

PART III

Cultural and Economic Forces

## CHAPTER 6

### My Heart Will Go on Living *la Vida Loca*: The Cultural Impact on the United States of Canada and Mexico

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THE MOVIE *TITANIC* ENJOYED WORLDWIDE POPULARITY, but it also seemed to provide an excellent example of cultural interaction and cooperation accomplished without concern about cultural boundaries in North America. This movie, a Hollywood production about the sinking of a British ship, was directed by Canadian-American James Cameron, featured Québécois diva Celine Dion singing the theme song in her distinct Francophone accent, and was filmed mostly in Mexico, where the model ship was built. Perhaps such borderless cultural production might become a model for North Americans in the future, showing the harmonious blending of three different, yet related, cultural arenas. Upon closer examination, this model proves entirely too simplistic to demonstrate how the United States interacts with its two nearest neighbors and what their cultural impact is on the U.S.

Through the examination of patterns in immigration and language usage and exploration of the transformation of ethnic iden-

tities through American popular culture, we intend to determine those cultural impacts so far. By discussing the ways in which Canadian Americans and Mexican Americans are represented and viewed in the United States through these cultural markers, we will note the extent to which such socially constructed identities contribute to a new North American identity.

Immigration patterns, which give us a sense of who in the United States might be bringing cultural changes from their countries of origin, indicate that more Mexicans than Canadians come to the United States and that they tend to be less educated. Acceptance of language from Canada and Mexico reflects recent, if slow, trends toward greater acceptance of multiculturalism and awareness that language models the world for its speakers. The marker most readily apparent to a society at large, popular culture, shows a flourishing, if invisible, presence of Canadian involvement and an increasing visibility of Mexican American contributions to American culture.

We will also consider two particular initiatives since the 2000 election that will likely have a major impact on how immigrants, especially those from Mexico, interact with the larger culture: George W. Bush's No Child Left Behind Act and recent changes announced by the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service regarding rescue of illegal immigrants along the U.S.-Mexican border.

### IMMIGRATION FROM CANADA AND MEXICO

A look at the immigration numbers in the United States makes it clear that many more people in the U.S. claim Mexican origin than Canadian. In the 1990 U.S. census (comparable data from the 2000 census was not available at the time of writing) 560,000 respondents described themselves as having undifferentiated Canadian ancestry, and 2,835,398 claimed French Canadian ancestry.

One of the hotly debated issues in Canada is the so-called “brain drain” of well-educated professionals to the United States. According to Statistics Canada for 1996, 49 percent of Canadian immigrants to the U.S. had university degrees. Furthermore, one in every thousand Canadian managerial workers and computer scientists, three in every thousand engineers, and five in every thousand doctors had recently immigrated permanently to the United States.

These statistics may seem alarming from a Canadian perspective, although Matthew Stevenson has pointed out that the approximately 180,000 Canadians who immigrated to the United States during the 1990s actually represent a downward trend. An almost equal number have come here under the transnational (TN) visas allowed under NAFTA. However, almost half of the immigrants return to Canada after five years.<sup>1</sup> While the brain drain may be a problem for Canada, it is a situation that clearly benefits the United States, providing a well-educated cadre that does not necessarily wish to stay in the States permanently.

### **FRENCH CANADIAN PRESENCE IN THE UNITED STATES**

Just as Francophone Canadians constitute a “distinct society” within Canada, they are also present as a distinct group among Canadian immigrants in the United States. The highest concentration of people claiming French Canadian ancestry lives in New England. Almost 25 percent of Maine’s population has French Canadian ancestry. This is not surprising, since drawing the 45th parallel across the state shows that two thirds of the state falls within the radius of Quebec and New Brunswick, both once part of New France. French Canadians have also scattered throughout the other New England states and New York. Although their presence is acknowledged, it is not easily recognized because many

have anglicized their French surnames and they tend not to speak French on an everyday basis.

A more distinct version of the French presence exists in Louisiana. The Cajun patois is descended from the language brought from New France by the Acadians. Cajun cooking, popularized by New Orleans chef Paul Prudhomme, and zydeco music have become familiar to millions in mainstream American culture. An award-winning mystery series written by author James Lee Burke featuring a Cajun investigator, Dave Robicheaux, intrigues fans across the nation. Cajun culture, although no longer closely connected to its origins, retains a distinctiveness that has certain similarities to the distinctiveness of Mexican American culture in the Southwest.

