INFORMATION TO USERS

This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. Each original is also photographed in one exposure and is included in reduced form at the back of the book.

Photographs included in the original manuscript have been reproduced xerographically in this copy. Higher quality 6" x 9" black and white photographic prints are available for any photographs or illustrations appearing in this copy for an additional charge. Contact UMI directly to order.

UMI

A Bell & Howell Information Company
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor MI 48106-1346 USA
313/761-4700 800/521-0600

NOTE TO USERS

The original manuscript received by UMI contains slanted print. All efforts were made to acquire the highest quality manuscript from the author or school. Page(s) were microfilmed as received.

This reproduction is the best copy available

UMI

**REDRAWING THE MAP OF CANADA:
IDENTITY AND COMMUNITY CONSTRUCTIONS IN
THE CITIZENSHIP AND NATIONALIST DISCOURSES OF
THE REFORM PARTY OF CANADA**

by

Tracey Raney, B.A.

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
and Research in partial fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree of Masters of Arts in
Canadian Studies

Carleton University
Ottawa, Ontario
Copyright 1998

National Library
of Canada

Acquisitions and
Bibliographic Services

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Acquisitions et
services bibliographiques

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Your file Votre référence

Our file Notre référence

The author has granted a non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of this thesis in microform, paper or electronic formats.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in this thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's permission.

L'auteur a accordé une licence non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de cette thèse sous la forme de microfiche/film, de reproduction sur papier ou sur format électronique.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège cette thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

0-612-36846-7

Canada

**The undersigned recommend to the Faculty
of Graduate Studies and Research acceptance of the thesis
“Redrawing the Map of Canada: Identity and Community
Constructions in the Citizenship and Nationalist
Discourses of the Reform Party of Canada”**

submitted by Tracey Raney, Hons. B.A.

**in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
the degree of Master of Arts**

.....
Thesis Supervisor

.....
**Director
School of Canadian Studies**

Carleton University

Ottawa, Ontario

August 1998

ABSTRACT

Although the Reform Party of Canada is the Official Opposition Party in Canada, little has been documented on this Party. This thesis explores the Reform Party from a feminist perspective in an effort to contribute to the existing literatures on the Reform Party of Canada, and feminist interpretations of the New Right. In particular, the citizenship and nationalist discourses of the Reform Party of Canada are deconstructed in order to demonstrate how the party is motivated by neoliberal ideologies. The citizenship and nationalist discourses of the Reform Party of Canada provide a context within which the political community envisioned by the party can be understood. In this thesis I will argue that the citizenship and nationalist discourses of the Reform Party of Canada promote and protect a single political community that opposes social identity groups. This research analyses the impact of the Reform Party's understanding of political community on marginalized people in Canada.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Without the support of several people in my life, this thesis would not have been possible. I would like to thank my parents, brother, and grandmother for their enduring support throughout this thesis, and throughout my life. They have guided me toward my dreams, congratulated me in times of success, and nurtured me in times of failure.

Two of my colleagues, Maria Ramadori and Tamara Cooper, have provided me with enormous support over the past two years. I would like to thank them for their words of encouragement late into the hours of the night when the completion of this thesis seemed an improbable feat. They have been leaders to me in their academic successes, and in their lives. I want to thank them for showing me what it means to be a strong woman, and for providing me with the strength to challenge and defend, my own beliefs in the face of adversity.

To my long-time friend Brent, who has watched me develop my ideas throughout the years. Although not always easy, he has listened to me, humoured me, challenged me, and has provided me with valuable insights that have shaped who I am as a person. He also taught me the value of learning from many different perspectives.

Finally, I would like to thank my supervisor, Pauline Rankin, who has taught me a great many things. Although at times my ideas were inconsistent and fragmented, she skillfully struck a balance between guiding my ideas, and providing me the freedom to discover my own mistakes in the process of writing. Over the past three years at Carleton University, I have grown enormously as a person. I have become stronger and more confident in myself in many ways. There is no doubt in my mind that my successes are in large part due to Pauline's advice, encouragement, humour and support. Pauline has proven to me what success really means: to be a great teacher, academic, writer, friend, and person. This can only be understood by watching her set an example, which I intend to do throughout my life.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Abstract	ii
	Acknowledgements	iii
	Introduction	1
1.1	Objectives of the Study	1
1.2	Why the Reform Party of Canada?	5
1.3	Methodology	16
1.4	Contributions	21
1.5	Scope of Research	24
1.6	Chapter Outlines	26
	Chapter One	30
	<u>The Ideological Currents of the Reform Party of Canada</u>	
2.1	Introduction	30
2.2	Western Regionalism and the New Right	31
2.3	Contextualizing Theories of Citizenship and Nationalism	44
	A. Theories of Citizenship	44
	B. Theories of Nationalism	52
2.4	Conclusion	63
	Chapter Two	65
	<u>Unhyphenating Canada: The Reform Party of Canada's Model of Citizenship</u>	
3.1	Introduction	65
	Part I:	
3.2	Historical Citizenship Practices in Canada	66
3.3	The Reform Party of Canada's Model of Citizenship	73
3.4	Individual Versus Collective Rights	77
3.5	The Dutiful Citizen	80
	Part II:	
3.6	Interpreting Equality in the RPC	86
3.7	Demonizing Difference	91
3.8	Return to Duty- A Gendered, Disabled and Classed Approach	93
3.9	Conclusion	96

iv	Chapter Three	98
	<u>The Reform Party of Canada's Construction of Nationalism</u>	
4.1	Introduction	98
4.2	Constructions of Anglo-Canadian Nationalism	99
4.3	The 'Newness' of the New Canada	109
4.4	Deconstructing Reform Nationalism	113
4.5	Conclusion	121
	Chapter Four	122
	<u>Deconstructing the Reform Party's Discourse on Nationalism & The Uses of Identity in its Political Community</u>	
5.1	Introduction	122
5.2	Divisions of Social Space	123
5.3	The Private Nation of Home and Family	125
5.4	Gendering the "National" Home and Family	126
5.5	Our Home and Native Land/Assumptions of Whiteness	134
5.6	Non-spaces in the Narrative	138
5.7	Conclusion	141
	Conclusion	143
6.1	Research Findings on the RPC	144
6.2	Broader Implications of the Work	146
	Appendices	151
	A. Charter of Duties and Responsibilities	
	B. Statement of Duties and Responsibilities	153
	Bibliography	155

Introduction

1.1 Objectives of the Study

The principles of the Reform Party are clear, and consistent with our country's desire to be a democratic, just and pluralistic society. Our party affirms the equality of all Canadians. Our party affirms the right of Canadians to be free from discrimination, hate-mongering, and intolerance on any basis.¹

-Preston Manning, Leader of the Reform Party of Canada.

The Reform Party of Canada(RPC) has a vision of the ideal political community that they claim is necessary to lead Canada into the next century. In this thesis, I will examine two major ideological discourses used by the Reform Party that aid in the construction of that political community: citizenship and nationalism. I will argue that the Reform Party's discourses of citizenship and nationalism promote and protect a singular identity that opposes social identity groups² based on, for example, gender, race, class,

¹Preston Manning, "The Reform Party faces its future", www.reform.ca

²Throughout this paper, the term 'social identity groups' will be used in reference to the collection of class, gender, sexuality, and race identities. 'Social identities' is used by Tamara Cooper in her unpublished work: "The Land Behind God's Back and Other Lies My Father Told Me- Negotiations of Race in the 1980s Canadian Women's Movement", Carleton University, Ottawa, Ontario: 1998. I will use the term, 'social identity groups' as opposed to 'political identity groups', because it allows for a more expansive discussion of identity constructions that takes into account recognized and unrecognized communities in the public imagination. I find the term, 'political identity groups' limited because it refers to identities that have only been recognized in a public way by the state. Further, I prefer to refer to the collection of identities as 'social', taking into

ability, and sexuality. Through my deconstruction of the citizenship and nationalist lexicons of the Reform Party of Canada, I will demonstrate how the Reform Party of Canada seeks to eliminate social identity differences through their idea of a single, homogeneous Canada.

In this study, I will investigate the citizenship and nationalist practices of the RPC in order to demonstrate how social identities are not only integral to its agenda, but also serve to discriminate further against disadvantaged groups in Canada. In the case of citizenship, I will trace how the RPC supports current citizenship practices in Canada: practices that limit group-based claims for equality and rights. In the case of nationalism, I will illustrate how the Party proposes a brand of nationalism that challenges the dominant narrative of Anglo-nationalism in Canada during the post-Charter era.

I have chosen to examine the citizenship and nationalist practices of the Reform Party of Canada because both provide a useful understanding of how 'identity' is constructed by the RPC. Both the citizenship and nationalist discourses of the RPC advocate a future Canada that is bound together by singular understandings of equality, duties, rights, and belonging. The interrogation of both these

account the societal web of connections between identity groups, such as those between gender and race. The term 'social' identities emphasizes the connections between groups, opening up to the possibility of coalition-building between identity groups.

discourses reveals how this homogeneous identity excludes group identities that are based on race, class, gender, ability and sexuality. The discourses of citizenship and nationalism constructed by the Reform Party of Canada provide a way to bind together citizens who then are expected to subscribe to the 'Canadian' identity. Consequently, the RPC's citizenship and nationalist practices are exercises of exclusion: identities that compete for loyalty and allegiance with its vision of identity are excluded from the community and, further, from receiving the benefits and rights attributed to belonging in the community.

My first goal in this thesis is to explain the Reform Party of Canada as both a Party that reflects the larger political climate of neoliberalism that exists currently in Canada and also as a Party that has a vision of the future of Canada that has not yet been expressed or experienced in our country. I will argue that the RPC's discourses of citizenship and nationalism work in tandem and illustrate that the Reform Party of Canada is both reflective of the current political climate and acts as a catalyst for advancing neoliberal ideologies in Canada further in order to forge a new construction of a Canadian nationalism.

My second goal is to deconstruct the models of citizenship and nationalism proffered by the Reform Party of Canada. The Reform Party of Canada, and, in particular, the

leader of the party, Preston Manning, asserts that the party 'transcends' ideology because it posits a vision of the future that is both necessary and inevitable (Flanagan: 1995). In deconstructing these two models, I seek to challenge Manning's claim that Reform's visions of citizenship and nationalism are non-ideological, necessary or inevitable. The deconstruction of these two models requires that I situate this party within its particular place and space in Canadian political discourse. The citizenship and nationalism discourses of the Reform Party are the products of the western regional roots of the party infused with the discourses of a neoliberal ideology. These ideological aspects inform the citizenship and nationalist practice of the Party, and illustrate how its idea of political community must be understood within a particular historical, political and geographical space. Consequently, by deconstructing these models of citizenship and nationalism, I seek to explain the Reform Party of Canada as a highly-ideologically motivated party, which envisions only one option for the future of Canada.

My third goal constitutes the central focus of this study, which is to illustrate how the RPC's models of citizenship and nationalism are racialized, gendered, classed and sexualized constructions. The citizenship and nationalist discourses of the Reform Party of Canada illustrate that this party has a particular vision of social

identities. Notions of citizenship and nationalism are used by the RPC to support an agenda that seeks to erase and render invisible social identities at both the discursive and practical levels. I will accomplish this goal by revealing how this model of citizenship offers a vision of a future political community that includes only individuals who construct their identities independently from their social and political positionalities. As a result, the focus on individuals undermines the efforts of social identity groups who seek to be recognized collectively as full and active Canadian citizens. Finally, I will illustrate that the RPC's brand of nationalism supports a Canadian nation that maintains historically traditional arrangements of gender, race and sexuality. As a result, the nationalism of the RPC hinges on fixed and rigid notions of identity that affect disadvantaged groups negatively.

1.2 Why The Reform Party of Canada?

This study emerged out of a personal interrogation of the meaning and future of feminist activism in Canada coupled with my increased concern over the rise of the New Right in Canada. My interest in the Reform Party of Canada coincides with the growing electoral support for the Reform Party of Canada in regions beyond the west. Initially, my reaction to the Reform Party of Canada can be characterized as dismissive at best. The RPC's policies on the family,

multiculturalism, gays and lesbians, immigration and the home prompted an initial reaction from me to label this 'group' as simply another 'far right' movement that represented only the interests of a few white heterosexual men reacting to the advancements of marginalized groups, a phenomenon commonly known as 'the backlash'. As support for the Reform Party continued to grow, however, I quickly came to the realization that this party represented many more people than I had assumed. Now entrenched as Canada's Official Opposition, the Reform Party of Canada cannot be dismissed as merely a "far right" movement. In fact, they represent a large number of Canadians and need to be understood as a party that reflects the perspectives and ideologies of a significant segment of the Canadian electorate.

Despite its growing electoral support, there remains, surprisingly, a dearth of scholarly interest in the Reform Party of Canada. In this section, I will overview the existing literature, both academic and popular, on the Reform Party of Canada. It is my intention with this thesis to expand this literature to include a feminist analysis of the Reform Party of Canada. I begin with an 'insider' account of the RPC, as it provides a useful commentary on the internal tensions that exist in the party. I then examine 'outsider' accounts that critique the party's ideological structure.

As the former RPC director of Policy, Strategy and Communications, Tom Flanagan's book provides a useful 'insider' account of the Reform Party of Canada. Flanagan is critical of Preston Manning's support of populism, suggesting that, "populism as a strategy is weak. Particularly in times of crisis, there is a tendency for 'the people' to close ranks, to emphasis what unites rather than divides them"(1995, p.49). For Flanagan, a truly successful right-wing party can only be one which openly supports a conservative agenda, not one which professes to represent 'the common sense of the common people'. Flanagan's book is useful because it pinpoints the internal identity crisis that arose within the RPC as it emerged as a national party. He states:

Thus the party opted to go national without developing an internal consensus about the type of voters it would target...If the party was no longer western, and if Manning insisted that it was not a new conservative party, what was it? The Reform Party went national with a case of unresolved identity.

(1995, p.70)

Flanagan's 'insider' account of the Reform Party of Canada provides valuable insight into the internal dilemmas of the Party as it attempted to carve out a national identity for itself. While Flanagan's book focuses on the internal workings of the party, it in no way offers a gendered perspective on the Reform Party of Canada but instead illustrates the tensions that have arisen within the party between competing conservative strains.

In contrast, Alberta sociologist Trevor Harrison contextualizes the rise of the Reform Party of Canada by situating the party within western Canada, explaining more broadly the "problems of liberal democracy since the 1960s and the unique political cultures of Alberta and British Columbia"(1995, p.2). He sets out to answer two key questions: "why do populist parties arise, and, what are the ideological orientation[s] of political parties?"(1995, p.2). Harrison answers his first question successfully because he explores how the western roots of populism influenced the RPC. In this way, Harrison's work contributes greatly to the literature on the RPC because he examines the role that populism has played in the party's ideological construction. The second question posed by Harrison, however, is not addressed adequately. His explanation of the ideological orientation of the Reform Party is limited to discussions of populism and a brief explanation of neo-conservatism. He does not explore in detail how other ideologies, such as neoliberalism, play a role in the ideological composition of the party. Together these texts provide useful explanations of the western roots of the Reform Party of Canada, focussing in particular on populism. Both authors explain the RPC as a western-based populist party. While both Flanagan's and Harrison's works describe the pitfalls of populism in the RPC, neither provide critiques of the social and political impact of

Reform Party policies.

In 1992, Murray Dobbin wrote a voter's guide to the Reform Party of Canada. Dobbin asserts that the "the key to understanding Reform's social and economic policies is to grasp the underlying principles"(p.156). He asserts that the Reform Party of Canada must be understood within a particular ideological perspective of "laissez-faire economics"(1992, p.11). Of particular relevance to my investigation of the Reform Party of Canada is Dobbin's chapter on Reform Party Policy, which highlights the gendered implications of Reform's policy on issues such as day-care and social programs. Although Dobbin's gendered analysis is limited to exploring how the RPC deals with 'women's issues',³ his work illustrates a necessary step in introducing the idea that the RPC needs to be understood within a gendered framework.

Storming Babylon- Preston Manning and the Rise of the Reform Party by journalists Sydney Sharpe and Don Braid

³It is important to note here the use of the term 'women's issues'. While Dobbin does examine the gendered impact of the RPC, his use of the term, 'women's issues' illustrates that his gendered analysis of the RPC is limited to discussions of issues that have been defined exclusively as pertinent to women, such as child-care and abortion. It is my intention to expand the definition of 'women's issues' to include gendered analyses of citizenship and nationalism, discourses that have been constructed as historically 'male'. Further, it is important to note that the RPC refuses to acknowledge that so-called "women's issues" exist at all. As I will discuss in later Chapters, the refusal of the RPC to deal with even traditionally defined "women's issues" evidences its commitment to undercut difference as an organizing principle in its political community.

offers a thorough interpretation of the western regional roots of the Reform Party of Canada, pointing to the influence that earlier western leaders such as William Aberhart(founder of the Social Credit party in Alberta) and Ernest Manning, Preston Manning's father(Social Credit Premier of Alberta from 1943 to 1969) have had on the Reform Party of Canada. Sharpe and Braid flesh out the most coherent feminist critique of the RPC to date because they not only assess the gendered significance of the RPC policies, as does Dobbin, but further situate the RPC anti-feminist platform within a larger framework of feminist activism in Canada. In their assessment of the RPC's treatment of 'women's issues', Sharpe and Braid refer to feminist reactions to the party, such as that offered by journalist Michele Landsberg, who states:"I'm sure they do have a policy on women, [i]t's just not written down. There's a whole set of traditional values they're trying to return to"(1992, p.137). Although Sharpe and Braid offer useful links between RPC anti-feminism and feminist activism in Canada, like Dobbin, they too focus exclusively on narrowly interpreted 'women's issues' and ignore how gender intersects with race, class, ability and sexuality.

My study of the Reform Party of Canada seeks to deepen and expand feminist analyses of the Reform Party of Canada through a more comprehensive interrogation of the RPC that cannot adequately be explained within the narrow parameters

of 'women's issues'. I will demonstrate that gender as an analytical tool also can be used to explain issues that have been understood historically as strictly political(male), such as citizenship and nationalism. Consequently, it is my assertion that an evaluation of the citizenship and nationalist practices of the RPC will produce a richer, more complex framework within which gendered explanations of the larger ideological structures of the Reform Party of Canada can be advanced.

In order to conduct this investigation, it is important to review also the literature that has been written by feminists in this area. Recently, feminist activists and scholars have given new attention to the continued presence of the New Right in Canada. As a result, the gendered impact of right-wing ideologies including neoliberalism has become an important field of inquiry for feminist research.

A major contribution to the study of the relationship between the New Right and feminism is Sylvia Bashevkin's "Confronting Neoconservatism: Anglo-American Women's Movements under Thatcher, Reagan and Mulroney". Bashevkin's work is useful because it documents the emergence of the New Right and its impact on feminist organizations in Canada, the United States, and Britain, "indicating some disadvantageous conditions for women during the Reagan era, some progress for British women's interests during the Thatcher era, and relatively advantageous outcomes for

Canadian feminists in the Mulroney period"(1994, p.1). Her comparative results suggest that although we may speak of a "neoconservative" ideology, various strains emerge given a particular space that affect women's interests differently. As Bashevkin suggests:

The US movement had policy momentum and organizational strength on its side, but faced a formidable wave of social conservatism. Canadian feminists enjoyed the advantage of a brokerage prime minister[Mulroney], but the disadvantages of a more vulnerable organization status than their US counterparts and limited policy momentum coming out of the pre-neoconservative era.

(1994, p.285)

Bashevkin's work is an important contribution because her research documents how the New Right has a gendered impact that needs to be interrogated further.⁴

Many other feminist scholars have analyzed the New Right as inherently gendered, exploring how various elements of the New Right movement have impacted women's organizations and lives.⁵ For example, Karen Dubinsky's(1987) work sheds light on the role that women can play in the New Right, such as R.E.A.L.(Realistic, Equal and Active for Life) Women. Lorna Erwin's(1991) work emphasizes

⁴Bashevkin has recently published, Women on the Defensive, University of Chicago Press, 1998. In this work, she expands her earlier writings on the impact of the New Right on feminist organizations. In her new book, she explores how right-wing leaders shaped organized feminists by examining high-court decisions and legislative outcomes during the Thatcher, Mulroney, and Reagan eras.

