

At present, Quebeckers and their fellow-citizens in ROC are engaged together in dense networks of social, cultural and economic exchanges. Political and legal institutions both facilitate and foster these relationships. We must ask whether these exchanges, which obviously benefit those who choose to engage in them, will be braked or weakened in the event that Quebeckers formally assert their sovereignty. Will Quebec and ROC cooperate in the management of the common economic space? Or might ROC refuse such cooperation and thereby impose costs on Quebeckers — even though in so doing it would also cause losses for its own citizens.

The potential costs of sovereignty are receiving a lot of attention. It is worth reviewing them briefly.³

The normal distinction is between short-term or «transition» costs and long-term costs.

Transition costs include: (1) transactions costs, which are inefficiencies that accompany the transfer and creation of administrative systems (including the costs to clients and taxpayers of learning about the new arrangements), as well as the resources wasted in negotiating with ROC about matters like the debt, citizenship, transport, defence, monetary arrangements, and so on; (2) fiscal costs, the size of which would depend on negotiations about the federal debt (but if Quebec accepted obligations proportional to its population, interest payments would rise and so would taxes); and (3) uncertainty costs, which arise when the future becomes less predictable, so risk increases, and people (employers, investors, bond purchasers, citizens who could move or stay) become less likely to carry on their current activities, with negative economic consequences.

Of course sovereignists rarely deny that independence would bring short-term costs. The benefits would be long term. There would be an end to Ottawa's inefficiency and to wasteful program duplication and overlap. The Quebec state could better control spending and borrowing. Most important, a united Quebec, consensual and adaptable, would be free at last to design policies suited to its industrial structure and its labour force, and so it could realize a higher rate of growth than it could achieve within the Canadian federation.

³ See Economic Council of Canada, *A Joint Venture: The Economics of Constitutional Options*, (Ottawa: Supply and Services, 1991); Patrick GRADY, *The Economic Consequences of Quebec Sovereignty*, (Vancouver: The Fraser Institute, 1991).

True, this vision has been tarnished by the recession. Mr. Crow has been fighting indépendantistes as well as inflation.

But assume that Quebec became sovereign in 1992. Assume that between then and 1995 its GDP fell below its potential by a total of 8%. After this transition, if Quebec got onto a growth trajectory superior by only 1% to what it would have attained within Canada, all the lost ground would be recovered by 2004, and real gains would be made thereafter. C'est payant.

Others, however, foresee long-term losses. Some suggest that the transition costs could have cumulative effects, such that the Quebec economy could slide into a stable equilibrium of lower productivity and income.⁴

But most long-term costs are predicted to arise from a diminution of Quebec's access to markets, and, more generally, from a weakening of economic integration. With rare exceptions, both federalists and sovereignists agree that maximizing economic growth requires the greatest possible mobility of productive factors across the widest possible economic space.⁵ Hence, one possible cost of sovereignty would be Quebec's inability to negotiate with the U.S.A. a free-trade agreement that provides market access equal to that now enjoyed by its firms. More important is the prospect that ROC and Quebec would not agree on how to manage and safeguard their common economic space. Instead of the current monetary and economic union, they might negotiate only a customs union or a free-trade agreement, or they might mutually extend nothing beyond the standard most-favoured-nation treatment under the GATT.

Given that Quebec still exports to ROC a larger proportion of its GDP than is sent abroad, such a restriction of markets would produce grave losses. The economy would adapt over the long term, but the process would be arduous.

(Of course, such non-cooperation would leave Quebec more free to formulate its own economic policies. The more integrated is a trans-national economy, the more essential is the harmonization of national policies, and the more necessary are institutions to settle conflicts as well as political mechanisms to frame joint responses to domestic and international changes. Finding the appropriate trade-off point between market access and autonomous policy is the nub of the problem.)

⁴ John MCCALLUM and Chris GREEN, *Parting as Friends: the Economic Consequences for Quebec*, (Toronto: C.D. Howe Institute, 1991).

⁵ There are exceptions: see Jane JENSON and Miriam SMITH, «L'Union économique, une menace commune au Québec et au Canada», *Le Devoir*, October 31, 1991, B-8.

In any case, these are the possible costs of sovereignty, as normally conceived. They could be large. They could dissuade many Quebeckers from taking a chance on independence. It is hardly surprising that the strategy of the federalist forces is to emphasize them: the higher the costs that Quebeckers perceive, the less likely they will be to support sovereignty.

Before looking more closely at this strategy, it is worth analysing the costs of sovereignty differently. They may be classified as fixed or variable costs.

Fixed costs are inescapable. They include some part of transactions costs, some fiscal costs, and losses caused by some minimal level of uncertainty. All the rest are variable. In principle, they could fall to zero. They increase in a direct relationship with the inflexibility of ROC (or of Quebec).

Transactions costs will rise substantially if ROC refuses to cooperate in the transfer of programs and public servants, and if the negotiations about various dossiers are prolonged. The costs of uncertainty are a function of the gravity of the issues still to be settled, the level of conflict, and the time that passes. So if ROC is intransigent, the variable costs of transition could increase greatly.

If these losses are large, it is more probable that a cycle of depression will take hold of the economy.⁶ So this too is variable. Finally, and crucially, ROC can refuse to cooperate in the maintenance of the economic and monetary union, imposing large adjustment costs on Quebec by accepting only a free-trade agreement, for example.

Obviously, the variable component of the costs of independence forms the most substantial part: its magnitude depends on whether ROC adopts positions which increase these costs. But how likely is it that ROC would refuse to cooperate?

In the sovereignist analysis, non-cooperation on ROC's part is improbable. It would be irrational. Most sovereignists, along with many Quebeckers who are not prepared to vote for independence, see this as a simple matter of logic. A difficult transition would impose costs on both Quebec and ROC. It would be in ROC's interest to minimize its losses. Therefore it would proceed to an orderly transfer of responsibilities, efficient negotiations about outstanding matters, and

⁶ Even if the economy does not settle into low-level equilibrium, and the sovereignist thesis of accelerated growth holds, the long-term losses mount. If six years pass before Quebec attains its trajectory of 1% higher growth, and if 20% of potential GDP is foregone between 1992 and 1998, the losses would not be recouped until about 2019 (without applying any discount factor).

especially to the reduction of uncertainty. In the long run, mutual interest would result in a high level of economic integration.⁷

As recommended by the Bélanger-Campeau Commission, the National Assembly of newly sovereign Quebec could adopt a law declaring that all Canadian statutes continue to apply on its territory. During a period of transition, calmly managed by responsible elites, ROC and Quebec could settle immediate matters like the division of the debt while also negotiating to maintain the economic union. In the long term, the citizens of ROC have no interest in rupture. Common sense and common interests dictate that cooperation must follow Quebec sovereignty.

Most Quebeckers now seem convinced that economic integration is beneficial. A poll in the spring of 1991 found 61% of Quebeckers believing it very or somewhat likely that ROC and Quebec would negotiate an economic association, and only 6% thought this not at all probable; more recently, 76% of Quebeckers thought it acceptable to maintain existing monetary and economic links with ROC in the event of Quebec independence.⁸

It is against this background of logic and hope that Quebeckers evaluate the discourse of the federalist forces. The strategy of Mr. Mulroney and his allies is on the one hand to construct a constitutional package attractive to Quebeckers, and on the other hand to explain and clarify the costs of sovereignty. The federalists try to communicate a warning about the losses which independence would entail.

But they go further. As was shown by the reaction in official Ottawa to the moderate tone of the October, 1991 Economic Council report, federalists refuse to admit that there would be cooperation between ROC and a sovereign Quebec.⁹ They do not allow

⁷ As Jacques Parizeau has put it, «When the chips are down, I am still convinced that money talks.» (Interview on CBC Radio, November 12, 1991.)

⁸ *The Globe and Mail*, April 22, 1991, A6; *Maclean's*, January 6, 1992, 65. Note that opinion in ROC is somewhat different. To the first question, only 46% responded that an economic association is probable; to the second, only 47% approved of maintaining existing economic relations. Another question in the *Maclean's* poll asked for views about the rupture of all economic and monetary linkages. In Quebec, only 24% found this would be very or somewhat acceptable, but the proportion was 54% in ROC.

⁹ See, among others, *La Presse*, October 31, 1991, B1; *Le Devoir*, October 31, 1991, A-1; *The Globe and Mail*, November 1, 1991, B3; and the *Montreal Gazette*, November 1, 1991, A-2.

themselves to speculate about generating mutual gains through cooperation in the event of Quebec independence. They offer no guarantees.

Some go further still, to embrace the strategy of threat. They predict that negotiations will be long and hard and bitter, that fundamental issues like borders and minority rights must be on the table, and that temporary economic disruption and the erection of permanent barriers to trade are both very likely. Given that the costs of independence are primarily variable ones, which can be increased by ROC, this threat must be taken seriously.

But Quebeckers simply do not believe it. First, they have seen such threats before, in the campaigns leading up to the 1976 election and the 1980 referendum. More important, the language of threat is dismissed because it evidently is part of a strategy. It is transparent. It is not credible.

Of course, it is reasoned, the federalists want to avoid the costs which independence would impose on all of Canada. Before Quebeckers have made their choice, it makes sense to emphasize these costs, and it is also rational to inflate them by making threats which are more or less veiled (on condition that Quebeckers do not react emotionally against this 'intimidation'). But Quebeckers could still choose to declare their independence. At that moment, the federalist strategy would have failed. And after this is clear, right after the referendum, a ROC which is seeking to minimize its losses must immediately change its course. It must opt for cooperation, for the tranquil management of the transition, for joint assurances to diminish uncertainty, and for an economic association that would avoid the costs to itself of fragmenting the economic space.

In light of this analysis, threats to inflate the variable costs of independence are quite comprehensible. And it is quite predictable that ROC would abandon this strategy as soon as independence becomes a reality. Once understood in this fashion, the threat evaporates. It has no credibility. The federalists are bluffing. Mr. Mulroney is unveiled like the Wizard of Oz.

The federalist strategy is transparent, but it does work in one sense. The threat itself has consequences because it cannot be abandoned. Ottawa could hardly pre-negotiate the terms under which it would associate with a sovereign Quebec at the same time as it is struggling to propose a renewed federalism. Hence, it is impossible to resolve in an authoritative way any of the thorny issues that sovereignty raises. Instead, the federalists have to maintain their strategy right until the end, perhaps through a referendum campaign that could be close and hot.

If Quebeckers then discount the threat, and opt for independence, then the federalist strategy will have raised the costs of their decision, in reality. This is because all the uncertainty about the constitutional

and economic future will immediately hit Quebec and ROC as a sharp shock on the day after the referendum. So transition costs would be very much increased. In fact, it is hard to think of a more effective way of maximizing uncertainty than to refuse to contemplate how to cope with sovereignty until it occurs.

The costs and benefits of non-cooperation need more analysis. And here it may be useful to have recourse to the theory of strategic games. Game theory may not fit many real political situations, but that it may be applied to constitutional negotiations is suggested by the measured iterations of offer and counter-offer, and by the obvious importance of tempo and threat therein.

Game theory does clarify two elements of our central question. First, it assumes that ROC, as a player, has interests. As a rational actor, it will try to make its preferences prevail by manipulating the payoff structure, making threats, and choosing non-cooperation if this strategy maximizes its long-term benefits. Second, it helps explain why one sometimes observes non-cooperation, or impasse, even when each player would have preferred compromise over the actual result (as in some cases of war, or in the mutual imposition of punitive tariffs). It shows too that under some conditions, non-cooperation can be rational.

In a simple game, several factors determine whether an actor will choose to be conciliatory. These include the preferences attached to each of the possible outcomes, the amount of information at hand (including knowledge of the other's preferences), the capacity to foresee behaviour, and the expectation of engaging the same player in similar games in the future, or in parallel games where the outcomes are linked with the current game. All of these considerations have been explored in more detail recently in Louis Imbeau's impressive application of game theory to the current constitutional negotiations.¹⁰

Imbeau sets up the current game as having four possible outcomes: (1) Compromise, which could resemble the Meech Lake Accord, (2) FQ, a result which favours Quebec, perhaps an Allaire-like solution, (3) FC, a result which favours ROC, perhaps the status quo, and (4) AA (aucun accord), which is an impasse. Imbeau assumes, in the end, that AA will lead to

Quebec independence. But this, like conduct in the current game generally, depends on the players' expectations about the outcome of the larger game in which the current one is embedded (or in the shadow of which it is played). This game is our subject here.

Assume that the constitutional crisis can have four possible results: a compromise (C) on renewed federalism, sovereignty-association (SA), the status quo (SQ), or a rupture of relations (RR) after Quebec declares itself independent. Let us assume, too, that Quebec prefers SA above all, valuing it at 4, followed by C (3), then SQ (2), and then RR (1). Assume that ROC's preference schedule is SQ (4) > C (3) > SA (2) > RR (1). In this game, as always, each player can adopt an attitude of conciliation (CO) or of non-conciliation (NCO). The solution is presented in Table 1 (where the figures in brackets refer to the values attached to each outcome by the players, with Quebec's values on the right).

Table 1
A simple game

		QUÉBEC	
		CO	NCO
ROC	CO	C (3/3)	SA (2/4)
	NCO	SQ (4/2)	RR (1/1)

In this game, each actor could pursue its favoured outcome by adopting a non-cooperative attitude. Then the solution is the worst possible — RR. The players know this. But if one or the other cedes, and adopts a conciliatory stance, the other will remain intransigent and will achieve its highest preference — SQ in the case of ROC and SA in the case of Quebec. Of course this is a well known game. It's called «Chicken».

In this game, if ROC can threaten non-cooperation through declaring itself ready to live with the outcome RR, and can do so with credibility, then it can force Quebec to accept SQ, because Quebec prefers SQ (2) to RR (1). Similarly, ROC may have to accept SA if Quebec refuses to compromise and appears really likely to stick at RR so long as is necessary. This threat of moving to RR is crucial to attain one's preferred objectives.

Note, though, that if each player knows the other's preferences, the same threat can produce a stable outcome at C. For example, ROC can adopt a cooperative attitude, knowing that it could react to a Quebec response of SA by moving towards RR, and Quebec can make the symmetrical calculation. With foresight, the players can achieve Compromise.

¹⁰ Louis-M. IMBEAU, «Le compromis est-il encore possible? La négociation constitutionnelle de l'après-Meech à la lumière de la théorie des jeux», dans Louis BALTHAZAR, Guy LAFOREST et Vincent LEMIEUX, dir., *Le Québec et la Restructuration du Canada, 1980-1992*, (Sillery: Les éditions du Septentrion, 1991), 283-309 [forthcoming in English in University of Western Ontario, Political Economy Research Group, *Papers in Political Economy*].

This example shows how results depend on initial preferences and, in a sequential game, on the tempo of moves. More important, it is evident that the capacity to communicate a threat, with credibility, can allow a player to reach its preferred result or, perhaps, Compromise. As well, rational actors can fall together into non-cooperation.

Perhaps Quebec and ROC are not playing chicken. Assume that Quebec prefers sovereignty to the status quo, even if independence means the fragmentation of the economic union. Its preference schedule is therefore: SA (4) > C (3) > RR (2) > SQ (1). Assume as well that ROC has hardened, so that its preferences are: SQ (4) > C (3) > RR (2) > SA (1). Table 2 shows the resulting game, which is the famous Prisoner's Dilemma.

Table 2
The prisoner's dilemma

		QUÉBEC	
		CO	NCO
ROC	CO	C (3/3)	SA (1/4)
	NCO	SQ (4/1)	RR (2/2)

In this game, there are two stable results, RR and C. If each actor pursues its first preference by adopting a non-cooperative attitude, RR is the result, and this is a stable solution because neither side then has an incentive to shift towards cooperation. To attain the Compromise result, each player must renounce, in a credible fashion, the pursuit of its best alternative. However, each also has to demonstrate its preparedness to accept impasse — RR — should the other defect from cooperation. For instance, if Quebec is conciliatory but ROC stays intransigent, the result would be SQ. Hence Quebec would threaten to choose RR unless ROC moves (and note that this threat is credible because with these preferences, Quebec really would get a better result at RR than at SQ). Anticipating this train of events, ROC should choose cooperation, and the two should find Compromise.

Once more, it is clear that a threat, when credible, can be useful. But how to establish credibility? Here, iterated games are important, because the simplest way to have a current threat be credible is to have made them in the past — and to have executed them. If games are to be repeated, therefore, a rational player may accept the short-term losses caused by carrying out a threat in order to establish future credibility in a game where the stakes are greater.

Moreover, it seems that the strategy of threatening non-cooperation should the other player fail to be

conciliatory, and carrying out the threat, is the best way to ensure long-term cooperation. This result emerges from exhaustive studies of the prisoners' dilemma, a game which is frequently found in reality.¹¹ When games between the same players will be repeated incessantly, each has to take account of the past behaviour of the other. Each must adopt a «meta-strategy» to respond to the choices of the other. The meta-strategy which seems to maximize the returns in the long run is one known as «tit-for-tat»; that is, one punishes non-cooperation in one game with non-cooperation in the next, and one rewards cooperation with cooperation.

In Canada, the federalist meta-strategy seems to be the one known as «permanent retaliation». This punishes — or threatens to punish — any act of non-cooperation with eternal non-cooperation in all future games. This is not credible. But if a declaration of sovereignty by Quebec represents a shift to a non-conciliatory stance, it remains true that non-cooperation by ROC could be entirely rational, within the meta-strategy of tit-for-tat. Retaliatory non-cooperation could be seen as the strategy most likely to produce compromise in the long run.¹²

In reality, Quebec and ROC will never «separate». No 'one' is going anywhere. Immutable geography and the heavy forces of economics make it clear, as the indépendantistes recognize, that games between these two actors will continue, whatever the constitutional framework. But from this observation, one should not draw the conclusion that cooperation is inevitable. On the contrary, in a logical light, one sees that either ROC or Quebec could decide in an important iteration of the game that non-cooperation is the move most likely to maximize the long-term payoff.

To conclude, it is enough to re-state our principal findings. First, if Quebecers declare themselves sovereign, the cost could be very large, and the magnitude of the cost is variable: it depends on how cooperative are the actors. At present the federalists threaten not to cooperate with an independent Quebec, but this hardly seems credible because executing such a threat would impose costs on ROC.

11 Robert AXELROD, *The Evolution of Cooperation*, (New York: Basic Books, 1984).

12 For instance, if ROC and Quebec are to cooperate economically, decisions must be taken about the level of integration to be maintained and about what decision-rules will settle future questions of economic management. ROC could readily calculate that the losses consequent upon the adoption of a non-conciliatory stance in the short term would be more than recompensed were it to obtain in the future its preferred outcomes on these very important issues.