### **HISPANICS OF MEXICAN DESCENT IN THE UNITED STATES**

In the larger U.S. popular culture, the three major distinct Hispanic groups—Mexicans, Cubans, and Puerto Ricans—are seldom differentiated. “Hispanic” itself is a word created by bureaucracy during the Nixon administration, a bureaucracy which also divided Americans into five colors: white, black, yellow (Asian/Pacific Islander), red (Native American/Eskimo), and brown (Hispanic).<sup>2</sup> The term Hispanic is often eschewed in favor of the word “Latino,” yet “Hispanic” can be seen as a term that constructs a link between cultures: “To call oneself Hispanic is to admit a relationship to Latin America in English.”<sup>3</sup> One reason for the proliferation of Hispanic (or Latino) writers is the steady development of Hispanic Studies programs around the United States. As the Latino population continues to increase, so will such studies and the attendant increase in awareness of the impact of Hispanic/Latino culture in the United States. Yet as with all labels, we must be careful not to stereotype: Richard Rodriguez

writes that he “sees only diversity among the millions of people who call themselves Hispanic.”

According to the 2000 census, 12.5 percent of the U.S. national population is Hispanic. The census data also tells us that Mexico is, without question, the country of origin for the largest number of immigrants among the Hispanic groups: two-thirds of Hispanics in the United States are of Mexican origin (66.1 percent: 21.6 million). Mexican Americans tend to fall into a lower socio-economic group than Canadian Americans, as census data shows: while 49.7 percent have high school diplomas, 33 percent of Mexican Americans have less than a ninth-grade education. Only 7.1 percent of this group boast bachelor’s degrees, but 35.4 percent of its children live in poverty.

The first generation of immigrants, undoubtedly like their Canadian counterparts, comes because they hope for better lives. However, they come from a poorer, less-educated segment of the Mexican population, and this extends into the second generation, reflected in the fact that 25.8 percent of the Mexican-born population in the United States remains at the poverty level. This segment of the population has the second highest poverty rate among immigrants. Unlike Canadian immigrants, those from Mexico often need more help from social services, increasing their visibility in the public sector.

Mexican immigrants have brought Mexican culture to the southwestern part of the United States and beyond. Tex-Mex cuisine has long been popular in the border states. Mexican restaurants have proliferated, and Mexican foods such as chili peppers and tortillas are now readily available in many chain supermarkets. More recently, Chef Mark Miller’s Southwestern Cuisine, nouvelle cooking with Mexican roots, has spread from his Coyote Café in Santa Fe, New Mexico, opened in 1987, to a larger audience through his cookbooks and widely available Coyote Cocina brand products. Fiestas such as San Francisco’s Carnaval, which

drew 125,000 people in May 2002, celebrate and increase awareness of Latino culture.<sup>4</sup>

### *Language Issues: French*

Language constructs reality for those who speak it. Whereas recent immigrants generally continue to use their native languages, succeeding generations often assimilate linguistically, becoming bilingual or losing the language of their immigrant ancestors entirely. This is equally true of successive generations of both French- and Spanish-speaking immigrants.

According to the 1990 census, 17,143,907 Americans are of French Canadian descent. This number is considerably larger than the number who actually declare their ancestry as French Canadian. Historically, to be of French Canadian origin was not a point of pride in New England, and many people anglicized their family names and left their origins behind. Margaret Chase Smith, for example, never identified herself as being of French Canadian descent, but her mother's surname, Morin, had been anglicized to Murray.<sup>5</sup> Some 1,930,404 Americans speak some French at home. Massachusetts has the largest number of people calling French their mother tongue, but even if one includes occasional French speakers, the number in the United States comprises only 0.78 percent of the population. It is not surprising, then, that French Canadian culture has had a limited cultural impact even in the Northeast.