⁵See the works of Dubinsky: 1987, Erwin: 1992, Ralston: 1995, Dacks, Green and Trimble: 1995.

the connections between the New Right in Canada and the pro-family movement. Also, Meredith Ralston's(1994) work assesses the utility of neo-conservatism to explain homelessness for women. Finally, the work of Dacks, Green and Trimble(1995) shed light on the gendered significance of the restructuring plans of the Progressive Conservative Klein government in Alberta. They assert that "women are the primary victims of cuts to programs and services, lay-offs and public service wage reductions"(1995, p.270). All of these works help to explain the New Right as a complex and diverse movement worthy of further feminist investigations.

In the spring of 1997, the journal Atlantis committed itself to exploring the complexity of the New Right in Canada from feminist perspectives. In the introduction of this issue, sociologists June Corman and Marilyn Porter summarize the focus of the need for such an issue in the following terms:

We desperately need a feminist analysis of the 'New Right' agenda, which takes account of the reality of women's lives and employs all the resources of feminist theory and accumulated research to understand and address the difficulties they face.

(1997, p.1)

Feminist scholars have also begun to explain the gendered impact of neoliberal ideologies in Canada. Rethinking Restructuring, a feminist collection of works, explores the gendered implications of restructuring in Canada. In this work, for example, Suzanne Bergeron assesses the gendered

significance of the current restructuring of the global economy, stressing that women often bear the burden of economic adjustment(1996, p.111). In the same book, Christina Gabriel and Laura Macdonald interrogate the gendered and raced implications of NAFTA(North American Free Trade Agreement) and economic restructuring. They argue that, "women of colour, as they are all too aware, are particularly vulnerable to the ongoing processes of restructuring because of their social location in Canadian society"(1996, p.168).

In Women and Canadian Public Policy, Janine Brodie situates the welfare restructuring of the 'new global order' within a climate of neoliberalism, arguing that this new order has a specific impact on women(Brodie: 1996).

Brodie explains:

Our point here is that it is contingent upon feminists to examine closely the policy shifts that affect women's everyday lives in order to identify the various webs of subordination and domination on which the emerging order rests.

(1996, p.3)

Brodie's work, and the works of other feminists scholars in this field previously mentioned, illustrate that neoliberal efforts to dismantle the Keynesian welfare state must be understood as a gendered phenomenon.

The works of these scholars are important to my research because they have provided the groundwork upon which further analyses of the New Right may be constructed. Yet, despite the renewed attention of feminist scholars in

the New Right and neoliberalism, feminist interpretations of the Reform Party of Canada remain sparse.⁶ My assessment of the citizenship and nationalist practices of the Reform Party of Canada will pull together the strands of these existing fields of research: critiques of the Reform Party of Canada, as well as feminist interpretations of the New Right and neoliberalism. I will bridge the literature of these fields through the development of a coherent analysis of the RPC anchored in feminist critiques of the New Right in Canada.

My interest in the Reform Party of Canada also derives from my visions of feminist activism and strategies for change. I support strongly the belief that feminist activism must take place on multiple levels in order to reflect the diversity of women's groups in Canada. Increasingly, women's groups are immobilized by funding cuts to their organizations, and their time has been constricted by added pressures due to the downloading of social responsibility and the hollowing out of the welfare state (McCormick: 1991). Consequently, women have been limited in their capacity to organize against the New Right. This study is intended to offer a necessary building block in developing feminist

⁶A possible explanation for the lack of feminist scholarship on the Reform Party of Canada may be that it has been only within the last five years that the RPC has become a reality to central Canadian Anglophone feminists. It is within the last five years that the RPC has made a bid for national power, shifting its focus away from its "regional" roots, and turning toward the national political forum.

responses to the Reform Party of Canada. In doing so, I am fully aware of the privileges that I exercise in having both the time and money to complete this study.

1.3 Methodology:

My thesis is informed by several primary sources. Firstly, Preston Manning's autobiographical book written in 1992, The New Canada, provides a contextual framework for understanding the origins and development of the RPC. The New Canada outlines the directions that Manning wishes to take Canada into the future. Although he does not explicitly outline the party's policies on citizenship or nationalism per se, his blend of neoliberalism, morally conservative stances, and populism dominates the book, providing an invaluable starting point from which to interrogate the way that citizenship and nationalism have been conceived in the party and further, to assess the Reform vision of a future Canadian nation.

The New Canada also substantiates the crucial link between Preston Manning, the leader of the Reform Party of Canada, and Reform Party MPs. Although the idea of the "new" Canada originates from Preston Manning himself, it is central to the vision of Canada proposed by the RPC. Manning's book appeared in 1992, in May of 1998; the Reform Party of Canada introduced a draft bill entitled the New Canada Act. This act seeks to: "[p]repare Canada for the 21st

Century by making provision for negotiation of a new balance of federal-provincial powers, more accountable federal institutions, and the calling of a Constitutional Constituent Assembly"(p.3). The New Canada Act Draft, supported by the party's leader and its members, is crucial in the party's bid for national power as it facilitates the presentation of a cohesive and united party capable of governing the nation--something that has plagued the party in the past.⁷ As I will explain, the New Canada Act illustrates, however, that the idea of the 'new' Canada is no longer just an idea of Manning, but a platform supported by the party through its endorsement as a policy proposal by the Reform Party of Canada itself.

The 1996-1997 Fresh Start Election Platform of the Reform Party of Canada, known as the BlueBook, contains useful current information about the Reform Party. This source enabled me to examine specific policy proposals of the party. In doing so, I was able to tie together the ideological strands of the Reform Party of Canada with its concrete policies, and illustrate how these policies are linked to the party's constructions of citizenship and nationalism. The BlueBook was also extremely useful because this is a document that has been voted on, and is sanctioned

⁷For further information on the conflict and dissension that has been experienced within the party, refer to Dobbin(1991) particularly his discussion of the Manitoba conflict, the Save Canada Fund, and anti-semitism within the party ranks.

by all the members of the party. Consequently, it offers a concrete foundation on which to make some important observations about the Reform Party.

A major portion of my primary research was conducted through the internet. The Reform Party of Canada website provided me with portfolios of all the Reform Party MPs, recent reports, bill drafts, and on-going concerns. The House of Commons website, Hansard, also offered me the opportunity to read debates in Parliament conducted by Reform Party members. Secondary material for this thesis was drawn from various political(theoretical, Canadian, regional), feminist(liberal, post-structuralist, post-modern and socialist) and legal(Constitutional law, citizenship rights) approaches. When combined, these sources provide an analytic framework for my primary sources on the Reform Party.

My working relationship with the Reform Party of Canada has been less fortuitous, partially due to my own financial and time limitations, and also partially due to the nature of my research. At the onset of my research, I contacted the Leader of the Opposition's Office in order to obtain any information concerning women, citizenship, or nationalism. A package was gathered for me that contained the 1996-1997 Fresh Start Platform and a few selected speeches given by Preston Manning over the past three years. Despite its lack of attention to how citizenship and nationalism are

gendered, as I began to unravel the discursive practices of the RPC, I discovered how notions of citizenship and nationalism are bound into their vision of the future of Canada and further, how they are dependent for their meaning upon specific assumptions about race, gender, class and sexuality.

In his address to the Throne Speech in September of 1997, Manning stated: "The throne speech professes to look ahead. It is important that we look at the reality behind these words". I, in turn, intend to employ the same methodology to Manning's party itself. The discursive absence of how notions of race, gender, class and sexuality are implicit in the Reform Party's constructions of citizenship and nationalism prompted my decision to conduct a discourse analysis of the material that I had gathered. Discourse analysis is a method employed by post-structuralist scholars who, like Joan Scott, ascertain that two of the central features of a poststructural framework are language and discourse(1990, p.135). Within a poststructuralist analysis, 'language' refers to not simply words, vocabulary, or grammatical rules, but instead, to:

a meaning-constituting system: that is, any system, strictly verbal, or other- through which meaning is constructed and cultural practices organized and by which, accordingly, people represent and understand their world, including what they are and how they relate to others.

(Scott, 1990, p.135)

Similarly, a focus on 'discourse' within a poststructuralist

analysis permits the researcher to examine the relationship between meaning and word. 'Discourse', within this context, is "not a language or a text but a historically, socially, and institutionally specific structure of statements, terms, categories, and beliefs"(Scott,1990,p.135). The relationship between meaning and language, therefore, is at the heart of any poststructuralist methodology.

Another major tenet of post-structural thought is its emphasis on 'difference'. In her discussion on how the category of 'gender' is problematic, Teresa de Lauretis states:

It would be difficult to explain, otherwise, why thinkers or writers with political and personal histories, projects, needs, and desire as different as those of white women and women of colour, of lesbians and heterosexuals, of differently abled women, and of successive generations of women, would all claim feminism as major- if not the only-ground of difference.

(1991, p.257)

A major endeavour of poststructural methodologies is to extract subtextual meanings in language from the ground of difference. This process deconstructs fixed and stable categories of identities in order to explain meanings as multiple, fluid, and contextual.

A poststructural reading will prove most useful in the examination of the lexicon of the Reform Party of Canada. I will focus on how the Reform Party of Canada has relied upon, and supports, fixed meanings of specific words that reduce differences down to singular understandings in their

discourses of citizenship and nationalism. I will further use a poststructural methodology to decode the subtextual layer of these meanings. This methodology will unearth the ideological roots of the Reform Party and will also challenge the notion that the Reform Party's use of language is objective and value-free. Further, I will use a poststructuralist methodology to suggest that the language of the Reform Party of Canada is not a universal narrative, but rather is a language which when used strategically conceals its underlying ideologies.

1.4 Contributions of the Study:

Although this thesis focuses on the Reform Party of Canada as a whole, I am aware of the limitations of research conducted on a political party. It is not my intention to suggest that political parties operate in a vacuous space. To the contrary, political parties exist in specific spaces and times, and are informed by a complex assortment of ideological, theoretical, and practical concerns. As a result, the Reform Party of Canada cannot be explained simply as a monolith; it has internal strife, and simultaneously reflects and informs the beliefs and concerns of a great number of Canadians. My intent is to use the Reform Party of Canada as a case study that will help feminist political scientists to better understand a particular 'New Right' perspective on citizenship and

nationalism. Furthermore, it is not my intention to suggest that the Reform Party of Canada can be explained in totalized or generalized terms. This concern is of particular importance in the current political climate in Canada, as the future of the 'right' rests on tenuous ground. The recent decision of the Honourable Jean Charest to step down as the federal leader of the Progressive Conservative Party has led many conservatives in Canada, both inside and outside the Reform Party, to suggest that a merger between the Progressive Conservative Party and the Reform Party of Canada may be possible (Manning & Andre Turcotte in The Ottawa Citizen, Saturday, June 20, 1998, p.B6). In a recent book published by William Gairdner, two former prominent members of the Reform Party, Tom Flanagan and Stephen Harper, allude to this possibility:

If Canadian conservatism is ever to work, [they] must recognize that each represents an authentic aspect of a larger conservative philosophy. Reformers will have to realize that there is something genuinely conservative in the Tory penchant for compromise and incrementalism. Tories will have to admit that compromise, to be honourable, has to be guided by underlying principles and that Reformers are not extremists because they openly advocate smaller government, free markets, traditional values, and equality before the law.

(1998, p.190)

The tensions between populism, conservatism and neoliberalism in the Reform Party of Canada, therefore, are indicative of the complex arena in which political parties operate.

Although my study will focus primarily on the implications of the Reform Party's notions of citizenship and nationalism for women, my research indicates that all social identities are implicated in these constructions. These models of citizenship and nationalism rely upon prior constructions of gender, race, class, sexuality and ability that affect marginalized people. Although all marginalized people are not implicated in these citizenship and nationalist projects in the same way, the Reform Party of Canada seeks to reduce all difference to a singular, fixed and stable category. As a result, the Reform Party of Canada is able to exclude groups of people from their citizenship and nationalist visions on the basis of their differences and label them as "Other" in opposition to 'normal', 'active' and 'full' citizens living in an allegedly common and shared nation.

Although the citizenship and nationalist practices of the Reform Party of Canada impact social identity groups in different ways, since the Reform Party of Canada treats all 'differences' as the 'same', all identity groups are affected. This study seeks to establish that although 'difference' must remain pivotal to social identity constructions, there is a common interest to challenge the RPC's assumptions of sameness that underlies its citizenship and nationalist practices. The implication of this research is the possibility of providing necessary and important

links between social groups in the challenge against the Reform Party of Canada. While this challenge may and should take different shapes and forms, the recognition that this Party targets all marginalized people provides the necessary first step toward possible coalition-building between groups in the struggle against the New Right. This thesis seeks to provide the groundwork for such a challenge.

1.5 Scope of Research:

While the literature on citizenship and nationalism is vast, I have chosen to focus on the discourses of the RPC in both areas because they are inextricably linked. While citizenship discourses explore the relationship between individuals and the state, nationalist discourses explain the bonds of membership that hold a community together. The RPC's political community includes a vision of both the role that the individual must play in its relationship to the state, and also a vision of what holds its 'national' community together. While membership in the community is determined by the terms of citizenship, nationalism binds the community together with a common identity. Yuval-Davis provides a useful connection between citizenship and nationalism when she asserts:

membership in a 'strong community' is, therefore, not completely voluntary or a matter of choice, but is bound together by 'enduring attachment', which often is, but not necessarily so, a result of a myth of common origin and is clearly bounded by a myth of common destiny. In other words, this 'strong community' is the national 'imagined

community'.

(1997, p.71)

The RPC's citizenship and nationalist discourses define its political community by outlining terms of membership, and the singular identity that binds the community together. As a result, the scope of my research links together the expansive fields of both citizenship and nationalism.

The literature on Canadian political parties is one field that I do not draw upon for this thesis. While this literature would have proved useful in an examination of the Reform Party of Canada as it becomes embedded further in the Canadian political party system, my research aims to explain the ideological structure of the Party and not the political party arena within which the Reform Party operates. In the next chapter, I outline the ideological contexts of the Reform Party of Canada, focussing particularly on its western regional roots. Although the literature on western regionalism explains the populist roots of the Reform Party of Canada, a thorough investigation of the historical development of western regionalism is not advanced in this thesis. I have chosen instead to provide a brief explanation of the ideologies underpinning western regionalism as it relates specifically to the emergence of the Reform Party of Canada.

The religious element of the RPC is also not pursued in this study. Although Preston Manning has declared that his

religion(Evangelical Fundamental Christian) influences his policy decisions⁸, broader connections between religion and the party in general are less easily identifiable. Since the RPC does not support explicitly any one religion(although most certainly it is predominantly Christian), the link between religion and the Reform Party remains untenable. As such, I have chosen to focus instead on other ideological currents of the RPC, such as neoliberalism and populism, whereupon conclusive connections can be made between party ideology and its discourses of citizenship and nationalism.

Despite the areas of literature that remain unexplored, the diverse bodies of literature on which I draw offer a theoretical backdrop for demonstrating how the nationalist and citizenship practices of the Reform Party of Canada promote and protect a singular identity that excludes social identity groups.

1.6 Chapter Outlines:

Chapter One

In the first chapter, I provide a contextual framework within which the Reform Party can best be understood. Here, I argue that this framework includes a variety of theoretical explanations essential to the investigation of the RPC's interpretations of citizenship and nationalism.

⁸Manning's 1992 autobiography details his religious commitment and its relationship to his practice of politics.

This chapter includes an investigation of the historical influences which gave rise to the Reform Party including western regionalism which features alienation and populism at its core. Also, the RPC must also be understood as a movement arising from the New Right, because it includes the central New Right tenets of neoliberalism and neoconservatism. In order to explain the citizenship and nationalist practices of the RPC I survey the theoretical literature that has been written on each. This literature will help to explain that although the citizenship and nationalist goals of the RPC have similar trajectories, their historical developments differ, and therefore are approached differently by the party itself. This chapter concludes that the RPC is a highly ideological party, informed by its regional origins and neoliberal and populist ideologies.

Chapter Two

In this chapter, I argue that although the RPC has packaged its citizenship practices as different and unique, they, in fact, reflect the current practice of citizenship in Canada. I demonstrate how the RPC's neoliberal, individualistic model of citizenship reflects the historical construction of Canadian citizenship. I then argue that the RPC seeks to create a discourse of 'duty'. This discourse of 'duty'

suggests that in order for individuals to receive the 'benefits' of full and active citizenship, they must fulfill specific requirements for the political community. I illustrate how this interpretation of citizenship raises questions of access for women, people of colour, working-class, and disabled people. In conclusion, I suggest that the RPC's citizenship practices do not ultimately threaten the historical progression of citizenship established in Canada.

Chapter Three

In this chapter, I reveal how the Reform Party of Canada's postulation of the "New Canada" is new because it fundamentally challenges the ways in which nationalism has been constructed within the past twenty years in Canada. I then sketch out selected points of synthesis in the historical construction of Canadian nationalism, in order to demonstrate how the Reform's 'economic' nationalism is different from Canadian nationalism to date. Finally, I conclude how race, gender, class and sexuality are implicated in the Reform's construction of nationalism. I argue that the nationalism of the Reform Party of Canada embodied in their 'New Canada' seeks to control and eradicate groups based on social identities in Canada.

Chapter Four

In this chapter, I unearth how social identities are implicated in the nationalist project of the Reform Party of Canada. I illustrate how the nationalist discourse of the Reform Party of Canada excludes groups of people from the 'nation'. I suggest that the nationalist discourse of the Reform Party of Canada includes various notions of social space, including the private and public spaces, that confine and limit groups of people to specific spaces. The chapter concludes that these spaces are constructed to exclude specifically women, gays and lesbians, and people of colour from the Reform's view of acceptable membership in the Canadian nation.

Conclusion:

The conclusion of the thesis draws together various findings of the investigation. I outline the central arguments of the thesis, and re-examine the goals of the thesis. While I assess the findings that pertain specifically to the Reform Party of Canada, I also examine how the findings of this thesis contribute to the wider theoretical fields of feminist interpretations of the New Right, citizenship, and nationalism. Finally, I suggest how this study seeks to assist in coalition-building against the New Right in Canada.

CHAPTER ONE

The Ideological Currents of the Reform Party of Canada

2.1 Introduction:

In the introduction to this thesis, I posited that feminist analyses need to be employed to better understand the citizenship and nationalist practices of the Reform Party of Canada. I also overviewed feminist research that has been conducted to date on the New Right in Canada and neoliberalism. My investigation of the RPC seeks to bridge together these fields of research through the assessment of the citizenship and nationalist practices of the Reform Party of Canada. In order to accomplish this task, it is first necessary to provide a contextual framework within which the Reform Party can best be studied. In this chapter, I argue that this framework must include a variety of theoretical explanations essential to the investigation of the RPC's interpretations of citizenship and nationalism. This chapter considers the historical influences which gave rise to the Reform Party, including an overview of alienation and populism, two of the ideological benchmarks of western regionalism. As well, the RPC must be understood as a movement arising from the New Right, because it embraces the central New Right tenets of neoliberalism and neoconservatism. I explore briefly the growing theoretical literature that has been written on each. This literature will help to explain that although the citizenship and

nationalist goals of the RPC have similar trajectories, their historical developments differ, and therefore, are approached differently by the party itself. In conclusion, this chapter will demonstrate that the RPC's discourses of citizenship and nationalism, and its vision of political community, must be explained by a gendered analysis.

2.2 Western Regionalism & the New Right:

Although the Reform Party of Canada is a federal party, it emerged out of a particular historical context of western regionalism.⁹ Elements of western regionalism, including alienation, separatism, and populism inform the ideological character of the RPC. George Melnyk suggests that during the 1970s Western separatism developed several salient characteristics, which included:

- 1.a separatism of disenchanted conservatism;
- 2.a separation of crisis during economic recession;
- 3.a separatism rooted primarily in Alberta; and
- 4.a fringe phenomenon which made little impact on electoral politics.¹⁰

(1993, pp.51-54)

⁹The historical development of western regionalism will not be explored in detail in this thesis. It is important to note, however, that Canadian western regionalism and protest parties of the West have a long history of development that long predates my discussion of the emergence of separatist movements in the West in the 1970s. For a detailed history of protest parties in the West, refer to Seymour Martin Lipset's Agrarian Socialism, Anchor, NY: 1968, or C.B. Macpherson's Democracy in Alberta; Social Credit and the Party System, Toronto University Press: 1962.

