

CHAPTER 1

Reluctant Trinity: The North American Elections of 2000

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*The United States is destined to have a 'special relationship' with Mexico,
as clear and strong as we have with Canada.*

—George W. Bush, August 25, 2000

THE STRING OF EXTRAORDINARY EVENTS that took place in 2000 seemed both to affirm the mounting awareness of a North American consciousness and neatly bring to a close the painful first years of the new American continent. The most visible and portentous manifestation of that continental conversion was the series of three almost concurrent national elections in 2000. The first was held in Mexico in July. Then, in November, both Canada and the United States elected leaders, although it wouldn't be until almost the end of the year that Americans knew George W. Bush would become their next president.

The last time the electoral processes of all three nations of North America had been so finely synchronized was in 1988. The national leaders elected that year—George H. W. Bush, Brian

Mulroney, and Carlos Salinas de Gortari—shared a vision of a more integrated North America. Their awareness of the opportunities offered by working together rather than standing apart eventually led to the signing of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in 1994. Twelve years later, the electoral calendars again coincided, and the leaders selected by voters this time—George W. Bush, Jean Chrétien, and Vicente Fox Quesada—each recognized that a strong North American identity was a vital national interest in their respective countries. Each made plans to strengthen and deepen relations across the continent, while protecting the sovereignty of their own nations. Each also faced other challenges, of course, starting with the domestic divisions that had prevented them from receiving a majority of the popular vote in their countries and developing a clear mandate to govern. Bush and Fox had to work with deeply divided congresses, while Chrétien faced a parliament that was badly splintered along regional lines, as well as continued fragmentation of the Canadian political landscape. The key words for all three were “unite” and “compromise.”

Their simultaneous starts generated a certain synergy within North America. The words and actions of these three men over the course of the year harmonized the continent in a way that hadn't been possible before. United in an encompassing vision and unafraid to exploit the advantages of the new North American relationship, each laid out plans and took initial steps that could come to be seen as a significant turning point in the history of continental America.

Someday, the first few days of July may very well be observed as a continental holiday; the communal celebration of North America's rediscovery. July 4 is, of course, U.S. Independence Day, and in Canada, July 1 is Canada Day: the commemoration of the founding of the Dominion of Canada. From now on, Mexicans may be tempted to view July 2 as their own “independence day”

and the founding of a democratic Mexico. On that date in the year 2000, the land of Zapata had its first peaceful revolution, ending the Institutional Revolutionary Party's (PRI) seventy-one-year grip on power and setting the stage for a true democracy with the election of Fox's National Action Party (PAN).

Fox's own myth had already grown large enough to become fairly well known across North America in 2000. A larger-than-life rancher and business executive who once headed the Mexican division of that most American of consumer products, Coca-Cola, Fox entered Mexican politics on the side of the fiscally conservative, Catholic-leaning National Action Party, the perennial runner-up during the last half century of Mexican politics. He had caught the attention of journalists and their editors early on, and no American or Canadian article about Fox failed to mention his cowboy boots or the trucker-sized belt buckle with FOX carved into it that he wore constantly. From his earliest days in politics, Fox made clear that he was not afraid to go toe-to-toe with the PRI, and the indomitable PRI was just as clearly frightened by the combination of *pantalones* and popular appeal that Fox embodied. Fox ran for governor of his home state of Guanajuato in 1991, but the election was marred by fraud, and President Salinas appointed a substitute governor, Carlos Medina, also from the PAN. This kept Fox from governing a small state, but it didn't derail his ambitions or his party's certainty that he was the man who could defeat the PRI. When President Salinas wanted to overhaul the land redistribution provisions of Article 27, he needed the PAN's support to get the necessary two-thirds vote in Congress. PAN leaders saw this as an opportunity to remove a remnant of Mexican xenophobia that prohibited a candidate without pure Mexican heritage from running for president. That included Fox, whose grandfather was an Irish-American immigrant from Ohio and whose mother was born in Spain. Salinas was forced to accept that amendment in order to get his land reform passed. But he insisted

that the new requirements for candidates not take effect until the elections of 2000. Having waited so long, the PAN could afford to be patient a while longer.

Even though he couldn't form an opposition alliance with Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas, Fox overcame PRI candidate Francisco Labastida's early lead. His surge in popularity wasn't due to the unique appeal of his platform; very little light showed between the positions of Fox and Labastida on economic management, social spending, and Mexico's links with the rest of North America. Fox ran a smart American-style campaign, while Labastida seemed stuck in the past. Mexico had already changed substantially, and a great deal of that political, economic, and social transformation had taken place since 1993. Many factors contributed to Fox's historic win, but the primary reason was that Mexicans had finally made up their minds that it was time for a change. On July 2, they gave Fox the victory he—and many parts of Mexico—had sought for so long.

Traditional PRI leaders were left licking their wounds after July 2. Many blamed Ernesto Zedillo, the accidental president, for losing control of the system that had served the party so well for so long—a system attacked by President Fox in January when his government accused the oil workers' union and Pemex of siphoning money from the government-owned oil monopoly to help finance Labastida's campaign. With his popularity plummeting, Fox needed something like an anti-corruption campaign to rally the people again. Immediately after the election, he had been hailed as a hero: the strong man Mexicans wanted to lead their country into democracy and prosperity. But few observers were willing to express any caution or to remember that Mexico had been in a similar position in 1993, when Carlos Salinas was praised for having brought Mexico to the threshold of the First World. Fox had made so many promises during the campaign that to complete them would take sixty years, not the single six-year term to which he was limited by the constitution.

He had style and charisma, but Fox was also so wrapped up in his own personality that at times he could resemble the *caudillos* with whom Mexico has had such a troubling relationship for so long. When he took the oath of office on December 1 he offended Congress—where the PRI was still powerful enough to obstruct his plans—by changing the official oath and including the pledge to work “for the poor and marginalized of this country,” words not included in the constitutional version of the oath that he was required to recite. While many Mexicans agreed with the sentiment, they worried about Fox’s obvious comfort with doing things his own way. The controversy also marked the beginning of a stalemate between Fox and Congress that continues today.

What Fox had accomplished by winning was so significant that most Mexicans, along with foreign observers watching his early moves, were willing to overlook some of his more glaring inconsistencies. What he lacked in discipline, he more than made up for in courage and vision—for Mexico and for the whole of North America. With the help of President Zedillo, he managed a smooth transition that broke the thirty-year cycle of economic disasters accompanying new presidents. But having escaped that spell, Fox and Mexico rushed headlong into a steep economic slowdown. Mexico, now hitched to the bumper of the U.S. economy, was being dragged along behind as its neighbor’s economy skidded off track. What helped Mexico survive that rough first year was the confidence investors had in the country’s institutions and structures, and the relative stability of the peso, which set it apart from most other emerging markets.