Efforts to revive French are limited. As part of the public school system curriculum, there are four French immersion elementary schools in Maine, located in Van Buren, Madawaska, St. Agatha, and Frenchville. In these schools, some classes are taught in French and specific cultural connections are explored. While other immersion schools exist in places such as Berkeley, California, and in the Washington, D.C., area, where interest in bilin-

gualism is strong, they do not emphasize any connections to French Canada. In fact, "Joual," the Québécois vernacular French, has not generally been included in university French departments because it has been considered substandard. Its expression as a specific "North American French" has largely been discounted. There is, nevertheless, new hope for Franco-American recognition under the "Ethnic Studies" umbrella. For example, at the University of Maine there is now a Franco-American Studies Program.<sup>6</sup> The State University of New York (SUNY) at Albany has undertaken a Franco-American Database Project. The National Science Foundation is supporting a three-year study by Jane Smith of the University of Maine and Cynthia Fox of SUNY/Albany on the use of "North American French" in eight New England communities.<sup>7</sup> Other schools such as our own institutions, Saint Mary's College of California and the University of Akron, have introduced individual courses with titles such as "French in the New World" and "French-Canadian Literature," which reflect increased interest in literature written in French in the Americas. How much this will increase the awareness of French Canadian culture within the larger American culture remains to be seen.

#### *Language Issues: Spanish*

Spanish is clearly more commonly used in the United States than is French. Spanish-language television and radio stations, bilingual ballots, bilingual education, and ATM machines and voice mail that offer users the choice of English or Spanish reflect increasing acceptance of Spanish as a language commonly spoken in the United States. In March 2000, the Texas gubernatorial debate was held in English and Spanish.

However, there are signs that this may change, depending on immigration rates and assimilation by Mexican Americans into the larger linguistic culture. Third-generation Mexican Americans,



two thirds of whom speak no Spanish, form the fastest growing segment of the Hispanic population in the United States. Their numbers are expected to triple by 2040. Not too surprisingly, then, a 1998 Spanish-language version of *The Emperor's New Groove* was pulled from theaters for lack of interest, and in 2002 an English-language radio station in southern California, KROQ, claimed a 40 percent Latino audience.

It is not likely, however, given continued immigration and continued areas with high concentrations of Spanish-speaking people (Hispanics comprise 32.4 percent of the population of California, and 44.6 percent of the population of Los Angeles County, according to the 2000 census), that this trend will eliminate Spanish as an important language, especially in the Southwest. Spanglish, the mainly spoken but, increasingly, written language that adds English words to Spanish (not unlike the transformation of French into Cajun in Louisiana or the increasing use of "Franglais" in Quebec, particularly in Montreal), may become more prevalent as the diaspora of Spanish speakers continues in the United States. "As an underground vehicle of communication, [Spanglish] has been around for over 150 years at least" and serves as "a bridge of sorts that unites the Latino community in the United States."<sup>8</sup>

### **CANADA AND MEXICO IN U.S. POPULAR CULTURE**

In another era, images of Dudley Do-Right and Speedy Gonzales might have served as a suitable introduction to a discussion of Canada and Mexico in U.S. popular culture. We have come a certain distance since then, although perhaps not as far as we would like to think. Over the last decade Americans have become increasingly aware of people of Canadian and Mexican origins among the population, for reasons that have as much to do with

societal shifts in cultural awareness as they do with NAFTA and the recent elections. For example, there has been a surge in published work by Mexican American authors since the publication, more than two decades ago, of *Bless Me, Ultima* by Rudolfo Anaya. The growing list of Mexican American writers includes Sandra Cisneros and Denise Chavez, both of whose fiction is primarily about Chicanas in the United States. The experience of being Mexican in the United States is a shared concern amongst most Mexican American writers: Mexican American literature, ranging from the poetry of Francisco Alarcon to the plays of Cherríe Moraga, renders visible the lives of this ethnic group within the larger American culture.

Although many Canadian writers, including, for instance, Margaret Atwood, Robertson Davies, Alice Munro, and Michael Ondaatje, are recognized in the United States, the presence of Canadian American writers is more muted. Writers such as Jack Kerouac, Grace Metalious, and Annie Proulx are seldom identified as having Canadian roots. Of the three, only Proulx writes of Canada (in *The Shipping News*), but not of the experience of being Canadian in the United States.