¹⁰For a more detailed account of Western separatism, consult Melnyk, 1993, Detsilig Enterprises, Ltd.

While Western separatism is attributed to many factors, I have chosen to focus on the relationship between the federal government and the Western regions of Canada as a major source of Western alienation. As Gibbins and Arrison contend, the relationship between the federal government and the western regions of Canada has contributed to western alienation and protest. They argue "Western Canadians believ[ed] that the national economy [had] been rigged to their disadvantage, and to the advantage of the Central Canadian provinces and their economic interests" (1995, p.20).

I have chosen to focus on three particular incidents that support the Gibbins and Arrison thesis that tensions exist between Western Canada and the federal government which gave rise to the RPC. These three incidents are: the introduction of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism; the National Energy Program; and the CF-18 Deal.¹¹ In effect, these events mobilized a growing resentment towards the federal government in the Western provinces, tapping into latent hostility towards the federal government, and must be explained briefly in terms of their significance in the development of separate Western party.

The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (B&B Report) relied upon a working definition of Canada

¹¹ I have chosen these three incidents because Preston Manning refers to them in The New Canada as factors contributing to the rise of the Reform Party of Canada.

that, to many in Western Canada, supported an understanding of nation that rested upon a partnership between two founding races, cultures and languages: the English and the French (Manning, 1992, p.120). For many Westerners, including Manning, the B&B Report sought to preserve a two-nation approach to nationalism that did not recognize the distinct character of the West as important to Canadian nationalism.

In 1980, the Trudeau government introduced the National Energy Program (NEP) and related taxation policies. This policy was introduced in response to a dramatic increase in the world price of oil. The effects of the NEP were felt most profoundly in Western Canada. As Gibbins and Arrison articulate:

The NEP is widely believed, particularly in Alberta, to have had a devastating impact on the health of the industry and the Canadian economy more generally. The Alberta government estimates that the province lost at least \$50 billion in tax revenue as a direct consequence of the NEP....

(1995, p.22)

In Manning's own words:

The immediate effect of this policy was to force western producers to sell oil and gas to Canadian consumers at substantially less than the world price. [Where] many western Canadians saw the NEP as a massive raid by a spendthrift federal government on the resource wealth of western Canada, as well as a massive federal intrusion(through the use of federal taxing, pricing and regulatory power) into provincial jurisdiction over natural resources.

(1992, p.22)

The federal government's NEP program was perceived by many westerners as an intrusion on the economic viability of

western businesses and corporations. The discontent of the West was heightened when in 1986, under the leadership of Brian Mulroney, the federal government called for tenders for the maintenance of Canada's fleet of 136 CF-18 fighter aircraft. The competition was largely between two companies: Montreal-based Canadair Ltd., and Bristol Aerospace Ltd. of Winnipeg. Although Bristol Aerospace submitted the lower bid and received a higher rating for technical competence, the contract was awarded to Canadair on the basis that it was in the national interest, since Canadair could better use technology transfers resulting from the contract to develop the country's industrial base(1992, p.126-127). Although this deal was touted as the 'national interest', many in the western provinces viewed this deal as an indication that the western regions of Canada were unequal in comparison to central Canada and Quebec.

Western sentiments of alienation and reaction against the federal government apexed during the 1970s and early 1980s, as numerous groups emerged as advocates of Western separatism. These groups included the Western Canada Party, founded in 1970 in British Columbia, the Western Canada Federation(West-Fed), the Western Canada Concept(WCC), and the Unionist Party(Melnyk,1993, pp.48-49). Although Western separatism experienced a resurgence during the 1971-1981 period, a new movement, led by many early Reform supporters

such as Preston Manning and Stan Roberts¹² soon emerged during the 1980s in reaction to the separatist movement. The disenchantment of many right-wing Westerners with the federal Conservative Party left a void within which a new non-separatist movement, embodied in the RPC, could emerge. The characteristics of this new movement included: a strain of anti-separatism leading to a brand of nationalism inclusive to the concerns of the West, a disillusionment with federal Conservatism which provided a space for a New Right party to emerge, and a brand of populism that would advocate the rights of both the individual and Western regions.

The Reform Party of Canada began in 1987 and adopted several characteristics of the new movement into its platform. Firstly, it situated itself as a Western party with a vision for all of Canada. As Sharpe and Braid state:

from the start Manning hoped that his new populist movement, once firmly rooted in the West, would become truly national. He did not want just another western-based party that would shout briefly at Ottawa and fade away: no Western Canada Concept or West-Fed for him.

(1992, p.5)

Preston Manning affirmed in 1986 that "the time [was] ripe for new idea or movement"(1992, p.129). Many shared

¹²Stan Roberts was a prominent Alberta businessman with connections to the conservative, western-based think-tank, the CanadaWest Foundation. He later denounced the Reform Party of Canada as a group of "right-wing Christian lunatics"(Dobbin, 1992, p.98).

Manning's vision of a new movement. In 1986, the magazine editor for the Alberta Report¹³ Ted Byfield, coined the catch-phrase that would set the stage for the foray of the Reform Party of Canada onto the national political scene: "The West Wants In".¹⁴ In 1987, many prominent western politicians and academics gathered in Vancouver to discuss the possibility of creating a new federal party that would place the interests of the west as its first priority. During this assembly, Manning delivered a speech entitled, "Choosing a Political Vehicle to Represent the West". The sentiments of 'The West Want In' were obvious:

The West is in deep trouble economically, but no existing party makes our needs its number one priority. The West is in need of new instruments to advance new solutions, but the traditional political instruments at its disposal are flawed and unsympathetic. The present leaders of the federal parties offer no fresh vision for Canada and

¹³ The Alberta Report was a major catalyst for the sudden success of the RPC. As Melnyk contends, "The reactionary news journal, Alberta Report, spread the message of the new party and the credibility of its evangelical Christian leader. Membership skyrocketed. In 1989 it was reported that the party's annual budget stood at \$750 000, membership at 25 000 and that the leader was being paid a salary commensurate with this status. In 1990 membership surpassed the 50 000 mark and the party budget grew accordingly"(1993, p.58).

¹⁴While the newly emerging Reform Party of Canada capitalized on Western discontent and protest toward the federal government, it is important to note, as Gibbins and Arrison indicate, that the Reform Party of Canada should not be heralded as the embodiment of "Western Canadian visions". In fact, Gibbins and Arrison indicate that many differences exist between the Reform Party of Canada and Western Canadian visions, such as the former's stress on fiscal constraint, and upon a "neo-conservative agenda that would radically shrink the size of the Canadian state, [which] is not the inevitable product of western experience"(1995, p.77).

the West. If a federal election were held today, 50 percent of our people would not vote because they do not like any of the options.

(1992, p.141)

Manning's remarks suggest that, early in its inception, the RPC intended to craft a new vision of Canadian nationalism that would be inclusive to the concerns of the West.

Secondly, the RPC provided a vehicle through which the frustrations vis a vis federal politics of the region could find expression; disenchantment with the Progressive Conservative Party resulted in a hostile reaction to the Mulroney government by the beginning of his second mandate.

As Sharpe and Braid suggest:

The new anti-Tory rage [was] sparked by the goods and services tax (GST), patronage, the Meech Lake Accord, crooks in the Tory caucus, animosity toward Quebec, and other irritants large and small....[Westerners] have little regard for Brian Mulroney, whom they brand with contemptuous insults- liar, cheat, hypocrite.
(1992, p.10).

Western hostility toward the federal government made space for a new conservatism to emerge. Manning and the Reform Party of Canada sought to fill this void by supporting a new conservatism that would be compatible with the interests not only of the West, but also for a new conservatism that they hoped would have national appeal.

The new conservatism espoused by the Reform Party of Canada can be understood as part of a New Right movement that had already been established in Britain under Margaret Thatcher and in the United States under Ronald Reagan. In

this thesis, I argue that the New Right must be understood as a movement that includes the ideological perspective of both neoconservatism and neoliberalism. Further, the Reform Party of Canada must be understood as part of the structure of the New Right, as opposed to the only representation of the New Right in Canada.

The New Right is a term that is used to explain the sociological and political conditions that gave rise in the Western world, particularly in Britain(Thatcher), the United States(Reagan) and Canada(Mulroney) during the 1980s. In her comparison of the New Right movements in these three countries, Sylvia Bashevkin contends that, "[at] the level of rhetoric, neo-conservatives have emphasized the need to trim state spending, limit the growth of public bureaucracies and eliminate government deficits" (1994, p.276). The New Right also includes a challenge to what it perceives to be a threat to the decline of the nuclear family, and to the 'supposed' successes of feminist and other progressive movements in challenging traditional structures and attitudes(Gotell: 1997). Advocates of the New Right perceive this movement as a challenge to the 'status quo'.¹⁵

¹⁵Preston Manning has stated on many occasions that the Reform Party of Canada is anti-status-quo. While his party advocates structural changes in the government in order to reflect 'regional' diversity, the Reform Party of Canada supports traditional social arrangements that strongly support the status quo. The use of the term 'status quo' will be discussed in detail in Chapter Three and Four.

There are two basic streams of thought that are identified with the New Right, both of which are evident in the ideological characteristics of the RPC: neoconservatism (social authoritarianism) and neoliberalism (free market economics). David and Levitas argue that within a neoconservative perspective likens the relationship of citizen and state to that of child to parent (David and Levitas in Seidel, 1988, p.142). Consequently, the relationship between the child and parent, constitutive of the family, is the foundation of a society, and also binds the citizen to the state. As a result, the importance of this familial relationship legitimizes the hierarchical structure of society (David and Levitas in Seidel, 1988, p.142). According to Dacks, Green and Trimble, neoconservatism is a preference for hierarchical and authoritarian social relations. Thus, a major element of neoconservatism is its promotion of patriarchal social organizations (1995, p.271).

Neoliberalism draws from a variety of liberal perspectives, including classical and reform.¹⁶ One of the features of neoliberalism is its emphasis on the individual. Neoliberalism rests upon the premise that the rational, self-interested self is the primary element of society (Klatch, 1987, p.4). The primacy of the individual is linked

¹⁶For a more detailed discussion on the tenets of various strands of liberalism, please refer to Gibbins and Arrison, Mindscapes: 1996, pp.26-54.

to a belief that the market should operate unfettered from government intrusions, as individuals should be free to operate in an open economy, independent of state intervention. As Dacks, Green and Trimble explain: "neoliberalism is an economic ideology that promotes the freest possible market...seeking minimum government and minimum regulation of corporate activity"(1995, p.270). The organizational relationship of social life is not, contrary to neoconservative thought, between citizen and state, but instead between free individuals and the market.

While neoliberalism draws from its liberal predecessors, it departs in a few key ways. A major difference between neoliberalism and classical and reform liberalism is its emphasis on the community interest(Gibbins and Youngman: 1996, 46). Although neoliberals do not fully reject individualism, their emphasis on the community interest means that it departs from liberalism and can also fit into 'conservatism'. As Gibbins and Youngman suggest:

The classical liberal wishes to promote individual self-interest; reform liberals seek to reduce social inequities and protect civil liberties so as to allow for the better promotion of individual self-interest. In contrast, neoliberals base political action on the **national interest**, and wish to use the government to benefit society.

(emphasis added, 1996, p.46)

Consequently, neoliberalism strikes a balance between protecting the rights of the individual, while at the same time, also encouraging the protection and promotion of the

'common good'.

The Reform Party of Canada must be understood within the structure of the New Right because it includes both a vision of the individual, and the "common interest" of its political community. While neoconservatism underpins its religiously-based commitment to greater state activism on moral issues, I will use the term 'neoliberal' to refer to the ideological perspectives of the party because, as previously mentioned by Gibbins and Youngman(1996), neoliberalism includes both the role that the individual must play within the community, and also a focus on the "common interest" of the community. On this basis, the ideology of neoliberalism best explains the New Right ideological composition of the RPC.

The notion of a "common interest" has been documented by many political scientists, including Janine Brodie, who suggests that a "neoliberal consensus" drives the New Right in Canada. She suggests that within this 'neoliberal consensus', there are four main tenets:

1. to maximize exports;
2. to reduce social spending;
3. to curtail state economic regulation; and
4. to enable market forces to restructure national economies as parts of transnational or regional trading blocs.

(Friedman in Brodie: 1996, p.4)

The idea of a "neoliberal consensus" helps to explain the ideological structure of the Reform Party of Canada. The emphasis on laissez faire economics of neoliberalism

resonates in the RPC's discourse of a 'new economic order' in Canada. In the following chapters, I will explore further the neoliberal underpinnings of the Reform Party of Canada as it strongly informs their citizenship and nationalist practices.

A third element of the ideological complexion of the RPC is populism. The party's focus on both the equality of individuals and the preservation of the collective good derive from its populist roots.¹⁷ Gibbins and Arrison state that historically, "[populism] grew out of the perceptions that external elites were exploiting the region, and that the political system was tilted towards those holding economic wealth and power"(1995, p.65). As previously discussed, western discontent with the federal government provided an environment within which populism could flourish in the western regions of Canada. As Harrison suggests:

Populist movements stress the worth of the common people and advocate their political supremacy, reject[ing] intermediate associations between the mass and leaders, and direct[ing] its protests against some groups which lie outside the local society.

(1995, p.5)

While the Reform Party seeks to support the rights of

¹⁷There is some current debate surrounding the specific nature of 'regionalism' in the RPC. Scholars such as Roger Gibbins and George Melnyk advance the position that the Reform Party of Canada is not regional because it so quickly changed from a regional to a national stance early in its history. For more information on this debate, refer to Gibbins, 1995 or Melnyk, 1993.

individuals, it is also concerned with the interests of the community.¹⁸ The Reform Party of Canada's slogan, "the common sense of the common people" illustrates its commitment toward populism.¹⁹ American political scientist Howard Cody has labelled Manning's brand of populism a 'monistic populism', meaning "a system of thought which recognizes a single ultimate principle"(1997, p.5). In the case of the Reform Party, monistic populism meshes well with neoliberalism because both assume a degree of homogeneity--that differences between people should be reduced to a single ultimate principle of a common will of the people. In the next chapter, I will indicate how this conception of sameness underpins the Reform Party's discourse on citizenship.

In summary, the Reform Party of Canada developed out of a strain of anti-separatism leading to a brand of nationalism inclusive to the concerns of the West, a disillusionment with federal Conservatism which provided a space for a New Right party to emerge, and a brand of populism that would advocate the rights of both the

¹⁸ For example, the RPC's platform of Triple E Senate, proposed initially by the Canada West Foundation, seeks to increase Western representation in the Senate, indicating a commitment to regional equality within the RPC. For more information, refer to the Reform Party Fresh Start Platform of 1996-1997.

¹⁹The Reform Party of Canada's support for measures of direct democracy, including: plebiscites, recalls, referendas and citizens initiatives illustrates the party's commitment to populism.

individual and Western regions. While these ideological influences sufficiently explain the general ideological composition of the RPC, theoretical explanations of citizenship and nationalism must be advanced in order to contextualize the citizenship and nationalist practices of the Reform Party of Canada.

2.3 Contextualizing Citizenship & Nationalism:

In this section, I situate the citizenship and nationalist practices of the Reform Party of Canada within the broader theoretical literature on citizenship and nationalism. In the case of citizenship, I first assess T.H. Marshall's seminal theory of citizenship and demonstrate how it does not adequately explain the current 'crisis' of citizenship neither globally nor in Canada. I then consider the works of two feminist scholars, Iris Marion Young and Anna Yeatman, who provide useful critiques of this model of citizenship. These feminist insights provide analytic insights on which I draw in Chapter Two. In the case of nationalism, I first summarize the 'canon' of literature on nationalism. I then summarize feminist critiques of theories of nationalism, which will be returned to in Chapter Three.

A. Theories of Citizenship:

According to British sociologist T.H. Marshall, there are

three components of rights that must be understood within the framework of citizenship: civil, political and social(Marshall in Yeatman, p.72). Marshall defines each component as the following:

civic: composed of the rights necessary for individual freedom.

political: the right to participate in the exercise of political power.

social: the whole range from the right to a modicum of economic welfare and security to the right to share to the full in social heritage and to live the life of a civilized being according to the standards prevailing in the community.
(Marshall in Yeatman, 1994, pp.72-73)

According to Marshall, these categories describe the historical development civic, political, and social rights in England in the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries respectively. Although Marshall's categories are useful in describing the evolution of citizenship rights historically, many feminist scholars argue that they rely upon a conception of the ideal citizen who is male, white, able-bodied, property-owning, and European(Hernes, 1987; Vickers, 1989; Moller-Okin, 1992; Valentine, 1996; Voet, 1994; Bonnett, 1997). Laura Bonnett argues that the exclusive nature of Marshall's categories of rights stems from his conceptualization of citizenship as an 'individual right only'(1997, p.23). As a result, Marshall's categories of citizenship deny the structural barriers that prevent women from participating fully in society.

Another major weakness of Marshall's 'sequential' depiction of the evolution of citizenship is that it ignores

the possibility of fluctuations within a continuum of citizenship. The works of Horsman and Marshall(1994), and Jenson and Phillips(1996) provide such explanations, and are thus more illuminating in situating the Reform Party of Canada's citizenship practices within a current context.

Citizenship has become an issue of concern more recently as national boundaries continue to collapse, consequently raising questions about the how these changes will impact the communities developed by nation-states that are bound together by citizenship. The changing form of the nation-state raises serious questions as to the status of citizenship on a global stage. As Horsman and Marshall contend:

Citizenship is the foundation of the modern, liberal-democratic state. It provides a framework within which individuals are part of a political community, and as such is strongly linked to conceptions of the nation-state and sovereignty. Given that both these concepts are in crisis, it should not come as any great surprise that we believe citizenship, too, to be a beleaguered idea.

(1994, p.216)

The 'crisis' of citizenship means that human rights concerns that are tied to citizenship, such as equality and fairness are, also being called into question. In their assessment of the federal Liberal Party's model of citizenship, Jenson and Phillips argue that in the Canadian context, the tenuous state of equality and fairness can be linked to a 'regime'

shift of economic restructuring.²⁰ This regime shift signifies the move of Canadian citizenship practices toward a neoliberal individualistic model of citizenship. Political scientist Richard Sigurdson outlines the characteristics of this model of citizenship. Sigurdson establishes the neoliberal individualistic model in opposition to a cultural differentiation model, which also helps to explain many feminist critiques of the neoliberal individualistic model.

According to Sigurdson, the neoliberal individual interpretation of the relationship between citizens and the state must not be mediated or interfered with by groups or collectivities, but instead focuses on the individual (1994, p.57). In particular, the neoliberal individual model of citizenship pivots upon the civic and political responsibilities and rights of the individual within a particular political community. The exclusion of social rights within the neoliberal, individualistic notion of citizenship necessarily prioritizes the role of the market and the individual's responsibility to the free-market. As Janine Brodie states: "the new ideal of the common good rests on market-oriented values such as self-reliance, efficiency, and competition" (1993, p.19).

Within the discourse of neoliberal, individualistic notions of citizenship, the role of the state as a provider

²⁰The idea of 'regime' shift will be explored in detail in the next chapter in the examination of the historical construction of citizenship in Canada.

and regulator of citizen rights is dismissed and replaced by the economic duties and responsibilities of individuals to the free-market. As a result, neoliberal assumptions of citizenship tend to prioritize the civic and political duties and responsibilities of individuals over the social rights and claims for equality of either individuals or groups.²¹ Instead of speaking about 'rights', this approach focuses upon the civic responsibilities of individuals toward the new market regime. As a result, individuals have a duty and obligation to uphold and maintain market-oriented values and should no longer require the social rights provided by the state in the economic structure of the free-market (Brodie: 1993, p.5).

The work of American political scientist Iris Marion Young critiques neoliberal individualistic accounts of citizenship. For Young, a private/public division underpins the neoliberal individualistic model of citizenship that reduces difference to a singular political identity.

Accordingly, Young contends that in a neoliberal model:

public life is supposed to be "blind" to sex, race age and so on, and all persons are supposed to enter the public and its discussion on identical terms. This conception of the public has resulted in the exclusion of persons and aspects of persons from the public life.