During the five months between the election in July 2000 and his December inauguration, Fox visited Washington and Ottawa. He declared that Mexico saw itself as a legitimate and full member of the North American community: “There is no doubt that NAFTA is not only a commitment for us; it is a partnership.”¹ He said he not only supported NAFTA 100 percent, he also declared

that it was time to deepen and strengthen the agreement so that the benefits of free trade were more equitably shared across the continent. During his stopover in Washington he surprised Mexico's own diplomatic staff at the embassy in Washington by telling U.S. President Bill Clinton that he was already looking beyond NAFTA toward the European Union, or something like it: "Really what we are proposing is an economic convergence, a holistic view of the problems and the opportunities, and pursue at the end a narrowing of the gap in development between Mexico and the two great nations of the United States and Canada."² He tried to sweep away the old shibboleths of Mexican sovereignty and anti-Americanism in one stroke. Perhaps not immediately, he said, but in forty years it would make sense for Mexico, Canada, and the United States to have open borders, like those in Europe, which allow for the free passage of both goods and people from one country to the other. Perhaps, he suggested, North America could be seen as a continent with common interests and shared resources benefiting all North Americans from the Yukon to the Yucatan.

Fox was also blunt about the new reality of North America. The United States and Canada needed Mexican labor, he stated, and Mexicans needed more economic opportunity than Mexico could provide. Fox wanted Washington and Ottawa to fund a development bank that would help Mexican industry grow. In essence, he was asking the U.S. and Canada to take some responsibility for Mexico. His underlying message was that the nations of North America weren't just neighbors anymore. Unless Mexico prospered, the rest of the continent could not prosper: "The elections of July second give us a window of opportunity to press forward a new vision of our place in the world. First and foremost, that vision is founded on a new partnership with the United States and Canada that builds on existing institutions and creates the foundation for a shared North American area of peace and prosperity."³

This was the essence of a message Fox would deliver again in Washington, this time during the first week of September when he captivated the White House during an official state visit. Fox stood as an equal with President Bush and boldly called for an immigration agreement by the end of the year.

Five days after he left Washington, the World Trade Center collapsed. Among the casualties in the rubble were Fox's initiatives, and, some thought, the new relationship between the United States and Mexico promised by George W. Bush.

During the summer of 2000, George W. Bush also started to outline his notion of North America. He made no bones about the fact that foreign affairs were not his strong point but that as governor of Texas he was quite familiar with the country south of the Texas border and had visited Mexico several times. During the campaign he said he considered Mexico a front door to all of Latin America and, while he may not have known how to pronounce the names of the leaders of Uzbekistan or Tajikistan, he did consider Mexico and the rest of the Western Hemisphere to be part of "the neighborhood."

Bush promised that if elected, he would meet with Fox before either of them was inaugurated to demonstrate their shared interests and common commitment to solving the problems facing both countries. He had heard Fox outline his ideas about the border, and while he saw some positive signs, the borders were there and they needed to be protected. The issue was not whether to go ahead with integration, but to what degree. The vision of common interest seemed to have so captivated Bush that at one point in the campaign he mentally erased the border between the United States and Mexico. During one of the presidential debates with Al Gore, Bush combined the U.S. and Mexico into an ersatz unified body when he spoke about the surging price of oil and said he had talked to Fox about "how best to be able to expedite the exploration of natural gas in Mexico and transport it up to the United

States, so we become less dependent on foreign sources of crude oil.”⁴ Mexican commentators chided Bush for considering Mexico something other than a foreign source of oil, although they did not doubt that he meant to import more of Mexico’s prized national resource. The slip of the tongue irked some Mexicans but generally they saw Bush as a friend whose experience on the border helped him understand their needs. “Should I become president,” Bush had said during the campaign, “I will look south, not as an afterthought but as a fundamental commitment of my presidency.”⁵

Combined, the imperfect statements of Bush and Fox had carried North American identity from theory to political reality, but reality rarely arrives without complications. The promised meeting between the presidents-elect never took place. The post-election dispute in the United States prevented Bush from being declared president-elect until after Fox was sworn in. Bush, congratulating him, reiterated his promise to work closely together. Clearly, Bush thought Fox was a man he could work with, and North America was a concept he felt comfortable thinking about. In a policy speech during the campaign, Bush had predicted that the United States would be able to enter into a “special relationship” with a democratic Mexico that would be as strong as the relationship that had existed with Canada for years. “Historically, we have no closer friends and allies,” Bush had said. “With Canada, our partner in NATO and NAFTA, we share not just a border but a bond of good will. Our ties of history and heritage with Mexico are just as deep.”⁶

There was no way to tell how Bush’s conservative views and pro-business attitudes would influence his decisions about relations with Mexico, Canada, and the rest of the world. Nor could anyone have guessed how much the world would change during Bush’s first year in office, or what impact world events would have on the North American relationship.

The legal maneuvering to count ballots in Florida and close the 2000 election in the United States took thirty-six days—exactly the same length of time as the entire federal campaign and election that Prime Minister Jean Chrétien had called for November 27. But it was an election that nobody else in Canada seemed to want. Chrétien was in the third year of his second five-year term when he decided the time was right to hold another election. Chrétien gambled that by calling an election early, he could stave off an attack from the newly constituted Canadian Alliance Party and its right-leaning leader, Stockwell Day. Chrétien's intuition was on target, but the sharpest political minds in Canada doubted his wisdom right up to the time the polls closed.

The brief Canadian campaign had little to do with major issues, and produced few dramatic moments. Under Chrétien, the Liberals had become free trade converts and unabashed supporters of closer ties to the United States. Day, the leader of the Alliance, was a fiscal conservative with a buzz cut and an easy smile who hailed from Alberta, the western province most aligned with American ways, from tax policy to health care. Unlike the 1988 election in which John Turner had accused Brian Mulroney of selling out Canada by signing the free trade agreement, continental integration was not an issue in 2000. It was a given. The campaign was mostly about personalities and turned particularly dirty by Canadian standards. Newspapers criticized the candidates for resorting to "U.S.-style advertising," implying that this was a lamentable development.⁷ At one debate, the Alliance and the Liberals traded barbs over which party was more in favor of establishing a two-tier, Americanized health care system that permitted private clinics to operate.