In films and television, we have a dichotomy between Anglophone and Francophone cultural icons. English-Canadian film celebrities melt into the larger American culture: Dan Ackroyd, Leslie Nielsen, John Candy, Pamela Anderson, Jim Carrey, Michael J. Fox, Donald Sutherland, Keanu Reeves, William Shatner—none is thought of primarily as a “Canadian American.” Carrey ranks among the top ten actors in Hollywood in terms of ability to assure financing, distribution, and huge box office receipts for any film they make.<sup>9</sup> The language barrier appears to have precluded the development of a similar roster of film celebrities from Quebec, with Genevieve Bujold serving as the exception that proves the rule.

The same holds true for entertainers. Nellie Furtado is the latest in a long line of Canadian singers assimilated into U.S. entertainment culture whether or not they live in the United States; among them are Shania Twain, Alanis Morissette, Joni Mitchell, Sarah McLachlan, Neil Young, Diana Krall, Leonard Cohen, and k.d. lang. A review of a recent concert by Alanis Morissette in the San Francisco area speaks of “her eccentric muse,” without noting that she’s Canadian.<sup>10</sup> The same San Francisco reviewer praises Nelly Furtado for “deftly packaging diverse influences into a pop formula” that merges “indie rock, R&B, hip-hop and Portuguese and other world musics,” but doesn’t mention Canada.<sup>11</sup> k.d. lang continues a trend toward feminism in American country music that goes back at least as far as Loretta Lynn; however, as the first country music star to question heterosexuality through both her appearance and music, she has also brought something new to Nashville.<sup>12</sup> lang notes that being “alternative” is not a drawback: “If I’d been an ordinary singer, I’d still be trying to get noticed in Canada.”<sup>13</sup> Instead, lang has become an international “symbol for acceptance and freedom,” a celebrity whose sexual orientation overshadows her Canadian ethnicity.<sup>14</sup> All of these singers easily blend into the larger American entertainment scene.

On the other hand, Celine Dion and Le Cirque du Soleil, differentiated by language, retain distinctiveness. Yet when Celine Dion’s rendition of “God Bless America” became a big hit after September 11, 2001, few questioned the right of a Québécois diva who has sold more than 140 million albums worldwide to sing an American anthem.<sup>15</sup> Given that she also sang the universally adored and ubiquitously played *Titanic* theme song, “My Heart Will Go On,” and has now signed a multi-year contract to perform in Las Vegas, it may be that Dion has transcended her Quebec roots and been subsumed into the American fold, a familiar phenomenon in this country.

Many of the Canadians well known in the popular culture of the United States have life stories that seem to fit into the template of the American Dream. Jim Carrey, for example, who dropped out of school to help support his parents and siblings, fits the rags-to-riches pattern. Similarly, Shania Twain sang to support her siblings after her mother and stepfather were killed in an accident; her current stardom is another example of that story. Celine Dion, the youngest of fourteen children, needed a beauty makeover before her singing talents could shine forth for a wider audience; although arthritis of the spine requires a massage therapist to travel with her, she continues to perform, illustrating both the Cinderella story and the American work ethic. Sarah McLachlan also exemplifies the American Dream: an adopted child, she began classical music training as a young child and studied piano, guitar, and voice for years before beginning her career. Even k.d. lang's alternative vision can be constructed as an example of the American virtue of individualism. Because Americans construct these stars in their own cultural likenesses, their ethnicity reinforces Americans' vision of themselves rather than challenging it.

Mexican American entertainers, on the other hand, are differentiated from the mass of popular cultural icons by language and by their expression of Latino, rather than mainstream American, culture: Ricky Martin and Jennifer Lopez, a Latina Pamela Anderson, both exude the kind of sexuality characterized as "Latin charm." Yet saying that indicates that those two represent one particular Hispanic stereotype, probably one that, like most stereotypes, obscures individuality as it attempts to classify many members of an ethnic group by salient traits of one or two highly visible people from that group.

Over the last decade, Mexican American actors, like their counterparts in other areas of popular culture, are invariably cast in roles reflecting their heritage. Consider the new PBS series *An*