(Nonetheless, the threat alone will have proven costly if carried through to the end but Quebecers choose sovereignty.)

Turning to game theory, we find that two rational players in a single game may make choices which impoverish both. Avoiding this, and achieving one's objectives or a compromise, may require the capacity to make a credible threat. If games will continue between the same players, carrying out a threat of non-cooperation usefully increases the credibility of future threats, and it also can be part of a maximizing meta-strategy when games will be repeated infinitely.

And so, finally, we return to our real question. Might ROC refuse to associate cooperatively with a Quebec which has declared its independence? Yes, certainly. It could be a rational move.

As for Quebec, if there is any conclusion to be drawn from our analysis, it is that successful players must be realistic and far-sighted. And they require credibility. As our simple games illustrated, this means that if Quebecers really want to achieve sovereignty-association — and even, perhaps if they want to negotiate a suitably renewed federalism — then they must be prepared to embrace a sovereignty where in the short term at least there is no cooperation with ROC. If they cannot make such a commitment, then either the sovereignists are dreaming in colour or else they are bluffing.

iii. This time round

Apart from its practical effects as a hard-line demonstration of the risks of sovereignty, this little excursion into game theory has some interest. It illustrates how any current game is nested in an overall strategy which is both broader in content and deeper in time. For example, any consideration by Quebec of whether to compromise on, say, the Senate, must fit within a larger strategy of putting together a total position on constitutional reform that will result in a favourable outcome (perhaps an «Allaire-like» solution). Yet the advisability of the stance that probably is necessary to secure it (non-conciliation) depends inevitably on expectations about what Canada will do both as a direct reaction and in the longer-term game which involves an independent Quebec. If no accord can now be reached because ROC is equally unwilling to compromise, then what are the chances in the deeper game involving post-independence outcomes that ROC would also not cooperate? One must decide now in order to play the current game. And so the shadow of the far future always falls on current political choices.

But our knowledge of others' preferences and strategies declines as the time horizon lengthens. Players can trick themselves. In this respect, one wonders whether Mr. Bourassa may not now be in a very tight box. The referendum in Quebec was

proposed by Léon Dion among others as a way of holding a knife to the throat of the rest of Canada. But if a popular consultation fails to produce a strong majority one way or another, it will testify that Quebec's internal solidarity is insufficient to support hard bargaining and the credible threatening behaviour essential for success. In Édouard Cloutier's phrase, Quebec may be holding a rubber knife.¹³

But incoherence is a problem in ROC too. Game theory presumes a unitary actor, and this is clearly not true in Canadian reality. Other things being equal, the interest of British Columbians in any particular outcome is very much different from that of Ontarians, as anyone who has glanced at domestic and international trade figures recognizes. (In fact, as one moves west across the country, the inhabitants are freer to take positions according to emotion and sentiment rather than hard economic interest.) ROC is no more united and determined than is Quebec. It doesn't have the capacity for centrally organized non-cooperation. In fact ROC doesn't exist. So threats could be made and implemented only as a consequence of some galvanizing symbolic blow several orders of magnitude greater than Bill 178, or through default, should a declaration of Quebec independence produce total constitutional confusion followed by collapse and fragmentation.

So ROC and Quebec are both bluffing (though the bluffs can have real, serious results). And game theory is just the most extreme example of how constitutional analysts may propagate division and conflict by the very conceptual apparatus they apply to simplify matters. Keith Spicer may not be far wrong in accusing us of imposing, «on 27 million Canadians, antagonisms and controversies that are often removed from our day-to-day experience.»¹⁴ Game theory may be more rigorous than the loose metaphors one hears about «divorce» and «tearing the country in two» (or implicit metaphors like «ROC»), but it can have resonances that are no less emotionally stirring.

In this respect, I wonder whether others have noted in the course of conversations with colleagues just how

¹³ Clearly apprehensive about how this manifest division would weaken the province in negotiations, Daniel Latouche has recently proposed that the Parti Québécois temporarily abandon the goal of sovereignty, and come out strongly in support of the Allaire report's recommendation of thorough-going decentralization. If referenda do not inevitably induce parties to divide along traditional lines, this could deliver to ROC the message of an unignorable majority. See «Une hypothèse», *Le Devoir*, January 11, 1992, A8.

¹⁴ *The Globe and Mail*, January 21, 1992, A1.

closely their constitutional analyses are attached to their own personal experience. In this issue, the content is vast and the bounds of reasonable analysis are pretty wide, and I often notice a reliance on experience to fill the gaps of knowledge and causality. Attitudes in Alberta, for example, are obviously more different than the polls show because my cousin changed entirely when she went there; Ontarians are unlikely to support more redistribution because my father-in-law is fed up with his taxes; and so it goes. Scratch an analyst in this business and you soon find a background.

So perhaps the specialists are not as different from the public as Mr. Spicer suggests. And perhaps therefore we should cool it a little. We cannot be sure that our analyses and proposed solutions are correct; yet there is a great danger that we will push ourselves — each other — into inflexible positions by our own sentiments, the thrust of debate, and the intellectual and reputational stakes involved.

Political scientists are busily advocating various constitutional improvements and strategies, often with a lot of insistence. But we cannot even agree on how important is the constitution. Institutionalism is making a comeback in its neo-form, but the converse of the proposition that institutions do importantly shape political behaviour and policy outcomes is the proposition that those same important institutions, when inefficient, are forced to change by the pressure of individual actors and groups who have a perceived interest in circumventing them or altering them.¹⁵ Most of us can agree that Canadian federalism has been pretty flexible in the past. Perhaps we specialists shouldn't now go to the wall for particular institutional forms or certain constitutional allocations of powers when we cannot be sure whether the effects of the choice on what actually gets done in the system will be really important.

And, finally, we might listen more to ordinary Canadians. It may be time to stop assessing public opinion through set-piece polls and taxi drivers. We might get out of our offices more, into the malls and even the laundromats. Hitchhiking may be a little passé now, but even a weekend's excursion into the country of ordinary Canadians can be informative, (not to mention appropriately soothing.)

If we listen, we will find that Canadians want a constitutional settlement. They are not interested in our games. They are ready for compromise. They may not know quite how to do it, but if it does not materialize, then their anger and frustration will have

¹⁵ It might be useful, for instance, to peruse William Riker's nice review article, «Six Books in Search of a Subject, or Does Federalism Exist and Does It Matter», *Comparative Politics*, 2 (1969), 135-46.

much more impact on this country than any conceivable variant of Senate tinkering could have. They want a settlement. We had better help find one.

**CANADA LATIN AMERICA FORUM /
LE FORUM CANADA-AMÉRIQUE LATINE**

THE CANADA-LATIN AMERICA FORUM

By Edgar J. Dosman, Director

The Canada-Latin America Forum (FOCAL) was created to lower the cultural distance and other barriers between Canada and Latin America that impede a more dynamic relationship between the two regions. Particularly in academia, business and science and technology, the potential between our country and those of Latin America remains largely unfulfilled. The current rapid re-ordering of the Americas—in which NAFTA is only one example—requires the same concentration on Latin America as a future region of importance to Canada as we devoted to the Pacific Rim in the 1980s. FOCAL's objectives, therefore, are similar to those of the Asia-Pacific Foundation, tailored to the particular circumstances of inter-American relations, and premised on the concept of mutual and reciprocal benefits.

The Canada-Latin America Forum (FOCAL for its French, Spanish and Portuguese acronym) will strengthen existing initiatives in the various sectors, working with them to stimulate new ideas, knowledge and mechanisms for improved hemispheric cooperation. Despite growing bilateral and multilateral ties with Latin America at all levels—business, government, academic and NGO—a catalyst is required to focus public attention on the present restructuring of the Americas and Canada's interests and opportunities in the evolving inter-American system.

The programme of FOCAL operates in consultation with Latin America, US and Caribbean counterparts, including the major inter-American institutions and non-governmental organizations. Collaborative and co-sponsored activities are encouraged wherever possible. Housed within the North-South Institute (NSI), FOCAL also acts as a national clearing-house, permitting improved access to information for all users on hemispheric activities and research affecting Canada in the region. It serves as a point of contact for the media, regional networks and research groups.

The range of activities is very broad: social and political development, commercial relations, the environment, democracy and human rights, women in development, aboriginal issues, conflict resolution, among others.

Tracking new developments in the areas of trade, finance and technology will be a particularly vital FOCAL activity. The Canada-US-Mexico trade negotiations and the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative are merely two examples of the profound changes gathering momentum in a changing hemispheric economy. Inter-relationships will grow, in a new decade clouded by debt, recession, the threat of increased protectionism, and burgeoning environmental decay. But new and reciprocally beneficial opportunities—in technology transfers, trade and economic cooperation for development—are also possible.

Innovative and constructive public and private action by Canadians requires a broader and deeper understanding of the social, political and economic realities of Latin America. The Canada-Latin America Forum will assist this process of constituency-building to address the lengthening inter-American agenda of the 1990s.

FOCAL has developed a flexible programme responsive to the needs of the various constituencies. As mentioned, the unifying principle is a catalytic role, to strengthen the capacity of existing organisations across Canada in their inter-American activities. Detailed below, the Media Fellowship Programme, Science and Technology Seminars; trade policy networking in cooperation with the Inter-American Development Bank and the UN Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean; plus other specialized Working Groups, form an integrated set of activities to change attitudes and increase the visibility of Latin American economies in Canada and vice-versa.

FOCAL Objectives

- 1 To provide a focal point within Canada for identifying new information and trends in Latin America and evaluating their implication for Canadian users, i.e. to integrate Canada into the global and regional information networks for the Western Hemisphere.
- 2 To assemble multidisciplinary expertise on issues of short, medium and long term significance affecting Canadian-Latin American relations through a program of symposia, conferences and working groups, as appropriate.
- 3 To disseminate this information and expertise to government, business, academics, NGOs, research centres, the media and the general public by creating networks, effective communication programs, and overall reference capability.
- 4 To create a disinterested forum for the debate, review and pre-testing of policy initiatives, issues, interests and concerns of Canadian constituencies on Latin America.
- 5 To facilitate institutional and research linkages within Canada and with the US and other hemispheric partners.
- 6 To develop an institutional memory in Canada regarding policy formation vis-a-vis Latin America and hemispheric affairs.

Linkages With Inter-American Institutions

The Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) is a particularly important contact. Joint projects include the Simon Bolivar Enlace Science and Technology activity; Inter-American Trade Policy Symposium (Toronto, April 24, 1992); and Pensamiento Latinoamericano Conference (Washington, November 14-15, 1991). IDB President Enrique Iglesias addressed FOCAL's Changing Americas Seminar Series, in Ottawa on June 14, 1991.

Both the UN Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) and the OAS, with its associated Specialized Agencies, maintain close links with FOCAL activities, including joint projects where possible. With ECLAC, this includes an outreach project in Canada; brokering the Canadian end of the IDB-ECLAC Enterprise for the Americas Initiative project; and a forthcoming Changing Americas Seminar with ECLAC Executive Secretary Gert Rosenthal. OAS involvement has been identified as a FOCAL priority, and the action-plan in this area has been described above under Working Group: Canada and the Inter-American System.

FOCAL maintains an active liaison programme with IOHE (Inter-American Organization of Higher Education); RIAL (Relaciones Internacionales de America Latina); the OAS; the Inter-American Dialogue; the Woodrow Wilson Centre; and the H. Humphrey Institute, among others.

Secretariat and Accountability

The Secretariat of FOCAL includes a Director, Programme Coordinator, and an Assistant Coordinator. The DEA Executive Inter-Change, financed by CIDA (Brazil-Canada Technology Cooperation Project with the Brazil-Canada Chamber of Commerce), has permitted the strengthening of the Secretariat with an additional person-year who works as Senior Advisor to the Director. Additional part-time staff are hired on contract as required. The NSI link has advantages in

areas of mutual interest, such as publications, where joint projects can save money.

Management Group:

Day-to-day accountability is ensured through a Management Group of FOCAL and outside specialists, which meets at quarterly intervals to review proposals and assess the progress of individual Working Groups and Secretariat activities.

Programme

The Changing Americas Series

- Carlos Portales, Vice-Minister, Foreign Affairs, Chile. *The Enterprise for the Americas Initiative: A Chilean Perspective*, January 11.
- Baena Soares, Secretary General of OAS, April 29.
- Dr. Martin Pifeiro, Director General of the Inter-American Institute for Cooperation in Agriculture (IICA), (co-sponsored with Agriculture Canada and IICA). *Hemispheric Relations in Agriculture in the New International Context*, May 9, 1991.
- Enrique Iglesias, President, Inter-American Development Bank. *Latin America in the New Era: The IDB Perspective*, June 14.
- Luigi Einaudi, Ambassador to the Organization of American States for the U.S.A. *Inter-American Relations in the 1990s*, September 12.
- Dr. Felix Peña, National Director, Economic Integration, Foreign Ministry of Argentina. *Presentation on Mercosur from an Argentine Perspective*, October 15 (cosponsored by DEAIT).

Conference

- "Canada and the OAS: Agenda for the 1990s". This colloquium was organized as part of Canada Week in Washington, D.C. March 4, 1991. Co-sponsored by the Canadian Mission to the OAS (DEA) and FOCAL, the proceedings (including a summary of recommendations) will be published in French, English and Spanish.

Briefing Sessions

For government and visiting Latin American specialists:

- Delegation from the Colombian Ministry of External Affairs.

- Round-table hosting Dr. Rev. Robert Smith (Central America Monitoring Group) following his visit to Guatemala.

- Consultative meeting with Oscar Vera, guest of the Conference Board of Canada.

- Briefing on Latin America to Department of External Affairs (DEA) Policy and Planning officials.

- Briefing session for Mexican entrepreneurs visiting Canada.

Working Groups

- **Canada and the Inter-American System**
Media Fellowship Programme, Annual Conference with follow-up publication, OAS Activities in Canada: Public Information and workshops, OAS Scholarships for Canadians/Latin Americans (with AUCC), Annual Graduate Student Essay Contest, Network/Directory: Canada in the Inter-American System.
- **Brazil-Canada Consultative Group.**
Pilot bilateral relations group composed of representatives from DEA, CIDA, IDB, the Brazil-Canada Chamber of Commerce (BCCC) and the Brazilian Embassy.
- **Public Affairs/Public Information.**
Composed of representatives from DEA, Secretary of State, CIDA and IDRC, this group is considering new initiatives for a more effective public information strategy about Canada in Latin America and vice versa.
- **Sustainable Development.**
Environmental Management and Natural Resource Development. This group of experts (from IDRC, IRPP, DEA, Laval, International Institute for Sustainable Development (IISD)) coordinates the development of comparative research in three sectors: 1) West Coast Forestry, Chile and British Columbia; 2) Fisheries Depletion, Atlantic Canada and Argentina/Uruguay; and 3) Hydroelectric Development, James Bay and Brazil.

The Media Fellowships Programme

This programme involves the reciprocal visits annually of established Canadian and similarly qualified Latin journalists. Extended stays will allow the development of more in depth reporting on Latin America in Canada and vice-versa.

Public Affairs

■ Essay Contest:

A graduate level essay contest on Canada and the OAS was held in autumn 1990. The winner, Mr. Peter McKenna, PhD Fellow at Dalhousie University, was awarded a cash prize and a trip to Washington to participate in the symposium on Canada and the OAS held on March 4.

■ New Materials on Canadian-Latin American Relations:

FOCAL is proposing the following book: *"The New Challenge: Canada in the Americas"* in the *About Canada/Réalités canadiennes* Series (Secretary of State).

■ "The Role of Canada in Hemispheric Affairs":

FOCAL is assisting (with support from Academic Relations, DEA) the completion of a book on Canada's post-1968 relations with Latin America, to be published by McGraw-Hill Ryerson in 1992.

■ International Networking:

Small exchanges and visits have taken place with relevant groups in the following countries: Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia and Mexico. These included NGOs, the media, publishers, researchers and institutions, Canadian Embassies and other interest groups.

■ Public Addresses and Conferences:

In Brazil, Chile, Cuba, Mexico as well as in Canada including the Canada/Latin America Opportunities Conference (Calgary), the Group of 78 (Ottawa), and the Department of National Defence, the Canadian Investors Association and others.

■ Media Networking:

Media contacts, in print, TV and national radio with an interest in Latin America have been initiated a first step in increasing information about Latin America in Canada. Similarly contact is being developed with media outlets in Latin America.

■ Liaison:

CALACS; AUCC; Brazil-Canada Chamber of Commerce; Canadian Exporters' Association; Canadian Council for the Americas; CCIC; Inter-American Organization for Higher Education, etc. International Organizations/Institutes: Inter-American Development Bank; United Nations ECLAC; the OAS; the Inter-American Dialogue; the Woodrow Wilson Centre; and the H. Humphrey Institute.

Other Activities

■ Argentine Visitors Program:

In cooperation with DEA, FOCAL is coordinating visits to Canada of Argentine specialists. Visitors include Torcuato DiTella, Director of the Simon Rodriguez Foundation; Andrew Joseph, a specialist in reforestation, recycling and environmental education; and Jorge Garzarelli, Centre for Scientific and Social Studies (CECIS), specialist in public education on AIDS prevention.

■ Graduate Interns:

A graduate student from the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs, Christine Faveri, has completed an internship with FOCAL. As part of her work, she developed a list of Canadian university libraries interested in receiving specific publications from the United Nations ECLAC. As well, Ms. Faveri initiated a list of media contacts with specific interest in Latin America.

Also, FOCAL is hosting a student from Ottawa University. Since May, Ms. Erin Patenaude has been coordinating the Argentine Visitors Program and assisting with general programming.

Future Events

■ "Women and the Law."

FOCAL has been conducting preliminary work for a conference on legal changes affecting women in Canada and Latin America. A list of experts in Latin America is being compiled. Conference ideas as well as participation and logistics will be discussed with Latin American and Canadian specialists.

■ Argentine Visitors Programme.

Forthcoming visits will include Eduardo Tokar, Professor of International Law with specialty on Federal-Provincial Relations and Filomena Diab de Calisse, specialist in child psychology and education.

■ Annual Essay Contest.

On the subject of Canada in the Inter-American System. The winner will participate in Canada Week at the OAS 1992, Washington, D.C.

■ Outreach to Latin American Publishers.

FOCAL administers a programme to assist Latin American publishers interested in publishing Canadian books and materials.