(1990: 120)

²¹Within the Keynesian welfare state, however, since claims for social rights were most often articulated to the state through group identities, the emphasis upon civic and political rights necessarily prioritizes the primacy of the individual over the collective within liberal, individualistic discourses.

Within the public/private split, what is deemed as 'private', such as family, must remain beyond the realm of the public discourse of citizenship. Similarly, Carole Pateman notes that "both liberal citizenship and social citizenship theory ignores the fundamental subordination of women and the degree to which welfare state programs have both relied on and reinforced women's dependency within the family"(as quoted in Morrison, 1997: 68).

Critiques of the neoliberal individualist model also contend that we cannot reduce difference to a perceived universality within a community. For Young, citizenship needs to be structured in such a way that the differences between social groups are acknowledged and incorporated into the model itself. Young argues that the neoliberal, individualistic model of citizenship reduces differences to a perceived sameness between individuals, which, in turn, results in the perpetuation of oppressive conditions for social groups(1990, p.103). Further, Young maintains that within the neoliberal conception of citizenship, difference thus "becomes a hierarchical opposition between what lies inside and what lies outside the category, valuing more what lies inside than what lies outside"(1990, p.102). In this way, difference becomes a marker of exclusion and is placed outside of and in opposition to the singular political community. In the next chapter, the construction of difference as antithetical to the political community as

evidence in the citizenship practices of the Reform Party of Canada will be explored in detail.

The construction of the political community in neoliberal understandings of citizenship is a central aspect of Australian Anna Yeatman's work. For Yeatman, a major characteristic of the political community in neoliberal notions of citizenship is its universal discourse. She argues that citizenship extends "the status of 'individual' to all who fall under the state's jurisdiction and all become counted as members of the state as a self-determining political community"(1994, p.80). This universal discourse also constructs the identity of the political community. She states:

[T]his is a community which understands its integrity and viability to be dependent on clear-cut boundaries delineating who belongs and who does not. It is a community which requires an identity of being from those who belong, and, at the same time, a non-identity of being in respect of those who do not belong.

(1994, p.80)

In the neoliberal individualistic model of citizenship, the political community and difference are mutually exclusive terms. In the next chapter, I will explore how the Reform Party's citizenship discourses relies upon this model of the political community, and the dilemmas this presents to social identity groups.

Feminist critiques of 'private property' as an integral part of neoliberal accounts of citizenship must also be

noted, as I argue later that it is central to the Reform Party of Canada's citizenship practices. Anna Yeatman points to the intimate connection between the development of private property and patrimonial dominion in historical theories of citizenship. Yeatman suggests that 'private property' became a fundamental aspect of individualism, as it signified "the individual's right to control what falls under his power, or within his private jurisdiction"(1994: 61). As Yeatman suggests, 'private property' must be understood as significantly gendered because:

those placed under the domestic government of a private property owner/householder- women, children, servants- cannot be regarded as individuals in their own right, even when the former have surrendered their natural executive power to the public authority.
(1994, 64)

Further, the central role that private property plays as a condition for citizenship in the neoliberal model must be understood as a class-based issue. As Yuval-Davis contends, property rights requirements within this regime assume that all people are positioned equally within the community, having equal access to material needs. She states, "under the [neoliberal] mode of citizenship, as Peter Golding remarks, 'To be poor is to endure conditional citizenship'"(1997, p.85). The role that private property plays in the neoliberal model of citizenship is important because it is a major prerequisite for the conditions and terms of citizenship. In the next chapter, I will examine

the important role that private property plays in the citizenship discourse of the Reform Party as an essential condition for membership in their vision of the political community.

These theories of citizenship help to explain the neoliberal, individualistic model of citizenship that is supported by the Reform Party of Canada. In the next Chapter, I will explore in detail how the RPC's citizenship practices also construct the ideal citizen to be white, able-bodied, and male.

B. Theories of Nationalism:

Although a history of intellectual thought on nationalism cannot be offered adequately within the confines of this chapter, a few key aspects of this literature must be referenced in order to deconstruct the nationalism espoused by the Reform Party of Canada. In this section I demonstrate how theories of nationalism have broadened to include women's experiences of nationalism. These theories of nationalism provide the basis of my critique of the nationalist practices of the Reform Party of Canada.

In Becoming National, Geoff Eley and Grigor Suny(1996) summarize what they deem are two distinct epochs of intellectual nationalist thought: early discourses of

nationalism, and modern ideas of nationalism and nations.²² One of the major differences between early discourses of nationalism and modern ones is that earlier discourses tended to perceive nations as natural entities. Modern accounts of nationalism posited the nation as products of socio-cultural formulations. Earlier discourses of nationalism constructed nations as "natural and objective entities, wherein the world was fatally divided into nations"(Eley & Suny, 1996, p.4). Theorists such as Johann Gottfried von Herder and Johann Gottlieb Fichte assumed that the nation could be explained as an 'organic whole'. As Anthony D. Smith states, in the organic concept of the nation:

the individual has no meaning apart from the community of birth. Individuality is predicted of the group. The individual can realize himself (sic) through it alone...Nations are "natural" wholes, they constitute the sole historical realities only secondarily by social and personal traits.

(Smith in Eley & Suny, 1996, p.5)

In this vision of nation, the nation may be studied objectively as a natural entity with properties of its own that can be studied objectively. The proponents of this vision of nation argue that national identity stems from an inherited, historicist character of national identity,

²²It must be noted at this point, however, that not all nationalisms follow the chronological 'development' outlined by Eley and Suny. For example, many Aboriginal nationalisms that exist today rely upon primordialist accounts of the 'natural' nation.

which, as Hans Kohn articulates, can be placed in opposition to political explanations of nation. (Eley and Suny, 1996). I will return to the idea of a 'natural' nation later when I demonstrate how the 'natural' nation is postulated by the Reform Party of Canada, which illustrates how their nationalism is grounded in historical construction of nationalism that is not new, contrary to its packaging of a "New Canada".

A major shift in nationalist thought occurred as theorists began to deconstruct the organicist 'wholeness' of nations. These arguments gave rise to the notion of a 'modern' nation, wherein nationalism was a sociological necessity in modern times in order to foster and maintain modern necessities, such as literacy, education, citizenship, and culture. As a result, many nationalist thinkers began to concentrate on the deconstruction of the 'nation-as-a-whole' model of nation, and move more toward the dissemination of how nationalisms and nations are constructed through culture, language, ethnicity, and identity.

Elie Kedourie(1960) critiques the 'organic' whole perspective as an essentialist approach that must be replaced by explanations that probe the social construction of nations. For Kedourie and other modern nationalist theorists, the essentialist positions of organicist, or 'primordialists' must be interrogated to explore the

possibility of how nations are socially/politically constructed phenomena. One of the most prolific theorists on this issue, Ernest Gellner:

rejected any idea that nationality or nationalism was natural or primordial and points out that for much of history tribes, villages, city-states, feudal settlements, dynastic empires, or the "loose moral communities of a shared religion" were far more pervasive political units than nation-states.

(Gellner in Eley & Suny, 1996, p.6)

The rejection of nationality/nations as natural and essential led Gellner toward cultural explanations of identity constructions. The deconstruction of the 'essential' nation prompted Gellner to explain 'nation' by exploring how ethnic and cultural identities are integral factors in the constructions of nationalist projects.

Gellner's focus on 'cultural' explanations of nations and nationalisms contributed greatly to the emerging views of the nation as constructed and invented. His rejection of the nation as a natural phenomenon provided a contrasting perspective on the construction of identities, as he argues that identities derive more from culture than from one's place in a given, relatively fixed structure(as quoted in Eley & Suny, 1996, p.6).

The works of Gellner prompted many prominent nationalist theorists to expand upon a social constructionist interpretation of the nation. In his famous work, Imagined Communities, Benedict Anderson shifts the

discourses of nationalism beyond structural determinations into the realm of discourse and the generation of meaning(Eley & Suny, 1996, p.7). For Anderson, the nation must be understood as an 'imagined' community. He asserts:

it is imagined because the members of even the smallest nations will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion.

(1983, p.6)

Nations and nationalism since 1780 by Eric Hobsbawm describes nations and nationalisms as a phenomenon that cannot be mapped through objective measures. For Hobsbawm, 'nationality' "cannot be reduced to a single dimension, whether political, cultural, or otherwise"(1990, p.8). On this basis, neither 'objective' measures, or subjective approaches that seek to explain nations strictly in terms of levels of 'consciousness' are adequate in explaining the emergence of nationalisms. Hobsbawm describes his approach to 'nation' in the following way:

The best way to understand its nature, I suggest, is to follow those who began systematically to operate with this concept in their political and social discourse during The Age of Revolution, and especially under the name of 'the principle of nationality' from about 1830 onwards.

(1990, p.18)

In order to explain the nation as a product of modernity, Hobsbawm turns to liberal bourgeois theories of the nation

between 1830-1880 for explanation.²³ Hobsbawm suggests that liberal thinkers in the nineteenth century perceived nations in terms of territoriality and size. One of the most important features of the early liberal bourgeoisie nation was that it foresaw the building of nation as an inevitable process of expansion. The 'progressive' aspect of nation-building, then, would eventually lead to a world economic order(1990, p.33).

The link between a global economic order and the project of nationalism will be returned to in my examination of the Reform Party's 'economic nationalism'.

The works of Gellner, Anderson, Hobsbawm and many others opened up the discourses of nationalism to include a wide range of criteria through which we can better understand the rise of the modern nation. Eley and Suny point out the benefits of such analyses:

On this basis nationalism becomes a clear instance of historical contingency; linked to political intervention, new ideologies, and cultural change, and expressing a transformation of social identity, initially on the part of individuals, but eventually for whole populations.

(1996, p.9)

²³For the purposes of this chapter, Hobsbawm's task to flesh out a coherent liberal bourgeois theory of the nation is of particular importance as I seek to establish the relationship between liberal thought and theories of nationalism. The historical relationship between these two bodies of thought provides a contextual framework for the discussion of the nationalism espoused by the Reform Party of Canada in the next chapter.

More recently, however, nationalist discourse has opened up to includes a wider range of perspectives of nation that speak from, for example, gendered and racialized perspectives of nationalism. As Eley and Suny suggest, such discourses of nationalism offer insights into how these 'new' discourses of nationalism challenge nationalist hegemonies.

Anthony Smith's work on the "Formation of Nationalist Movements" illustrates the invisibility of women in the discourses of nationalism:

Nationalism holds that power emanates only from a 'people' who form a seamless whole, an indivisible brotherhood which abolishes all existing ties, whether of family, neighbourhood or occupation. The only genuine identity is a national one, and every man, be he peasant or worker....

(1991, p.7)

The invisibility of women in the language of much nationalist discourse is symptomatic of the way in which most theoretical frameworks have excluded women's roles in nationalist movements and subsequently avoided gendered analyses of nations and nationalisms. It is because of the dearth of gendered perspectives in traditional theories of nationalism, that feminist contributions toward nationalist theory will more adequately explain the nationalism of the Reform Party of Canada.

In Feminist Nationalisms, Lois West outlines a central feminist criticism of nationalist thought when she states:

for [traditional thinkers], gender is one "concept"

of collective identity (like class, region, race, religion). But what is often conceded is the power, even primacy of national loyalties and identities over those of even class, gender and race.

(1997, p xvi)

For West, feminist critiques of nationalism must flow from a centred, feminist "standpoint theory" that articulates a gendered approach to the studies of nations and nationalisms. In this chapter, however, I argue that such an approach is neither desirable nor capable of unearthing how all identity constructions are implicated in nationalist projects. By this, I mean that we cannot approach theories of nationalism from a unitary category of a centred 'woman's position' but must instead, as Micheline de Sève argues, explore:

the complexities of class, gender, ethnic and national identities of concrete political female subjects criss-cross to prevent any simplified version of a mythical women's unified position.

(1997, p.2)

In this way, critiques of nationalist theories are more comprehensive when they are able to explain how a matrix of identity constructions, comprising of gender, race, class, age, sexuality and region, conflict and compete with nationalist projects. Consequently, critiques of nationalism must begin with an examination of how various collective identities interact with specific nationalist projects. In summation, critiques of nationalism must start from the ground of 'difference'- not only a 'gendered' difference.

I will return briefly to the modern theorists of nationalism in order to demonstrate that although they seek to deconstruct any 'natural' essence of nation, their postulation of other analytical categories such as 'culture' illustrates that they do not theorize from a ground of 'difference'. For example, Gellner's rejection of a naturalized nation lead him to explore the ways in which nations are reproduced as cultural artifacts of history. Similarly, the works of both Hobsbawm (1990) and Anderson (1983), in their interpretations of the nation as 'invented' and 'imagined' place emphasis on the ways in which cultural elites play a large role in the creation of national identities.

While modern accounts of nationalism provide a useful deconstruction of nationalism, my investigation of RPC nationalism seeks to further dismantle categories such as culture and community that historically have silenced, for example, women and First Nations' experiences of nationalism. For feminist theorists of nationalism, the abstraction of 'culture' used as a broadly-based term is highly problematic because it assumes a gender and race-blind analysis of how nationalisms and nations are formed. Anne McClintock's work on nationalism provides a useful and necessary critique of these positions, such as that of Anderson:

Here I depart from Anderson, who sees nationalism as emerging primarily from the Gutenberg technology

of print capitalism. Anderson neglects the fact that print capitalism has, until recently, been accessible to a relatively small literate elite. Indeed, the singular power of nationalism since the late nineteenth century, I suggest, has been its capacity to organize a sense of popular, collective unity through the management of mass, national commodity spectacle.
(1997, p.102)

The ways in which various 'technologies'²⁴ construct collective national unity is of central importance to feminist scholars, who understand that women have played, and continue to play pivotal roles in nationalist projects. The work of Yuval-Davis and Anthias assert that contrary to the understandings of a 'cultural elite' as the reproducers of nations, it is women who bear the responsibility of reproduction on multiple levels.

Yuval-Davis and Anthias (1997) argue that women are implicated in nationalist projects through symbolic and active means. As symbols, women become the signifiers of nationalist discourses. Yuval-Davis states, "in this culturalized discourse, gendered bodies and sexuality play pivotal roles as territories, markers and reproducers of the narratives of nations and other collectivities"(1997, p.39). Thus, women become the symbolic 'border guards' of nations in their roles as cultural reproducers.

²⁴The term 'technologies' in reference to nationalism was used by Jill Vickers in "At His Mother's Knee: Sex/Gender and the Construction of National Identities", 1990. This term explains how the patriarchal organization of sex/gender constructs identity, defines group membership, and maintains group cohesion and continuity.

Jill Vickers explores the ways in which women's roles as cultural and biological reproducers of nations are pivotal to nationalist projects. Vickers contends that often the construction of nationalist identities relies upon patriarchal sex/gender arrangements to maintain group identity and cohesion (1990). Despite the essential role that women play in the creation of national identities, however, gendered understandings of nationalism are unexplained in the canon of traditional thought of nationalism, and also within nationalist projects as well. As Vickers argues, women's roles in many nationalist movements were as a conduit of identity whereupon their experiences of nationalism were always filtered through men: as mother, daughter, or sister within the nation (1990).

Many other feminist accounts of nationalism have surfaced over the past decade that provide gendered explanations of how national identities arise (Enloe: 1989, Ng, 1989, Curthoy:1993, DeSève:1997, West:1997, McClintock:1997). Although these works differ in important and substantial ways, a thread that weaves through them is the way in which each examines the relationship between feminism and nationalism as collective identities. One important exploration is the interrogation of how feminisms and nationalisms may be opposed to one another when we think of them in terms of socially constructed identities that demand allegiance and loyalty. While nationalisms rest upon

assumptions of cultural similarities based on common history, mythologies and territory that bind a group of people together, gender solidarities threaten to undercut nationalist constructions, posing a challenge to commonalities, placing emphasis on gendered differences within a particular group. More recent explanations of the relationship between nationalism and feminism have sought to understand how some nationalisms interact positively with feminisms, such as was the case with francophone feminism and the Waffle in Canada from 1969-1972.²⁵

2.4 Conclusion:

In this chapter I illustrated how the Reform Party of Canada does not exist within a vacuum: it is influenced by a variety of ideological factors, all of which inform the citizenship and nationalist practices of the RPC. Any assessment of the Reform Party of Canada must begin with an historical explanation of the rise of the Reform Party in Western Canadian politics with attention to separatism, alienation, protest and populism. The Reform Party is also part of a larger movement, known as the New Right in Canada. In this section, I demonstrated how the New Right ideology of neoliberalism helps to explain the ideological

²⁵For further elaboration of the more 'positive' interaction between feminism and nationalism in the Waffle, refer to T.Raney's unpublished work, "Gendered and National Identities in the Waffle, 1969-1972".

composition of the Reform Party of Canada. I argued that the theoretical literature on citizenship and nationalism must also be considered in order to situate the RPC within a larger Canadian and global experience of citizenship and nationalism. Finally, I demonstrated how feminist insights into each of these fields provide useful critiques of citizenship and nationalism. In the next chapter, I integrate these strands of explanations in order to critique the citizenship practices of the Reform Party of Canada.

CHAPTER TWO

Unhyphenating Canada: A Critique of the Citizenship Practices of the Reform Party of Canada

PART I

3.1 Introduction:

Reform alone among the parties takes a different view. We believe that all Canadians should be treated equally in law and the Constitution regardless of race, culture, language. If various groups of Canadians want to preserve their language and culture, fine. Let them do so. But as far as the federal government is concerned, treat all Canadians as equals, period.

(Preston Manning, Speech given in Etobicoke, Ontario, March 20, 1996, p.5)

In Part I of this chapter, I reveal how the RPC's model of citizenship reflects the current practices of citizenship in Canada which is a model of neoliberal, individualistic citizenship. I then outline the RPC's model of citizenship, arguing that it supports this liberal, individualistic model of citizenship. In particular, I focus on the RPC's emphasis on individual duties, which limit social identity groups' claims for rights. In Part II, I illustrate how this interpretation of citizenship raises questions of access for women, people of colour, working-class, and disabled people. This results in an exclusion of these groups from the public community that is constructed within a liberal model of citizenship. Part II deconstructs various elements that reflect key aspects of the Reform Party's discourse on citizenship: duty, sameness/difference, equality, the problematics of an equality of sameness, and the

implications of 'duty' in Reform's citizenship model.

3.2 Historical Citizenship Practices in Canada:

The Reform Party of Canada has built its platform around the equality of citizens; in fact, the RPC claims that they are the only party that will govern with the 'common sense of the common people'.²⁶ The equality of the Reform Party, then, relies upon an assumption of sameness between individuals that results in identical treatment for all. In this section, I argue that although the RPC has packaged its citizenship practices as different and unique, they, in fact, reflect the current practice of citizenship in Canada. I begin by charting the changing forms of citizenship in Canada beginning with the postwar era.

According to Desmond Morton, citizenship is "a means of categorizing individuals and of giving them an identity"(1993, p.50). This identity implies loyalty and commitment to a national entity. In the Canadian case, citizenship identities have always had to coexist with "loyalties to homelands, newer provinces, or nations within and protected by the federal state", a condition referred to by J.M.S. Careless as "limited identities"(1993, p.51). According to William Kaplan, historically citizenship has

²⁶This phrase is used frequently by Preston Manning. Journalist Jeffrey Simpson has stated:"In private dialogue and public discourse, Manning refers to his father's maxim that any public policy must pass the test of the 'common sense of the common people'. Simpson, 1993.

meant membership in a nation-state and demanded allegiance as a condition for that membership(1993, p.243). The Canadian experience of citizenship during the post-war period illustrates the close relationship between state-building and war(Jenson and Phillips: 1996, Morton: 1993). As Jenson and Phillips contend, "[w]artime fears about the loyalty of immigrants from combatant countries as well as the need to mobilize support for the war effort among those not in the armed forces laid the groundwork for the state institution that became the citizenship branch(1996: p.115).