Chrétien won big, increasing the Liberal majority to match roughly its level after the 1993 election, stopping the Alliance dead in its tracks west of Ontario, and most surprisingly, stealing several seats from the already staggered separatists in Quebec.⁸ A

few days after his victory, Chrétien was playing golf in the United States with President Clinton. It was a symbolic outing for two reasons: it proved how much Chrétien had overcome his earlier reluctance to appear too cozy with the American president and it tipped off observers to a changing dynamic in Canada's sense of the North American balance of power. The Canadian Ministry of Foreign Affairs tried mightily to persuade Chrétien to use a speech that weekend at Duke University to regain some of the ground Canada had lost to Mexico after Fox's dramatic statements about North American integration in August. But Chrétien had reacted strongly against some of Fox's most radical ideas about the border and was cool to the Mexican's overall message. His reasons became clearer after the Duke speech. In the end, according to one diplomat, Chrétien removed "the heart and a lot of the message" from the prepared text and instead of discussing a trilateral view of North America, the prime minister reverted to praising the special relationship between Canada and the United States.

A defensive speech, it unwittingly underscored Ottawa's preoccupation with Mexico and that country's growing impact on the consciousness of the United States. Whereas Mulroney had originally seen Mexico as a potential ally with the potential to correct some of the imbalance existing in North America, Ottawa increasingly looked at Mexico as a rival and a competitor—not only for American business but also for its special relationship with the United States. The election of George W. Bush intensified those feelings because he was so clearly comfortable with Mexico. "We have enjoyed a special relationship with the United States but we no longer have it," former Foreign Affairs Minister Lloyd Axworthy said. "It's gone."⁹

Axworthy made those comments at a policy conference in Ottawa that gathered Canada's best thinkers to highlight critical issues facing the country in the new millennium. Their meeting took place during a decisive week in North America. It began with

the Canadian elections and ended with Vicente Fox's swearing-in as the first opposition president in Mexico in seventy-one years. In between, Al Gore contested the election results in Florida, a manual recount of the votes in that state was delayed, and the U.S. Supreme Court heard arguments on George W. Bush's appeal of a Florida Supreme Court ruling extending the date for certifying the election results.

The convergence of events in all three nations made it easier to think about a North American approach like the one Fox had outlined. At the policy conference, concern about Bush's plan for a continental missile defense system revived the old conflict between security and sovereignty for Canada. The growing productivity gap between Canada and the United States, along with the threat posed by an economically sound Mexico that was becoming a powerful exporter and a favored locale for corporate investment, were raised continually as worrisome themes. Renée St-Jacques, Director General of Micro-Economic Policy Analysis for Industry Canada, the government's commerce ministry, demonstrated the challenge clearly: Canada's share of American imports had held steady at about 20 percent during the 1990s, but Mexico's had doubled during that time and by 1999 was about half the size of Canada's and gaining fast. During Chrétien's third term, Canadian diplomats had also focused on the rivalry with Mexico. In some cases, they had decided that it was to Canada's advantage to continue to pursue its special bilateral relationship with the United States without trying to incorporate a Mexico that is gaining in economic and political strength.

The elections of 2000 provided a synchronized opportunity for a fresh start in the relationship between North America's three major nations. The inescapable differences among the three ensure that they will remain individual countries whose unique perspectives sometimes do not coincide. The borders will continue to be protected, against one another and against those outside the

continent who are hellbent on doing harm. Economic competition and painful inequalities across borders will continue. The real test of these continental bonds will not come over decisions in the common interest but in confrontations over deep differences. There will always be issues on which the United States, Canada, and Mexico disagree. As September 11 demonstrated, the bonds of community and common interest that tie Canada, Mexico, and the United States together make them a reluctant trinity, always together, though not always in agreement.

Notes

CHAPTER 1

1. Press conference at the National Press Club, Washington, D.C., August 24, 2000.
2. Ibid.
3. Fox speech at The Center for Democracy, Washington, D.C., August 24, 2000.
4. Transcript of the presidential debate on October 4, 2000.
5. Miami, Fla., August 25, 2000.
6. Ibid.
7. *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), November 10, 2000.
8. On January 11, 2001, a disgruntled and sorely disappointed Lucien Bouchard resigned as premier of Quebec, saying he had failed to keep his promise to make Quebec independent.
9. From an address to the National Policy Research Conference in Ottawa on November 30, 2000.

CHAPTER 2

1. Enrique Krauze, *La Presidencia Imperial: Ascenso y Caída del Sistema Político Mexicano, 1940–1996* (Mexico City: Tusquets Editores, 1997).
2. These figures were taken from “México Social,” edited regularly by the Banco Nacional de México, and the electoral database at the Centro de Investigación para el Desarrollo, CIDAC.
3. A brief review of these three main parties’ histories and programs can be found in Mónica Serrano, ed., *Governing Mexico: Political*

- Parties and Elections* (Macmillan-ILAS Series, Institute of Latin American Studies, University of London, 1998).
4. Beatriz Magaloni and Alejandro Moreno, "Catching All Souls: Mexico's Partido Acción Nacional," in Scott Mainwaring and Timothy Scully (eds.), *Christian Democracy in Latin America: Electoral Competition and Regime Conflicts* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 2003).
 5. Volker G. Lehr, "Modernización y movilización electoral, 1964–1976: Un estudio ecológico," *Estudios Políticos* 4, no. 1 (1985): 54–61, and Juan Molinar Horcasitas, *El tiempo de la legitimidad. Elecciones, autoritarismo y democracia en México* (México City: Cal y Arena, 1991).
 6. Juan Molinar Horcasitas, *El tiempo de la legitimidad. Elecciones, autoritarismo y democracia en México* (México City: Cal y Arena, 1991).
 7. Jorge I. Domínguez and James A. McCann, "Shaping Mexico's Electoral Arena: Construction of Partisan Cleavages in the 1988 and 1991 National Elections," *American Political Science Review* 89 (1995): 34–48.
 8. Alejandro Moreno, "Party Competition and the Issue of Democracy: Ideological Space in Mexican Elections," in Mónica Serano (ed.), *Governing Mexico: Political Parties and Elections* (Macmillan-ILAS Series, Institute of Latin American Studies, University of London, 1998) and "Ideología y voto: Dimensiones de competencia política en México en los noventa," *Política y Gobierno* 6, no. 1 (1999): 45–81.
 9. Alejandro Moreno, *Political Cleavages: Issues, Parties, and the Consolidation of Democracy* (Boulder, Co.: Westview Press. Series on Latin America in Global Perspective, 1999).
 10. Beatriz Magaloni and Alejandro Moreno, "Catching All Souls: Mexico's Partido Acción Nacional," in Scott Mainwaring and Timothy Scully (eds.), *Christian Democracy in Latin America: Electoral Competition and Regime Conflicts* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 2003).