*American Family*, which features an extended Mexican American family played by several well-established Mexican American actors, including Raquel Welch. Reflecting the kind of interchangeability of the various Hispanic groups in the American imaginary, however, we also see actors like Esai Morales, born in Brooklyn of Puerto Rican parents, playing the role of the elder son in this family. The series focuses on what it's like to be Mexican American in southern California, although the plight of other Hispanic groups, most notably illegal immigrants from Central America, are highlighted episodically. In fall 2002, "WB's *Greetings from Tucson* will join ABC's *George Lopez* as the second Latino family comedy."<sup>16</sup> Television shows tend to have homogeneous casts: all white, all African American, all Latino, perpetuating an image of racial segregation. Latino representation in American TV shows increased from 2 to 4 percent in the 2001–2, "season, yet most of these actors had secondary roles in which they were "overrepresented as service workers, unskilled laborers, and criminals."<sup>17</sup> Latino actors may now be targeted for the roles that once stereotyped African Americans because of a lack of organized pressure groups and because "maids, gardeners, parking valets and restaurant workers may be the only Latinos those in charge of the shows know." "It's their continued perspective of who we are," observes Latin actress Lupe Ontiveros, who says she has to assume an accent she doesn't have in order to get parts.<sup>18</sup> The repeated representation perpetuates a stereotype that reflects only one small aspect of Latino culture in the United States.

The same differentiation exists between Canadian Americans and Mexican Americans in television journalism. When we think of Canadian-born journalists such as Peter Jennings, Morley Safer, and Robert McNeil, their country of origin is incidental. (In an example that is the exact opposite of Celine Dion's reception for singing "God Bless America," however, Jennings was excoriated by viewers in mid-May 2002 when he refused to allow a country music singer to per-

form a blatantly hawkish song during a Flag Day program on ABC; callers to the morning C-SPAN show denounced Jennings as a mere “Canadian” and reiterated the typical exhortation for him “to go back where he came from.”) In contrast, journalists of Mexican origin such as Richard Rodriguez and Linda Chavez tend to be viewed as spokespersons for their ethnic group. Perhaps only Ray Suarez of PBS has transcended this tendency.

In general, one can conclude that Canadian Americans, unless their language reveals their origins, form an invisible minority and can choose to keep their identity “closeted” within the larger American culture. As a visible segment of the population, Mexican Americans frequently have their origins spotlighted, whether they want this distinction or not. Speaking perfect English often proves insufficient to allow them to assimilate fully. Their visible presence within American culture, unlike the nearly invisible Canadian presence, challenges the culture to rethink old stereotypes and construct a new cultural identity to acknowledge a changing situation.

### IMPACT ON TRANSNATIONAL RELATIONS

The presence of the Spanish language and Hispanic culture in the United States can, in certain ways, be contrasted to Quebec’s language and cultural presence in Canada. Although there is no official sanction or deliberate effort on its behalf, Hispanic language and culture have pervaded American popular culture in a way that the French language and Québécois culture have not extended across Canada. This may be because the Hispanic presence is not bound to one specific region and also because there are three distinct, yet fluid, groups of Hispanics in the United States. Hispanics within the United States also construct a new, more transnational identity for themselves: “What Hispanic immigrants learn within the United States is to view themselves in a new way,

as belonging to Latin America entire—precisely at the moment that they no longer do,” writes Richard Rodriguez, the son of Mexican immigrants to California. In addition, Rodriguez notes that Americans’ self-construction has altered in response to an enlarging Hispanic presence: “Because of Hispanics, Americans are coming to see the United States in terms of a latitudinal vector, in terms of south-north, hot-cold, a new way of placing ourselves in the twenty-first century.”<sup>19</sup> We might add that Canadians are also contributing to overlaying the traditional east-west image with a north-south one.

### THE “NO CHILD LEFT BEHIND” ACT

Although this discussion so far has covered a longer period, one initiative resulting from the 2000 election may have a significant impact on Mexican Americans as well as other groups. The bipartisan No Child Left Behind Act requires annual testing of all public school students in grades three through eight. Some analysts anticipate potential negative effects for Latinos and other minorities, including lower graduation and promotion rates, rising dropout rates, excessive emphasis on test practice, and not enough emphasis on thinking and analytic skills.<sup>20</sup> These factors could have a negative impact on the efforts of immigrant groups to increase their opportunities in the United States through education. Some experts favor a “multiple assessments” system in which additional information about a student’s performance is collected to contextualize low test scores. Others contend that this act will force school districts to work harder to educate minority students, since scores of minority students must both be included in the school’s average and reported separately.<sup>21</sup> Although the impact of the No Child Left Behind Act is not clear at this point, it definitely bears watching.