The Citizenship Act of 1946 served to outline not only the rights of Canadians, but also sought to create a cohesive political community that would be distinctly Canadian. As the Secretary of State at the time concluded, the bill would "provide an underlying community of status for all our people in this country that will bind them together as Canadians"(Jenson and Phillips, 1996, p.116). The concretization of citizenship loyalty would take the form of a pan-Canadianism which sought to create a singular political community with a common Canadian history, experience and future. Yet, the responsibility for fostering this identity was not held exclusively by the Canadian state but was, as Jenson and Phillips suggest, "contracted out" to voluntary organizations for programs in the area of citizenship(1996, p.116). Further, Jenson and Phillips conclude that:

the principles underpinning the postwar citizenship regime were not simply liberal, although liberalism was clearly important. Accompanying Canada's liberalism was a notion of collective responsibility, and the state was the expression and guarantor of this collectivity.

(1996, p.116)

During the 1960s, the relationship between the state and its citizens was being addressed by a variety of organizations, coinciding with the emergence of a growing concern over the "Canadian" national identity.²⁷ The political community defined by the postwar citizenship regime was marked by intermediary institutions and organizations that had a collective responsibility in forging the new political community and the subsequent pan-Canadian nationalism that was tied to Canadian practices of citizenship. Within the postwar citizenship regime "[a]chieving social justice and equity were legitimate goals, and therefore groups which made claims, and programs which responded to such claims, were in the political mainstream"(Jenson and Phillips, pp.118-119).

Although the shift between the postwar citizenship regime and the 'new' citizenship regime, as articulated by Jenson and Phillips, cannot be isolated to one particular incident, it is clear that the Charter of Rights and Freedoms introduced in 1982 played a significant role in

²⁷The historical construction of Canadian nationalism will be explored in detail in Chapter Three.

shaping contemporary Canadian citizenship practices.²⁸

Jenson and Phillips contend that the Charter symbolized a shift from the postwar regime of citizenship toward a new, liberal regime. They state that the introduction of the Charter resulted in:

the culmination of the postwar citizenship regime and the beginning of its destabilization. The constitutionalization of the regime was occurring just as the policy-makers were realizing that the postwar model of development had reached its limits and as the neo-conservative agenda began to take hold in government and business circles.

(1996, p.119)

While the introduction of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms symbolizes a regime shift in citizenship practices in Canada, it received significant political hostility, particularly in the West, where it was perceived as a vehicle through which the federal government was able to trump the rights of collective groups via court challenges over the rights of individuals. Political scientist F.L. Morton suggests that instead of providing a positive symbol for Canadian nationalism, the Charter served to create a tension between a "liberal regime of equality of opportunity for individuals and a post-liberal regime of equality of results for groups"(Morton, 1995, p.93). On this basis, Morton contends that vis a vis the Charter, the collective/individual dialectic in Canada has shifted to

²⁸The central role that the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms had on the construction of Anglo-Canadian nationalism will be explored in detail in Chapter Three.

emphasis collective rights over individual rights.

Contrary to Morton's contentions of the Charter as a symbol of the entrenchment of "group" rights into the Canadian constitution, Jenson and Phillips maintain that the new regime shift placed the rights of individuals above the rights of collective groups. They argue that the new regime shift altered the relationship between the state and its citizens through the elimination of funding for intermediary organizations and special interest groups that previously had played a role in the creation of the Keynesian welfare state. For example, "The Tory government began to cut grants and contributions to groups selectively in 1986-1987(Jenson and Phillips, 1996, p.123). Although these cost-cutting measures were framed within a discourse of 'economic' necessity, they symbolize, as Jenson and Phillips argue, "a full-scale assault on the legitimacy and credibility of advocacy groups"(1996, p.124). Consequently, the role played by organizations and collectives in the construction of Canadian citizenship was replaced with a new citizenship regime that charged individuals to represent themselves within the political community undergoing massive changes.

The destabilization of the relationship between the citizen and the state is part of the project to dismantle the Keynesian welfare state. According to political scientist Janine Brodie, "the post-war Keynesian ideas of citizenship, including: social rights and the accommodation

of difference are under attack by new forces that prioritize the role of the market notions of citizenship (1996, p.19).

Within this new order:

the rights and securities universally guaranteed to citizens of the Keynesian welfare state are no longer rights, universal or secure. The new ideal of the common good rests on market-oriented values such as self-reliance, efficiency, and competition.

(Drache in Brodie, 1996, p.19)

The destabilization of the relationship between the state and its citizens has further exacerbated the 'crisis' of a fragmented Canadian nationalism. As political scientist Alan Cairns contends, the threatened breakup of Canada has resulted in a crisis of citizenship and community which raises the fundamental question: to what community or communities do Canadians wish to give their allegiance?(1993, p.181). Within the new regime of citizenship, questions of identity once more become salient within a global economic order, as:

globalization presents people with an unending stream of products, ideas, values and new identities that threatens to destabilize links between citizen and state unless they are constrained by the positive identification with the polity that an enriched practice of citizenship can generate.

(1993, p.182)

The changing forms of relationships between the state and its citizens within the new citizenship regime has provided a space within which advocates of new forms of representation for citizens to the Canadian state can emerge. The Reform Party of Canada has positioned itself

within this niche with solutions to solve the 'crisis' of representation with proposals to "open" up consultation processes to individuals through devices such as recalls and referendas. Particularly since the aftermath of the Meech Lake Accord, the salience of the RPC's claims for greater individual representation to the state has accelerated the drive for a renewed citizenship regime begun by the Mulroney Conservatives and advanced by the Liberal Party.

The new citizenship regime has resulted in a fundamental restructuring of the relationship between the state and its citizens. The reduction of funding to advocacy groups and the mistrust of 'special interest groups' as integral to political representation, the collapse of the welfare state combined with a project of economic restructuring within a global climate together have resulted in not only a change in citizenship practices in Canada, but are symptomatic of a fundamental challenge to the role previously afforded to social identity groups. In reaction to this 'crisis', the RPC proposes a solution that is in line with the neoliberal, individualistic model of citizenship already underway in Canada. In the next section, I argue that although the RPC articulates this position as "new" and distinct from any other party, they are in full support of the new citizenship regime already underway in Canada.

3.3 The Reform Party of Canada's Model of Citizenship:

The Reform Party of Canada has positioned itself as the champion for a renewed strengthening of the relationship between the state and its citizens. Its Freshstart Platform 1996-1997, outlines a commitment to referendas and plebiscites that it contends will increase individual representation in state affairs. The RPC further insists that it provides a new alternative for political representation:

The old vision held by the Liberals and Tories before them, revolves around big government and the high taxes that go with it. It is a vision which has us working more than half the year just to pay our tax bill. And it is a vision which trivializes our sense of ourselves by implying that we can only hold this country together through government programs, government spending, and government propaganda.

(Freshstart Platform 1996-1997, p.4)

Although the RPC proposals offer changes, these changes do not fundamentally challenge the new citizenship regime that has already been established in Canada. Despite its claims for 'newness', the citizenship practices of the RPC, in fact, contribute to, and accelerate, the existing neoliberal, individualistic regime of citizenship in Canada.

In April 1996, the Reform Party of Canada released its Report of The Task Force On the Charter of Rights and Freedoms(RTFCRF). Established in April of 1995, the Task Force was mandated to "deal with unresolved policy resolutions that had come forward at Assembly '94, for

presentation and review at Assembly '96"(RTFCRF, p.2). The Task Force made fifteen recommendations under seven headings and three resolutions for the Blue Book, the principle guidebook for the RPC. This Report is significant in that it illustrates how the RPC constructs citizenship as a political and civic relationship between the individual and the state. According to the RPC, the contractual relationship between individuals and the state must include not only rights, but also duties and responsibilities that the individual is obliged to fulfill toward the state, duties which have been neglected in the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms(CCRF). Active citizenship is determined only through political and civic responsibilities enacted by individuals for the state, and, therefore, the rewarding of 'rights' is granted to those who fulfill the politico-civic terms of the contractual relationship.

The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms is a focal point for the Report, as the Task Force suggests that the CCRF is a seriously flawed document. One of the major concerns outlined in the Report is that the primary relationship between the individual and the state is threatened in the CCRF. A key recommendation of the Task Force is to support the rights of the individual through the entrenchment of property rights in the CCRF. The Task Force states:

Property rights are protected under common law,
but were excluded from the Charter. Many believe

this result was perpetrated by a Prime Minister and leaders on the "political left" who did not want to see the institutions of capitalism or of individual autonomy gain constitutional protection, which could then limit socialism and central government power.

(RTFCRF, p.6)

Recommendation 14 of the Task Force demonstrates the important role that property rights play in individual claims for rights. Property rights are pivotal to the RPC, as the Task Force suggests that a stronger role should be afforded to property rights in the Blue Book and further, that the CCRF should also be amended to include such a provision. The Task Force suggests that property rights should be expanded to include "real, intellectual and personal property, and the right to engage in free uncoerced contracts, and the right not to be deprived thereof except by due process of law"(RTFCRF, p.24). The prioritization of 'property rights' is also supported in the Blue Book, the RPC's policy platform. The 1996-1997 Blue Book states:

The Reform Party supports amending the Charter of Rights and Freedoms to recognize the right of every person to own, use and enjoy property(including real intellectual and personal property) and to contract freely. The Charter should state that no person shall be deprived of the ownership, use or enjoyment of property, or contract without full, just and timely compensation and the due process of law.

(Blue Book, 1996-1997, p.23)

The entrenchment of property rights in the CCRF is a necessity for the RPC because it would "prevent regulators from chipping away at the value of private assets by requiring citizens to comply with regulations that violate

these provisions of the Charter"(RTFCRF, p.25).²⁹

The Reform Party's focus on property rights illustrates how their practices of citizenship reflect the current model of citizenship in Canada. One of the characteristics of the new citizenship regime, as previously mentioned, is the decreasing role of collective groups in the forging of the political community.³⁰ Subsequently, individuals are granted 'political' rights, such as property rights, and are therefore charged with the responsibility of representing themselves to the state(Jenson and Phillips, 1996: p.128). Property rights are pivotal to claims for individual rights, then, because they signify the ultimate freedom of the individual agent or subject over an object domain(Yeatman, 1994: p.61). The Reform Party's emphasis on property rights stresses that the ultimate relationship between the state

²⁹Property rights has been a central focus for Yorkton-Melville MP Breitzkreuz. In May of 1995, he introduced a Private Members Bill, C-284 that attempted to strengthen protection for property rights in federal law.

³⁰There is no doubt that increasingly, collective groups have been forging political communities in Canada, such as is the case with First Nations and some francophone populations in Quebec. Yet, contrary to Morton's position, I contend that these claims do not represent a shift in the collective/group rights dialectic in Canada toward the triumph of collective rights over individual rights. Instead, I suggest that they indicate the increasing neoliberal climate of the 'Canadian' political community, and its hostility to group claims within this community. Consequently, these group claims for political autonomy suggest that unless the 'Canadian' political community is able to regain the balance between individual and collective rights, collective groups will continue to assert their independence from the 'Canadian' political community, perhaps even through secession.

and its citizenry is through the individual. Thus, social entitlements for collective groups are not included in this model of citizenship.

3.4 Individual Versus Collective Rights:

While property ownership as a basic individual claim for rights is a central concern for the Task Force, so too is the perceived threat of individual rights at the hands of groups. As a result, the Task Force makes several recommendations that would catapult the rights of the individual above the rights of collective groups.

Recommendation Number Eleven supports the repeal of Section 15(2) of the CCRF which states:

subsection (1) does not preclude any law, program or activity that has as its object the amelioration of conditions of disadvantaged individuals or groups including those that are disadvantaged because of race, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion, sex, age or mental or physical disability.

(Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms)

For the Reform Party of Canada, Section 15(2) unnecessarily places the rights of collective social groups above the rights of the individual. As a result, the Task Force suggests that this Section of the Charter, "which permits the use of reverse discrimination and 'affirmative action' is intolerable in a society where all citizens are equal under the law" (RTFCRF, p.20). The assumption that underlies the repeal of Section 15(2) is that rights that are granted to

social groups based on specific claims for identity necessarily impinge upon the rights of the individual. The Task Force elaborates on Recommendation 11 suggesting that Section 15(2) discriminates against individuals. The Task Force states:

There is no part of the Charter more repugnant to mainstream Canadian values than Section 15(2), which permits discrimination by any level of government, as long as members of "disadvantaged" groups are singled out for special treatment. For this reason, there was strong agreement by Task Force members that the Reform Party should advocate a formal amendment, under the Constitution's 7/50 formula, to abolish Section 15(2).
(RTFCRF, p.20)

Similarly, Recommendation 12 seeks to end constitutionally entrenched multiculturalism. The Task Force states:

The Task Force recommends that the Reform Party supports the repeal of Section 27 of the Charter, which states that the Charter should be 'interpreted in light of the fact that Canada is a multicultural society.

(RTFCRF, p.22)

Although the Task Force has little to say about Recommendation 12(the justification for the repeal of Section 27 is limited to merely two sentences!), Section 27 is perceived as a violation of the rights of individuals.

The Task Force states:

This Section has the potential for group-specific rights to be 'read in" to the Charter, and is potentially divisive and ghettoizing. The section can be viewed as inoperative window dressing for political appearance sake, and has no judicable function.

(RTFCRF, p.22)

What is puzzling about Recommendation 12 is that while the

Task Force attacks group rights, it simultaneously has appropriated the language of group discrimination claims and tagged it to the rights of individuals. The underlying insinuation in this statement is that Section 27 has the potential to be 'divisive' and 'ghettoizing'. We can only assume that the Task Force is referring to a perceived threat to a collective community comprised of individual citizens.

Recommendations 11 and 12 demonstrate the way that 'rights' are constructed in the RPC's discourse on citizenship: since the rights of groups infringe upon the rights of individuals, rights have a quantifiable limit that can be accessed only through individual claims. Judge Rosalie Abella's metaphor of the 'rights-pie' demonstrates the way in which rights can be thought of other than as a limited concept. She states:

Everyone is entitled to fair access to the whole pie. If the pie is not big enough, efforts must be made towards expanding it. If it is not nourishing enough, efforts must be made to change the recipe that has been handed down from generation to generation.

(1991, p.356)

While Abella encourages the expansion of the parameters of the 'pie' of rights, Recommendation 11 demonstrates how the Reform Party Task Force conceives the 'pie' of rights as a finite resource. Moreover, the perceived rights allocated to identity groups in the CCRF are positioned in opposition to the rights of individuals. Clearly, Recommendation 11 also

attacks the role assigned to collective groups that represent the interests of women and racialized populations, for example, in the political community. This Recommendation is in line with the current practice of citizenship as the "responsibility for fostering solidarity groups and guaranteeing the collective access of the disadvantaged has been amputated from the citizenship regime"(Jenson and Phillips, 1996, p.128).

3.5 The Dutiful Citizen:

While the Reform Party Task Force on the Charter of Rights and Freedoms pits collective rights against individual rights, it also outlines the nature of the contract between the individual and the state. A major focus of the Reform Party of Canada has been to 'reform' the relationship between the individual and the state. A concern forwarded by the RPC has been the 'unbalanced' nature of the relationship between individuals and the Canadian state. They suggest that today, the 'rights' of citizenship have far outweighed the 'responsibilities and duties' that are integral to effective citizenship. For example, Principle 21 of the 1996/1997 Blue Book states:"we believe in true equality of Canadian citizens, with equal rights and responsibilities for all"(p.9). The Reform Task Force seeks to remedy the 'unbalanced' nature of citizenship, making various suggestions such as an amendment to the Citizenship

Act and/or the Charter of Rights and Freedoms to include a Charter of Responsibilities that will result in a "better administration of justice"(Reform Task Force, p.10). The Reform Task Force on the Charter of Rights and Freedoms is clear in its position that a proviso on the duties of citizenship is lacking in the current Charter. The Task Force states:

There is no mention in the Charter of the duty of Canadians to respect the rights of others, or of the concept that one persons' full exercise of rights vis-a-vis the state and its agents might provide a shield for illegal action. This sentiment commonly takes the form of a call for a Charter of Responsibilities, where the duties of each Canadian in relation to the rest of society are written.
(RTFCRF, p.6)

The focus on the 'duties' of citizenship illustrates the RPC's concern over the 'unbalanced' relationship between the individual and the state, and also provides the Task Force with a way in which to impede collective claims for social rights. The Reform Party Task Force suggests that in order to balance the scale of citizenship, the obligations that individuals hold to the state need to be emphasized. At the same time, however, the Task Force also stresses the importance of property rights as a fundamental right of the individual whereas rights that pertain to specific groups, such as Sections 15(b) and 27, will be repealed. Clearly, the Reform Task Force's strategy to regain 'balance' targets the rights of social groups, and ultimately protects the primacy of the rights of individuals.

Although the concept of a 'Charter of Responsibilities and Duties' was not fully explored by the Task Force and also not yet incorporated in the Blue Book, the focus on 'duties' of citizenship continues to be a major concern to some Reform Party MPs. In March 18th of 1997, for example, Yorkton-Melville MP Garry Breitkreuz introduced Bill C-388 to the House of Commons. This Bill, entitled, An Act to Establish a Canadian Charter of Duties and Responsibilities, was drafted over a period of three years, and, as MP Breitkreuz states, was necessary because: "we cannot continue to enjoy our rights until and unless we first fulfill our responsibilities".³¹ The Act itself states that:

whereas it is impossible for a civilized society to exist unless the citizens of that society recognize that their rights and freedoms are dependent upon the fulfillment of their duties and responsibilities.

(Charter of Duties and Responsibilities, Preamble)

Further, in a press release on March 18, 1997, MP Breitkreuz alludes to the 'unhealthy' state of Canadian society because of the exclusive focus on 'rights' only. He asserts that:

Section 6 of the Citizenship Act states that Canadian citizens are "subject to all obligations, duties and liabilities" but never mentions what they are. Consequently year by year, Canadians are becoming more and more preoccupied with their rights, and that is creating an unhealthy focus on entitlements in our society.

(RPC Press Release, March 18, 1997, www.reform.ca)

³¹taken from a Breitkreuz press release on March 18, 1997, www.reform.ca

The Act establishes over sixteen duties and responsibilities that seek to remedy the ills of Canadian society that stem from over-zealous claims for rights.

The emphasis on the contractual basis of the relationship between individuals and the state necessarily assumes that a rights/duties continuum be maintained and that both aspects be fulfilled is a valid concern.³² Yet, what remains problematic about MP Breitzkreuz's Private Members Bill, and the Report Task Force on the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, is the interpretation of 'duty' and consequently, what duties will be recognized by the state as contributing to the fulfillment of obligations in the contract between individuals and the state. Turning once again to T.H. Marshall's categories of citizenship, the duties recognized by the Reform Party of Canada fall under the auspices of *civic* and *political* duties obliged by citizens of a political community ie. the duty to vote. In contrast, the duties of citizens towards their social community are relegated to the 'private' space of their families. In this way, the duties of citizenship include civic and political responsibilities that fulfill the contractual obligations of individuals to the state. Yet,

³²Appendix A includes a Statement of Duties and Responsibilities created by MP Breitzkreuz. This statement is a contract that must be signed by citizens, that binds individuals to specific duties and responsibilities outlined in its model of citizenship.

the social rights and duties of both the state and individuals are downloaded to the private sphere of the 'family' and thus remain beyond the realm of the 'political' contract recognized by the state.

The Charter of Duties and Responsibilities also outlines the roles that individuals must fulfill in their families. It states that a citizen's duty toward their family is to:

provide for them until they are adults, to bear financial responsibility for crimes committed by his or her children that are the result of inadequate parental control and supervision; to support and protect his or her parents in case of need and to the extent of his or her means, particularly when his or her parents are old or unable to work; to assist and support other members of his or her family in case of need, to the extent of his or her means; to do his or her fair share for society and to not take advantage of other people or of the State; to endeavour to meet his or her own needs before taking advantage of any program, grant or loan supplied by government...

(Charter of Duties and Responsibilities)³³

The role that the individual plays in the family is integral to the maintenance of a healthy civic and political

³³Perhaps one of the reasons that the Charter of Duties and Responsibilities has not yet been incorporated in the Blue Book is due to some confusion amongst Reform MPs as to how, and if, the family should be included in the Charter of Duties and Responsibilities at all. The Reform Task Force on the Charter of Rights and Freedoms states that although members suggested that the family be included in the Charter in order to "strengthen the family unit by stating that parents must act in the best interests of their children". The Task Force rejected the inclusion of family in this Charter, and made the following statement: "There was great sympathy for the desirability of the goal, but in the end the members of the Task Force chose not to endorse it for a clause in the Charter, due to concerns that the proposed mechanism could lead to greater government interference in the private affairs of the family" (RTFCRF, p.11).

community. The duties assigned to the individual toward the 'family' however, are not in lieu of the rights that will thus be rewarded by such law-abiding citizens. Instead, the individual functions as a watch-dog to ensure that family members do not make unnecessary claims of rights in the social community. The "watch-dog" role that individuals should play in this construction of citizenship demonstrates the RPC position that the social rights 'given' to Canadians have been abused. Moreover, the important role afforded to individuals in the 'regulation' of rights claims illustrates that the state will have little or no 'social' role in the Reform's construction of citizenship.