11. The empirical evidence for this chapter comes from a collection of surveys conducted in Mexico between 1990 and 2002. A list of the surveys includes: 1) The Mexican samples of the *World Values Survey*'s second, third, and fourth waves, administered in 1990, 1996/7, and in 2000, respectively, to slightly over 1,500 respondents in each wave. The Mexican samples of the *World Values Survey* were conducted in 1990, 1996/7, and 2000 among 1,531, 1,511, and 1535 Mexican adults, respectively. They are part of the ICPSR archives, at the University of Michigan. The fourth-wave survey was conducted in February 2000, sponsored by Grupo Reforma, and conducted by the Departments of Survey Research at newspapers *Reforma*, *El Norte*, *Mural*, and *Palabra*. 2) A national exit poll administered to over 3,000 voters as they left their corresponding polling places in the 2000 elections. I compare these results with those from a national exit poll conducted in the 1997 elections. The 1997 exit poll was sponsored by the Partido Acción Nacional and conducted by *Arcop*, on July 6, 1997, among 3,452 voters. The 2000 exit poll was sponsored by Grupo Reforma and conducted on July 2, 2000, among 3,377 voters by newspaper *Reforma* and its affiliates. 3) Four national pre-election polls conducted between April and June 2000 and pooled into one single database. The national pre-election polls were conducted in early April, early May, late May, and mid-June, 2000, by the newspaper *Reforma* and its affiliates. Each survey had slightly over 1,500 respondents (with the exception of the April one, which had slightly over 1,600) from all thirty-two federal entities. For the analysis in this chapter, the four polls were pooled into a single database of 6,289 cases. All the surveys listed here are national representative samples of Mexican adults or voters, and were conducted face-to-face in the respondents' homes or as they left their polling places, in the case of the exit polls.
12. Between one-fourth and one-third of Mexican respondents, depending on the survey, do not place themselves on the left-right

scale. In this analysis, I assigned an average placement to those who did not originally place themselves on the scale. The general averages fell between categories six and seven on a ten-point scale.

13. The original measure is a ten-point self-placement scale.
14. Alejandro Moreno, "Ideología y voto: Dimensiones de competencia política en México en los noventa." *Política y Gobierno* 6, no. 1 (1999): 45–81.
15. The shift to the right probably reflects the influence of the PRI's also historic primary to select its presidential candidate. The 2000 survey was conducted in February, four and a half months before the presidential election and with campaigns officially running, but, most importantly, three months after the PRI primary of November, 1999, and after Fox and others had started to advertise widely on television. Very intense negative campaigning and mudslinging characterized the primary contest, but it boosted voter interest in the PRI.
16. Alejandro Moreno, "Party Competition and the Issue of Democracy: Ideological Space in Mexican Elections," in Mónica Serano (ed.), *Governing Mexico: Political Parties and Elections* (Macmillan-ILAS Series, Institute of Latin American Studies, University of London, England, 1998).
17. According to Moreno (1999b), the liberal-fundamentalist dimension is empirically observable in many Latin American countries, and it provides a useful tool to analyze party competition across the region.
18. Alejandro Moreno, "Party Competition and the Issue of Democracy: Ideological Space in Mexican Elections," in Mónica Serano (ed.), *Governing Mexico: Political Parties and Elections* (Macmillan-ILAS Series, Institute of Latin American Studies, University of London, 1998).
19. Empirically, these dimensions result from a theoretically-guided principal components factor analysis based on the Mexican sam-

- ples of the 1997 and 2000 *World Values Surveys* pooled into one single dataset.
20. Herbert Kitschelt, *The Radical Right in Western Europe* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995), Herbert Kitschelt et al., *Post-Communist Party Systems: Competition, Representation, and Inter-Party Cooperation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), and Alejandro Moreno, *Political Cleavages: Issues, Parties, and the Consolidation of Democracy* (Boulder, Co.: Westview Press. Series on Latin America in Global Perspective, 1999).
 21. Ronald Inglehart, *Modernization and Postmodernization: Cultural, Economic, and Political Change in 43 Societies* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), and Ronald Inglehart and Wayne E. Baker, "Modernization, Cultural Change, and the Persistence of Traditional Values," *American Sociological Review* 65 (February 2000): 19–51.
 22. Alejandro Moreno, "Party Competition and the Issue of Democracy: Ideological Space in Mexican Elections," in Mónica Serano (ed.), *Governing Mexico: Political Parties and Elections* (Macmillan-ILAS Series, Institute of Latin American Studies, University of London, 1998) and "Ideología y voto: Dimensiones de competencia política en México en los noventa," *Política y Gobierno* 1 (1999a): 45–81.
 23. Moreno, 1999a.
 24. The model is based on a multinomial logit regression that uses vote choice as the dependent variable and a number of independent variables that have been of theoretical and empirical relevance in the literature of Mexican voting behavior. The model is then applied to the different types of survey data (exit polls and pre-election polls). The vote for PAN or Fox is taken as a basis for comparison in the results shown in the tables. See for example Domínguez and McCann 1995; Magaloni 1997; Buendía 1997; Magaloni and Moreno, 2003.

25. Beatriz Magaloni and Alejandro Poiré, "Sincere and Strategic Party Switching in the course of the Presidential Campaign," in Jorge I. Domínguez and Chappell Lawson (eds.), *Mexico's Pivotal Democratic Election: Campaigns, Voting Behavior, and the 2000 Presidential Race* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004).
26. The official vote for Congress in 2000 is not broken down by party in the case of the Alliance for Mexico (PRD) and the Alliance for Change (PAN), but opinion polls showed that support for the Green party alone was about 2 to 4 percent.
27. Beatriz Magaloni and Alejandro Poiré, "Sincere and Strategic Party Switching in the course of the Presidential Campaign," in Jorge I. Domínguez and Chappell Lawson (eds.), *Mexico's Pivotal Democratic Election: Campaigns, Voting Behavior, and the 2000 Presidential Race* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004).
28. Alejandro Moreno, "The Effects of Negative Campaigns on Mexican Voters," in *Mexico's Pivotal Democratic Election*, ed. Domínguez and Chappell Lawson.
29. Alejandro Moreno and Roy Pierce, "The Impact of the PRI Primary of November 1999 on the Mexican Presidential Election of July 2000," unpublished manuscript.
30. Alejandro Moreno, "Mesa 1: Encuestas preelectorales, serie incluyendo últimas encuestas (Estimación de los votantes probables)," in *El papel de las encuestas en las elecciones federales: Memoria del taller Sumiya 2000*. Federal Elections Institute (IFE), Mexican Association of Research Agencies (AMAI), and Colegio Nacional de Actuarios, 2000, and Alejandro Moreno and Patricia Méndez, "Cómo llegó: La debacle y el triunfo". *Reforma*, December 1, 2001.