## **INS RESPONSE TO PROBLEMS ON THE MEXICAN BORDER**

Both heightened security concerns since September 11 and humanitarian concerns have prompted recent changes along the U.S.-Mexican border. Not all immigration from Mexico is legal. Over 1.6 million people were apprehended crossing the border illegally in 2000. In 2001, the number dropped to 1.2 million, a level not seen since the early 1990s. In 2000, 377 people died crossing the border; the number declined to 336 in 2001, and statistics for the first five months of 2002 suggest a further decline in deaths. On May 24, 2002, INS Commissioner James Ziglar announced that “the INS was installing six 30-foot tall rescue beacons” visible for thirty miles near areas where many deaths from desert heat have occurred. “If a migrant in distress can make it to the beacon and push a button, a rescue helicopter will be dispatched.”<sup>22</sup> In addition, Hovercraft, horseback units, and “non-lethal pepper ball launchers” will be deployed along with increased helicopter surveillance in efforts to “heighten security and safety.”<sup>23</sup>

Although questions should be raised about how illegal immigrants, presumably already frightened and wary, might reasonably be expected to react to the idea of pepper balls, lights, and helicopters, stopping deaths along the border seems a precondition to assuring that all who enter the United States from Mexico have a chance at the new life they seek. We can hope that the INS will work to enable those who want to come to the United States to do so legally and safely. At present, however, at the U.S.-Mexican border, a culture of affluence and power confronts a culture of poverty and need—and great courage.

One might also say that the impact of the events of September 11, rather than the 2000 elections, has brought greater visibility to Canadian border crossings. Since that time, many American politicians have been complaining about Canadian laxity and the



need for greater vigilance, especially after it was erroneously reported in the news media that some of the terrorists had entered Maine through Canada. Although no one has yet called for the kinds of stringent policies practiced on the southern border, this new attitude appears to represent a view of Canada as “foreign,” as “other,” that has not been seen in recent times.

### CONCLUSIONS

We can draw some tentative conclusions from the data presented above. First, the “invisibility” of Canadian contributions continues and no doubt will continue as they are subsumed into the larger English-speaking culture. The exception is the small renaissance of French Canadian identity in New England, which may grow as the nation continues its attempt to embrace multiculturalism. The relatively few people in the United States studying French Canadian culture may ultimately make a difference.

Secondly, Mexican Americans continue to assert their presence as a distinct American group even as they assimilate. The considerable expansion of Hispanic studies in the United States (coupled with a much smaller and slower growing expansion of Canadian studies) also suggests that the Mexican American presence will continue to develop greater visibility here. We can hope that Jeff Zucker, president for NBC entertainment, is correct in saying that Hispanic portrayals in the media will evolve to give a fuller picture of Mexican Americans: “As diversity increases, the span of roles increases.”<sup>24</sup>

#### *Impact on the Future*

Data from the 2000 census indicates that the number of people in the United States who identify themselves simply as “American” has increased from 13 million to 20 million, with a particu-

larly evident decline in people claiming European roots. At the same time, the surge in Hispanic immigration in the 1990s may contribute to a reshaping of the American identity.<sup>25</sup> In *Brown: The Last Discovery of America*, Richard Rodriguez suggests that the United States may yet become “brown,” not merely in terms of skin color, but “in terms of culture [and] thought.”<sup>26</sup> Rodriguez writes: “North of the U.S.-Mexico border, brown appears as the color of the future. The adjective accelerates, becomes a verb: ‘America is browning.’” Yet Rodriguez cautions, “I do not propose an easy optimism,” partly because he senses that “African Americans remain at the center of the moral imagination of America.”<sup>27</sup> Some might argue that a *mestizo* culture can be seen as part of a larger hybrid culture, a new melting pot. However, if one takes the many ethnic groups that comprise America into account, including ones from Canada, it is possible to envision the emergence of a North American culture that is neither a *mestizaje* (the term Mexico uses for the marriage of races that comprise its population’s mixture) nor a melting pot nor a mosaic (in which distinct pieces are held in fixed relationships to each other), but a salad bowl: in a salad, the dressing blends individual items and adds special flavor, yet individual entities can interact and alter their relationships easily.<sup>28</sup>

## 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](http://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](http://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](mailto:brooks3@uwindsor.ca).

## CHAPTER 8

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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/](http://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](http://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/](http://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

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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.
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