FOCAL Publications

- *Report on a Consultative Session on the North American Free Trade Agreement*, Maxwell A. Cameron and Laura Macdonald, September 1990.
- *Hemispheric relations and agriculture in the new international context*, Laura Macdonald, July, 1991.
- Occasional Paper Series - Forthcoming... "Canada and the OAS"

DE L'IRLANDE / FROM IRELAND

THE POLITICAL STUDIES ASSOCIATION OF IRELAND

Michael Gallagher
Trinity College, Dublin

History of the PSAI

The teaching of political science is a minority discipline on a small island, which no doubt accounts for the failure of any political science organisation to emerge until 1982. Had one been founded fifteen years earlier, when the extant literature on Irish politics consisted of perhaps half a dozen books and not many more journal articles, it could have held its annual conferences in a telephone booth or, more congenially, in the back room of a pub.

Two developments during the 1970s made the formation of an association more feasible. The first was the expansion of interest in the academic study of Irish politics and the attraction in particular of younger scholars perhaps more interested than their predecessors in collaborative research, attending conferences and the exchange of ideas. In part this growth was due to the beginning of a fresh round of «the troubles» in Northern Ireland, which made that province an indispensable stopover for those examining conflict and divided societies on a comparative basis. Books like Richard Rose's *Governing without Consensus* (London, 1971), the first major study of Northern Ireland by a political scientist and Basil Chubb's *The Government and Politics of Ireland* (London, 1974), the first comprehensive overview of politics south of the border, eased the path for newcomers to politics on the island and stimulated further research.

The second development was the formation in 1971 of the European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR), the major political science organisation in Europe which holds annual working conferences in various parts of Europe. (In March 1992, incidentally, it comes to Ireland for the first time, when the joint sessions are held at the University of Limerick.) Irish political scientists attending ECPR conferences in

Grenoble, Berlin or Florence did not just meet their counterparts from other countries — they also met each other, sometimes for the first time given the complete absence of arenas in Ireland itself where they might cross paths. Informal networks were created, an indispensable precondition for the establishment of a formal association.

A small number of political scientists, among whom the names of John Coakley (University of Limerick), Tom Garvin (University College Dublin) and Vincent Geoghegan (Queen's University Belfast) deserve special mention, took the decisive step towards setting up the PSAI when they organised a meeting in Dublin on 19-20 March 1982, where a number of papers were presented. Although no association was formally inaugurated there, the PSAI dates its origins to that meeting. Two further meetings took place in 1983, one in Dublin and one in Belfast. At the next meeting, in Galway in October 1984, the embryonic association was placed on a formal basis by the forty or so attending. A committee of 8 members was elected, a constitution was adopted, and a decision was taken to publish a twice-yearly Bulletin to disseminate news, information and ideas.

At the end of 1984 the PSAI could boast 44 members, which could be regarded as reasonable satisfactory given that the number of political scientists employed in Irish universities was far smaller than this, but in any case the decision to found the Association generated considerable interest, and by May 1985, when the first Bulletin appeared, membership had risen to 86. The next annual meeting and conference of the Association, in Derry in 1985, took a decision — retrospectively, a courageous one — that was to boost membership further, namely the establishment of a journal, *Irish Political Studies*, whose first issue appeared in June 1986. Membership of the PSAI had rocketed to 132 by the end of 1986 and has continued to climb ever since.

Activities of the PSAI

Since 1986, the PSAI has consolidated itself within the framework established by its founders. The journal has become a focal point of the PSAI's activities. It has established itself — admittedly in the absence of a great deal of competition — as the premier outlet for the publication of current work on Irish politics. It also generates an awareness of Irish politics and the PSAI that spreads far beyond the island, and has proved a powerful weapon in the struggle to recruit new members. A survey of British political scientists late in 1990 threw favourable light on the standing of *Irish Political Studies* in the eyes of the 312 respondents. The survey (reported in a paper presented at the April 1991 PSA conference in Lancaster by Pippa Norris and Ivor Crewe, entitled «*The Reputation of Political Science Journals*») asked for assessments of 134 journals on a number of dimensions. *Irish Political Studies* ranked 33rd in terms of general quality of its articles (ahead of such journals as the *Journal of*

Politics, Comparative Politics and the European Journal of Political Research), 36th in terms of its usefulness for teaching purposes and 40th in terms of the originality of its articles. Its overall «impact» rating was brought down by its low «familiarity» rank (measured by the number of respondents who evaluated it). All in all, its rating was encouraging for a journal inaugurated only five years earlier and produced on a shoestring, and this was a tribute to its previous editors, Michael Laver, John Coakley and Nicholas Rees.

Undoubtedly, the prospect of receiving *Irish Political Studies* is a major attraction for potential members, given that its over-the-counter price is the same as the regular membership rate — if you could even find the counter. As well as articles on Irish politics, the journal contains reports on major political events such as elections, plus a data section that summarises the previous year's election results, opinion polls and other political data. It also contains an extensive book review section (currently edited by Vincent Geoghegan, Department of Politics, Queen's University, Belfast BT7 INN, to whom review copies should be sent) and a comprehensive bibliography of the previous year's publications on Irish politics. The current editors are Michael Gallagher and Michael Marsh, of the Department of Political Science, Trinity College, Dublin. As well as the journal, members receive two issues (one in May and one in November) of the PSAI Bulletin, which contains news of the profession, details of forthcoming events and a variety of other items. The May issue contains a full register of PSAI members together with their addresses and their research interests — in effect, a directory of all those interested in the academic study of Irish politics.

The Association has also moved into the field of publishing via its publication arm, the PSAI Press. A study of the 1987 Irish general election, *How Ireland Voted 1987*, was co-published with a commercial publisher, but the Association found it impossible to interest any publisher in repeating the experience after the 1989 general election. Undaunted, it persuaded the Centre for the Study of Irish Elections at University College Galway to act as co-publisher of a new volume, *How Ireland Voted 1989*, and by taking on responsibility itself for marketing the book, it ensured that the venture made a profit. *How Ireland Voted 1989*, which was edited by Michael Gallagher and Richard Sinnott, contains both academic analysis of the election and soul-baring accounts by six politicians who contested it, and is still available from the Social Sciences Research Centre at University College Galway. The Association's 1991 annual general meeting took the decision to expand its activities in this area, by producing and publishing an Irish politics textbook, to be edited by John Coakley and Michael Gallagher, which will be available by October 1992. If its production and sales go according to plan, the venture should generate a profit for the Association that can be used to fund further publications.

As well as its publishing activities, the PSAI regularly organises two events a year: the annual conference in October and a seminar in June. The conference, which in 1991 took place over the weekend of 11-13 October in Belfast, generally features about 20 papers, and attendance can reach 100 or so for some sessions. It is held in a hotel, and the PSAI is usually able to negotiate an all-embracing conference package for around IR£75 per participant, a sum that is sometimes reduced with the aid of sponsorship. Needless to say, it is a valuable social occasion as well as merely an opportunity to exchange ideas on Irish politics. The 1992 conference, scheduled for early October, will be held in Dublin.

The June seminar — that of 1991 took place on 21 June, with the theme «Mná na hÉireann [Women of Ireland]: the politics of the second electorate» — precedes the launch of the current issue of *Irish Political Studies*, an event that inevitably necessitates the purchase of copious quantities of wine. It is regularly held in Dublin, and the tradition has been established of inviting a leading politician to perform the launch. The politician usually says a few kind words about the journal and offers some general thoughts on the Irish political process — a practice from which there was a slight deviation in 1987 when the politician in question, former Taoiseach Dr Garret FitzGerald, took the opportunity to indicate his profound disagreement with the argument of one of the articles, on proportional representation in Ireland, in that year's journal. The present writer remembers the occasion well, since it was his article that was singled out for this dubious distinction.

Compared with, say, the CPSA, the activities of the PSAI are relatively modest. Our finances do not permit the sponsoring of internships, scholarships, or extravagances of any kind — though if the new textbook succeeds as we hope it will, the distribution of some limited largesse may become possible.

Organisation of the PSAI

During every annual conference, the Association holds its annual general meeting, at which a committee is elected to look after the Association's affairs for the next twelve months. This committee consists of a president, vice-president, secretary and treasurer, plus four other members — in addition, the new committee can co-opt up to three more members. Care is taken to ensure that the committee reflects the institutional balance among the members, which in practice means that each of the seven universities on the island where politics is taught must have at least one member on the committee.

Unlike some other national political science associations, we have few links with the wider society. Whereas the Swedish Political Science Association, for example, has senior civil servants and newspaper editors on its committee, the PSAI tends to be an

organisation of political scientists for political scientists. Politics graduates in Ireland are relatively few in number, and a high proportion of them emigrate after graduation, so we do not have the pool of goodwill in civil society that political science in some other countries, or other disciplines (such as economics) in Ireland might enjoy. Our conferences, despite our best efforts, usually go unremarked by the media. When we could do with friends in high places, we find ourselves forced to use the traditional methods of powerless interest groups, such as letters to the newspapers or to the relevant government minister. A case in point is a recent government proposal to ban the taking of opinion polls during the last week of election campaigns, an idea to which the Association objects for obvious reasons. The PSAI has made its opposition known through formal channels, but it remains to be seen whether this has any impact on the views of the government. The minister who proposed the opinion poll ban has since been sacked, but only the most self-important members of our organisation can convince themselves that displeasing the PSAI was the cause of his downfall.

The PSAI is entirely self-financing. Membership subscriptions of approximately £1,500 a year, together with sales of the journal to non-members (which brings in a further £2,500 or so), fund all our activities and, indeed, leave us with a small but consistent annual profit. If this pales by comparison with the CPSA, whose budget is about 200 times as large, it is nonetheless a creditable achievement given the limited pool from which the PSAI can draw. We receive no funding whatsoever from either public or private sources, which is merely a reflection of the lack of interest in support for political science research in the Republic of Ireland particularly. A survey carried out in 1987, and published in the PSAI's November 1987 Bulletin, found that Ireland and Portugal stood out in a European context because of the absence of any public funding for political science research, whereas in Germany, Switzerland, Sweden and the United Kingdom over IR£1m was provided, with significant sums provided in all other countries for which data was available. Prudent financial management and a membership that appreciates the need for the Association to remain solvent through its own activities has led to the accumulation of a financial reserve that would enable us to survive even if some unexpected crisis arrives. Membership dues are currently £12 for Irish and United Kingdom members, with a US\$ rate of \$30 — though there is a postage supplement for members based outside Europe. In return for their subscription, members receive a copy of *Irish Political Studies*, both issues of the Bulletin, an opportunity to buy Association publications at a discounted price, and an invitation to the annual conference and the June launch of the journal.

Apart from a slight dip in 1987, membership of the PSAI has risen every year since its foundation.

Altogether, over 250 people have joined, and even though some have subsequently drifted away, 1991 membership stood at a record 172. At the moment about 40% of our members are based in the Republic of Ireland, with 17% in Northern Ireland, 16% in Britain, 11% in North America and 9% on the European mainland, with the rest in further-flung locations. Despite the strong historical links between Canada and Ireland, and the contribution to the understanding of contemporary Irish politics made by Canadian political scientists such as Ken Carty of the University of British Columbia, only three Canadian-based members have joined the PSAI — none of them, disappointingly, from Newfoundland, the island we think of as our western neighbour. We would be glad to welcome new members from our sister isle and, indeed, from all over Canada.

Membership forms may be obtained from the PSAI's secretary, at the address below.

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ELECTION STUDY 1988 / ÉLECTIONS 1988

THE 1988 CANADIAN ELECTION STUDY

Richard Johnston
The University of British Columbia

The 1988 Canadian Election Study marks a departure from earlier Canadian studies: it was conducted by telephone; the first phase of fieldwork spanned the campaign and involved controlled release of the sample; altogether fieldwork took place in three waves; and the telephone waves incorporated experiments. These features open up all sorts of possibilities for analysis. But many potential users may find the novelty daunting. This note is intended to whet appetites, allay fears, and provide some navigational aids.

Some basic facts

The 1988 study was directed by myself, André Blais (Université de Montréal), Henry E. Brady (University of California-Berkeley), and Jean Crête (Université Laval). Fieldwork was carried out by the Institute for Social Research at York University. As with earlier studies, funding came from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. Any publications based on the study should acknowledge these individuals and institutions and absolve them of responsibility for the research.

The 1988 survey has three waves: a campaign-period telephone survey (CPS); a post-election telephone survey (PES); and a self-administered mailback questionnaire. The CPS comprises 3609 respondents interviewed for, on average, 38 minutes. Fieldwork for this phase began on 4 October 1988 and ended on 20 November (election day was Monday, 21 November). All PES respondents are also in the CPS; 2922 PES interviews were completed, with an average duration of 27 minutes. PES fieldwork began on 23 November 1988, paused after 22 December 1988, recommenced on 3 January 1989 and finished on 26 January. All «mailback» respondents are also in the CPS and PES. The self-administered questionnaire includes 97 items and was returned by 2115 respondents. Questionnaires were mailed out in weekly batches, following on completed PES interviews.

The Questions

CPS variables tend to have one or more of the following characteristics: it was imperative to collect the information on every respondent (eg., demographics); there was serious reason to believe that the measure was subject to bias if asked after the fact; or the variable seemed likely to exhibit especially interesting campaign dynamics.

PES variables tend to have one or more of the following characteristics: the question was necessary for the cumulative record of the event (eg., for which party did you vote; were you ever contacted); the item had to be repeated from the CPS, because it was important to assess the reliability of the measure; or the variable needed to be administered over the telephone (and thus could not be bumped to the mailback) but did not fit the criteria for inclusion in the CPS.

Mailback questions tend to be on general policy and political culture matters. Items that lend themselves to checklist presentation also appear here.

Across all three waves, there are 547 data points. About 500 of these are survey items of the conventional sort. About 20 are front-end matters, such as the number of calls required to get a respondent on the line. Most of the front end matter will be of interest primarily to the methodologically inclined. Twenty-eight data points are random numbers, about which more below.

The 1988 instrument embodies a commitment to map the total domain of policy and ideology with pre-formulated items. This marks a key departure from earlier Canadian studies, which placed greater emphasis on open-ended items. In the CPS appear questions which we thought might figure in the rhetoric of the campaign and on which the campaign and election might turn. Some of these are repeated in the PES, so that individual-level turnover in opinion can be studied. Many of the policy items are in the mailback, as are questions of a more general cultural or ideological sort.

Sample design

Household selection was by random digit dialling. To be eligible a household had to contain at least one Canadian citizen aged 18 years or older. When an eligible household was contacted respondent selection within the household was by last birthdate. Exchanges within Canada are fully nested within provinces and the sample was stratified to overrepresent the smaller provinces. There are minority-language oversamples in Ontario, Quebec, and New Brunswick.

The initial sample was broken at random into 47 replicates, each a miniature subsample of the total, and a new replicate was released each interview day. By this means, the CPS was made into a «Rolling Cross Section». Within sampling error all that distinguishes one replicate from another is the mere passage of time; differences between the replicates thus are almost certainly due to intervening events. This allows the CPS to pick up impact from external campaign events, in real time, so to speak. A given replicate was kept active for 9-12 days, to boost response rate. As a practical matter the overwhelming majority of ultimate completions from a replicate were recorded in the first three days. As replicates were released right down to the last day of the campaign this meant that the structure of daily completions (roughly: 50 from that day's release; 20 from the release of the day before; and 5-10 from releases two or more days before) was stable from the third day of interviewing until the last.

Given that fresh replicates were released right down the end, the normal 9-12 days active period was foreshortened as the end of the campaign approached. For instance, the 20 November replicate was active only for that day. For the CPS as a whole, a conservative estimate of response rate is 57 percent.

Possibilities and Pitfalls

Two facets of the study open up analytic possibilities not available in earlier studies: (a) the 1988 study incorporated experiments; and (b) it was deliberately opened to the influence of events in real time. The technology that creates these possibilities is of quite recent vintage: computer-assisted telephone interviewing. The 1988 study was conducted on York's version of the Berkeley CASES system.

Randomization. Thanks to CATI, the 1988 study joined random selection of the sample to random assignment to treatment. Randomization is a source of tremendous analytic power. The fact that treatments are truly controlled means that only very simple statistical tests are normally required and that attributions of cause and effect are straightforward, difficult to explain away; this is what gives experimentation its great «internal validity». But experiments conducted in the laboratory have a corresponding weakness: a lack of «external validity», of relevance to the external world. The national probability sample gets around the latter

problem, in that it picks up a representative group in a moment of active engagement with the political world.

The experiments hinge on 28 random numbers, 14 in the CPS and 14 in the PES. Several of these numbers randomize question order, sometimes within key batteries, sometimes for whole batteries. For instance, one number controls the order of leader, party, and local candidate thermometer ratings. Although these numbers appear primarily as controls for bias, they do allow users interested in analysing the effect of question order to do so simply by stratifying on the random number in question.

Most of the true experiments lie in randomizations of question wording. For instance, the question on opinion about the Canada-USA Free Trade Agreement took two subtly different forms. The alternative wordings reflect our reading, on the eve of the campaign, of one of the opposition's strategies, to discredit the Agreement by association with the negotiator. A Meech Lake item supplies four variants: three alternative meanings of the Accord and a contentless baseline.

The presence of randomization means that even users not interested in the experiments must be careful with some questions. Where such randomization has occurred summary distributions of response may be amalgams of quite different distributions in each experimental treatment. Indeed, to the extent that the experiments worked, this is bound to be the case. As a practical matter, you should be able to employ all of the response, regardless of treatment. It might make sense, though, to treat the random number as a dummy variable. You should get into the habit of thinking through the implications of the randomization in advance and of doing diagnostic tests.

Real time. The 1988 campaign was something of roller coaster for all concerned. As a rolling cross section, the CPS reflects these dynamics faithfully and users interested in electoral dynamics will find the data set fertile ground. But even users not interested in campaign effects should be aware of their existence. It is always a good idea when embarking on analysis of CPS variables to check by stratifying on interview date, on sample replicate, or on some aggregation of dates or replicates. As with the experiments, the impact of events in real time introduces heterogeneity into the data, over and above that to be found in more conventional cross-sections.

From our own experience with the rolling cross section, the outstanding conclusion is: *learn to use a graphics package.* We began by thinking of graphics as a way to present a finished research product. Along the way we learned that we needed pictures to understand the data set for ourselves; pictures became a research tool in their own right. With the small size of the daily replicates, you want to consider smoothing the data right from the start. We find that 5-day moving averages work well whole-sample analyses. Once you get

into subsamples, you should consider boosting the moving average to 7-days. The moving average strategy deters one from making unwarranted inferences from sampling flux at the same time as it saves you from precommitment to a particular set of temporal boundaries. The moving average does not mask the real change, only the sampling error. You will be amazed at how quickly some things change in a campaign.