The Reform Party's vision of equality within their model of citizenship illustrates how 'difference' is dismissed from its conceptual framework. Citizenship is predicated upon a preconceived notion of how equality will operate within a community, which for the RPC is a community defined strictly in terms of political and civic duties and rights which excludes a vision of the social community. As such, an analysis of Reform views of citizenship offer us a glimpse into the kind of community that the Reform Party of Canada seeks to create. In the next section, I argue that while the RPC uses the word 'equality' extensively in their rhetoric, it is a narrow interpretation of an equality that is based on assumptions of sameness. I demonstrate how this narrow vision of equality seeks to exclude the articulation

of 'difference' within its construction of citizenship. Moreover, I explore how the RPC is able to use a homogeneous category of 'difference' that is placed in opposition to, and excluded from, the larger political community. This all-encompassing category serves to reduce 'difference' to a singular category that is then marked as outside the boundaries of the political community. Finally, I argue that the Reform Party of Canada uses citizenship as an instrument of control that seeks to exclude groups of social identities from the larger community.

Part II

3.6 Interpreting Equality in the Reform Party of Canada:

The Reform Party of Canada has positioned itself as a populist party that is an advocate of equality and justice. Its political jargon resonates with words like "true equality" and "real justice". In the 1996-1997 Blue Book, the Reform Party states: "the Reform Party affirms the equality of every individual before and under the law and the right to equal protection and benefit from the law"(Blue Book 1996-1997). In fact, the RPC marshals itself to be the only party with a true sense of equality.³⁴ While the RPC can rightly claim that it has an extensive platform based on equality, what needs to be interrogated, however, is the

³⁴In a speech in Etobicoke on March 20, 1996, Preston Manning stated that "Reform alone among the parties takes a different view" of equality.

specific way in which 'equality' has been constructed in the lexicon of the Reform Party of Canada. In order to analyse how 'equality' is used by the RPC, I will refer to two 'equality' strategies employed by the party: regional equality, and individual equality. Both of these strategies demonstrate that the RPC's equality does not extend to social identity groups.

Since its inception, the RPC has stressed the importance of regional equality in its platform.³⁵ In their Fresh Start platform of 1997, they introduce regional fairness tests. They state:

A. The Reform Party supports public analysis of the regional distribution of all federal funds as a routine legislative process. Distribution would be analyzed on an east-west and north-south basis.

B. In calculating federal-provincial transfer payments, the Reform Party supports including economic rents from hydroelectric activities as provincial revenue.

(Freshstart Platform, 1996-1997, p.24)

Both of these 'regional' measures seek to redraw the relationship between the federal government and the outer regions of Canada through a project of decentralization, which would grant greater powers to the provinces.

³⁵Currently, debates continue to swirl around the 'regional' stance of the Reform Party of Canada as it continues to 'normalize' itself within the mainstream national political party systems. For the purposes of this thesis, the body of literature on the regional character of the Reform Party of Canada will not be explored. For further information, consult George Melnyk's Beyond Alienation- Political Essays on the West.

Howard Cody discusses the significance of 'regional equality' to the Reform Party project. He makes note of the Reform Party's plan to 'equalize' the provinces in an effort to 'balance', 'harmonize' and render symmetrical the powers of all provinces. Indeed, the plans to 'equalize' the provinces may in fact result in stronger regional representation for some provinces (Triple E Senate, for example). Yet, for the Reform Party of Canada, regional equality also means that differences between the provinces should be reduced as a significant factor in federal decision-making, which poses severe consequences for Quebec, in particular. As Cody explains, the Reform Party "rejects instruments of asymmetric federalism like distinct society status and special powers for Quebec as damaging to harmony and balance"(1997, p.1). The underlying assumption of regional equality, then, is that all regions are equally capable of maintaining their cultures and languages. Thus as Cody contends of Manning: "his Canada may acknowledge Quebec's 'unique' character, but not in the constitution or with special status or powers"(1997, p.4).

The Reform Party of Canada's vision of regional equality appears to support a notion of collective identity. This is a vision of equality that is in line with its populist roots because it assumes, as does populism, a degree of homogeneity within the region. As Gibbins and Arrison suggest, "the regional stress on the equality of

individuals lends itself readily to a complementary enthusiasm for populism"(1995, p.63). As a result, although the Reform Party's emphasis on regional equality appears to contradict its support for individual equality, in fact, the outcomes of both regional and individual equality are compatible: they both seek to transcend difference into one single principle that can be translated into public policy. Regional equality serves further to reduce social identity claims because it cuts across collective and solidarity interests that exist within regions. Thus, regional equality is governed by the principle of the 'will of the majority'.

The other strategy of equality employed by the Reform Party of Canada is equality of the individual. The underlying assumption is that all individuals should be subject to the same rights and should be able to fulfill the same duties and obligations of citizenship. The articulation of individual sameness is in keeping with both a neoliberal agenda and a populist plan that a consensus can be reached from 'the common sense of the common people'. The presumption that individuals are essentially the same is problematic on many levels. Primarily, the assumption that all individuals are the same ignores the multiplicity of human identities, and further, renders politically insignificant how different groups of people may experience discrimination. As Rosalie Abella suggests:

If we continue to focus on individuals, the claim of each individual is equal to the claim of every other

individual. The claim of a non-white is equal to that of a white, the claim of someone who is blind is equal to the claim of someone with sight. This misses completely the issue of diversity and the hierarchy of historic disadvantage.

(1995, p.360)

For the Reform Party of Canada, however, equality for all Canadians becomes possible only when one presumes that all Canadians are the same.

While the citizenship and equality discourses of the Reform Party of Canada hinge upon the primacy of the individual, they also depend upon a specific understanding of 'difference'. The position taken by the Reform Party of Canada is that not only is equality of sameness the only route to a just society, but also, that social groups which claim to be 'different' seek to undermine the stability of the community. During a by-election campaign in Etobicoke, Ontario, Preston Manning stated:

Reform alone among the parties takes a different view. We believe that all Canadians should be treated equally in law and the Constitution regardless of race, culture, or language. If various groups of Canadians want to preserve their language and culture, fine. Let them do so. But as far as the federal government is concerned, treat all Canadians as equals, period.
(Preston Manning, Speech given on March 20, 1996, p.5)

In this statement, Manning suggests that equality cannot be supported by claims of racial, cultural, or language differences. Further, equality is placed in opposition to 'difference' claims, as he suggests that a Reform Government

would instead, treat all Canadians as equally identical.³⁶

3.7 Demonizing 'Difference':

One of the tactics employed by the Reform Party to place difference as antithetical to equality is its attack on 'hyphenated' Canadianism. The Reform Party of Canada argues that hyphenated Canadianism undermines a cohesive political community bound together by the ties of citizenship. For example, in reference to Quebec and aboriginal communities, Preston Manning asserts that hyphenated Canadianism is divisive because it has "led to desires and claims for 'nation status'" (Manning, p.305). Further, he asserts that:

It has led to a hyphenated Canadianism that emphasizes our differences and downplays our common ground, by labelling us English-Canadians, French-Canadians, aboriginal-Canadians, or ethnic-Canadians- but never Canadians, period.

(Manning, 1992, p.304-305)

Manning's underlying assumption is that racial differences can and should be cast aside in order to uncover a 'true' Canadian identity. The failure of Canada to 'gel' together as a political community is attributed to groups who do not identify with a singular vision of 'Canadian'. The attack on hyphenated Canadianism is in keeping with the Reform Party

³⁶As Gerald Kernerman contends, the Calgary Declaration provides a useful context in which the Reform Party's equality-based model of citizenship can be understood. For elaboration, refer to Kernerman: 1998.

of Canada's plan to eliminate Multiculturalism as well. The elimination of Multiculturalism in Canada and the hostility toward hyphenated Canadianism is symptomatic of the RPC agenda to eliminate difference as an organizing principle in the development of its political community.

The Reform Party's dismissal of social rights from the rubric of citizenship relies upon a particular construction of the ideal citizen: he is white, able-bodied, middle-upper class, and male. In a paper written by the Reform Democracy Critic, MP Ted White attacks the rights of other social groups by suggesting that these rights 'discriminate' against white, heterosexual men. In particular, MP White focuses on a program established by the government to federally fund equality rights cases in the Supreme Court of Canada wherein he stated: "the program is only allowed to give equality rights funding to people who are members of historically disadvantaged groups and their members".³⁷ He then concludes that the current definition of equality in Canada excludes white, heterosexual men.

The claims of equality-seeking groups, therefore, are dismissed as discriminatory against the 'majority' (as in the case in 1994, when one Reform MP claimed that women's groups should not be funded by Canadian taxpayers because they discriminate against men [Alberta Herald, June 15,

³⁷ Taken from MP White's paper entitled: "Equality, Discrimination, Court Challenges" published in the North Shore magazine on April 16 of 1997.

1994, A1]). Preston Manning himself has stated that his Party does not support funding to special interest groups because his Party's policies are "marketable to the silent majority" (Globe and Mail, October 17, 1994, A1). But, this vision of a 'silent majority' is an aberration: it relies upon an ever-expanding group of Canadian citizens that far out-number the esteemed silent majority. As Janine Brodie suggests, this designation of 'special' is steadily increasing to include women, people of colour, the working class, immigrant groups, lesbians and gays, the poor, and First Nations. Further:

this designation effectively excludes them from the mythical "ideal" political community of ordinary Canadians and suggests that their demands for inclusion and equality are somehow outside of and antagonistic to the general interest.

(1996, p.21)

As a result, these 'special interest groups' are deemed as unworthy of the rights of citizenship. The Reform Party's understanding of equality, then, is limited to those who do not challenge the civic and political underpinnings of the community, and therefore are deserving of citizenship privileges.

3.8 Return to 'Duty'- A Gendered, Disabled and Classed Approach:

The RPC's notion of "duty" within a liberal, individualistic model of citizenship becomes problematic

when we interrogate it from the ground of difference. How are different people "able" to fulfill their citizenship obligations? In this section, I argue that the emphasis on duty within a liberal, individualistic model of citizenship produces "classes" of citizens: only those who fulfill their obligations can benefit from the rights which creates a division between active and passive citizen.

While the 'role' of the individual toward the family is stressed as an important 'duty' in Reform's model of citizenship, the fulfillment of this duty is not part of the public, political contract between the state and the individual, but is instead rendered a private, personal obligation towards one's family. As a result, the roles that women play, and the responsibilities that women hold in the family, do not satisfy the requirements of the rights/duties contract necessary to be a full, active citizen in Canada.

The emphasis on 'duties' also dismisses how individuals are differently abled. The Reform Party of Canada assumes that every citizen is capable of fulfilling the required duties of citizenship. This notion demonstrates how the ideal citizen posited by the Reform Party of Canada is an able-bodied individual. Since it is obvious that not all Canadians are able-bodied, the RPC's emphasis on duties seeks to render disabled Canadians as passive citizens, unable to fulfill the requirements of citizenship, and therefore 'unworthy' of redeeming the 'rights' deserving of

more active members of the community. Not only are disabled people considered inactive, but since they are excluded from citizenship altogether, they are rendered as non-citizens living outside the civic, political community.³⁸

Outlined in the Task Force and the Private Member's Bill is also an emphasis on 'negative' duties for the citizen, which include various restrictions to social rights. These restrictions have specifically classed implications that affect many groups of people. For example, the Act asserts that citizens have a responsibility to:

not apply for assistance from government until he or she is destitute and unable to work because of disability, age or ill-health, and when no support is available from family, private charities and non-governmental organizations.

(Charter of Duties and Responsibilities)

These restrictions emphasize the way that 'rights' are limited to specific individuals based on a binary category of deserving/ undeserving. In this Act, the 'deserving' must be 'destitute' in order to claim social rights from the state. Janine Brodie asserts that the undeserving/deserving categorization serves to limit the access of specific groups of people to the rights of social citizenship. She states:

the idea here is that all able-bodied people are effectively "undeserving" of social assistance if they do not endeavour to retrain to compete in the job

³⁸For an elaboration on the relationship between the Canadian federal state and people with disabilities, refer to Fraser Valentine's "Locating Disability: People With Disabilities, their Movements and the Canadian Federal State". Unpublished M.A. Thesis, School of Canadian Studies, Carleton University, Ottawa, Ontario: 1996.

market or take some form of work to "top-up" their social-assistance income and thus reduce the burden they impose on the state.

(1993, p.20)

The deserving/undeserving dichotomy is further entrenched in the Act, as it suggests that who make claims of social rights to the state are 'undeserving' of the rights and privileges of citizenship and are deemed non-citizens, or second-class citizens. The Charter of Duties and Responsibilities isolates working-class people by placing severe restrictions on claims for social assistance. Astonishingly, it states that those who do not comply with this duty will be found "guilty of a summary conviction offense". Thus, individuals who do not adhere to their 'duty of restrictions' face punitive action taken against them. In this Charter, not only are individuals excluded from the 'rights' of the political community, but also they are threatened that if they violate the terms and conditions of the community, they will be punished.

3.9 Conclusion:

The emphasis placed on 'duty' and the elimination of social group rights work hand-in-hand to ensure that marginalized people will never be included as full and active citizens in the Reform conceptualization of citizenship. The end result is that marginalized people who are unable to meet the conditions of belonging within the political community can be lumped into one all-encompassing

category of undeserving, non-citizens. The 'active citizen' is one who is privileged by their ability, race and gender. As Anna Yeatman suggests of liberal models of citizenship, "it is also a community which requires an identity of being from those who belong, and, at the same time, a non-identity of being in respect of those who do not belong"(1994, p.80). In this chapter, I situated the Reform Party's model of citizenship within the current practice of citizenship in Canada. I suggested that the Reform's emphasis on individualism, and 'duty' seeks to exclude social identity groups from not only receiving the 'benefits' of citizenship, but also from the entire political community. In the next chapter, I demonstrate how the Reform Party's vision of nationalism works in tandem with its citizenship practices to further exclude social identities from their Canadian national identity. The RPC's political community, constructed by its discourses of citizenship and nationalism, excludes marginalized people as citizens, and also restricts them from being included in the national identity.

Chapter Three

The Reform Party of Canada's Construction of Nationalism

4.1 Introduction:

In the previous chapter, I developed a comprehensive understanding of how the Reform Party's practices of citizenship work within the model of neoliberal, individualistic model of citizenship currently practiced in Canada. In this chapter, I interrogate the meaning of 'newness' in the Reform Party of Canada's construction of nationalism through their articulation of the "New Canada". The "New Canada" is described as an economic necessity, as the Reform Party suggests that it is the only party to posit a vision of Canada that has as its basis the major tenets of neoliberalism. Yet, I argue that this 'economic' nationalism is not new, but reflects the current practices of the economic restructuring of neoliberalism in Canada. In the second half of this chapter, I suggest that while the 'economic' aspects of the "New Canada" are reflective of the trends of neoliberalism today, there are aspects of the Reform's vision of the "New Canada" that are new. I argue that the RPC uses the rhetoric of economics in their postulation of the "New Canada" in order to conceal the fundamental challenges this nationalism poses to the historical construction of Anglo-Canadian nationalism. What is new about this brand of nationalism, then, is not what they claim to be a 'new economic order' which has already

been established in Canada, but its neoliberal focus in combination with an agenda that seeks to eradicate difference.

4.2 Historical Constructions of Anglo-Canadian Nationalism:

While the "New Canada" reflects the current economic practices of neoliberalism in Canada, it fundamentally challenges the discursive historical construction of Canadian nationalism in Canada. The Reform's emphasis on 'economic' newness then, serves to downplay the fundamental challenges the "New Canada" poses to the historical construction of Canadian nationalism. In this section, I highlight significant historical moments in the construction of Anglo-Canadian nationalism. I then briefly outline three salient characteristics of Anglo-Canadian nationalism at the moment of the Charter: state interventionism, anti-American sentiment, and a desire to preserve a collective spirit.

The first articulation of a strong, interventionist state was evident in the policies enacted by Sir John A. Macdonald. Macdonald's vision of Canada was clear through his National Policy, which implemented tariffs as a justification for protective barriers behind which domestic industry could develop (Laxer, 1996, p.167). Although Macdonald's nationalism emerged out of a imperialist sentiment to retain ties to Britain, his Nationalist

Policies supported the 1867 vision of Canada that rested upon a dual-nations theory: that Canada was essentially a nation of two-founding peoples(Cook, 1971, p.215).

Despite the introduction of Macdonald's National Policy, Canada remained a colony of Britain under Laurier's leadership from 1896-1911. Questions of Canadian nationalism centred around Canada's imperial ties to Britain as Canada still remained a self-governing British colony, "with no right to control its relations with other countries"(Bliss, 1994, p.41). Under constant pressure from British Canadians to strengthen Canada's imperial connection, Laurier did have a vision of an independent Canada where, "at some time in the future, where people of different views would live in prosperity and harmony"(Bliss, 1994, p.41). Yet, despite Laurier's vision of the future of the Canadian nation, Canada's imperial connections remained intact. The imperialist legacy of racism influenced early Canadian colonial nationalism. In 1908 during an election campaign, Borden remarked that the "Conservative party stands for a white Canada and the absolute protection of white labour"(Bliss, 1994, p.71). This colonial nationalism was supported further under the Conservative leadership of both Arthur Meighen and R.B. Bennett during the 1910s. As Bliss contends, "Meighen believ[ed] that Canada was a British nation, bound by ties of history, blood, culture, institutions, and sentiment to a family of British

nations"(Bliss, 1994, p.101). Imperial ties to Britain, however, did not prevent an economic nationalism from developing that encouraged freer trade with the United States. The economic nationalism espoused by R.B. Bennett, for example, supported an economic tie between Canada and the United States, while it also maintained its loyalist ties to Britain. As Bliss states: "R.B. Bennett "was an imperialist to the core, who believed passionately in imperial free trade as the alternative to freer trade with the United States"(1994, p.110).

The leadership of William Lyon Mackenzie King from 1921 to 1930 and again from 1935 to 1948 witnessed a continuation of the Anglo-Canadian commitment to imperial nationalism, as the ties between Britain and Canada remained intact. Although King had a vision of an independent Canada, he was reluctant to take an independent course of action. As Bliss states, "[King] had a lingering faith in the unity of the British Commonwealth, and did not use the word 'independence' to describe Canada's status"(1994, p.144). Despite King's policies to implement a social welfare state, these measures were not yet infused into a distinct Anglo-Canadian nationalism, and it remained largely an imperialist nationalism.

During the 1950s, Canadian economic nationalism began to play a role in the construction of a 'nationalist' perspective, differentiated from the United States. As Laxer

indicates:

Canadian economic nationalism developed into a significant force during the 1950s, the decade when American economic control of Canada became paramount. In all three major political parties, nationalist tendencies emerged in response to the American control of the Canadian economy.
(1997, p.171)

In his bid for federal power in 1957, John Diefenbaker echoed the sentiments of economic nationalists.³⁹ According to Laxer, "his populist-nationalism first revealed the anxiety Canadians felt about the American takeover of Canada"(1997, p.171). Diefenbaker's nationalist rhetoric included a "northern vision", which became a central idea for the completion of a Canadian nation built by opening up the resources of the North.⁴⁰

In the early 1950s, the Canadian government began to implement a number of policies that solidified Canadian nationalism in opposition to the United States. In 1951, the Report of the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences(Massey-Levesque Report) emerged out of the belief that the influence of the US

³⁹While there are similarities between Diefenbaker's "One Canada", and Reform's "New Canada", the differences between these two visions of nationalism will be explored later in the chapter.