CHAPTER 3

1. James W. Ceaser and Andrew E. Busch, *The Perfect Tie* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2001). See also John C. Green and

- Rick Farmer, *The State of the Parties*, 4th ed. (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003).
2. Larry J. Sabato, *Overtime* (New York: Longman, 2002).
 3. Ibid.
 4. John C. Green et al., "Murphy Brown Revisited: The Social Issues in the 1992 Election," in *Disciples and Democracy: Religious Conservatives and the Future of American Politics*, ed. Michael Cromartie, (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1994), 43–66.
 5. These data were made available by the Interuniversity Consortium for Social and Political Research. All analysis and interpretation are solely the responsibility of the authors.
 6. These data come from a poll by the Gallup Organization, May 18–May 21, 2000 (N=1,011). Data provided by the Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, University of Connecticut.
 7. David K. Ryden, "Out of the Shadows, but Still in the Dark? The Courts and Political Parties," in *The State of the Parties*, ed. John C. Green and Rick Farmer, 4th ed. (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003), 79–94.
 8. Gerald M. Pomper, "Parliamentary Government in the United States: A New Regime for a New Country," in *The State of the Parties*, ed. John C. Green and Rick Farmer, 4th ed. (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003), 267–86.

CHAPTER 4

1. The Canadian Election Study is based on a rolling cross-section survey of 3,651 interviews conducted by the Institute for Social Research at York University and Jolicoeur & Associés. It follows in the tradition of previous Canadian election studies conducted in 1979, 1984, 1988, 1993, and 1997.
2. Blais et al., *Anatomy of a Liberal Victory: Making Sense of the Vote in the 2000 Canadian Election* (Peterborough: Broadview Press, 2002), 13.

3. Mordecai Richler, "More Proof That Pundits Can't Be Trusted," *National Post*, December 2, 2000, A18.
4. Conrad Black, "The Most Boring Election in History." *Wall Street Journal*, November 30, 2000, A22.
5. Peter Gzowski, "Where Do They Stand? How Would We Know?" *Globe and Mail*, November 11, 2000, A13.
6. Statistics Canada. <http://www.statcan.ca/>.
7. Ibid.
8. Blais et al., *Anatomy*.
9. Samuel Popkin, *The Reasoning Voter: Communication and Presidential Campaigns* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991).
10. Shanto Iyengar and Donald Kinder, *News That Matters: Television and American Opinion* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987).
11. Thomas Nelson and Donald Kinder, "Issue Frames and Group Centrism in American Public Opinion," *Journal of Politics* 58, no. 4 (November 1996): 1055–78.
12. Doris Graber, *Processing the News: How People Tame the Information Tide* (New York: Longman, 1984).
13. Milton Lodge, Marco Steenbergen, and Shawn Brau, "The Responsive Voter: Campaign Information and the Dynamics of Candidate Evaluation," *American Political Science Review* 89, no. 2 (June 1995): 309–26.
14. Diana C. Mutz, "Effects of Horse-Race Coverage on Campaign Coffers: Strategic Contributing in Presidential Primaries," *Journal of Politics* 57, no. 4 (November 1995): 1015–42.
15. Blais et al., *Anatomy*, 35.
16. Blais et al., *Anatomy*, 73.
17. Barry Cooper, *Sins of Omission: Shaping the News at CBC TV* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), chapter 1.
18. Blais et al., *Anatomy*, 40.
19. Ibid.
20. Thomas Hartley and Josephine Mazzuca, "Fewer Canadians

- Favour Legalized Abortion under Any Circumstance,” *The Gallup Poll* (Toronto: Gallup Canada, December 12, 2001).
21. Blais et al., *Anatomy*, 145.
 22. Blais et al., *Anatomy*, 175.
 23. Lydia Miljan and Barry Cooper, *Hidden Agendas: How Journalists Influence the News* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2003) 92.
 24. Reginald Bibby, *Fragmented Gods: The Poverty and Potential of Religion in Canada* (Toronto: Stodart Publishing, 1993).
 25. Blais et al., *Anatomy*, 71.
 26. Blais et al., *Anatomy*, 80 n. 12.

CHAPTER 5

1. A feat not accomplished since Mackenzie King had won three in a row in 1935, 1940, and 1945.
2. Robert A. Young, *The Struggle for Quebec* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1999), 87.
3. Reginald Whitaker, *The Government Party* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977).
4. The referendum question asked voters whether they agreed “Quebec should become sovereign after having made a formal offer to Canada for a new economic and political partnership.”
5. Voter turnout was an astonishing—by Canadian standards, at any rate—93.5 percent. See Québec, Directeur-général des élections, <http://www.dgeq.qc.ca/information/>.
6. The amendment of section 93 was not implemented until after the 1997 federal election, which returned the Liberals to power.
7. Formerly a political scientist at the Université de Montréal, Dion was elevated to the cabinet, along with Pierre Pettigrew, in January 1996. Dion, Allan Rock, and Marcel Massé were members of a special cabinet committee charged with elaborating a strat-

- egy for dealing with the Quebec question in early 1996. See Young, *Struggle for Quebec*, 102.
8. Ibid.
 9. A third question asked the Court whether international or Canadian law would have precedence in the event of a conflict between them. For more on the Supreme Court reference see Young, *The Struggle for Quebec*, 108–9, and David Schneiderman, ed., *The Quebec Decision* (Toronto: Lorimer, 1999).
 10. In March 1997 Duceppe replaced Michel Gauthier as leader of the Bloc Québécois. Gauthier had succeeded Lucien Bouchard when the latter resigned in January 1996 to become leader of the Parti Québécois and premier of Quebec.
 11. Thus the third question put before the Court, namely whether international or Canadian law would take precedence in the event of a conflict between them, was moot.
 12. Supreme Court of Canada, *Reference Re the Secession of Quebec*, para. 138. The entire judgment is reprinted in Schneiderman, ed., *The Quebec Decision*, 14–71. The cited passage is on page 64.
 13. *Reference Re Secession*, para. 151, in Schneiderman, ed., *The Quebec Decision*, 69.
 14. *Reference Re Secession*, para. 153, in Schneiderman, ed., *The Quebec Decision*, 69–70.
 15. Canada, House of Commons, 2d session, 36th Parliament, 48 Elizabeth II, 1999.
 16. *Clarity Act*, s. 1(4)(b).
 17. Bill C-20 does not spell out what exactly constitutes a “clear majority,” stating only that the size of the majority, along with the percentage of eligible voters and other relevant matters, will be taken into account by the House of Commons. *Clarity Act*, s. 2(2).
 18. Canada, House of Commons, 2d Session, 36th Parliament, Legislative Committee on Bill C-20, *Evidence*, February 23, 2000. Online at <http://www.parl.gc.ca/InfoComDoc/36/2/CLAR/Meetings/Evidence/clarev08-e.htm>.