The combination of controlled release of sample and experimentation is potent. For instance, you can track the impact of campaign rhetoric by watching how effects from an experiment are effaced by the passage of time. The flip side of this, however, is the need to be cautious. The coexistence of controlled experiments in the software and of, so to speak, natural experiments in the campaign is a challenge to our analytic capacity and to our imaginations.

Getting the data

If your institution belongs to the Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR) a copy of the data can be ordered at no cost. The ICPSR will supply a flat file and SPSS:X card images on a tape, along with documentation.

If you do not belong to the ICPSR, you can order the tape at cost from:

Anne Oram
Institute for Social Research
York University
4700 Keele Street
North York, Ontario M3J 1P3
Tel: (416) 736-5061

York offers some alternative packages for documentation. All packages include a tape with the flat file and the SPSS:X control card images. The basic package includes a technical document, which describes the study in detail, and one copy of the so-called CATI Q-instrument, the questionnaire in effect. You can get a stripped down version of the instrument, which gives the exact wording of the items and response codes but which describes the randomizations in words, or you can get the full instrument, from which the exact path of the randomizations, branching, and so forth, can be constructed. You can get either the French or the English version of the Q-instrument. For more money, you can get more than one version, long or short, French or English, of the instrument. Depending on the package, the price is around \$100.

The study is also available from *MicroCase* Corporation, P.O. BOX 2180, West Lafayette, Indiana 47906 (317-497-9999). *MicroCase* is a social-research software outfit. If you or your institution already have the software, then a system file of the 1988 study can be purchased for US\$95. The 1984 Canadian study is also available from *MicroCase*. If you do not have the software, then you would have to start by getting it

yourself or by getting your institution to purchase a site licence.

Getting help

You should feel free to phone or send an e-mail message to any of the co-investigators any time. Here are the numbers and e-mail addresses:

Richard Johnston (604) 822-5456 rgcj@mtsg.ubc.ca
 André Blais (514) 343-7349 blaisa@ere.umontreal.ca
 Henry Brady (510) 642-3008 hbrady@bravo.berkeley.edu
 Jean Crête (418) 656-5056 jcrete@vm1.ulaval.ca

On questions of sampling, administration, and getting the data of the fieldwork, you might also try David Northrup, the Project Director, at the York ISR address given above.

DU CRSH / FROM SSHRCC

BOURSES DE DOCTORAT / DOCTORAL FELLOWSHIPS 1991-1992

Information provided generously by Yollande Chartrand of SSHRCC /
 Merci à Yollande Chartrand du CRSH

Discipline / Name / Nom	Current Year / Année en cours	First Degree Institution / Premier diplôme	High Degree Institution / Diplôme gradué	University Awarding Ph.D. / Inst. décernant le doctorat
Comparative Pol./ Politique comparée				
Barany, Zoltan D.	3	Carleton University	Univ. of Nebraska	Univ. of Virginia
Bird, Karen L.	3	Wilfrid Laurier U.	Wilfrid Laurier U.	Univ. of Minnesota
Blacklock, Cathy J.	3	Univ. of Toronto	Carleton University	Carleton University
Blatt, David S.	3	Univ. of Alberta	McGill University	Cornell University
Busza, Eva T.	4	U.B.C.	U.B.C.	Stanford Univ.
Dicklich, Susan	2	McMaster Univ.	Univ. of Toronto	Univ. of Toronto
Fortier, François	4	Univ. de Montréal	Carleton University	York University
Kading, Terrance W.	4	Univ. of Lethbridge	Univ. of Waterloo	Univ. of Alberta
Kalant, Amelia	1	McGill University	McGill University	Mass. Inst. Tech.
Lusztig, Michael P.	3	U.B.C.	McGill University	McGill University
Morrison, Bruce W.	3	McGill University	McGill University	Harvard University
Ostiguy, Pierre N.	3	McGill University	Univ. of Toronto	U. Calif., Berkeley
Ryan, Philip A.	4	Univ. of Toronto	Univ. of Toronto	Carleton University
Ship, Susan Judith	4	UQAM	UQAM	Carleton University
Sutley, Stewart K.	4	Univ. of Calgary	McGill University	Univ. of Alberta
Young, John F.	3	Univ. of Alberta	Carleton University	Univ. of Toronto
Constitutional Studies/ Études constitutionnelles				
Burley, Justine C.	3	U. Western Ontario	Oxford University	Oxford University
Crawford, Gerald M.	4	U.B.C.	Oxford University	Oxford University

Discipline / Name / Nom	Current Year / Année en cours	First Degree Institution / Premier diplôme	High Degree Institution / Diplôme gradué	University Awarding Ph.D. / Inst. décernant le doctorat
Government & Public Adm. / Gouvernement & adm. publique				
Docherty, David C.	2	Wilfrid Laurier U.	McMaster Univ.	Univ. of Toronto
Fafard, Patrick C.	2	Univ. of Alberta	York University	Queen's University
Gaines, Brian J.	4	U.B.C.	Stanford University	Stanford University
Sitarski, Christopher	3	Queen's University	Queen's University	Univ. Calif., Irvine
St-Martin, Denis	1	Univ. de Montréal	Univ. de Montréal	Carleton University
International Relations/ Relations internationales				
Ashworth, L. M.X.	2	University Keele	Dalhousie Univ.	Dalhousie Univ.
Bush, Kenneth D.	3	Carleton University	Carleton University	Cornell University
Copeland, Dale C.	4	Queen's University	Johns Hopkins Univ.	Univ. of Chicago
Crawford, Robert M.	4	U.B.C.	McMaster Univ.	U.B.C.
Gagné, Gilbert	3	Univ. d'Ottawa	Univ. d'Ottawa	Oxford University
Harvey, Frank P.	4	McGill University	McGill University	McGill University
Lizée, Pierre P.	3	Université Laval	Université Laval	York University
Lombardi, Ben W.A.	4	Univ. of Manitoba	Univ. of Manitoba	Queen's University
Mutimer, David R.	4	U. Western Ontario	York University	York University
Peou, Sorpong	3	Univ. of Waterloo	York University	York University
Porter, Charles A.	4	McGill University	Carleton University	Carleton University
Richter, Andrew C.	1	Carleton University	Carleton University	Mass. Inst. Tech.
Roche, Michel	3	UQAM	UQAM	UQAM
Sens, Allen G.	4	U.B.C.	U.B.C.	Queen's University
Wolfe, Robert D.	2	York University	Carleton University	Queen's University
Other Pol. Science/ Science pol. autre				
Bédard, Guy	4	UQAM	UQAM	UQAM
Gingras, Lambert	1	Univ. de Montréal	Université Laval	Univ. of Calgary
Rousseau, Jean	2	Université Laval	Université Laval	Carleton University
Political Economy/ Economie politique				
Comor, Edward A.	4	Univ. of Toronto	University Leeds	York University
Lawson, James C.B.	2	Trent University	Dalhousie Univ.	York University
McDowell, Mark A.	2	Univ. of Toronto	Univ. of Toronto	U. Calif., San Diego
Pellerin, Hélène	4	Univ. de Montréal	Carleton University	York University
Ryner, Magnus J.	2	Trent University	York University	York University
Sheldrick, Byron M.	2	Carleton University	York University	York University
Wong, Sharon S.L.	4	Univ. of Guelph	York University	York University

Discipline / Name / Nom	Current Year / Année en cours	First Degree Institution / Premier diplôme	High Degree Institution / Diplôme gradué	University Awarding Ph.D. / Inst. décernant le doctorat
Political History/ Histoire politique				
Praud, Jocelyne S.	1	York University	York University	York University
Political Parties, Elections Studies/ Partis politiques, études électorales				
Eggleston, Stephen	4	U.B.C.	U.B.C.	Queen's University
Leithner, Andrew C.C.	3	McGill University	Australian Nat. Un.	Univ. Strathclyde
MacIvor, Heather	3	Dalhousie Univ.	Univ. of London	Queen's University
Tworzecki, Hubert	3	U.B.C.	U.B.C.	Univ. of Toronto
Political Science/ Science politique				
Abu-Laban, Yasmeen	2	Univ. of Alberta	Carleton University	Carleton University
Basu, Saunyajit	4	Univ. of Calgary	Univ. of Calgary	Princeton Univ.
Bensabat, Remonda	4	York University	Univ. of Waterloo	Univ. of Toronto
Caouette, Dominique	1	Univ. de Montréal	Carleton University	New Sch. Social Res.
Fournier, Bernard	4	Université Laval	Université Laval	Inst. d'études pol.
Gandesha, Samir S.	3	U.B.C.	York University	York University
Garkut, David E.	4	McMaster Univ.	McMaster Univ.	Univ. of Toronto
Healy, Teresa R.M.	3	York University	York University	Carleton University
Irwin, Rosalind	3	Simon Fraser Univ.	York University	York University
Kreuzer, Markus L.	4	U.B.C.	Columbia University	Columbia University
Policzer, Pablo	2	U.B.C.	Mass. Inst. Tech.	Mass. Inst. Tech.
St-Hilaire, Colette	4	Univ. de Montréal	UQAM	UQAM
Stoner, Kathryn E.	3	Univ. of Toronto	Univ. of Toronto	Harvard University
Todd, Graham R.	4	Univ. of Manitoba	Univ. of Winnipeg	York University
Yawnghwe, Chao T.	2	Not applicable	U.B.C.	U.B.C.
Young, Jennifer Lisa	1	Univ. of Winnipeg	Carleton University	Carleton University
Political Thought & Pol. Theory/Pensée & théorie pol.				
Alexander, Liz A.	4	Univ. of Alberta	Univ. of Alberta	Univ. of Toronto
Appel, Fredrick L.	3	Univ. of Winnipeg	Univ. de Montréal	McGill University
Chennells, David W.	2	McGill University	Univ. of Cambridge	Univ. of Cambridge
Cochrane, Regina M.	2	Memorial U of Nfld.	Univ. of Alberta	York University
Couture, Yves	3	Univ. de Montréal	Univ. de Montréal	Univ. de Paris I
Currah, Paisley A.	4	Queen's University	Queen's University	Cornell University
Dawson, Lorna M.	4	Univ. of Alberta	Univ. of Alberta	Boston College
Goldman, Jeremy M.	2	Univ. of Toronto	Univ. of Toronto	Harvard University
Goodman, Andrew E.	2	Univ. of Toronto	York University	York University
Kahane, David J.	2	Concordia Univ.	McGill University	Univ. of Cambridge
Karmis, Dimitrios	2	Université Laval	Université Laval	Univ. of London
Kersch, Terence J.H.	2	U.B.C.	U.B.C.	U.B.C.

Discipline / Name / Nom	Current Year / Année en cours	First Degree Institution / Premier diplôme	High Degree Institution / Diplôme gradué	University Awarding Ph.D. / Inst. décernant le doctorat
Political Thought & Political Theory/ Pensée & théorie politiques				
Lee, Martha F.	4	Univ. of Calgary	Univ. of Calgary	Syracuse University
Leslie-Spinks, A.J.	3	Univ. of Ottawa	York University	York University
Longford, Graham D.	4	Trent University	York University	York University
Michaelis, Lorelea A.	3	Univ. of Waterloo	O.I.S.E.	Univ. of Toronto
Moreault, Francis	2	Université Laval	Univ. d'Ottawa	Univ. de Paris I
Noiro, Eve	4	Harvard University	Univ. of Toronto	Univ. of Toronto
Oman, Natalie B.	1	Univ. of Toronto	McGill University	McGill University
Otto, Michaela S.	2	U. Western Ontario	U. Western Ontario	York University
Paré, Jean-Rodrigue	2	Université Laval	Université Laval	Université Laval
Perron, Paul-André	3	Université Laval	Université Laval	Univ. de Montréal
Poirrel, M.-Laurence	3	Université Laval	Université Laval	Univ. de Paris I
Price, Richard M.	3	Univ. of Alberta	Carleton University	Cornell University
Riach, David A.	1	Univ. of Manitoba	Univ. of Manitoba	Univ. of Toronto
Scarth, Fredrika L.	4	McGill University	Univ. of Toronto	Univ. of Toronto
Smith, Toby M.	3	U.B.C.	Simon Fraser Univ.	University of Essex
Walker, Brian D.	3	McGill University	McGill University	Columbia University
White, Elana M.	1	York University	York University	York University
Public Policy Stud./ Analyse de pol.				
Atkins, Chloe G.K.	2	Univ. of Toronto	Univ. of Toronto	Univ. of Toronto
Avery, Anne K.	4	Univ. of Toronto	Univ. of Toronto	Univ. of Manitoba
Bayle, Alain	3	Université Laval	Université Laval	Université Laval
Goulet, Nathalie	2	Univ. de Montréal	Univ. de Montréal	Univ. de Paris I
Harrison, Kathryn J.	4	U. Western Ontario	Mass. Inst. Tech.	U.B.C.
Hill, Margaret M.	3	McGill University	Carleton University	Carleton University
Jerrett, Michael L.B.	1	Trent University	Univ. of Toronto	Carleton University
Jiménez-Orte, Jesús	3	Univ. Salamanca	Univ. de Montréal	Université Laval
Porter, Ann V.	3	Queen's University	York University	York University
Urban Politics / Politique urbaine				
Gombay, C. J.-P.	3	Univ. of Toronto	Carleton University	Univ. of Toronto

POST-DOCTORAL FELLOWSHIPS / BOURSES POST-DOCTORALES
1991-1992

Information provided generously by Yollande Chartrand of SSHRCC /
Merci à Yollande Chartrand du CRSH

Discipline / Name / Nom	First Degree / Premier diplôme	Highest Degree / Diplôme le plus élevé	University of Affiliation/ Endroit d'utilisation
Comparative Politics/ Politique comparée			
Schild, Veronica I.	US U NES	Univ. of Toronto	York University
International Relations/ Relations internationales			
Black, David R.	Trent University	Dalhousie University	Queen's University
Drainville, André C.	Université d'Ottawa	York University	Univ. of Amsterdam
Sarty, Leigh E.	U. Trinity College	Columbia University	Univ. of Toronto
Other Political Sc./ Science politique autre			
Tremblay, Manon	Université Laval	Université Laval	Loughborough U. Tech.
Political Science/ Science politique			
Blais, Martin	Univ. de Montréal	Univ. de Paris IV	UQAM
Smith, Anna Marie	Univ. of Toronto	University of Essex	University of London
Workman, W. Thomas	Carleton University	York University	Carleton University
Political Thought & Political Theory/ Pensée & théorie politiques			
Letemendia, Veronica C.	Univ. of Toronto	Univ. of Toronto	York University
Ogrodnick, Margaret J.	Univ. of Alberta	York University	Univ. of Toronto
Weinstock, Daniel M.	McGill University	McGill University	Columbia University

**AROUND THE DEPARTMENTS /
DANS LES DÉPARTEMENTS**

ST. FRANCIS XAVIER UNIVERSITY

Sabbaticals

J. Bickerton is on sabbatical 1991-92 at Cornell University, N.Y.

P. Clancy will be at Cambridge University in England 1992-93.

Appointments

Y. Grenier and M. MacDonald joined the department in September, 1991.

Job openings

Two tenure-track positions have been advertised (one in International Relations, the other in Comparative Politics) for September 1992.

Scientific meetings

P. Clancy and S. Holloway are serving as Section Heads on the Programme Committee of the 1992 CPSA Conference.

DALHOUSIE UNIVERSITY

Sabbaticals

Peter Aucoin: January-June 1992 (comparative study of government organization)

Gilbert R. Winham: 1991-92 (international negotiation and diplomacy)

Other leaves

David Fashole Luke, on leave January-June 1992 to join the secretariat, United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, Addis Ababa.

Conferences

June 5-7, 1992 at Dalhousie: Workshop on "Comparative Foreign Policy in the South". For information contact Professor Tim Shaw, Dalhousie.

Other news

Dalhousie Political Science department has published the second issue of its "Annual Newsletter", which has been circulated to graduates, friends of the department, and others interested.

ACADIA UNIVERSITY

Sabbaticals

Marshall Conley: 1991-92

UNIVERSITÉ LAVAL

Sabbatiques

Louis Balthazar: du 21 janvier 1992 au 15 juin 1992 (2^e tranche)

Diane Lamoureux: du 1^{er} janvier 1993 au 31 décembre 1993

Gordon Mace: du 1^{er} août 1992 au 31 juillet 1993

Louise Quesnel: du 1^{er} août 1992 au 31 juillet 1993

UNIVERSITÉ DU QUÉBEC À MONTRÉAL

Sabbatiques

Lucille Beaudry
Christian Deblock
Anne Legaré

Postes à combler

Relations internationales (Questions stratégiques, problèmes d'armement et de désarmement, questions de transferts technologiques, théorie des conflits)

Rencontres scientifiques

Conférence de l'Association canadienne des études africaines co-organisée par l'Université de Montréal et l'Université du Québec à Montréal, du 13 au 16 mai 1992.

UNIVERSITÉ DE MONTRÉAL

Sabbatiques

Luc Duhamel: 1^{er} juin 1991 - 31 mai 1992

Philippe Faucher: 1^{er} janvier 1992 - 31 décembre 1992

Nouveaux engagements

Louis Massicotte: 1er janvier 1992

Postes à combler

Administration publique

Rencontres scientifiques

Colloque "Bilan de l'État réduit au Canada et au Québec": 9-10 avril 1992 (James Iain Gow)

YORK UNIVERSITY**Sabbaticals (1992-93)**

Isa Bakker
 Stephen Gill
 Michael Goldrick
 Rudy Grant (cross-appointed with Social Science)
 Harvey Simmons
 Bill Swanson (cross-appointed with Social Science)
 Reg Whitaker

Other leaves

Judy Hellman (cross-appointed with Social Science) will be on a Fellowship leave next year.

UNIVERSITY OF LETHBRIDGE**Sabbaticals**

J. Anthony Long: July 1, 1992 to June 30, 1993

Appointments

Jeffrey Ian Ross: August 1, 1991 to July 31, 1993

Proposed modifications for graduate programmes

A special case Master's Program will be inaugurated in Spring 1992.

UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY**Sabbaticals**

F.L. Morton: Fall term 1992
 Donald Ray: Fall term 1992
 Roger Gibbins: 1992-93

Visiting Scholars

Michael Keren, University of Tel Aviv: 1992

Other news

Roger Gibbins' term as Department Head has been extended to June 30, 1996. Mark Dickerson will be Acting Head during his sabbatical leave.

The Ph.D. program was expanded significantly this year, with eight new students entering the program. A similar intake is expected for 1992-93.

UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA**Sabbaticals**

H.B. Chamberlain: September 1, 1992 - August 31, 1993.
 George Hoberg: September 1, 1992 - August 31, 1993.
 Richard Johnston: July 1, 1992 - June 30, 1993.
 Sam LaSelva: July 1, 1992 - June 30, 1993.
 Paul Tennant: January 1, 1993 - June 30, 1993.
 Mark Zacher: July 1, 1992 - June 30, 1993.

IN MEMORIAM

**ALBERT ABER SHEA (SHABERMAN)
1916-1990**

Al Shea was born and raised in Toronto, where he received his education. He completed his B.A. (1938) and his M.A. (1943) in Political Economy, with distinction, at the University of Toronto. The subject of his M.A. thesis, "Radio and Democracy", demonstrated an early interest in mass communications that was to preoccupy him for the rest of his life.

He enlisted in the Royal Canadian Air Force in 1942, and in 1944 (at the request of Professor Lorne Morgan, University of Toronto) he was seconded from the RCAF to serve as Information Specialist with the Canadian Wartime Information Board in Ottawa. He was secretary of the Rehabilitation Committee and Secretary to the Food Information Committee.

Al Shea taught political science at the University of Toronto (1945-46), and as Assistant Professor, at the University of Manitoba (1946-48). In 1948-50 he did further graduate studies at Columbia University. In 1949-50 he worked in Paris at the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). In 1950, this agency released the first edition of the reference volume "World Communications", which Shea researched, wrote and edited with the help of a small staff.

In 1950, back in Canada and living in Toronto, he set up CARA research and engaged in market and media research in Toronto and Montreal, until 1964. In this period he was active in the organisation of the Centre

for Adult Education at the North Toronto YMCA where he taught economics.

In 1964-65, again with UNESCO in Paris, he served as Staff Consultant on the Mass Media, and as Assistant Secretary of the International Conference on Communication Satellites. He subsequently returned to Canada and from 1968 until his official retirement in 1981, he was employed in the Research Directorate of the Canadian Radio and Television Commission (CRTC) in Ottawa. During these years, in addition to regular work, he also lectured on the Mass Media at the Institute of Social Communications, University of Ottawa and at St. Paul's University (1972-77).

A little more than a year after his official retirement from CRTC in 1981, at the age of 65, he obtained work with the Immigration Appeal Board in Ottawa, preparing their «Country Reports». This part-time employment lasted about three and a half years. Although nearly 70 years of age when this work terminated he continued to engage in research, writing and publishing.

Throughout his working life, Al Shea authored and co-authored books and pamphlets, and prepared numerous articles, book reviews, radio and television broadcasts and reports. He was always devising and planning future projects. In the years just prior to his death, he released two pamphlets: «Why War?», an exchange of letters between Albert Einstein and Sigmund Freud; and «Facts You Should Know About China». He passed away November 10, 1990.

In spite of the onset in his early twenties of a debilitating illness, from which he suffered sporadically and then increasingly, with the years, he led a remarkably active life. In the face of illness, loneliness and personal disappointment he lived his life as courageously, as positively and as productively as circumstances allowed.

OFFRES D'EMPLOI / JOB OPPORTUNITIES

MCGILL UNIVERSITY Department of political science

McGill University invites applications for one or more sessional lecturer positions (full-time or partial) for the 1992-93 academic year in the field(s) of Soviet and East European politics. The position(s) are subject to budgetary approval. Candidates should have a Ph.D. in Political Science. In accordance with Canadian immigration requirements, this advertisement is directed to Canadian citizens and permanent residents. **Applications should be submitted no later than March 31, 1992.**

McGill University also invites applications for one or more sessional lecturer positions (full-time or partial)

for the 1992-93 academic year. The position(s) are subject to budgetary approval. Possible fields include Canadian Politics, Political Theory, International Politics and Comparative Politics (Developed areas). Candidates should have a Ph.D. in Political Science. In accordance with Canadian immigration requirements, this advertisement is directed to Canadian citizens and permanent residents. **Applications should be submitted no later than March 31, 1992.**

Applications, including a curriculum vitae, university transcripts and three letters of reference, should be sent to:

Professor Jerome H. Black, Chair
Department of Political Science
McGill University
855 Sherbrooke St. W.
Montreal, Quebec
H3A 2T7

ROYAL MILITARY COLLEGE OF CANADA

Assistant professor in International Relations

The Department of Political and Economic Science at the Royal Military College invites applications for a tenure-track position in the field of International Relations. Applicants should hold a Ph.D. or equivalent degree or be near completion. The teaching responsibilities involve courses in International Relations, mostly at the undergraduate level and in basic Political Science. The candidate is expected to become a productive researcher. A knowledge of the English language is essential and a candidate with a knowledge of French will be at an advantage.

In accordance with Canadian immigration requirements, this position is offered to Canadian citizens in the first instance and to permanent residents and landed immigrants in the second instance.

The Royal Military College of Canada is a bilingual and coeducational establishment and this position is offered equally to women and to men. The appointment date is July 1st, 1992. Salary will be dependent upon qualifications and experience. Salary scales are adjusted annually on the 1st of July; for 1990/1, the scales were \$35 588.00-\$52 266.00.

The deadline for receipt of applications is March 16th 1992.

Applications should be sent, along with a current curriculum vitae, and the names and addresses of three referees, to:

Dr. Yvan Gagnon
Department of Political and Economic Science
The Royal Military College of Canada
Kingston, Ontario
K7K 5L0

**CARLETON UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTE OF CANADIAN STUDIES**

Subject to budgetary approval, the Institute of Canadian Studies at Carleton University invites applications for a tenure track position at the level of Assistant or Associate Professor, beginning July 1, 1992.

Qualifications include Ph.D. or professional equivalent, teaching experience, publications, and an established research program. The successful candidate will have the ability to teach interdisciplinary courses in the broad area of Canadian Studies while also taking responsibility for co-ordinating the Institute's Women's Studies program area which focuses upon Canadian feminist theory and the history of Canadian women's movements. Duties will also include co-ordination of the Institute's advances summer program.

Application should be sent by March 16, 1992, to Stan McMullin, Director, Institute of Canadian Studies, Carleton University, Ottawa, Ontario, K1S 5B6; telephone (613) 788-2366. In accordance with immigration requirements, this advertisement is directed to Canadian citizens and permanent residents. Carleton University is committed to equality of employment for women, aboriginal peoples, visible minorities, and disabled persons. Interested persons from these groups are encouraged to apply.

**SCIENTIFIC MEETINGS /
RENCONTRES SCIENTIFIQUES**

**THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF CANADA /
LA SOCIÉTÉ ROYALE DU CANADA**

**CANADA IN THE WORLD: AGENDA 2000, AN
INTERNATIONAL FORUM**

«Canada in the world» is the topic of an international conference being organized by the Royal Society of Canada to be held in Ottawa on November 11-14, 1992. An organizing committee has been formed under the chairmanship of Professor John E. Trent, chairman of the Department of Political Science at the University of Ottawa, to plan the conference, *Canada in the World: Agenda 2000, an International Forum*.

Aim: To help Canadians to understand their problems and advantages from a global perspective.

The forum will bring together both foreign and Canadian leaders in public, community, corporate, academic and cultural life, who are concerned with Canadian affairs, to present their views on the country's current situation and future prospects in a world context. The conference will study the reciprocal

influences between Canada and its international milieu from a multi-disciplinary perspective and, as a consequence help analyse the validity of the Canadian model and experience in the world of the twenty-first century,

Theme: How Canadians should position themselves to meet the challenges of the 21st century.

Issues to be addressed by the forum will be:

- "Middle powers" in the international system.
- The future of multi-ethnic societies.
- Competitiveness and social responsibility.
- Regions, nations and federations in the 21st century.

The result of the presentation and discussions are expected to be brought to the attention of the Canadian public.

For further information or potential participation, please contact:

Dr. Judith Wiesinger
Conference coordinator
The Royal Society of Canada
P.O. Box 9734
Ottawa, Ontario
Canada
K1G 5J4
Telephone (613) 992-3468
Fax (613) 992-5021.

HORIZON 2000: LE CANADA ET LE MONDE

«Le Canada et le Monde» sera le thème d'une conférence internationale qui aura lieu à Ottawa du 11 au 14 novembre 1992 et dont l'organisation sera assurée par la Société royale du Canada. Un comité organisateur a déjà été constitué et placé sous la présidence du professeur John E. Trent, le directeur du Département de sciences politiques de l'Université d'Ottawa. Le comité conduira la planification de cette conférence intitulée *Horizon 2000: Le Canada et le Monde*.

L'objectif: Amener les Canadiens à apprécier dans une perspective mondiale, les problèmes et les bénéfices de leur situation.

Cette tribune réunira les grands noms — canadiens et étrangers — des milieux politiques, du secteur communautaire, des milieux d'affaires, du monde universitaire et du monde de la culture, qui s'intéressent de près à la situation au Canada et qui pourront ainsi exprimer leur opinion sur la situation actuelle et les perspectives qui s'offrent au Canada dans un contexte planétaire. La conférence étudiera, sous un angle multidisciplinaire, les influences réciproques entre le Canada et son milieu international et, par voie de conséquence,

facilitera l'analyse de la validité du modèle canadien et de son expérience dans le monde du vingt et unième siècle.

Le thème: Comment les Canadiens doivent se positionner pour relever les défis du 21e siècle.

Les questions abordées lors de cette conférence seront:

- "Les puissances moyennes" dans le système international
- L'avenir des sociétés pluri-ethniques
- Compétitivité et contrat social
- Régions, nations et fédérations au 21e siècle

Les conclusions des exposés et des délibérations seront vraisemblablement rendues publiques.

Pour plus de renseignements ou pour toute demande de participation, s'adresser à:

Judith P. Wiesinger, Ph.D.
 Coordonnatrice de la conférence
 Société royale du Canada
 C.P. 9734
 Ottawa (Ontario)
 Canada
 K1G 5J4
 Téléphone: (613) 992-3468
 Télécopieur: (613) 992-5021.

WESTERN CONFERENCE ON BRITISH STUDIES

The Western Conference on British Studies will hold its nineteenth annual meeting, in joint session with the North American Conference on British Studies, on October 9-10, 1992, at the Boulderado Hotel in Boulder, CO. The Center for British Studies at the University of Colorado will be host for the meeting and special arrangements have been made to allow participants to become familiar with this new and unique research facility for British scholars. A proposal should consist of a title and a 300-400 word abstract. Proposals for complete sessions should include two or three papers related to a common theme. The prescribed time limit for presentation of papers is twenty-five minutes. **Please submit proposals by April 15, 1992, to Tom Kennedy, WCBS Program Chair, Department of History, University of Arkansas: Fayetteville, AR; 72701. Tel.: (501) 575-3001. Complete papers will be expected by September 1, 1992.**

CONFÉRENCE DE L'ASSOCIATION CANADIENNE DES ÉTUDES AFRICAINES

Thème: Quelle Recherche? Quelle coopération? Le rôle des études africaines dans les années 1990.

Sous-thème: Bilan et perspectives des études africaines en langue française.

La Conférence de 1992 de l'Association des études africaines aura lieu à Montréal du 13 au 16 mai 1992 et sera co-organisée par l'Université de Montréal et l'Université du Québec à Montréal.

Au centre du programme, le comité d'organisation prévoit la tenue d'une série de 8 ateliers auxquels participeront des représentants des sciences pures et des sciences sociales autour de thèmes précis tels que l'eau, la santé, l'éducation, etc., afin d'examiner ce que différentes approches et disciplines sont en mesure d'apporter à notre compréhension des succès ou des échecs des interventions dans le domaine de la coopération internationale et, de façon plus globale, à notre compréhension du rôle de la recherche pour le développement en Afrique.

La Conférence cherchera à créer un forum de réflexion sur les obstacles à la transmission des connaissances et de l'expertise dans le domaine de la coopération internationale.

La Conférence se déroulera en anglais et en français.

Pour de plus amples informations, veuillez communiquer avec les co-organisateurs:

Victor Piché
 Département de démographie
 Université de Montréal
 C.P. 6128, succursale A
 Montréal (Qc) H3C 3J7
 Tél.: (514)343-7842
 Télécopieur: (514)343-2309

Bonnie Campbell
 Département de science politique
 Université du Québec à Montréal
 C.P. 8888, succursale A
 Montréal (Qc) H3C 3P8
 Tél.: (514)987-4574
 Télécopieur: (514)987-4749

COLLOQUE SUR LES RAPPORTS ENTRE L'ÉTAT ET LES MINORITÉS 6 ET 7 NOVEMBRE 1992

COLLÈGE UNIVERSITAIRE DE SAINT-BONIFACE

But du colloque

Penser à la fois théoriquement et empiriquement, c'est-à-dire en référant à des cas concrets, les rapports entre l'État contemporain et les groupes de la société civile qui lui adressent des demandes. Ces groupes, on peut les voir sous des angles divers: mouvements sociaux, organisations communautaires, groupes de

pression, minorités. Quels que soient les angles adoptés, certains constats s'imposent à tous:

1. Ces groupes deviennent des interlocuteurs privilégiés de l'Etat, qui, d'ailleurs, contribue souvent à les mettre sur pied ou à les intégrer très tôt dans le processus de gestion publique.
2. La branche de l'Etat avec laquelle ces groupes interagissent est le plus souvent l'exécutif et plus précisément la fonction publique.

Ce colloque s'adresse principalement aux sociologues, politologues, historiens. Pour plus d'information, veuillez communiquer avec:

Jean Lafontant et Raymond Thériège
Centre de recherche
Collège universitaire de Saint-Boniface
200, avenue de la Cathédrale
Saint-Boniface (Manitoba) R2H 0H7
Téléphone: (204) 233-0210
Télécopieur: (204) 237-3240

LA RADIODIFFUSION INTERNATIONALE FACE A SES DÉFIS

Conférence qui aura lieu à Québec,
du 22 au 25 mars 1992
sous le parrainage de l'Université McMaster,
Radio Canada International et l'Université Laval

La conférence est agencée autour de ce thème principal: *les nouvelles démocraties: les ressources et le message*, et étudie les questions suivantes:

1. Nouvelle montée démocratique et radiodiffusion internationale
 - a) Les défis et les opportunités
 - b) Concurrents ou partenaires?
2. Radiodiffusion internationale et priorités nationales:
 - a) Comment obtenir des fonds publics en période de contraintes financières?
 - b) Comment préserver et bâtir sur un demi-siècle d'investissement national?
3. Développement et éducation: nouveaux horizons pour la radiodiffusion internationale.
4. Qui, où et pourquoi? La radiodiffusion internationale et la recherche sur l'auditoire:
 - a) La méthode et l'accès aux auditoires
 - b) Du point de vue de l'auditeur

La conférence cherche à attirer une participation nombreuse et diversifiée: radiodiffuseurs professionnels, universitaires s'intéressant aux communications ou aux relations internationales, stratèges politiques et enfin, toute personne profondément engagée dans les

domaines constituant les thèmes de la conférence, comme des spécialistes de l'aide et du développement internationaux, des agents de recherche sur les auditoires dans divers médias, etc.

CHALLENGES FOR INTERNATIONAL BROADCASTING II

A conference to be held in Québec City,
From March 22 to March 25, 1992.

Sponsored by McMaster University, Radio Canada
International and Laval University

The conference is organized around the following focus, *new democracies: the means and the messages*, and deals with the following issues:

1. Democratic Renewal and International Broadcasting:
 - a) Challenges and Opportunities
 - b) Competition or Partnership
2. International Broadcasting and National Priorities:
 - a) How to Compete for Public Funds in Times of Constraint?
 - b) How to Preserve and Build on Half a Century of National Investment?
3. Development and Education: New Dimensions for International Broadcasting.
4. Who, Where and Why: International Broadcasting and Audience Research:
 - a) The Method and the Access
 - b) From the Listener's Perspective

The conference aims at attracting a large and diversified audience: professional broadcasters, academics who have an interest either in communications or in international relations, policy makers who have concerns with the focus of the event and finally people deeply involved in the specifics of the conference themes such as international aid and development specialists, the audience research people from various media, etc.

DANS LES REVUES / IN THE JOURNALS

CANADIAN JOURNAL OF DEVELOPMENT
STUDIES /
REVUE CANADIENNE D'ÉTUDES DU
DÉVELOPPEMENT
Vol. 12, no 2
1991

Non-Governmental Organizations and International Development Assistance
Jean-Philippe Thérien

Le partenariat dans l'aide canadienne au développement international: un point de vue des sciences de l'organisation
Réjean Lefebvre et Albert Lejeune

Rural Water Supplies: Failures and Alternatives
Jean-Marc Mangin

The Analysis and Interpretation of Canadian Transportation Aid Policy
Claude Comtois

Urban Transport, Dependent Development and Change: Lessons from a Case Study of Mexico City's Subway
Diane E. Davis

A Theoretical Analysis of the Beneficial Effects of the Brain-Drain Phenomenon
Jamal Abu-Rashed and Daniel J. Slottje

CANADIAN JOURNAL OF POLITICAL
SCIENCE /
REVUE CANADIENNE DE SCIENCE
POLITIQUE
Vol. 24, no 3

September 1991 septembre

Empire, Crown and Canadian Federalism
David E. Smith

Left/Right Orientation and Political Attitudes: A Reappraisal and Class Comparison
Tom Langford

Westminster in the Arctic: The Adaptation of British Parliamentarism in the Northwest Territories
Graham White

Leader's Communications in Public-interest and Material-interest Groups
R.A. Young and Shirley M. Forsyth

La démocratie chez Hérodote : une étude du Débat sur les régimes
Richard Myers

Political Rule, Prudence and the "Woman Question" in Aristotle
Leah Bradshaw

Redefining Responsibility: The Politics of Citizenship in the United Kingdom
Katherine Fierlbeck

Palestine and the Arab State System: Permeability, State Consolidation and the Intifada
Rex Brynen

CANADIAN JOURNAL OF POLITICAL
SCIENCE /
REVUE CANADIENNE DE SCIENCE
POLITIQUE
Vol. 24, No 4
December 1991 Décembre

Can the Canadians Be a Sovereign People?
Peter H. Russell

Monetary Policy, Accountability and Legitimacy: A Review of the Issues in Canada
William D. Coleman

L'utilité politique des rivaux
Vincent Lemieux

Meaning and Structure in Social Movements: Mapping the Network of National Canadian Women's Organization
Susan D. Phillips

The Evolution of Human Rights Policy in Ontario
R. Brian Howe

Decision-Making Coalitions on Non-partisan Councils: A Small City/Large City Comparison
Scott McAlpine and Stan Drabek

Urban and Rural Ridings and Women in Provincial Politics in Canada: A Research Note on Female MLAs (note)
Gary F. Moncrief and Joel A. Thompson

CANADIAN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION /
ADMINISTRATION PUBLIQUE DU CANADA
Vol. 34, no 3
Autumn / automne 1991

Re Lavigne and Ontario Public Service Employees Union: public administration and remedial decree litigation under the Charter of Rights and Freedoms
Christopher P. Manfredi

Regulatory agencies and accountability; an Ontario perspective
David Johnson

Quality assurance, program evaluation and auditing: Different approaches to program management
John G. Fricke

Le service au public: un changement stratégique important

Francine Séguin

Service to the public: A major strategic challenge

Francine Séguin

Leadership and the creation of a service culture

Rémi Lacasse

Public Service 2000 Service to the the Public Task Force: findings and implications

Bruce Rawson

CANADIAN PUBLIC POLICY /
ANALYSE DE POLITIQUES

Vol. 17, no 3

September / septembre 1991

Wealth Taxation in Canada: An Introduction

Jack M. Mintz and James E. Pesando

L'impôt sur la richesse: Introduction

Jack M. Mintz et James E. Pesando

The Role of Wealth Taxation in the Overall Tax System

Jack M. Mintz

The Allocative and Efficiency Effects of Wealth Taxes

John Burbidge

The Distributive Effects of Wealth Taxes

James B. Davies

The Taxation of Wealth in the EEC: Facts and Trends

Dennis Kessler and Pierre Pestieau

The Taxation of Personal Wealth in International Perspective

Richard M. Bird

A Primer on the Implementation of Wealth Taxes

Robert D. Brown

The Politics of Wealth Taxes

Keith G. Banting

ÉTUDES INTERNATIONALES

Vol. 22, no 3

Septembre 1991

Le rapprochement institutionnel et l'aide des pays de la CEE aux pays de l'ex-CAEM (note)

Wladimir Andreff

La politique stratégique du Japon dans les années 90: perspective (note)

Robert E. Bedeski

La liberté est-elle divisible? Comment rapprocher les concepts de mission et de sécurité dans une politique étrangère américaine

Cathal J. Nolan

Le nouveau paradoxe du contrôle des armements (note)

Philippe Le Pestre

Stratégies technico-commerciales asiatiques

Thanh H. Vuong

Le droit international en devenir dans un monde divisé: Quel droit dans quel monde?