⁴⁰Diefenbaker's "northern vision" illustrates how his brand of Canadian nationalism was rooted in colonial and imperial discourses. The vision of the 'north' as a vast and open space ignores the inhabitants of the Canadian north, and particularly, Aboriginal communities that have lived in the northern regions of Canada prior to the articulation of Anglo-Canadian nationalism.

communications industry in Canada was excessive(1991, p.9). This report recommended a series of policies to encourage Canadian cultural development, such as the Canada Council, and also suggested the allocation of greater funding to the CBC and the NFB(1991, p.9).

The belief that government measures were necessary to offset the threat of 'Americanization' in Canada is a predominant theme throughout this period of Canadian nationalism. As Ramsey Cook states:

At the end of the Second World War nationalism was generally judged a conservative, even reactionary, phenomenon. By the 1960s, however, the wheel had turned full circle, with nationalism once again viewed as it had been by nineteenth-century liberals- as a force for progress and reform.

(1995, p.211)

Despite the shift from a nationalism of the 'right' to a nationalism of the 'left', however, opposition to the United States still retained its place in Anglo-Canadian nationalism, and perhaps even grew in importance.

While several federal governments adopted policies that were anti-American and supportive of a socially responsible government, pre-Charter Anglo-Canadian nationalism remained closely tied to its imperialist, colonial roots. Although anti-American sentiment and the welfare state existed in Canada prior to the leadership of Liberal Pierre Trudeau, it was Trudeau's vision of Canada that would cement these ideas into a coherent nation-building project. The pan-Canadian

nationalist vision of Trudeau and his Liberal government sought to create a Canadian nationalism based on the notion that cultural and linguistic differences could exist within a single, cohesive national community. As David Milne suggests, Trudeau's pan-Canadian nationalism arose in reaction to the threat of continuous separation proposed by Quebec nationalists. Milne states:

a new glue had to be invented which would bind the nation together on a durable basis so that no group within the nation [would] feel that its vital interests and particular characteristics could be better preserved by withdrawing from the nation than by remaining within.

(1986, p.31)

Trudeau's nationalism differed from previous brands of Canadian nationalism because it sought to create a powerful federal state that was no longer tied to British imperialism, but instead, would be identified with a new, independent, Canadian nationalism. In 1980, Trudeau's efforts to 'rebalance the federation' sought to strengthen the federal government through measures that would ensure many collective rights for groups, including strengthening the economic role of the federal government (such as the NEP), language rights for francophones and anglophones, and fundamental human rights for all other citizens, "without at the same time 'giving away the store' to the provincial premiers. There would be new simultaneous demands for stronger federal powers over the economy" (Milne, 1986, p.33).

The introduction of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms in 1982 signifies a shift in the nationalist discourses of Anglo-Canadian nationalists because for the first time, it linked the federal state to the projects of nation-building and citizenship in Canada. As Laforest asserts:

In Trudeau's vision....the Charter was not only a legal device to be used in the quest for justice for individuals living in a liberal society; it was also a crucial step in building the Canadian nation...The fundamental objective of the authors of the 1982 constitution seems to have been to promote throughout Canada(including Quebec) a political culture capable of reinforcing in each citizen the feeling of belonging to a single Canadian nation.
(1995, p.133)

The 1982 Charter of Rights and Freedoms is central to the federal state's invention of a Canadian national tradition because it "served the symbolic function of enshrining policies on bilingualism and multiculturalism in the constitution"(Laforest, 1995, p.133-134). Further, the Charter can be viewed as a defining document of the political community because it outlined "the fundamental elements of Canadian citizenship and identity"(Laforest, 1995, p.134). For the first time in Canada, the twin projects of nation-building and citizenship became a focal point for the federal government, embodied in the Charter.

Trudeau's introduction of the Charter ushered in a new brand of Canadian nationalism, with the introduction of a nationalist vision that linked the Canadian identity to

anti-Americanism and the welfare state. While Trudeau's vision of Canadian nationalism catered to left nationalists who firmly believed in protectionist measures to offset American imperialism, it also sparked considerable hostility from regionalists and continentalists alike. The 1984 election of Brian Mulroney and the Progressive Conservatives into federal power marked yet another shift in the practices of the Canadian state toward a more continentalist, free-market approach. Perhaps the most vivid example of the 'continentalist' perspective is the Free Trade Agreement between Canada and the United States.

The Free Trade Agreement is but one example, however, of the move of the federal government to induce a freer market in Canada. As Milne outlines, Mulroney also established:

a government's program of economic renewal through private sector investment; the removal of the capital gains tax; the reduction of corporate tax rate levels; and the attack on the federal deficit principally through cutting government programs and increasing the burden on individual taxpayers.

(1986, p.223)

The economic vision of the Canadian federal state in Trudeau's time had now moved toward a project of continental integration and toward the expansion of the role of the market in the Canadian economy.

Opposition to the Free Trade Agreement rallied against the Conservative Government, however, on the premise that: the free trade initiative was part of a larger plan to weaken the Canadian welfare

state, limit government intervention in the economy, and with the passage of time, make the Canadian way of weaken the Canadian welfare state, limit government intervention in the economy, and with the passage of time, make the Canadian way of life virtually indistinguishable from the United States.

(Bashevkin, 1991, p.110)

Unlike Trudeau, however, Mulroney's economic policies did not seek to redress Canadian nationalism under this new economic order. While Mulroney's economic policies sought to strengthen Canada's relationship with the United States, these changes did not threaten the partnership between two founding nations that was central to Anglo-Canadian nationalism at the time of the Charter. As McBride and Shields state:

Given the need to retain the support of Quebec nationalists, Mulroney had to play down appeals to Canadian nationalism. The nationalist card so useful to the U.S. and British neo-conservatives has thus been less available to their Canadian counterparts.

(1993, p.39)

Consequently, the nature of Mulroney's electorate, including francophone Canadians living in Quebec, ensured that the political community at the time of the Charter would remain intact. Mulroney focussed instead on economic renewal and constitutional change to strengthen the relationship between Quebec and the federal government(Milne, 1986, p.63). While the Mulroney government implemented many neoliberal measures in the Canadian economy, a new Canadian nationalism that would be conducive to neoliberalism remained a project left

undone.

Chrétien's Liberals have accelerated the processes of a neoliberal economy in Canada through their project of restructuring, downsizing, and harmonizing. As Marci McDonald states:

Not only had Chrétien not attempted to reverse that trend, but he had appeared hellbent on pushing it further in ways Mulroney had not dared--dismantling the policy cornerstones that had once distinguished Canada from the colossus to the south. From medicare to government support for the arts, the pillars of a communal society that had taken decades to raise were suddenly under the shadow of a remorseless budgetary axe.

(1995, p.362)

The economic projects of both Mulroney and Chrétien reflect the growing support for neoliberal measures by the federal state supported by an increasing "neoliberal consensus" within the Canadian population. Despite these fundamental economic changes however, the Charter still remains a major ingredient of Canadian nationalism to many Canadians(Laforest, 1995, p.165).

The neoliberal practices of the federal governments under Mulroney and Chrétien suggest that a schism has developed between the practices of the federal government and the discourse of Canadian nationalism. While the Mulroney and Chrétien governments successfully changed Canada's economic structure to be more open to neoliberal measures, these changes have not yet altered fundamentally the discourses of Anglo-Canadian nationalism identified with Trudeau. The Charter and the lingering mythology of Canada

as a country that accommodates difference in its political community(although increasingly tenuous) remain central aspects in the mythology of Anglo-Canadian nationalism.

In the next section, I suggest that the economic projects of the RPC are in keeping with the neoliberal practices of the Mulroney and Chrétien governments. I argue, however, that the Reform Party challenges the current narrative of nationalism in Canada because it seeks to integrate the tenets of neoliberalism into the Canadian identity. In particular, the RPC's neoliberal focus on individualism threatens the accommodation of difference in post-Charter discourses of Anglo-Canadian nationalism. The RPC's brand of nationalism is different from the nationalist practices of the Mulroney and Chrétien governments because it has no vision of tolerance for the accommodation of difference in its political community.

4.3 The 'Newness' of the New Canada:

The Reform Party of Canada's vision of nationalism supports the core tenets of neoliberalism. As Preston Manning declares in his autobiography:

New Canada should be a balanced, democratic federation of provinces, distinguished by the conservation of its magnificent environment, the viability of its economy, the acceptance of its social responsibilities, and recognition of the equality and uniqueness of all its provinces and citizens.

(1992, p.282)

The 'economic newness' articulated by the Reform Party is part of the neoliberal slant of the Reform Party. As Manning asserts, "the transition from Old Canada to New Canada [is the] shift from an industrial to a post-industrial society" (1992, p.276). The 'nation' conceived of is one that is open to the processes of globalization and restructuring that are the benchmarks of neoliberalism. In keeping with its neoliberal agenda, the Reform Party of Canada strongly maintains a market regime that is supportive and encouraging of the processes of globalization. In the 1996-1997 Freshstart for Canadians Election Platform, the Reform Party proposes the elimination of trade barriers and further: "a Reform Government will reduce government spending and taxes so that Canadian tax levels are competitive with those of our trading partners" (1996-1997 Freshstart Platform, p.8). The fundamental goal of its Canadian nationalism, then, should be to launch Canada into a 'new' era where we can be compatible with and compete within, a new world order of globalization.

The RPC claim that its neoliberal focus is something new to Canada and is crafted in direct opposition to what the Reform Party perceives as misguided economic practices of the Canadian federal government. For Manning, the nationalism of the Reform Party of Canada, therefore, rests upon a dichotomy between an 'Old' Canada, and a 'New' Canada. The 'Old' Canada is

described as:

The traditional road is also marked by constitutional signposts that say Founding Peoples, Official Bilingualism, Government-Supported Multiculturalism, and Special Status. Advocates of these measures claim that this is the road to national identity, national unity, and constitutional peace. Reformers disagree, believing that this road leads in a circle back to Old Canada, a nation divided by itself.
(1992, p.298)

The 'old versus new Canada' motif is an effective tool used by the Reform Party of Canada because it permits the Party to distance itself from the Anglo-Canadian nationalism at the time of the Charter. The neoliberal economic restructuring outlined in the "New Canada", however, is not new. As I argued previously, Canadian practices of citizenship are consistent with neoliberal individualism that has already taken root in the Canadian economy. The Reform position, then, that the "New Canada" presents a new economic vision for Canada is unfounded.

The bifurcation between an 'Old' Canada and Reform's 'New' Canada also enables the Party to claim that their "New Canada" is the only economically viable solution to the current political Constitutional 'crisis' in Canada. The swirl of Constitutional debate around the Meech Lake and Charlottetown Accords indicates how the Reform Party of Canada used the "New Canada" to position their brand of nationalism as new, inevitable, and necessary. On November 2nd, 1995, Preston Manning gave a speech expressing the

impending danger of supporting an 'old' vision of Canada. He stated:

I want to talk to you about the future of our country- a future which was jeopardized by the Quebec referendum, and continues to be jeopardized by the closeness of the vote, the persistence of the separatists, and the indecisiveness of the Chretien government.

(November 2nd, 1995, p.1)

The 'Old' Canada represented here is a Canada that is destined to tear apart the country whereas the 'New' Canada is posited as a necessary precondition for the economic viability of the nation of Canada where "if you are prepared to do something to stand on guard for the Canada you love, and to bring into being the New Canada of the 21st century, I commend this shield and this vision to your consideration" (Manning, November 2nd, 1995, p.9).

The construction of 'Old' versus 'New' also enables the Reform Party of Canada to present its vision of Canada as anti-status quo. As Manning stated in his speech on November 16th, 1995:

Reform, as you know, is out to challenge the status quo in Canada- the fiscal, constitutional, and political status quo. Reform meetings and dinners are a gathering place for people who want to challenge the way things are- to toast the New Canada of the future, not the old Canada that's falling apart.

(November 5, 1995, p.1)

The strategy of presenting the ideas of their Party as anti-status quo enable the Party to suggest that the 'old' Canada is reflective of the status-quo. The anti-status quo

argument is significant because it establishes the nationalism of the RPC as something new. The RPC contends that the current political structure in Canada is supportive of group rights, such as for Aboriginal Peoples and special interest groups. On this basis, the RPC can assert that its nationalism is anti-status-quo because it challenges group rights and refuses to cater to special interest groups.

4.4 Deconstructing Reform Nationalism:

In this section, I argue that the Reform's "New Canada" challenges the post-Charter mythology of Anglo-Canadian nationalism because it advocates the eradication of difference within its "New Canada". Its "New Canada" is couched within a discourse of economics in order to downplay the challenges that neoliberalism, and the eradication of difference, pose to the construction of Canadian national mythologies since the Charter.

The advancement of individualism in the "New Canada" stems from a singular definition of the Canadian nation: mainly, that all individuals are the same, and must be treated the same within the Canadian nation. Manning states:

The great debate among Canadians and political parties during the 1990s will be whether this new and stronger relationship is to be found by going down the road of granting "special status" in federal law and the constitution, especially to those groups whose alienation is attributed to racial, linguistic or cultural factors, or by going down a different road toward a New Canada in which all Canadians will be treated equally in federal law and the constitution regardless of their race, language, and culture.

(1992, p.300)

The advancement of "One Canada" has been articulated prior to the Reform Party of Canada. It is useful at this point to provide a brief comparison between Reform's brand of nationalism and John Diefenbaker's Conservative government's nationalism from 1957 to 1963. While several political scientists have alluded to the similarities between Diefenbaker's "One Canada" and the Reform Party's "New Canada"(Sharpe and Braid: 1990, Gibbins and Arrison: 1995), I argue that while there are similarities, there are differences which have not yet been articulated. These differences suggest that the nationalist practices of the Reform Party of Canada differ from earlier practices of Canadian nationalism which existed on the right.

In Storming Babylon, Sharpe and Braid suggest that "[s]ome of Reform's rhetoric, especially about Quebec, is powerfully reminiscent of the "One Canada" speeches of the late Tory Prime Minister John Diefenbaker, the last leader whose western voice found wide national appeal"(1992, p.7). Thomas Van Dusen suggests that Diefenbaker's vision of "One Canada" was one in which:

a common citizenship may be found in [his] early speeches. It meant equal opportunity for all, regardless of race, creed or geography. His concept of Canada was in direct conflict with those theories which would establish divisions between Canadians. The difficulties facing a united Canada were so great as to militate against survival; a divided Canada would have no chance whatsoever.

(1968, p.79)

Similarly, Gibbins and Arrison suggest that Diefenbaker's "One Canada" parallels Reform's quest for an unhyphenated Canada:

Diefenbaker's vision of an unhyphenated Canadianism find contemporary expression in Western Canadian scholarship and, more importantly, through the western-based Reform Party of Canada. Like Diefenbaker, Reform calls for an unhyphenated Canadianism and equality for all Canadians.

(1995, p.49)

Although there are similarities between these two visions of nationalism, Reform's nationalism is different from Diefenbaker's in several ways. Although Diefenbaker advocated a one-nation model of Canadian nationalism, this brand of nationalism included a strain of compromise not existent in Reform's nationalism. For example, one of Diefenbaker's first acts as Prime Minister was to encourage bilingualism within Parliament through the installation of simultaneous translation. As well, he was the first non-French Canadian Prime Minister to address French Canadians in their own language (Van Dusen, 1968, p.76). In a speech during the 1968 election, Diefenbaker expressed his belief that One Canada must include French Canada, "I cannot visualize Canada without French Canada. I cannot visualize French Canada without Canada. National unity based on equality must be the goal" (1968, p.146). In contrast, Reform's hostility to distinct society, and to 'special interest groups' leaves little to no room for negotiations

within their one-nation model of Canada. While Diefenbaker was able to secure fifty-eight electoral seats in Quebec in 1958, the Reform Party of Canada has yet to make in-roads in Quebec. Thus, although Manning has also addressed the francophone population in Quebec in French, unlike Diefenbaker's Progressive Conservatives, the Reform Party's anti-Quebec sentiment continues to exclude francophones living in Quebec from its "New Canada".

The Reform Party of Canada's brand of nationalism poses many problems to the collective spirit woven into the Canadian national mythology because its vision of a one-nation model lacks any compromise among groups of people in Canada, including Quebec and Aboriginal Peoples. Reform's language of 'majority' and 'equal partnerships' effectively renders the voices of those who constitute the 'minority' silent and powerless in the determination of the future of their country. The mythological construction of the 'majority' then, silences debate between groups in Canada in their attempts to negotiate another view of Canada that would include the recognition of 'minority' perspectives as valid and important. The construction of the "New Canada" operates at a level which threatens to sever completely the dialogue among such groups during our Constitutional negotiations. In its place, the Reform Party of Canada has produced a new lexicon on the future of Canada as a nation: a nation undivided and a nation that denotes a uniform

sameness amongst its people.

This vision of nation is maintained through a rhetoric that attempts to spin a new mythological narrative over the Canadian nation: that their 'new' nation is inevitable and necessary within the restructuring processes of the new global order. The insistence that the crafting of their new nation is inevitable is sustained through the strategic use of an economic rhetoric of restructuring, down-sizing, redistribution, and deficit reduction--terms which are carefully framed within a rhetoric of inevitability. For example, in a 1996 speech, Manning articulated the dangers Canada would face should it choose to ignore the federal deficit. Manning argued that the mounting federal debt threatens our social programs and Canadian sovereignty(Manning, March 28, 1996, p.4). The proposed restructuring of the federal government and the welfare state is framed within a "no-choice" discourse. Yet, the language of inevitability is driven by a specific neoliberal agenda that seeks to replace the discourses of marginal perspectives of nationalism with a right-wing narrative driven by an economic account of the so-called economic necessity to restructure the Canadian economy, nation, state, and more subtly, the relationships between marginal groups in Canada. As a result, the Reform Party of Canada's vision of nationalism depends upon the rhetoric of an economically-determined nationalism that relies on

neoliberal discourses that presume a universal sameness.

Another challenge that the New Canada presents to Canadian nationalism is its pro-American position. The RPC's emphases on market forces and reduced state involvement provides a 'friendly-space' for the negotiation of a positive relationship with the United States. Murray Dobbin contends that in fact, the RPC has modelled the American economy in its construction of a national identity. Dobbin states:

In his address to the 1991 Assembly, Manning talked about his preference for an American-style market economy, although he did not think that entrenching such a model in the Constitution could "be sold to the Canadian people at this point in time"⁴¹

(Manning in Dobbin, 1991, p.188)

The RPC's promise to reduce state involvement in the marketplace also undercuts the strong role the Canadian state has played in the marketplace as integral to Anglo-Canadian nationalism at the moment of the Charter. As Horsman and Marshall suggest, in a neoliberal climate of globalization, the economic role of the nation-state is placed in jeopardy:

Thrown now into confusion by the growing power of the global economy, and unable on its own to fashion economic policies purely in the light of 'national interest', the nation-state is in

⁴¹Perhaps Manning's apprehension towards a Canadian acceptance of an American model of the economy indicates his awareness that anti-Americanism still exists (albeit much weaker in the face of globalization) as a pillar of Canadian nationalism.

danger of losing an essential element of its authority.

(1994, p.221)

They argue also that the forces of globalization threaten the ways in which people have historically drawn community boundaries during the twentieth-century; namely, the building of nations, and the nationalisms that hold such boundaries intact.

Their account, however, does not adequately explain how some right-wing discourses might preserve roles for the state and nation which is contradictory to neoliberal ideology. The work of McBride and Shields helps to explain why some right-wing discourses retain specific powers for the state in tandem with their adherence to neoliberal ideologies such as laissez-faire economics. According to McBride and Shields, there are specific reasons that neoliberal proponents would benefit from a strong state:

1. they need a strong state in order to confront and defeat the "special interests" and trade unions;
2. they need the power and police to protect the market order;
3. for a truly free market to prevail in Canada the state needs to negotiate a more complete economic union in the world.
4. they need a strong state to promote civil obedience and patriotism.

(1993, p.92-93)

Thus, while right-wing discourses emphasize the failures of the welfare state and seek to downsize the government, they also stress the need to enhance the power and authority of the state(1993, p.37-38).

These tensions are evident in many of the policy

proposals of the Reform Party of Canada. While the Reform Party of Canada seeks to dismantle the welfare state, it also needs a strong central state in order to facilitate the economic changes that will lead Canada toward a neoliberal economic approach: the state must provide stability, negotiate multilateral agreements, impose embargoes and also limit certain 'categories' of trade in the service of the national interest (such as some restrictions that may still hamper the free-flow of goods in NAFTA). In the "New Canada", however, the state is used as a vehicle to facilitate the implementation of neoliberalism into the economy, as opposed to Trudeau's state, which was used largely for the project of nation-building.