19. In a survey conducted between May 1 and May 8, 2000, Ekos Research Associates, Inc., found that Joe Clark had fairly high levels of trust among voters, was better known and had more widely acceptable platform ideas than his Canadian Alliance counterparts (either Preston Manning or Stockwell Day), but that his positioning on the Clarity Bill was unpopular. The sample size was 3,530 and the margin of error +/- 1.6 percent, 19 times out of 20. See "The Political Landscape: Continued Liberal Dominance, Resurgent CA, Conservatives Fading." This and other surveys can be accessed in the Ekos archives available on the Web. <http://www.ekos.ca/media>.
20. Québec, Assemblée nationale, First session, 36th legislature, December 15, 1999.
21. *An Act Respecting the Exercise of the Fundamental Rights and Prerogatives of the Québec People and the Québec State*, ch. 1, art. 2 and 3 (emphasis added).
22. Ekos Research Associates, Inc., "Fin de siècle: Fin de la souveraineté? Quebeckers think the unthinkable," December 14, 1999. The sample consisted of 803 respondents in Quebec and 2204 Canadians outside Quebec. Margins of error were +/- 3.5 percent in Quebec and +/- 2.1 percent in the rest of the country, 19 times out of 20. The study is available online at the Ekos webpage (see note 19 above).
23. Tammy McNamee, "The Clarity Bill: Examining Liberal Party Hegemony in the Transitional Party System" (M.A. major research paper, Wilfrid Laurier University, 2000), 55. McNamee cites an editorial, "The Centre Stops Being Soft" in *The Economist*, December 18, 1999, which argues along similar lines.
24. Young, *Struggle for Quebec*, 91. As a result of the vote, Bouchard walked out of the convention and rumors spread that he was considering resigning as party leader. Bouchard stayed put, of course, and he gradually asserted control over the party apparatus (if not over the most militant advocates of independence, *les purs et*

- durs): over 90 percent of delegates supported his leadership at the PQ convention in May 2000.
25. Ekos Research Associates, Inc., "The Quebec Political Landscape," March 5, 1999. Sample size was 1,006 in Quebec and 1871 in ROC.
 26. Angus Reid Group, "Issues and Attitudes in a 1998 Post-Election Quebec," December 1, 1998. Sample size was 1,000 and the margin of error was +/- 3.1 percent, 19 times out of 20. The survey was accessed online at <http://www.angusreid.com>.
 27. Bloc Québécois, *Le Québec gagne à voter Bloc* (Montreal, 2000; English version). Accessed online at <http://www.blocquebecois.org>. Sovereignty is mentioned only once, at the beginning of the pamphlet, in an excerpt from the BQ's declaration of principles. The thrust of the document concerns the Bloc's role in defending Quebec's interests within the federal system and in holding the federal Liberals accountable, just as an opposition party should do. For an insightful analysis of the 2000 federal election campaign, and the relatively minor role played by the issue of sovereignty, see Stephen Clarkson, "The Liberal Threepeat: The Multi-System Party in the Multi-Party System," in *The Canadian General Election of 2000*, ed. Jon H. Pammett and Christopher Dornan. (Toronto: The Dundurn Group, 2001), 13–57.
 28. Claire Durand, a sociologist at the Université de Montréal, argues that pollsters systematically underestimate Liberal support in Quebec, perhaps (though this is only speculative) because respondents in surveys are reluctant to admit to supporting the federalist party. In 2000, the underestimation of Liberal support, when all polls were averaged together, was approximately 4 percent. See Durand's paper, "Electoral Surveys in the 2000 Canadian Campaign: How Did They Really Fare?" <http://www.fas.umontreal.ca/socio/durandc/menurecherche.htm>, n.d.
 29. André Bernard, "The Bloc Québécois," in Pammett and Dornan, *Canadian General Election of 2000*, 139–40.

30. The three defectors were André Harvey in Chicoutimi, David Price in Compton-Stanstead, and Diane St.-Jacques in Shefford.
31. In spite of this pronounced decline, Quebec still had the third-highest turnout among the provinces and territories in the 2000 election. Only Prince Edward Island (72.7 percent) and New Brunswick (67.7) registered higher turnout rates. I have calculated Quebec turnout rates from raw data supplied by Elections Canada. There is a very slight difference (one-tenth of one percent) between the figures for Quebec voter turnout reported in the *Official Voting Results* for the 37th General Election and those calculated from the raw data.
32. Bernard, "The Bloc Québécois," 141.
33. Édith Brochu and Louis Massicotte, "Élections fédérales de novembre: Coup de loupe sur un scrutin," *Le Devoir*, February 26, 2002, A7.
34. Don Macpherson, "The Evil of Two Lessers: Neither Liberals nor the Bloc Can Hold Heads High as Apathy Ruled in Quebec," *Montreal Gazette*, November 29, 2000.
35. Michaud made his remarks—inter alia, he claimed that Jews feel that they are the only people to have suffered in the history of humanity—in a radio interview in early December and repeated them in testimony before the Estates-General on the Situation and Future of the French Language in Quebec. I have written in greater detail about the Michaud Affair in "Sclerosis or a Clean Bill of Health? Diagnosing Quebec's Party System in the 21st Century," in *Quebec: State and Society*, ed. Alain-G. Gagnon, 3rd ed. (Peterborough, Ont: Broadview Press, 2004).
36. Québec, Premier ministre, "Allocution à l'occasion de la démission du premier ministre du Québec," January 11, 2001. Available at the website of the Association internationale des études québécoises. <http://www.aieq.qc.ca/bouchard.htm>.
37. This remark was actually made before Landry officially became leader of the PQ, in January 2001, at a party caucus meeting.

- Landry's outburst was occasioned by the federal government's offer of an \$18 million subsidy to the province for the renovation of the Aquarium de Québec. One of the strings attached to this money, however, was that the Canadian flag (the "bits of red rag" in question) be allowed to fly and bilingual signs be posted at the renovated site. This offer prompted Landry's crude metaphor.
38. The data on "Referendum Voting Intentions" are available at Léger Marketing's website, <http://www.legermarketing.com/english/set.html>. Sample size was generally close to 1,000, and the surveys were conducted approximately 10 or so times each year. The margin of error for a sample this size is +/-3.5 percent, 19 times out of 20.
 39. Léger Marketing, "Opinions of Quebecers toward Provincial Politics and More Particularly the ADQ," May 2002. <http://www.legermarketing.com/english/set.html>. Sample size was 1,001, with a margin of error of +/- 3.5 percent, 19 times out of 20.
 40. Léger Marketing finds that the ADQ and the Quebec Liberals are running neck and neck, with 35 percent of voters saying that they would vote Liberal if a provincial election were to be held and 32 percent supporting the ADQ (the PQ stands at 26 percent). See "Opinions of Quebecers Toward Provincial Politics," May 2002.
 41. See Lisée's book, *Sortie de secours* (Montreal: Boréal, 2000). For commentary on the Lisée proposal, see Gordon Gibson, "Will Separatists Settle for a Half a Loaf?" *National Post*, January 18, 2001. Online at <http://www.vigile.net/01-1/gibson.html>. See also Alexander Panetta, "PQ Strongly Considers Referendum to Ask Ottawa for More Cash: Landry," *Montreal Gazette*, June 4, 2002.
 42. Québec, Commission des États généraux sur la situation et l'avenir de la langue française au Québec, *Le français, une langue pour tout le monde* (Québec, 2001), 12 (my translation).
 43. Shawn McCarthy, "Shut Down Campaign, PM Orders Martin," *Globe and Mail*, May 31, 2002, A1.