Louise Lussier

ÉTUDES INTERNATIONALES

Vol. 22, no 4

Décembre 1991

Les enjeux scientifiques et technologiques et l'intégration européenne (note)

Philippe Braillard

Continuité et adaptation: Les priorités stratégiques du gouvernement de la France

Philippe Garigue

La Charte africaine des droits et du bien-être de l'enfant (note)

Habib Gherari

La réglementation américaine en matière de contrôle des armes chimiques et biologiques

Albert Legault

La coopération européenne: vers une politique étrangère commune?

Geneviève Lemaire-Prosche

Instaurer et maintenir la paix: une géométrie variable

Serge Bernier

INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL

Vol. 46, no 3
Summer 1991

Regionalism and the post-Cold War era
Richard Rosecrance

Germany, the new Europe, and the transatlantic connection
Wolfram F. Hanrieder

India as a regional hegemon: external opportunities and internal constraints
Mohammed Ayooob

Power and pancaroba: Indonesia in a changing world of states
Donald K. Emmerson

Regional hegemony and the case of Brazil
Frederick C. Turner

Nigeria as Africa's great power: constraints and prospects for the 1990s
Julius O. Ihonvbere

Soviet relations and Canadian defence
W.M. Dobell

INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL

Vol. 46, no 4
Autumn 1991

Japan's foreign policy in a time of global uncertainty
Takashi Inoguchi

Domestic constraints and Japan's foreign economic policy of the 1990s
Kent E. Calder

Japanese-American relations: the costs of brinkmanship
Michael W. Donnelly

Reluctant leader, expectant followers: Japan and Southeast Asia
Richard Stubbs

Japanese banks in Mexico: the role of government in private decisions
Frances McCall Rosenbluth

The contradictions of independence: Namibia in transition
Linda Freeman

JOURNAL OF CANADIAN STUDIES /

REVUE D'ÉTUDES CANADIENNES

Vol. 26, no 2
Été 1991 Summer

Some Observations on the Revival of Canadian Political Thought (Introduction)
Peter J. Smith

Doing Canadian Political Thought (Introduction)
Janet Aizenstat

The Very Idea of Canadian Political Thought: In Defence of Historicism
Jeremy Rayner

Civic Humanism vs. Liberalism - Fitting the Loyalist In
Peter J. Smith

Comment: What Liberalism and Civic Humanism Have in Common - The Distortion of Classical Thought
Barry Cooper

The Political Thought of George Grant
H.D. Forbes

Comment: George Grant on Liberal Self-Destruction
Samuel Aizenstat

The Triumph of Liberalism in Canada: Laurier on Representation and Party Government
Rainer Knopff

The Public, the Private and the Ideological Character of the Division of Powers in Sections 91 and 92 of the Constitution Act of 1867
Bryce Weber

Comment: Liberalism, Federalism and the Origins of Confederation
Robert C. Vipond

Re-searching the North in Canada: An Introduction to the Canadian Northern Discourse
D.A. West

Comment: Discourse or Discovery?
Jeremy Rayner

The Federal Welfare State and the Politics of Retrenchment in Canada
Bruce Smardon

Single-Issue Interest Groups and the Canadian Electorate: The Case of Abortion in 1988
Barry Kay, Ronald Lambert, Steven Brown, James Curtis

PACIFIC AFFAIRS

Vol. 64, no 3

Fall 1991

The Limits of Liberalization in Industrializing Asia: Three Views of the State
James Cotton

Japanese Engineers and American Myth Makers
Earl H. Kimmonth

China's Dialogue with the Dalai Lama 1978-90: Prenegotiation Stage or Dead End?
Dawa Norbu

Market Reforms and Changes in Crop Productivity: Insights from China
Benedict Stavis

STUDIES IN POLITICAL ECONOMY

No 36

Autumn 1991

New Wines, New Bottles: The Regulation of Capital on a World Scale
Harriet Friedmann

All the World's a Stage: Ideas, Spaces and Times in Canadian Political Economy
Jane Jenson

Future Conditional: Wars of Position in the Quebec Labour Movement
Carla Lipsig-Mummé

Technological Change and the Global Relocation of Production in Textiles and Clothing
Lynn Krieger Mytelka

Flexible Specialization: What's that got to do with the price of fish?
Barbara Neis

Review: Post-Fordism and the Flexibility Debate
Martha MacDonald

REVUE QUÉBÉCOISE DE SCIENCE POLITIQUE

No 20

Automne 1991

Les minorités en France, au Canada et au Québec: minoritaires ou mineures?

Julien Bauer

Charte et société: vers un nouvel ordre politique canadien?

François Rocher et Daniel Salée

Transformation des modes étatiques de contrôle social

Jules Duchastel et Danielle Laberge

De la science politique

Jean-Louis Loubet Del Bayle

Médias et sondages politiques: le cas de la campagne électorale fédérale de 1988

Jean-Pierre Beaud

ANNOUNCEMENTS/ ANNONCES DIVERSES

SOCIAL SCIENCE FEDERATION OF CANADA /
FÉDÉRATION CANADIENNE DES SCIENCES
SOCIALES

Donald Fisher, *The Social Sciences in Canada: 50 Years of National Activity by the Social Science Federation of Canada.*, Waterloo, Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1991.

Celebrating 50 years of achievement by the Social Science Federation of Canada and its predecessors, this study chronicles the inner workings of the Federation and the issues it has had to confront over the years: co-ordination, representation, and independence.

The Federation's commitments to "basic" research, to "purity", and to "science" have been regarded as the surest foundations for the development of a viable social science community in Canada. As such, the Federation has come to define itself as the national representative of social scientists and of the social science disciplines.

Arguing that the social sciences have been made part of the Federal government's search for a National Science Policy, Fisher notes that the Federation has shifted from its original emphasis on funding and co-ordinating research, to planning research, and lobbying for changes in social science research policy.

Donald Fisher is Associate Professor of Sociology in the Department of Social and Educational Studies and Assistant Director of the Centre for Policy Studies in Education at the University of British Columbia.

Donald Fisher, *Les sciences sociales au Canada: 50 ans d'activité à l'échelle nationale par la Fédération canadienne des sciences sociales.*, Waterloo, Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1991.

Célébrant les 50 ans de la Fédération canadienne des sciences sociales et ses précurseurs, cette étude décrit le fonctionnement interne de la Fédération ainsi que les grandes questions qu'elle a dû affronter au cours des années: la coordination, le lobbying et l'indépendance.

Les engagements entrepris par la Fédération vis-à-vis la recherche "fondamentale", la "pureté" et la "science" ont servi de base à l'épanouissement d'une véritable communauté canadienne des sciences sociales. Ainsi, la Fédération se considère le porte-parole national des chercheurs dans les sciences sociales.

Fisher explique que dans sa quête d'une politique scientifique nationale, le gouvernement fait une place aux sciences sociales. Il démontre en effet comment la Fédération est allée du financement et de la coordination de projets de recherche, à la planification et au lobbying sur les questions de recherche en sciences sociales.

Donald Fisher est professeur agrégé de sociologie au "Department of Social and Educational Studies" et directeur-adjoint du "Centre for Policy Studies in Education" au sein de la "University of British Columbia".

Communiqué

Federal Environment Minister Jean Charest announced on September 29 that the Government of Canada would be committing \$50 million for the environmental research and the training of environmental researchers. The programme will be administered through the Social Sciences and Humanities Council, for the three granting councils, and the funds will be earmarked for fellowships (10%), research chairs (20%), and research grants (70%).

The new programme which is an outgrowth of the 1990 Green Plan was announced at the annual conference of the Social Science Federation of Canada (SSFC).

The SSFC is very pleased with the announcement of this new environmental science programme through which the government recognizes the need to support research in the social sciences as well as research in

other fields. The Federation has often stated that Canada will be unable to deal effectively with environmental issues without the contributions of social science research.

The Programme is presently being developed and information regarding such things as criteria and deadlines will be disseminated at a later date.

For information, please contact Mr. Marcel Lauzière at (tel.) (613) 238-6112.

M. Jean Charest, ministre fédéral de l'Environnement, a annoncé le 29 septembre que le gouvernement du Canada accordera 50 millions \$ pour la recherche environnementale et la formation des chercheurs et chercheuses dans ce domaine. Le Programme sera administré par le Conseil de recherches en sciences humaines pour le compte des trois conseils subventionnaires. Les fonds seront destinés aux bourses (10%), aux chaires de recherche (20%) et aux subventions de recherche, (70%).

Le nouveau programme qui découle du Plan vert (1990) a été annoncé dans le cadre de la conférence annuelle de la Fédération canadienne des sciences sociales (FCSS).

La FCSS accueille avec plaisir l'annonce de ce programme sur la recherche environnementale par lequel le gouvernement reconnaît la nécessité d'appuyer la recherche en sciences sociales tout comme celle dans les autres disciplines. La FCSS est intervenue à plusieurs reprises pour souligner au gouvernement que le Canada sera incapable de faire face aux défis de l'environnement sans l'apport des sciences sociales.

Les conseils travaillant présentement à l'élaboration du nouveau programme et des renseignements touchant les critères et les échéances seront diffusés dans un avenir rapproché.

Pour information, veuillez communiquer avec M. Marcel Lauzière (SSFC/FCSS) tél. (613) 238-6112

About Canada The Social Sciences in Canada: A National Resource

This publication describes the scope of the social sciences in Canada by examining how they are practically applied to the activities of major institutions such as government, business and organized labour, as well as their place in the voluntary sector of society. The publication also considers the influence that other disciplines such as geography, history, law, and

psychology have had on the social sciences. Lastly, it examines how this discipline is stimulating the intellectual community into a new and revitalized understanding of one of the most important national resources in the country.

On the occasion of its 50th anniversary, the Social Science Federation of Canada was invited to prepare this publication, and called upon the services of Professor John Trent, in collaboration with professors Michel Allard and Steen B. Esbensen. John Trent is a professor and the chairperson of the Department of Political Science at the University of Ottawa. Michel Allard is professor of Education at the Université du Québec à Montréal, while Steen Esbensen is Professor of Education at the Université du Québec à Hull.

**Réalités canadiennes
Les sciences sociales au Canada:
une ressource nationale**

Cette publication décrit la portée des sciences sociales au Canada en définissant comment les principales institutions, qu'il s'agisse du gouvernement, du milieu des affaires, du mouvement syndical, du secteur bénévole, en font la pratique. L'ouvrage cherche à définir également la contribution des autres disciplines telles la géographie, l'histoire, le droit, la psychologie, au champ des sciences sociales. Enfin, on examine comment cette discipline stimule la vitalité intellectuelle de la communauté et concourt à la formation des plus importantes ressources nationales du pays.

À l'occasion de son 50e anniversaire, la Fédération canadienne des sciences sociales a été invitée à préparer cette publication et a fait appel à M. John Trent qui s'est adjoint la collaboration de MM. Michel Allard et Steen B. Esbensen. M. Trent est professeur et directeur du département de science politique de l'Université d'Ottawa. M. Allard est professeur au département des sciences de l'éducation de l'Université du Québec à Montréal, alors que M. Esbensen enseigne au département des sciences de l'éducation de l'Université du Québec à Hull.

**CONSEIL DE RECHERCHES EN SCIENCES
HUMAINES DU CANADA /
SOCIAL SCIENCES AND HUMANITIES
RESEARCH COUNCIL OF CANADA**

**Session internationale d'été au Canada en 1992
Projet pilote**

Contexte

La stratégie internationale du Conseil de recherches en sciences humaines du Canada vise à appuyer des équipes et des réseaux de recherche et à favoriser la collaboration intellectuelle à l'échelle internationale.

Pour explorer les mécanismes de mise en oeuvre de cette nouvelle stratégie, le Conseil a accepté d'appuyer, dans le cadre d'un projet pilote, la tenue d'une session internationale d'été au Canada en 1992.

Les sessions d'été sont généralement axées sur un thème particulier, abordé dans une perspective interdisciplinaire. Elles donnent aux participants l'occasion de discuter à fond de certaines questions scientifiques, sans forcément déboucher sur une publication. En règle générale, les sessions se composent d'une série de rencontres, d'ateliers, de séminaires et de colloques, y compris des séances ouvertes au public et aux médias. Le rythme de travail y est intense.

Les avantages escomptés de sessions internationales d'été comprennent l'identification de chercheurs spécialisés et de collaborateurs éventuels, la mise sur pied de réseaux internationaux ou bilatéraux ou encore l'intégration de nouveaux chercheurs au sein d'équipes ou de structures déjà en place, le lancement de publications et de projets de recherche conjoints et, dans l'ensemble, la création de liens scientifiques à l'échelle internationale.

Objectifs

En appuyant l'organisation d'une session internationale d'été, le Conseil poursuit les objectifs suivants:

- permettre aux chercheurs de faire le bilan des connaissances actuelles dans un domaine ou sur un sujet particulier;
- élaborer et partager de nouvelles méthodes et approches conceptuelles (interdisciplinaires en particulier);
- définir des projets et des priorités de recherche pour l'avenir;
- contribuer à la formation d'étudiants au niveau du doctorat et de jeunes chercheurs.

Marche à suivre pour poser sa candidature

Il n'y a pas de formulaire à remplir pour participer au projet. Le processus de sélection s'effectuera en deux étapes. Les candidats admissibles doivent d'abord présenter une lettre faisant état de leur intention de participer. Les lettres reçues seront examinées par un comité multidisciplinaire de chercheurs, après quoi les candidats retenus seront invités à présenter une proposition détaillée dans le cadre de la deuxième étape du processus.

Première étape - Lettre d'intention

Cette lettre, dont la longueur ne doit pas dépasser **deux ou trois pages**, doit fournir des renseignements sur:

- a) le thème de la session d'été proposée;
- b) la portée de la session, ses objectifs et son incidence sur le(s) domaine(s) lié(s) au thème;
- c) sa contribution probable à la recherche et à l'établissement de liens internationaux durables entre chercheurs;
- d) la structure proposée de son organisation, notamment le nom et l'affiliation des membres du comité organisateur;
- e) le montant total approximatif de la subvention demandée, la contribution anticipée de l'établissement et l'appui éventuel d'autres sources.

Les lettres doivent être adressées à

Mme Gail Larose, directrice
 Division de la diffusion de la recherche et des relations internationales
 Conseil de recherches en sciences humaines
 255, rue Albert, C.P. 1610
 Ottawa, Ont. K1P 6G4

Deuxième étape - Proposition détaillée (candidats invités)

Les candidats retenus à la première étape présenteront une proposition détaillée, qui devra comprendre la documentation suivante:

- 1) la liste des membres du comité organisateur, accompagnée de courtes notices biographiques;
- 2) la liste sommaire des recherches, des publications et des conférences (liées au thème proposé) en cours ou réalisées durant les douze derniers mois par les membres du comité organisateur ou au sein de l'établissement hôte;
- 3) le programme provisoire de la session;
- 4) la liste des principaux conférenciers/animateurs et de leurs remplaçants éventuels, accompagnée de courtes notices biographiques expliquant leur pertinence par rapport au thème;
- 5) les objectifs de la rencontre et les avantages anticipés pour la recherche canadienne, y compris la diffusion internationale;
- 6) la contribution que l'on attend de tous les participants dans le cadre de la session et, en particulier, le rôle que doivent jouer les jeunes chercheurs et les étudiants de 2e et 3e cycles;
- 7) le budget du projet, faisant état des dépenses et des sources de revenus anticipées, et indiquant clairement la contribution de l'université qui parraine le projet.

Attestation et acceptation des modalités

La lettre de demande doit être signée par le vice-président (Recherche) de l'université qui parraine le projet ainsi que par l'agent chargé de l'administration de la demande. Ces signatures attestent l'exactitude des renseignements fournis par l'université; elles confirment en outre que l'établissement accepte les modalités de la subvention et qu'il est disposé à administrer les fonds conformément aux politiques du Conseil.

Remarque: Toutes les subventions sont assujetties aux règlements généraux du Conseil. Les candidats auraient intérêt à lire les articles 1 à 107 de la publication *Subventions du CRSH: guide des candidats* ainsi que les articles pertinents de la Loi sur la protection des renseignements personnels.

Dates limites

Les lettres d'intention doivent nous parvenir d'ici le **24 janvier 1992**. Les candidats invités devront soumettre leur proposition détaillée d'ici le **13 mars 1992**.