CHAPTER 6

1. Matthew Stevenson, "Canada's Other Brain Drain: The Continuing Exodus from Quebec," *Political Options/Options Politiques* (October 2000): 63–66, page 64, www.irpg.org/po/archive/oct00/stevenso.pdf.
2. Richard Rodriguez, *Brown: The Last Discovery of America* (New York: Viking, 2002) 94, 103, 105, and 108.
3. Rodriguez, *Brown*, 110.
4. "Carnaval Celebrants Grin and Bare It Despite S.F. Fog," *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 27, 2002, B1.
5. Robert E. Chenard, "Historical Perspective on Waterville's 19C Franco-Americans," <http://members.mint.net/frenchcx/frcanwtv/htm>.
6. Roger Roy, "An Analysis of the Assimilation of French-Canadian Language and Culture into American Language and Culture: How French-Canadian Became Franco-American and then Became Invisible" (Graduate research essay for EDU 690 Social Context of Higher Education, University of Maine).
7. Juliana L'Hereux, "North American French as an Academic Subject." www.happyones.com/franco-american/Julian/North-American-French.htm.
8. Ilan Stavans, "Spanglish: Tickling the Tongue," *World Literature Today* 74.3 (Summer 2000): 555.
9. "Tom, Tom and Julia . . . The Names Say It All," *Globe and Mail*, February 6, 2000, R2.
10. Neva Chonin, "Morissette Does Her Own Thing," *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 7, 2002, D3.
11. Neva Chonin, "Furtado in Control at Warfield," *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 16, 2002, D1.
12. Paula Martinac, *k.d. lang* (Philadelphia: Chelsea House, 1997), 89.
13. Quoted in David Bennahum, ed., *In her own words: k.d. lang* (New York: Omnibus, 1995), 18.

14. Bennahum, *In her own words*, 7.
15. "Celine's New Album," *Globe and Mail*. February 7, 2002, R2.
16. Tim Goodman, "Families, Frisco Formulas for Fall," *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 27, 2002, D1.
17. Jonathan Curiel, "Lack of TV Diversity Hit," *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 15, 2002, A2.
18. Mireya Navarro, "Hollywood's Dirty Little Broom Closet," *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 17, 2002, D13.
19. Rodriguez, *Brown*, 117.
20. Andrew Mollison, "Researchers Attack Bush's Education Reforms," *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 16, 2002, A4.
21. Ibid.
22. Mary Jordan, "Fewer Migrants Caught on Border," *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 24, 2002, A14.
23. "INS Unveils New Plan, Devices for Border," *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 24, 2002, A9.
24. Quoted in Mireya Navarro, "Hollywood's Dirty Little Broom Closet," *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 17, 2002, D13.
25. "More People Say That They're Just 'Americans,'" *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 8, 2002, A8.
26. Anthony Walton, rev. of *Brown: The Last Discovery of America* by Richard Rodriguez, *New York Times Book Review*, April 7, 2002, 7.
27. Rodriguez, *Brown*, xii.
28. Rodriguez, *Brown*, 164.

CHAPTER 7

1. Anthony DePalma, *Here: A Biography of the New American Continent* (New York: Public Affairs, 2001), 354.
2. Seymour M. Lipset, *Continental Divide: The Values and Institutions of the United States and Canada* (Washington, D.C.: Canadian-American Committee, 1989).
3. Seymour M. Lipset, *Revolution and Counterrevolution: Change and*

Persistence in Social Structures (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Books, 1988).

4. James Laxer, *Discovering America: Travels in the Land of Guns, God, and Corporate Gurus* (New York: New Press, 2001). See also, Neil Nevitte, *The Decline of Deference: Canadian Value Change in Cross-National Perspective* (Peterborough, Ont.: Broadview Press, 1996).
5. For a fuller description of this analysis, see Stephen Brooks, "A Tale of Two Elections: What the Leaders' Rhetoric from the 2000 Election Tells Us about Can-Am Political Culture Differences" (paper delivered at the Biennial Meeting of the Canadian Studies in the United States, San Antonio, Tex., November 2001). Readers may also contact the author at brooks3@uwindsor.ca.

CHAPTER 8

1. Ray C. Fair, <http://fairmodel.econ.yale.edu/>. Randall L. Jones Jr., *Who Will Be in the White House: Predicting Presidential Elections* (New York: Longman, 2002), and James E. Campbell and James C. Garand, eds., *Before the Vote: Forecasting American Election Politics* (Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications, 2000).
2. Jones, *Who Will Be in the White House*, chapters 8 and 9.
3. Fair, <http://fairmodel.econ.yale.edu/>.
4. Mark J. Kasoff and Christine Drennen, eds., *Canada: A Fractured Political Landscape*, Canadian Studies Center, Bowling Green State University, Bowling Green, Ohio, 1994.
5. Jones, *Who Will Be in the White House*, 79.
6. *National Post*, April 29, 2002.
7. *Globe and Mail*, April 29, 2002.
8. United Press International, September 10, 2001.
9. *National Post*, April 29, 2002.
10. Earl H. Fry and Jared Bybee, *NAFTA 2002: A Cost/Benefit Analy-*

- sis for the United States, Canada and Mexico* (Canadian-American Center, University of Maine, Orono, 2002).
11. Nick Schultz, "Canadian Energy Policy and Trade with the United States," in Kasoff and Drennen, 2003.
 12. Michel Tremblay, "Hydro-Québec and TransÉnergie: Continuity in a Changing Environment," in Kasoff and Drennen, 2003.
 13. *Wall Street Journal*, April 24, 2002.
 14. *AuCanada*, "Bruising Battle over Tomatoes," Canadian Studies Center, Bowling Green State University, Bowling Green, Ohio, 2002.
 15. *National Post*, April 29, 2002.
 16. *Globe and Mail*, May 22, 2002.
 17. *Globe and Mail*, April 25, 2002; Federal Reserve Bank of Cleveland, *Economic Trends*, May 2002.
 18. *Globe and Mail*, March 6, 2002.