Évaluation et sélection

Le comité de chercheurs évaluera les candidatures en fonction des critères suivants:

- a) le mérite de la proposition et sa pertinence par rapport aux objectifs du projet;
- b) l'importance de la session d'été pour l'érudition au Canada;
- c) l'incidence éventuelle de la session sur les liens scientifiques internationaux du Canada dans le domaine des sciences humaines;
- d) l'importance du thème proposé pour les travaux passés et à venir de l'université qui parraine le projet et du comité organisateur;
- e) l'appui fourni par l'établissement.

Annnonce des résultats et versement de la subvention

Les résultats de la première étape seront annoncés au début de février 1992, et ceux de la deuxième, en mars 1992. Le Conseil versera la subvention en avril 1992.

Rapports

Dans un délai de trois mois après la fin de la session d'été, le bénéficiaire de la subvention devra présenter un rapport dactylographié détaillé sur les activités et sur la façon dont elles ont contribué à réaliser les objectifs de la rencontre, de même qu'un rapport financier complet.

Le Conseil entreprendra l'évaluation du projet pilote dès la fin de la session pour évaluer dans quelle mesure il a atteint ses objectifs, pour déterminer les changements nécessaires et pour établir la structure d'un programme permanent.

1992 International Summer Institute in Canada Pilot Program

Background

The international strategy of the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council focuses on providing support for research teams and networks and on international intellectual collaboration. To explore mechanisms for implementing this new strategy, Council agreed to a pilot program of support for an international summer institute in Canada in 1992.

A summer institute generally focuses on a specific theme approached from an interdisciplinary perspective and provides a forum in which scientific research matters may be actively discussed without necessarily leading to publication. Summer institutes usually consist of a series of meetings, workshops, seminars and symposia including sessions intended to involve the public and the press. The working schedule of summer institutes is intensive.

The potential benefits of international summer institutes include the identification of research specialists and future collaborators, the formation of bilateral or international research networks or the integration of new researchers within existing teams or structures, the launching of joint research projects and joint publications, and generally the creation of international scholarly links.

Objectives

The basic objectives of Council's support for an international summer institute are:

- to enable researchers to take stock of current knowledge concerning a particular research area or issue;
- to elaborate and share new conceptual approaches or methodologies (particularly those which are interdisciplinary);
- to identify future research projects and priorities; and
- to contribute to the training of doctoral students and young researchers.

Application procedure

There is no application form for this program.

The adjudication of proposals will proceed in two stages. Eligible applicants must first submit a Letter of Intent. These will be reviewed by a multidisciplinary committee of scholars and selected applicants will then be invited to submit detailed proposals in the second stage of the competition.

First stage - Letters of Intent

The Letter of Intent should be no more than **two or three pages** in length and provide information on:

- a) the theme of the proposed summer institute;
- b) the scope and objectives of the summer institute and its impact on the field(s) represented by the theme;
- c) the likely contribution of the summer institute to research and the forging of ongoing international scholarly links;
- d) the proposed organizational structure of the institute including the names and affiliations of the members of the organizing committee; and
- e) the approximate total of the requested grant, the anticipated institutional support, as well as possible support from other sources.

Letters should be sent to the attention of

Mrs. Gail Larose, Director
Research Communication and International
Relations Division
Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council
255 Albert Street
P.O. Box 1610
Ottawa, Ontario
K1P 6G4

Second Stage - Detailed Proposals from Invited Applicants

Detailed proposals from selected applicants must include the following documentation:

- 1) list of members of the organizing committee, with **brief** biographical notes;
- 2) **summary** list of research, publications or conferences (relevant to the proposed theme) in progress or completed within the past 12 months at the host institution or by members of the organizing committee;
- 3) draft program of the summer institute;

- 4) list of proposed and alternative keynote speakers/discussion leaders with brief biographical notes indicating their relevance to the theme;
- 5) objectives of the summer institute and a description of potential benefits to Canadian research, including international outreach, to be gained;
- 6) involvement expected from all participants in the summer institute with particular reference to the role to be played by young researchers and graduate students;
- 7) budget, listing in detail anticipated expenses and sources of revenue and identifying clearly the proposed contribution of the sponsoring university.

Certification and Acceptance of Conditions

The letters of application must be signed by the Vice-President (Research) of the sponsoring university and by the officer responsible for the administration of the request. These signatures confirm, with respect to the university, the accuracy of the information provided, the acceptance of the terms and conditions of the grant, and the institution's willingness to administer funds according to Council policies.

Note: All grants are subject to Council's general regulations. Applicants may wish to review articles 1-107 of the *SSHRC grants: guide for applicants* which outlines these regulations as well as the provisions of the Privacy Act with respect to this program.

Deadlines

Letters of Intent must be submitted by **January 24, 1992**. Detailed proposals from invited applicants must be submitted by **March 13, 1992**.

Adjudication

In evaluating applications, the scholarly review committee will take into account the following criteria:

- a) the merit of the proposal and its relevance to the objectives of the program;
- b) the significance of the summer institute for scholarship in Canada;
- c) the potential impact of the summer institute on the development of Canada's international scholarly links in the social sciences and humanities;
- d) the importance of the proposed theme for the past and future work of the sponsoring university and the organizing committee;

- e) institutional support for the proposed institute.

Award Announcement and Grant Payment

Results of the first stage of the adjudication of the proposals will be announced in early February 1992 and of the second stage in March 1992. The Council will pay the approved grant in April 1992.

Reports

Applicants must submit a detailed, typewritten report of activities and how they contributed to the realization of the objectives of the institute, as well as a financial report, within three months of the summer institute's closing.

Council will undertake an evaluation of the summer measure whether it has reached its objectives, to determine if changes are required, and to establish the framework for a permanent program.

Family Violence and Violence Against Women

A Joint Initiative of the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council and Health and Welfare Canada

Objectives

The objectives of this program are:

- to achieve sustained collaboration among academics, community workers, practitioners, policy makers and other interested parties through:
 - developing ongoing research networks in the areas of family violence and violence against women; and
 - providing research training opportunities for community workers, young researchers and students;
- to promote the development of a critical mass of research in the areas of family violence and violence against women and to stimulate the generation of knowledge which will assist in policy development, including:
 - suggesting new approaches for critically assessing existing intervention strategies; and
 - creating more effective intervention models;
- to make research results widely available for use by community groups, policy-makers, legislators and the public.

Eligibility of Applicants

Applications are invited from research teams affiliated with any Canadian post-secondary institution or consortium of institutions which have established or can establish community and academic partnerships capable of undertaking research activities relevant to the proposed objectives.

The program encourages innovative arrangements for project coordination and administration including steering committees made up of academic and community researchers, representatives from voluntary associations, community service organizations and other interested groups, and policy-makers from provincial and municipal government department and agencies.

For more information

Please address questions concerning this program to :

Catherine MacLeod
Family Violence Prevention Division
Health and Welfare Canada
(613) 957-2864

or

Julie Dompierre
Strategic Grants Division
Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council
(613) 992-4227

...

La violence familiale et la violence faite aux femmes

Objectifs

Les objectifs de ce programme sont les suivants:

- assurer une collaboration continue entre les universitaires, les animateurs communautaires, les praticiens, les décideurs et d'autres groupes intéressés,
- en établissant des réseaux de recherche permanents dans les domaines de la violence familiale et de la violence faite aux femmes; et
- en offrant des possibilités de formation en recherche aux animateurs communautaires, aux jeunes chercheurs et aux étudiants;
- promouvoir de nombreuses recherches intensives dans les domaines de la violence familiale et de la violence faite aux femmes et encourager l'acquisition de connaissances qui facilitent l'élaboration de politiques, notamment:

- en proposant de nouvelles démarches en vue d'évaluer d'un oeil critique les stratégies actuelles d'intervention; et
- en créant des modèles d'intervention plus efficaces;
- mettre les résultats des recherches à la disposition des groupes communautaire, des décideurs, des législateurs et du public.

Admissibilité des candidats

Les équipes de recherche associées à un établissement canadien d'enseignement postsecondaire ou à un consortium d'établissements qui ont établi ou peuvent établir des partenariats avec des établissements d'enseignement ou des collectivités en vue d'entreprendre des activités de recherche conformes aux objectifs proposés sont invités à présenter une demande.

Le programme encourage les méthodes novatrices quant à la coordination et à l'administration du projet, notamment la mise sur pied de comités directeurs composés de chercheurs universitaires ou communautaires, de représentants d'associations bénévoles, d'organismes de services communautaires et d'autres groupes intéressés, ainsi que de décideurs des ministères et organismes provinciaux et municipaux.

Renseignements complémentaires

Veuillez faire part de vos questions concernant le programme à:

Catherine MacLeod
Division de la prévention de la violence familiale
Santé et Bien-être social Canada
(613) 957-2864
ou
Julie Dompierre
Division des subventions stratégiques
Conseil de recherches en sciences humaines
(613) 992-4227

THE INTERNATIONAL FOUNDATION FOR ELECTORAL SYSTEMS

The International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES) is a private, non-profit 501(c)(3) foundation dedicated to providing assistance in monitoring, supporting and strengthening the mechanics of the election process in emerging democracies. For additional information contact:

The International Foundation for Electoral Systems
16209 I Street, NW
Suite 611
Washington, DC 20006 USA
Tel: (202) 828-8507
Fax: (202) 452-0804

COMMISSION CANADIENNE POUR
L'UNESCO /
CANADIAN COMMISSION FOR UNESCO

Remise du Prix McLuhan Téléglobe Canada 1991

Au cours d'une cérémonie tenue aujourd'hui au Musée des Civilisations à Hull (Québec), Son Excellence le très honorable Ramon John Hnatyshyn, Gouverneur général du Canada, a remis le Prix McLuhan Téléglobe Canada 1991, d'une valeur de 50 000\$, à James D. Halloran. Ce Prix international bisannuel en communications est accompagné d'une médaille d'argent créée par l'artiste canadienne Lois Betteridge.

Directeur du *Centre for Mass Communication Research* de l'Université de Leicester depuis sa fondation en 1966 et ancien président de l'Association internationale des études et recherches sur l'information, James D. Halloran a apporté une contribution particulière et importante au domaine de la communication de masse. Ses travaux sur des sujets aussi divers que les effets de la télévision, la déviance et les médias de masse, les manifestations publiques, le besoin de recherche en communication et la communication pour le développement, auprès de nombreux organismes, dont l'Association internationale des études et recherches sur l'information, le Prix Jeunesse International, le Centro Internazionale Studi Famiglia de Milan, l'Unesco et le Conseil de l'Europe, pour n'en nommer que quelques-uns, ont fait de lui un nom réputé et respecté dans la recherche en communication de masse.

Au cours de la cérémonie, outre Son Excellence le Gouverneur général, l'honorable Perrin Beatty, ministre des Communications, M. William M. McKenzie, président et chef de la direction de Téléglobe Inc. et M. Guy Bourgeault, président de la Commission canadienne pour l'Unesco se sont adressés aux invités. Le discours d'acceptation du lauréat a pris la forme d'une entrevue menée par Mme Adrienne Clarkson, qui agissait également à titre de maître de cérémonie.

Le lauréat du prix de 1991 a été choisi par un jury de cinq personnalités canadiennes parmi les candidats proposés par 19 commissions nationales pour l'Unesco de toutes les régions du monde. Présidé par Florian Sauvageau, le jury se composait d'Adrienne Clarkson, Paul-André Comeau, Michael Snow et Anna Stahmer. Alan Hancock, représentant du Directeur général de l'Unesco, siégeait en qualité d'observateur.

Placé sous le patronage permanent de l'Unesco, ce Prix a été créé en 1983, Année mondiale des communications, par la Commission canadienne pour l'Unesco, en association avec Téléglobe qui en assure le financement. Ouvert à des candidats de toutes nationalités, il

a pour objet de récompenser une personne ou une équipe dont l'oeuvre aura contribué de façon exceptionnelle à mieux faire comprendre l'influence exercée sur la société par les médias et les techniques de la communication. Quatre grandes personnalités du monde de la communication ont déjà reçu ce Prix prestigieux. Il s'agit du journaliste bolivien Luis Ramiro Beltran (1983), de Umberto Eco, chercheur en communications, écrivain, enseignant et critique social italien (1985), de Elihu Katz, spécialiste des communications, sociologue, professeur et écrivain israélien (1987) et de Pierre Schaeffer, créateur français de formes audiovisuelles d'expression et de communication (1989).

Le Prix McLuhan Téléglobe Canada rend hommage à la mémoire du philosophe canadien de la communication Marshall McLuhan, dont le travail extraordinaire dans ce domaine pendant 30 ans à l'Université de Toronto a retenu l'attention mondiale. Ses oeuvres, sont *La fiancée mécanique*, son premier livre publié en 1951, *La Galaxie Gutenberg* (1962) et *Message et massage* (1967) ont fait de lui un maître à penser de l'ère électronique. Certains de ses aphorismes et expressions, — «le médium et le message» et «le village global», par exemple — sont entrés dans la pensée et la langue de notre époque.

Téléglobe Inc., la société-mère de Téléglobe Canada, était il y a seulement dix ans une entreprise de produits de télécommunications de 30 employés dont le chiffre d'affaires annuel ne dépassait pas 3 millions de dollars. Aujourd'hui, avec un actif de plus d'un milliard de dollars, un chiffre d'affaires de 400 millions de dollars par an et 2 500 employés, elle offre à l'échelle internationale des solutions globales dans le domaine des technologies de l'information, du réseautage et des télécommunications.

Organisme de consultation et de liaison, la Commission canadienne pour l'Unesco coordonne le programme de l'Organisation au Canada et conseille le gouvernement canadien dans ses relations avec l'Unesco. La Commission est au centre d'un vaste réseau de spécialistes et d'organismes gouvernementaux et non gouvernementaux compétents dans les domaines de juridiction de l'Unesco.

Renseignements:

Aline Sigurdson
Commission canadienne pour l'Unesco
(613) 598-4381 (Ottawa)

Patricia Kirby
Téléglobe
(514) 289-7490 (Montréal)

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**1991 McLuhan Teleglobe Canada Award
presented to British Communications Specialist
James D. Halloran**

At a ceremony held today at the Museum of Civilization in Hull, Quebec, His Excellency the Right Honourable Ramon John Hnatyshyn, Governor General of Canada, presented the 1991 McLuhan Teleglobe Canada Award to James D. Halloran. This biennial international award in communications consists of a prize of \$50,000 and a silver medal created by Canadian artist Lois Betteridge.

James D. Halloran has made a distinct and significant contribution to the field of mass communication. He has been Director of the Centre for Mass Communication Research at the University of Leicester, England, since it was established in 1966. He was formerly President of the International Association for Mass Communication Research. His work on topics as varied as the effects of television, deviance and mass media, demonstrations, the need for communication research, and development communication, with many organizations, including the International Association for Mass Communication Research, the Prix Jeunesse International, the Centro Internazionale Studi Famiglia in Milan, Unesco, and the Council of Europe, to name just a few, have made him a renowned and respected figure in mass communication research.

At the ceremony, His Excellency the Governor General, the Honourable Perrin Beatty, Minister of Communications, William M. McKenzie, President and Chief Executive Officer of Teleglobe Inc. and Guy Bourgeault, President of the Canadian Commission for Unesco, addressed the guests. Mr. Halloran's acceptance speech took the form of an interview conducted by Adrienne Clarkson, the master of ceremonies.

The winner of the 1991 award was chosen by a jury of five eminent Canadians from among a field of candidates put forward by 19 Unesco National Commissions in all parts of the world. The jury was chaired by Florian Sauvageau, and was comprised of Adrienne Clarkson, Paul-André Comeau, Michael Snow, and Anna Stahmer. Alan Hancock, representing the Director-General of Unesco, sat on the jury as an observer.

Under the permanent patronage of Unesco, the McLuhan Teleglobe Canada Award was created in 1983, World Communications Year, by the Canadian Commission for Unesco in association with Teleglobe, which funds the award. Open to candidates from all nationalities, the award honours an individual or a group whose work has made an exceptional contribution to a better understanding of the influence of communications media and technology on society. Four eminent international figures in the world of communications have already received this prestigious award: Luis Ramiro Beltrán, Bolivian journalist (1983); Umberto Eco, Italian communications researcher,

writer, teacher and social critic (1985); Elihu Katz, Israeli communications specialist, sociologist, scholar and author (1987); and Pierre Schaeffer, French creator of audiovisual forms of expression and communication (1989).

The McLuhan Teleglobe Canada Award pays a tribute to Canadian communications philosopher Marshall McLuhan, whose extraordinary work in this field at the University of Toronto over the past 30 years received worldwide attention. Books such as *The Mechanical Bride* (his first, published in 1951), *The Gutenberg Galaxy* (1962), and *The Medium is the Massage* (1967) earned him a reputation as a prophet of the electronic age. Phrases from his works, such as «the medium is the message» and «the global village,» have entered everyday thought and speech.

In the past decade, Teleglobe Inc., parent company of Teleglobe Canada, has evolved from a \$3-million-a-year supplier of communications products with 30 employees to a \$400-million-a-year provider of solutions worldwide in the fields of information technology, networking and telecommunications, employing some 2,500 people and managing more than a billion dollars in assets.

As an advisory and liaison body, the Canadian Commission for Unesco coordinates the Unesco program in Canada and advises the Canadian government in its relations with Unesco. The Commission is at the centre of a vast network of specialists and governmental and non-governmental organizations working in Unesco's fields of jurisdiction.

Information:

Aline Sigurdson
Canadian Commission for Unesco
(613) 598-4381 (Ottawa)

Patricia Kirby
Teleglobe
(514) 289-7490 (Montréal)

**CANADIAN REGISTER
OF RESEARCH AND RESEARCHERS
IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES**

The Canadian Register of Research and Researchers in the Social Sciences (the Social Science *Register*) is a multi-dimensional, multi-purpose national information system that has been constructed and is maintained from career data collected directly from social scientists. The overall purpose of the *Register* is to support and promote the communication of scientific information within the social science community in Canada, as well as between social scientists and organizations which require their expertise of the results of social science research.

In addition to the disciplines traditionally identified with a social science faculty, the *Register* includes researchers in law, education, management sciences, labor and industrial relations, urban, rural and environmental studies, regional and national studies, home economics, library science, journalism and social work.

What is the *Register*?

Each record in the *Register* is created from a questionnaire completed by a social scientist. The participants' records consist of four main sections:

- I Biographical Information
- II Professional Qualifications
- III Current Research Project(s)
- IV Selective Publication(s)

Participation

The *Register*, in operation since September, 1982, contains information contributed by more than 8,000 social scientists. The database includes information on over 9,500 research projects and 31,100 publications, as reported by Canadian social scientists in government, universities, independent research organizations, and private industry. National in scope, a good cross-section of researchers in all social science fields are included. In April, 1985 a Sub-Register for Biomedical Ethics was established.