CHAPTER 9

1. Jorge Castañeda, "El nuevo activismo internacional mexicano," *Reforma*, September 23, 2001a, Section Enfoque 15–17; "Los ejes de la política exterior," *Nexos* 23 no. 288 (December 2001b) 66–74; and "El factor externo y consolidación de la democracia en México," *Reforma*, February 24, 2002, 10A.
2. For Castañeda's critical view on U.S.-Mexican relations before becoming minister of foreign affairs, see Castañeda, 1996.
3. Robert Pastor has made an effort to articulate a greater post-NAFTA vision for North America. He advocates institutional deepening, among other things, in order to deal with continental problems that hitherto were handled under national or bilateral agendas. However, Pastor's position does not represent the official positions of any NAFTA members. See Robert Pastor, *Toward a North American Community* (Washington, D.C.: Institute for International Economics, 2001).

4. For a comprehensive view of migratory problems between Mexico and the U.S. see SRE, 1997.
5. George Bush, *The Department of Homeland Security*, www.whitehouse.gov/homeland/, 2002a.
6. “Estrategia nacional para la seguridad del territorio nacional. Resumen ejecutivo,” Office of the Press Secretary, www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2002/07/200207-16.es.html. 2002; and George Bush, “Securing the Homeland and Strengthening the Nation,” www.whitehouse.gov/homeland/, 2002b.
7. Eduardo Sojo, et al., “Sociedad para la Prosperidad: Reporte a los Presidentes Vicente Fox y George Bush,” Monterrey, Mexico, March 22, 2002, electronic copy.
8. A declaration was released from a top official of that ministry, suggesting that Mexico was considering bringing the case before the Inter-American Human Rights Commission, but eventually did not.
9. Mr. Castañeda’s most recent address before the General Assembly of the United Nations, condemning any unilateral action against Iraq in the global war against terrorism, suggests that Mexico is heading in that direction. See *Reforma*, September 14, 2002.

CHAPTER 10

1. Alvaro Artiga, *La Política y los Sistemas de Partidos en Centroamérica*, (San Salvador: 2000).
2. Manuel Orozco, *International Norms and Mobilization of Democracy*, (London: Ashgate, 2002).
3. Graeme Gill, *The Dynamics of Democratization: Elites, Civil Society and the Transition Process* (New York: St Martin’s Press, 2000).
4. “Aleman llama a Ortega a concertar pacto de gobernabilidad en Nicaragua,” *La Prensa* (Honduras), November 23, 1996, <http://www.laprensahn.com/caarc/9611/c23002.htm>.

5. Both had resigned from their positions; their continuation was not desired by the new members. Moreover, they were not interested in supporting the new establishment.
6. "Desconfianza impera en el ámbito pre-electoral" *Inforpress Centroamericana*, July 28, 2000.
7. The extent of corruption in Aleman's government is the subject of another paper. However, suffice it to say that in 1999 the comptroller had identified a number of anomalies and abuses of government resources on behalf of the president. The most public case was the use of resources to build infrastructure at the president's farm, La Chilamapa, the construction of a special road leading to the president's home, and a number of contracts. His wealth was estimated to have increased by millions of dollars. *Confidencial* (Managua) 5, no. 206, August 27–September 2, 2000.
8. "A Society Scandalized," *Envio* (June 2000).
9. "The Air is Thick with Electoral Fraud," *Envio* (July 2000).
10. "Indeciso proceso electoral en marcha," *Inforpress Centroamericana* (Guatemala), April 28, 2000.
11. "Entre Partidos te veas: candente ambiente pre electoral" *Inforpress Centroamericana* (Guatemala), August 18, 2000.
12. "Renuncia evidencia lucha por el poder" *Inforpress Centroamericana* (Guatemala), May 26, 2000.
13. "Contraloría va contra Solórzano," *La Prensa* (Managua), October 11, 2000.
14. Consuelo Sandoval and Nidia Ruiz López, "Solórzano sorprende a políticos," *La Prensa* (Managua), March 17, 2001.
15. "No tengo la alternativa ideal," *Confidencial* (Managua) 5, no. 206, August 27–September 2, 2000. In late March 2001 Daniel Ortega announced the endorsement of Jarquín and the alliance with the Christian Way.
16. "Presidente Alemán admite desgaste," *La Prensa* (Managua), October 19, 2000.

17. "Renuncian candidatos conservadores," *La Prensa*, July 17, 2001.
18. A poll showed that Ortega had the lead in the election with 31 percent. Shortly after this poll, he endorsed the alliance with the Christian Way. "Encuesta nacional de CINCO: Ningún ganador a la vista," *Confidencial*, 233, March 18–24, 2001.
19. "Milagro Electoral de Enrique Bolaños," interview with Victor Borge (Borge y Asociados) by Adolfo Pastran, August 9, 2001.
20. John Peeler, *Building Democracy in Latin America* (Boulder: Lynn Reiner, 1998), 174.
21. Edelberto Torres Rivas, *Costa Rica crisis y desafíos* (San José: Departamento Ecueménico de Investigaciones [DEI], 1987).
22. Eliana Franco and Carlos Sojo, *Gobierno, Empresarios y políticas de ajuste* (San José: FLACSO, 1992).
23. "Pactos, descrédito, inestabilidad" *La Nación* (San José) 1995.
24. "Modelo económico impulsa crecimiento con pobreza," *Inforpress Centroamericana*, December 1, 2000.
25. Araya joined the party very young, was president of the youth movement, legislator, minister, and president of the party.
26. "Complicado panorama para elecciones," *Inforpress Centroamericana* (Guatemala) June 22, 2001.
27. INCEP, *Reporte Político/Panorama Centroamericano No. 171: Llegaron las internas partidarias para designación de candidatos*, Guatemala, June 2001, 5.
28. *Inforpress*, June 2001.
29. IDESPO, *La población costarricense del gran area metropolitana frente a su participación ciudadana y sus valores políticos*, Heredia: IDESPO, May 23, 2001.
30. Juan Manuel Villasuso, Jenny Díaz, and Laura Chinchilla, *Gobernabilidad democrática y seguridad ciudadana: El Caso de Costa Rica* (Managua: CRIES, 2000).
31. Florisabel Rodríguez (Director of Procesos), interview by author, March 22, 2002.

32. Jorge Rovira Mas, *La democracia de Costa Rica ante el siglo XXI*, San José: FLACSO, 2000.
33. Carlos Sojo (director of FLASCO), interview by author, San José, Costa Rica, March 21, 2000.
34. Cecilia Cortes (Director of Funpadem), interview by author, San José, Costa Rica, March 23, 2002.
35. Rodríguez interview.
36. "Liberales aceptan inscribir a Maduro," *Inforpress Centroamericana* (Honduras), March 2, 2001.

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