After completing the *Register* questionnaire, participants' records are kept current by biennial updates. During updates participants are sent a computer-generated report on the content of their *Register* record with an invitation to review, correct, update and provide additional information about the evolution of their career.

For further information:

The *Register*
 Social Science Computing Laboratory
 Faculty of Social Science
 University of Western Ontario
 London, Ontario
 N6A 5C2
 Tel.: (519) 661-2152
 Fax: (519) 661-3868
 E-mail: REGISTER@UWOVAX.BITNET

CARLETON UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

PhD Program in Public Policy

The School of Public Administration at Carleton University is pleased to offer the first Canadian doctoral program for the study of public policy. The formation and evolution of policy in Canada is a

primary focus of the course of studies. Canadian, European and international students interested in comparative research on O.E.C.D. countries will also find the program conducive to their work in the fields of specialization offered. Areas of research specialization within the School presently include: policy institutions and instruments (public expenditure, taxation, regulation), industrial policy, and social and labour market policy.

A distinguishing feature of the School of Public Administration is the presence of faculty who integrate political science and economics in their research and teaching. The Ph.D program is to a considerable extent based on the view that political economy is essential to an understanding of the public sector. It is also based on the view that analyses of what governments do must address the interplay among the various policy fields, instruments and institutions.

Further information and applications can be obtained from the co-ordinator for the Ph.D program:

Professor Stanley Winer
 School of Public Administration
 Carleton University
 Ottawa, Ontario
 K1S 5B6
 Tel: (613) 788-2600 ext. 2630
 Fax: (613) 788-2551

THE LIONEL GELBER PRIZE

The winner of the \$50 000.00 Lionel Gelber Prize was announced at a luncheon ceremony in October 1991. This year's winner is Dorothy V. Jones for her book *Code of Peace: Ethics and Security in the World of the Warlord States*, published by the University of Chicago Press.

On receiving the prize, Dr. Jones remarked, «Lionel Gelber pointed out that "International relations and global politics have an impact on all of us", and she noted that the question was not whether there should be power in the world but, rather, who can have it. In one sense, *Code of Peace* is an account of the struggle to contain, control, and channel that power in order to create an international system in which states and individual human beings can live in peace.»

In *Code of Peace*, Dr. Jones examines the question of whether in a diverse world, nations can find a common ethical framework that can guide the conduct of international relations. She argues that such a code is in fact evolving with each new treaty and agreement. In her introduction to the book, Dr. Jones notes that the commonest reaction to the notion of ethics in international affairs is «skepticism, followed by a barrage of questions that add up to various polite forms of 'Are you kidding?'»

Code of Peace is the result of Dr. Jones' work as a Social Science Research Council/Mac Arthur Foundation Fellow in International Peace and Security. She is currently a research associate of the Newberry Library in Chicago, and is the author of two other books on diplomacy.

The Lionel Gelber Prize, established in 1989 by the late Lionel Gelber to honour the best book published in English or in English translation on the subject of international relations, was presented by the writer's brother Arthur Gelber and Dr. James Gibson, chairman of the prize committee.

For more information, or to arrange interviews with Dorothy V. Jones, please contact Kathryn Ellis at (416) 778-4985.

LA FÉDÉRATION / THE FEDERATION

LE MESSAGE DU PRÉSIDENT

Robert Stebbins, PhD

Le Bureau de direction de la FCSS s'est réuni dans le cadre d'une retraite sur les rives du lac Deschênes à Aylmer, au Québec, la première fin de semaine de décembre pour étudier son mandat et ses structures. Nous en avons profité pour discuter d'une foule de sujets, notamment notre énoncé de mission quelque peu désuet. Un nouvel énoncé sera connu sous peu. Nous avons aussi examiné nos structures en vue de trouver des moyens d'améliorer nos communications et la participation des membres, tant au niveau des associations que des universités. Cet objectif s'est cependant avéré trop ambitieux pour notre retraite. Nous avons donc décidé de créer, comme le veut la tradition dans les milieux universitaires, un comité qui devra présenter des recommandations au Bureau de direction au mois de juin. Les difficultés financières de la FCSS ont hanté la retraite et elles devront forcément être prises en considération dans l'examen de nos structures. Elles ont été et continueront d'être un facteur important qui influencera nos discussions sur des sujets tels le bulletin de nouvelles, les conférences, la présidence et les frais d'adhésion. Nous avons convenu que les frais d'adhésion ne pourront être augmentés mais qu'il faudra plutôt chercher à réduire nos dépenses et à trouver de nouveaux fonds ailleurs. Une des suggestions, parmi tant d'autres, a été de suggérer au Conseil d'administration au mois de février, une présidence de deux ans. Cette mesure serait accompagnée de la suppression du poste de président-e sortant-e et permettrait des économies annuelles intéressantes. Nous avons décidé, en outre, d'étudier toute une gamme d'autres mesures qui nous permettront de réduire les coûts de fonctionnement de la Fédération.

LA FCSS COMPARAIT DEVANT LA COMMISSION BEAUDOIN-DOBBIE

Ayman Yassini, PhD

L'évolution du rôle du gouvernement fédéral en matière d'appui à la recherche, d'aide aux étudiants et de formation du personnel hautement qualifié intéresse la FCSS et la communauté au premier plan. La FCSS, avec le Consortium national des sociétés scientifiques et pédagogiques, a donc comparu devant la Commission Beaudoin-Dobbie le 17 décembre.

Le Consortium, présidé par la FCSS par le biais de Mme Caroline Andrew, a recommandé que les propositions constitutionnelles ne soient pas entérinées tant et aussi longtemps que le statut de l'enseignement postsecondaire n'y aura pas été clairement énoncé.

Mme Andrew a expliqué aux membres de la Commission que le nouveau projet constitutionnel doit assurer la restitution et la stabilisation des transferts aux provinces. Sans cela, le rôle du gouvernement fédéral dans le domaine de l'enseignement postsecondaire sera sans valeur. Mme Andrew a exhorté le gouvernement fédéral à jouer un rôle de chef de file en R-D, un domaine jugé essentiel à la compétitivité du Canada.

Dans notre mémoire, nous avons voulu manifester notre inquiétude face à l'ambiguïté du document constitutionnel. Bien que le gouvernement indique que l'effort canadien en R-D sera maintenu, il ne précise pas que cela pourra permettre au gouvernement fédéral de créer de nouveaux programmes. De plus, bien qu'il soit écrit que le gouvernement fédéral prévoit maintenir la capacité canadienne en R-D, le document ne dit pas explicitement que le rôle du gouvernement fédéral, tel quel, sera maintenu.

Se sont joints à Mme Caroline Andrew (FCSS) lors de la comparution, M. Clément Gauthier (FCSB), M. Pierre Ritchie (SCP) et M. Robert Léger (ACPU). Le mémoire du Consortium est disponible à la FCSS.

LA FCSS ET LE RAPPORT SMITH

Bien que la FCSS n'ait pas participé directement à la consultation de M. Smith, nous désirons néanmoins souligner quelques grandes questions et recommandations qui, nous le souhaitons, seront étudiées attentivement par le groupe de travail de l'AUCC.

La FCSS accueille avec plaisir l'attention que porte le Rapport à l'enseignement universitaire. Il en va de même pour les inquiétudes formulées à l'égard de l'équité et de l'accessibilité et la demande d'un financement accru pour les universités et les conseils subventionnaires. Nous n'acceptons cependant pas la séparation qui est faite entre l'enseignement et la

recherche et qui nuira à plusieurs recommandations positives présentées dans le Rapport. La FCSS est de l'avis que la recherche rehausse la qualité de l'enseignement et que des efforts pour créer un scénario qui séparerait les fonctions de recherche et d'enseignement ne pourront qu'appauvrir les deux. De surcroît, nous estimons que la recommandation d'augmenter les heures d'enseignement nuira aux efforts entrepris pour renforcer la recherche et les programmes aux 2^e et 3^e cycles, et incitera les gouvernements à couper les fonds aux universités. Ainsi, plutôt que de favoriser la qualité de l'enseignement, cette recommandation risque de l'entraver.

Le financement

Le Rapport note que les universités reçoivent moins de fonds par étudiant-e aujourd'hui qu'elles n'en recevaient il y a 20 ans. Les admissions et la recherche se sont accrues cependant. De plus, nos universités reçoivent un tiers de moins que les universités publiques américaines. La FCSS appuie les recommandations découlant de l'analyse faite dans cette section mais demande qu'elles soient renforcées.

La recommandation 1 demande une augmentation progressive des subventions gouvernementales. Nous appuyons cette recommandation bien qu'elle ne fasse pas suffisamment état de l'urgence dont il est question dans ce dossier.

La recommandation 2 demande au gouvernement fédéral de restituer et de continuer les transferts aux provinces. La FCSS appuie fortement cette recommandation.

La recommandation 3 souligne l'importance d'augmenter les budgets des conseils subventionnaires. La FCSS estime que cela est d'une importance viable. Le Rapport Lortie et le récent Rapport du Comité de la Chambre des communes ont recommandé que les budgets soient doublés. Le Rapport de la Société Royale recommande pour l'ensemble des augmentations un peu moindres mais explique que dans le cas du CRSH le doublement du budget n'est pas suffisant et qu'il faut beaucoup plus pour répondre adéquatement aux besoins de la communauté. La FCSS exhorte donc l'AUCC à demander le doublement des budgets et à demander qu'une attention particulière soit portée au CRSH.

Enseignement et apprentissage

Le Rapport distingue la recherche de l'enseignement et conclut que l'enseignement a été ignoré. La FCSS reconnaît l'importance de l'innovation en matière d'enseignement. Toutefois, en se bornant à l'enseignement, le Rapport réduit le rôle de l'université en ce qui concerne la production et la diffusion de la connaissance.

La recommandation 6 traite de l'importance d'une définition large de la recherche. La FCSS appuie cette définition. La recherche en sciences sociales comprend la réflexion et l'analyse et elle est diffusée par les livres et les rapports, la pratique professionnelle et les articles.

La recommandation 7 met l'accent sur la contribution intellectuelle de l'enseignement et sur la question de la reconnaissance. La FCSS est d'accord et souhaite que les liens entre la recherche et l'enseignement soient renforcés.

Les recommandations 8 et 9 font une distinction explicite entre l'enseignement et la recherche qui n'est pas utile.

Selon *les recommandations 10 et 11*, les heures d'enseignement devraient être augmentées et uniformisées. Elles ne considèrent pas les raisons qui expliquent les différences et la réduction des heures d'enseignement et négligent de reconnaître l'augmentation de la recherche qui en a découlé. Elles ne font pas état de l'augmentation des admissions aux cours et ne notent pas que la réduction du nombre de cours enseignés a souvent permis de mieux répondre aux admissions accrues. De plus, ces arguments pourront servir à justifier des coupures aux universités si les heures d'enseignement n'augmentent pas. Or, ces dernières sont une bien pauvre mesure de la qualité d'enseignement. Enfin, le Rapport ne distingue pas entre des facteurs importants tels la grandeur de l'université et les différences régionales dans l'organisation de l'enseignement postsecondaire, notamment au Québec (cégep/université).

L'accessibilité

i) Les autochtones

La recommandation 39 demande au gouvernement fédéral d'accroître son appui dans la création d'années de transition dans diverses universités et au programme d'animation, afin d'offrir des programmes équivalents aux premières années d'université, se rapprochant des collectivités autochtones. La FCSS appuie fortement cette recommandation.

ii) Les femmes et les universités

Selon *la recommandation 45* il faut consentir des efforts spéciaux pour promouvoir l'arrivée des femmes dans des postes de décision au niveau universitaire. La FCSS, par le biais de son Réseau des questions féministes, s'inquiète de la place des femmes dans les universités et des études féministes en général.

La recommandation 46 demande d'adopter des mesures pour que les carrières universitaires attirent davantage les femmes. La FCSS estime que ces mesures sont essentielles à l'amélioration de l'enseignement et de la recherche.

La recommandation 47 recommande d'encourager les programmes d'études féministes. La FCSS et son Réseau travaillent aussi à assurer que la recherche féministe soit encouragée et intégrée à l'ensemble de l'université.

MESSAGE OF THE PRESIDENT

Dr. Robert Stebbins

The first weekend in December saw the Executive Committee go on retreat near the shores of Lac Deschênes in Aylmer, Québec, to ponder the goals and structure of the Federation. A range of subjects was discussed, including the rather outdated statement of mission and objectives. A new version of these will soon be available. Much time was devoted to evaluating SSFC's structure, including the thorny problem of how to achieve more effective communication and broader participation for member associations and universities. The problem was, however, too intractable to solve at the retreat. So we did what comes naturally in university circles: we struck a committee, which is to bring recommendations to the June Executive Committee meeting. The dark financial realities of the day hung over the retreat like a bad dream. They did inform, and will continue to inform, thoughts about structure. They haunted talk about newsletters, conferences, new vice-presidential portfolios, and fees of members. The realization emerged that the latter will likely be kept at present levels largely by cutting old costs rather than by finding new money. One suggestion to be discussed by the Board of Directors in February is that of the two-year presidency. If the idea is eventually approved, the past-president's position would be eliminated resulting in an average annual savings in travel and accommodation of a person and one-half. We resolved to explore other ways of reducing expenditures.

THE SSFC APPEARS BEFORE THE BEAUDOIN-DOBBIE COMMISSION

Dr. Ayman Yassini

The evolving role of the federal government in support of research, scholarship, assistance to students and in the training of highly qualified people is of major interest to the SSFC and its community. As part of its role in the national debate on constitutional reform, the SSFC joined forces with the National Consortium of Scientific and Educational Societies and appeared before the Beaudoin-Dobbie Commission on December 17.

Chaired by the SSFC through Dr. Caroline Andrew, the Consortium recommended that the constitutional proposals not be ratified until the status of post-secondary education is clearly defined. Dr. Andrew

stated to the Committee that the constitutional arrangements must ensure the restoration and stabilization of the transfer funds to the provinces. Without this, the Federal role in post-secondary education will be meaningless. Dr. Andrew urged the Federal Government to play a leading role in research and development, an area which is essential to Canada's competitiveness.

The Consortium Brief to the Committee expressed concern about the ambiguity of the wording of the Government's document **Shaping Canada's Future Together**. The government indicates only that the Canadian research and development effort will be maintained, without stating that this will not preclude the federal government from establishing new programs. Also, while it is stated that the federal government is determined to preserve Canada's research and development capacity, **Shaping Canada's Future Together** does not clearly state that the federal role as such will be maintained.

Appearing with Caroline Andrew were Clément Gauthier, CFBS, Pierre Ritchie, CPA and Robert Léger, CAUT. The Consortium's Brief is available from the SSFC.

EXTRACTS FROM A LETTER TO THE AUCC TASK FORCE ON THE SMITH REPORT

While the SSFC did not directly participate in the consultation process undertaken by Dr. Smith, we wish nonetheless to highlight some of the key issues and recommendations which we believe the AUCC task force should examine very closely during its deliberations.

The SSFC welcomes the attention to teaching signalled by the Smith Report. It applauds the Report's concerns for equity and access, and its call for increased funding for universities and the granting councils. However, we have one major disagreement with the Report. It implies a separation between teaching and research which will undermine many of the positive recommendations made. The SSFC believes that research enhances the quality of teaching and that attempts to create an either research or teaching scenario will impoverish both research and teaching. Moreover, we think that the call for increased teaching loads will set back attempts to strengthen research and graduate programs, and will serve as a rationale for cutting funding at a time when it is desperately needed. The result will be to undermine, rather than to support the quality of teaching.

Funding

The Report notes that universities receive fewer real dollars per student today than they did two decades ago. Enrolment and research have expanded over this

period. Moreover, our universities receive one third less funding than U.S. state institutions. The SSFC supports the direction of the recommendations that flow from the analysis in this section, and thinks they should be emphasized and strengthened.

Recommendation 1 calls for gradual increases in government grants to universities. This points in the right direction, but without the urgency the SSFC thinks the problem requires.

Recommendation 2 calls for the federal government to continue and restore its contributions to EPF. The SSFC strongly supports this recommendation.

Recommendation 3 calls for increases to the granting councils. The SSFC feels that increases are vital. Increases in the order of doubling the budgets have been made by the Lortie Commission and the House of Commons Committee. The Royal Society Report recommends something less than doubling overall, but argues that SSHRC needs much more than double its budget in order to serve its community adequately. The SSFC believes AUCC should push urgently for a doubling budget of the councils and that particular attention should be paid to the needs of SSHRC.

Teaching and Learning

In this section, the Report sets teaching against research and argues that teaching has been ignored. The SSFC supports a broad notion of scholarship and welcomes innovative ways of strengthening teaching. However, by focusing only on teaching, the Report minimizes the universities' role in the production and dissemination of knowledge.

Recommendation 6 calls for a broad definition of scholarship. The SSFC supports this view. Scholarship in the social sciences involves reflection and analysis, and is communicated in books and reports and professional practice as well as in research articles.

Recommendation 7 emphasizes the scholarly components of teaching and calls for its recognition. The SSFC supports the recognition of teaching and wants to emphasize the links between scholarship and teaching at universities.

Recommendations 8 and 9 make an explicit division between teaching and research that is not useful.

Recommendations 10 and 11 argue, in effect, that teaching loads should be increased and become uniform across the country. They fail to explore the good reasons why teaching loads vary and have been reduced and to note the increased scholarship that has come along with decreased teaching hours. They fail to note increase enrolments in courses and that a decline in the number of courses taught has often been a way to handle more effectively the increased enrolments in each. Moreover, this line of argument will be used to

justify decreased funding until teaching loads are increased. Teaching hours per faculty member is not a good measure of teaching quality. Finally, the Report fails to distinguish between such important factors as size of universities and regional differences in the organization of post-secondary education and in particular, in Québec (cégep/university).

Accessibility

i) Native People

Recommendation 39 says the federal government should continue funding for initiatives with respect to higher education for native people. It states that increased support should be given for the creation of transitional years at various universities and for outreach programs to offer early-university equivalent programs closer to the native communities. The SSFC fully endorses this recommendation.

ii) Women in universities

Recommendation 45 states that special efforts are required to promote women at universities. The SSFC through its Women's Issues Network is concerned about the place of women in universities and of women's studies in general.

Recommendation 46 states that steps should be taken to make academic careers more attractive to women. The SSFC thinks this is very important for improving teaching and research.

Recommendation 47 recommends encouragement for women's studies. The SSFC and its women's network are also working to ensure that feminist scholarship is encouraged and incorporated throughout the university.

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