The strong role that the federal government has played since Trudeau in support of a two-nations model of nationalism is also under attack in Reform's brand of nationalism. In the Edmonton Journal, Manning stated: "The Conservatives cling to an outdated myth--a country defined as a partnership between two racial groups rather than a federation of equal citizens and equal provinces" (May 16th, 1995). Contrary to the Mulroney government, the Reform Party of Canada is constructing a new nationalism that supports a one-nation model of Canada. Since its support base does not draw from subnational groups, including Quebec or Aboriginal Peoples, the RPC's one-nation model reorganizes the political community into a singular, cohesive entity that

challenges the construction of post-Charter Anglo-Canadian nationalism.

4.5 Conclusion:

The Reform Party of Canada is the first federal party to weave neoliberalism into the fabric of Canadian nationalism in such a comprehensive manner. The New Canada is based on a reorganization not simply of the economy, as the Party suggests, but also of the national community. No longer can the nation be bound together by 'old' ties between founding peoples, or special interest groups. In contrast to the 'old' nationalism, the Reform Party of Canada's nationalism reorganizes the national community into a single, homogeneous whole. Thus, while the Party seeks to challenge the old 'two-nations model', its replacement is a one-nation model. Accordingly, the relationships that underpin this nation are not between groups, but instead, between the state and individual, political citizens. Thus, while their policies of citizenship seek to control the terms of belonging, their policies of nationalism work in tandem to define the boundaries of the group. This brand of nationalism, then, defines its boundaries in terms of sameness. The next chapter focuses on how the construction of this 'new' homogeneous nationalism rests upon particular notions of race, gender, and sexuality.

Chapter Four

Deconstructing the Reform Party of Canada's Nationalism & the Uses of Identity in its Political Community

5.1 Introduction:

What about sexual and domestic violence? They are not gender, age or ethnic exclusive. They are purely criminal and law enforcement issues and we should deal with them as such, not just breaking them off as women's issues. Then we see that it becomes a special interest group and dear knows we have enough of those in the country. I am not part of a special interest group. Let me make that very clear in Hansard forevermore.⁴²

-Deborah Grey, Reform MP

In 1990, the Reform Party of Canada initiated a Task Force on Women's Issues, headed by Preston Manning's wife, Sandra Manning (Dobbin, 1992, p.197). The conclusions of this Task Force were that there were no 'women's issues' as distinct from the concerns of the nation. The results of this Task Force are indicative of the ways in which the language of 'absence' serves to stifle social identities that pose a challenge to a particular vision of nation.

Part of the success of the Reform Party of Canada has been its ability to develop a discourse that conceals their control of social identities and the fields of difference within which they move. The 'nation' of the Reform Party of Canada depends upon the homogenization of a singular national identity-- thus, 'difference' as expressed through

⁴²Deborah Grey, Women's Issues Speech, March 8, 1994, Hansard.

social identities, becomes antithetical to its survival. The ways in which identities, such as gender and race may compete with "the" national identity, however, are absent from the nationalist discourse of this party.

In this chapter, I argue that Reform's language of nationalism, and in particular, its economic nationalism conceals its efforts to reorganize the national community dependent upon a singular notion of identity. By using a nationalist discourse, the Party may cast its vision of a political community as necessary, inevitable and natural. In this way, categories of women, people of colour, and gays and lesbians are created as antithetical to, and alien from, the New Canada. Consequently, the nationalism of the Reform Party of Canada relies upon a prior construction of naturalized forms of social arrangements. This is how the New Canada is gendered, racialized, and sexualized.

5.2 Divisions of Social Space:

The project of nation-building historically has involved the construction of public and private spaces. Eley and Suny document various nationalist theorists, such as Habermas, who stress the importance of the public sphere in nationalist projects. While these nationalist theorists discuss the importance of the 'public' sphere in nationalist discourse, what is missing from such analyses is a broader understanding of how the 'public' sphere is placed in

opposition to its binary, 'private' sphere. In order to fully explain the construction of social space in the Reform Party of Canada, then, it is necessary to contextualize the private and public spheres within a broader framework of 'social space' and consequently, interrogate how the division of social space is pivotal to the nationalist project of the Reform Party of Canada.

I argue that in the nationalist project of the RPC, national space is divided into two essential terrains: private(home, culture, family) and public (government, business industry, nation-state). This bifurcation enables the Party to orchestrate a nationalist discourse that seeks to maintain and control the 'natural' boundaries that distinguish the private from the public sphere. This tactic of 'boundary management'⁴³, refers to the way in which the RPC is able to craft a nationalist discourse without ever referring explicitly to social identities. The tactic of 'boundary management' provides them with a venue to attack social identities that cross over the natural boundaries, all for the sake of "the nation". The tactic of boundary management in Reform discourse seeks to (dis)locate social identities within particular social spaces- depending upon one's gender, race, and sexuality, and class.

⁴³This term was first used by Nira Yuval-Davis in Gender and Nation, 1997.

5.3 The Private Nation of Home and Family:

The RPC stresses the importance of the private sphere in its nationalist discourse, as they emphasis the important roles that the family and home play in the New Canada.

The metaphor of 'home' for the 'nation' underlies the rhetoric of the nationalist discourse of the Reform Party of Canada. One way in which this 'essential' link is evident is through the discursive practice of blurring the 'individual' with the 'national' home. In The New Canada, Manning incorporates the homes of citizens into his understanding of the national home:

The word "home" is the fourth word of the English version of our national anthem and the first metaphor used in that anthem to describe our country. "O Canada, our home..." However we define Canada- economically, culturally, constitutionally, politically- it must in the final analysis be a place where our people feel "at home".

(1992, p.110)

According to the Reform Party of Canada, the 'Old' Canada fails to reproduce a positive national experience because the home of the Old Canada fails to provide a solid foundation for the nation. Manning states:

The Reform Party of Canada was created to provide a new political home for people who no longer feel at home in Old Canada's traditional political parties or in the divided and dissension-plagued house that Canada has become. Our vision of a New Canada is a country where a greater number of Canadians will feel truly at home.

(1992, p.111)

This statement illustrates the ways in which the Reform Party uses the rhetoric of 'home' in nationalist discourse:

we are to conceive of a New Canada, as a 'homeland' in which we should all feel comfortable in the collective nationalist vision of Canada. The frequency with which Manning slips between the home as 'nation' and home and 'family' provides the necessary justification for which Manning, and the Members of the Reform Party of Canada, can argue for the reconstruction of the home, and the relationships that operate within this domestic space. Thus, in nationalist discourse, the reconstruction of the home is a necessary precondition for the success of the creation of a New Canada.

The idea of the 'nation as homeland' is a cornerstone to the 'New Canada' crafted by the Reform Party of Canada. In The New Canada, Manning dedicates an entire chapter to the importance of the home in nationalist discourse. He states:

At the conclusion of this personal memoir, I want to stress that whatever New Canada is, it must be the home to the twenty-six million or more people who choose to live on the northern half of the North American continent. All of us can contribute to the definition of New Canada as home. **What must happen for you and your family to feel more at home in this country?**
(emphasis added, 1992, p.114)

5.4 Gendering the "National" Home and Family:

In this section, I argue that while women do play a role in the New Canada, this role depends upon a rigid interpretation of gender that supports accepted social constructions of masculinity and femininity. Thus, although

women may be included in the New Canada, they do so only if they remain in the private space of the family and the home. The private sphere of the family and home then, becomes a space that depends upon the prior construction of gender.

Family has historically played a pivotal role within nationalist projects: it has been projected as a microcosm of the nation, because it provides a link between the individual and the nation, and it is the space within which cultural/national ideas are nurtured and brought to life. Not surprisingly, the 'family' plays an important role in the nationalism project of the Reform Party of Canada. In the Fresh Start Platform of 1997, a six point guide to Reform Party platforms stresses the importance of the family as its third major point. It states:

We'll make families a priority...Because of social and economic changes, many families are facing high debt, stress, bankruptcy and burnout. A Reform Government will recognize the value of families as the most important building block in our society. So you can spend less time under pressure, and more time with those you care about most.

(Fresh Start 1997, p.12)

The family also plays a pivotal role in the construction of their nationalist project: the rhetoric of 'family importance' is tied to the success of the 'New Canada'. On September 24, 1997, Preston Manning gave his "Reply to the Speech From the Throne" in the House of Commons. He stated:

That family is the most important primary caregiver in our judgement and if you want to do something for social policy, do something for the family. We Canadians, in pursuit of national unity, have been

like a family packed into the family car trying to get to a destination called united Canada.
(Preston Manning, House of Commons, September 24, 1997)

The metaphoric image of the nation as a "family" in this statement illustrates the way in which familial language is inextricably woven into the RPC's narrative of nationalism: this is a nation that depends upon the family.

This family is a gendered construction, however, because it is only the traditional family that is deemed necessary in the 'New Canada'. One of the strategies employed by the Reform Party of Canada to support the traditional family has been their manufacturing of a 'crisis' in Canadian society that is directly linked to the changing form of Canadian families. This is a tactic that is continuously played by many Reform MPs. On October 15th, 1997, for example, Eric Lowther an MP from Calgary, released a statement regarding a Statistics Canada report that single-parent families and divorce families are on the rise in Canada. In reaction to these statistics, Lowther stated:

The single-parent and divorce numbers are particularly troubling. It is important for children to have both the female and male represented in their family. Governments have to recognize this and ensure that each piece of legislation strengthens the family, as it is the fundamental building block of our society.
(MP Lowther, Reform Party of Canada National Press Release, October 15, 1997).

In response to the 'crisis' of the family, the Reform Party of Canada justifies its policies to support the traditional family: these policies can then be advocated as

a viable way to save the nation from its moral decay and collapse. In conjunction with its up-coming 1997 Fresh Start Platform, the Reform Party of Canada launched its "Making Families a Priority Again" campaign. This campaign sought to:"end the severe discrimination against families who would prefer to have one parent stay at home--over 50% of Canadians want to enjoy this choice"(Reform Press Release, February 4, 1997).

The Reform idea that "We'll Make Families a Priority Again" and the manufacturing of a 'state of emergency' situation for Canadian families is a useful tactic on many levels. By claiming the 'saviour' role of the family, the RPC has placed itself in an enviable position that enables them to counter their opponents as necessarily anti-family. Furthermore, by focussing on the family the RPC is able to justify its policies on the family "for the sake of the nation". As a result, the relationships that operate within the space of the 'traditional family' are thought to be natural and 'normal'.

The Reform Party of Canada is able to string together semantic links between home, nation, and family through a discourse of naturalization. The pillar of the nation, the traditional family, is constructed as a natural form of the family because it has been historically sanctioned since the beginning of 'Canadian' time. What is absent from this linear depiction of historical time, however, is the way in

which the traditional family is a gendered phenomenon- that it affects women differently than men, and women differently from other women. For many feminist theorists of nationalism, however, the tendency to 'naturalize' and sanction the traditional family must be understood within a gendered framework. In Dangerous Liaisons, Anne McClintock explores the gendered implications of such a naturalized discourse. McClintock argues that the role the traditional family plays in such nationalist projects can be understood through a 'domestic genealogy' (McClintock, p.90). She states:

The family trope [metaphor] is important for nationalism in at least two ways. First, it offers a 'natural' figure for sanctioning national hierarchy within a putative organic unity of interests. Second, it offers a "natural" trope for figuring national time.
(1997, p.90)

Further, McClintock argues that the link between the traditional family and the nation is important because it enables the nationalist narrative to make a necessary extension of familial relationships toward relationships in the nation. She asserts:

Because the subordination of woman to man and child to adult was deemed a natural fact, hierarchies within the nation could be depicted in familial terms to guarantee social difference as a category of nature.
(1997, p.91)

In the RPC's "New Canada", the roles prescribed to women are deemed as natural; tying them to the confines of the private sphere as part of a larger, pre-determined

natural order of life. The RPC seeks to sanction these relationships by entrenching the rights of the traditional family as the only natural arrangement of relationships in the private sphere. For example, the 1997 Fresh Start Platform promises to:

increase the Spousal Amount from \$5,380 to \$7,900, levelling the field for parents who choose to stay at home to look after young children, and helping families meet the needs of a more demanding economy.
(Fresh Start, 1997, p.12)⁴⁴

Although this statement is framed in terms of 'choice' as to who stays at home, it is women who most often stay at home, whether by choice, or through the enforcement of structural barriers that bar them from public spaces. In this way, women become tied to the family and home as they fulfill their 'duties' to the nation.

The duties and roles that women have played historically in nationalist movements has been explored more recently by several feminist theorists of nationalism, including Yuval-Davis and Anthias. Their articulation of the five ways that women have historically been involved in nationalist projects provides a useful template to compare

⁴⁴Although the Reform Party of Canada does not explicitly suggest that it be women who opt to stay at home, this policy ignores the structural barriers that make it more difficult for women to enter into the public sphere, such as sexual discrimination, societal pressure to remain at home with her children, less incentive to enter the public sector due to lower wages for women, etc. The refusal of the Reform Party of Canada to recognize such structural barriers indicates that this is a policy that seeks to maintain a traditional family wherein the women becomes responsible for the maintenance of the home and family.

how women are implicated in the construction of the RPC's "New Canada". Yuval-Davis and Anthias suggest that women are often involved:

1. as biological reproducers of the members of national collectives;
 2. as reproducers of the boundaries of national groups; (through restriction on sexual or marital relations)
 3. as active transmitters and producers of the national culture;
 4. as symbolic signifiers of national difference;
 5. as active participants in national struggles.
- (Yuval-Davis & Anthias in McClintock, 1997, p.90)

In the New Canada, women are involved in all of Yuval-Davis and Anthias' five categories, with, perhaps, the exception of the fifth (active participants in national struggles). Despite women's important roles, however, as biological and cultural reproducers and as symbolic signifiers of national difference, women are unable to claim a national identity for their own. As McClintock argues, since women are: "excluded from direct action as national citizens, [they] are subsumed symbolically into the national body politic as its boundary and metaphoric limit" (McClintock, p.90).

The "New Canada", therefore, is a vision of the nation that relies upon the containment of social identities within particular spaces. Women are relegated to private space and assigned the duty of maintaining the home and traditional family and they are also excluded from the public of discourse on nationalism. While the Reform Party of Canada suggests that its New Canada is a non-ideological construct,

this nationalist project depends upon a gendered interpretation of hierarchical arrangements that effectively silence and limit women's participation in the public discourse of nationalism itself. On this basis, women's experiences of nationalism in the New Canada are limited to, and contained within, the space of the home, and the traditional family. Clearly, gendered differences are pivotal to the construction of the New Canada.

The strong link between the traditional family and the nation serves the purpose of ensuring that those who challenge the boundaries between private/public are cast as outsiders to the New Canada altogether. Thus, those who attempt to occupy social spaces that challenge the social order, are characterized as 'alien' to the national family because they threaten the rigid divisions of social space prescribed by the Reform Party, and hence, threaten the way in which social space has been allotted to categories of people. In order to exclude groups of people based on gender and sexuality, the Reform Party of Canada has utilized this language of naturalization. If women fulfill their roles in the private space then they will be included in the nationalist narrative of the New Canada. Identities that compete and challenge the New Canada, however, are deemed as unnatural and hostile to the nationalist project. In the next section, I argue that other social identities, such as racial minorities and gays and lesbians, are excluded from

the Reform Party's nationalist project altogether.

5.5 Our Home and Native Land/Assumptions of Whiteness:

The home/nation metaphor provides the RPC a way in which to construct the New Canada as a "white-only space", in both the private and public spaces without ever referring specifically to people of colour. On February 26th, 1996, Deborah Grey made a statement entitled "An Address From the People". In this statement MP Grey asserts:

Canadians also want the security of their "national home". By this, I **mean the security that comes from knowing that the country you grew up in**, the country you love, will still be there for you and your children. Our sense of security in our national home has been severely shaken by Quebec and by the absence of strong federal leadership on the national unity issue.

(Deborah Grey, February 26th, 1996)
[emphasis added]

In this statement, MP Grey assumes that in order to be a Canadian, one must have 'grown up in Canada'; indicating that national identity is strongly linked to one's birthplace and origins.

The RPC's discourses of nationalism enable the party to construct a 'New Canada' that includes and excludes individuals based on their race. Manning referred to those who are excluded from the New Canada as he stated:

[In my earlier Road to New Canada speech] I stressed that the Reform Party was not a home for people with extreme views; that we reject racism in all its forms; and that we are the only federal party that bases its approach to the constitution, immigration, and culture on neutral laws and policies not tied to conceptions

of race, ethnicity, or ancestry. In our judgement, this colour-blind approach, abandoning ethnic criteria in defining relations between citizens and the state, is the only formula that will allow different racial groups to live together in a pluralistic society.

(1992, p.295)

This statement illustrates how 'race' as a social identity is implicated in the nationalist project of the Reform Party: people of colour may be included in the New Canada only if their self-identification is linked to the national community and not to the 'extreme' view that race informs who we are. Thus, the New Canada requires that only individuals who perceive themselves as race-less may be included in the national community. Individuals, and groups of people who identify themselves through categories of race are then placed in opposition to the national community.

The Reform Party's policies on Aboriginal Rights and Multiculturalism illustrate how racial groups are excluded from their nationalist project. In his book, Murray Dobbin refers to the 1991 Reform Delegate Assembly:

When a delegate at the 1991 Assembly expressed concern that proposed policies meant continuing "to fund aboriginal people forever," Manning reassured him that the purpose of the policies was "to do away with the Department of Indian Affairs and agencies".

(1991, p.199)

The dismantling of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development illustrates the party's drive to reduce the role of government in 'special interest cases'. Yet, it also suggests that in order to be 'Canadian', one should not need special funding based on race. The New Canada is

offered to us as a race-less nation, for the very reason that it seeks to eliminate the government's role in the protection of special interests groups based on race. In reality, however, the dismantling of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, and the subsequent way in which "Aboriginal issues" would no longer become an 'issue' of the government, but instead become a private, individual matter, illustrates that the racialization of the Canadian national identity is at the core of the New Canada because it leaves intact the many structural barriers that prevent Aboriginal Peoples from ever becoming full-citizens of Canada.

Similarly, the Reform Party's New Canada also requires the termination of state involvement in multiculturalism. In a debate in the House of Commons on June 7th of 1994, Preston Manning defended his Party's views on Multiculturalism:

Our view is that we preserve this multicultural heritage by making that the responsibility of individuals, maybe economically motivated individuals, private associations and the lower levels of government.

(Preston Manning, June 7, 1994, House of Commons)

The Multicultural Policies of the Reform Party of Canada illustrate the way in which "racial difference" is cast as antithetical to the construction of the New Canada. Reform nationalist discourse then, seeks to displace "race" as a social category of political significance, placing

social identities within a cleanly separated category with its own title: special interest groups.⁴⁵ The 1997 Fresh Start for Canadians election platform illustrates how special interest groups are constructed in opposition to both the public and private spheres. It states:

While the federal government has been catering to **special interest groups**, the voice of **Canadian families** in the policy debate has grown weaker and weaker. This has resulted in social and economic policies that undermine the security of Canadian families, causing unnecessary levels of stress, burnout, and financial hardship.

(Reform Fresh Start Platform, 1997, p.12)

A problematic dualism has been established in this statement: that between 'special interest groups', on the one hand, and 'Canadian families', on the other. More problematic, perhaps, is the causal nature of this binary relationship: it is due to the "federal government's catering to special interest groups" that has resulted in the weakening of Canadian families. This 'target and blame' strategy of special interest groups enables the RPC to pit social identities against the nation, and the family. The isolation of 'special interest groups' in opposition to the Canadian nation, family and home, serves to render 'race' as a de-political entity: it is placed in a category of

⁴⁵I am not suggesting that the term, 'special interest group' was created exclusively by the Reform Party of Canada. What I am suggesting, however, is that the Reform Party of Canada has utilized this term effectively in order to place the interests of many social groups as antithetical to the nation, home, and family.

'negation', and further separated from either public or private space. This discursive manoeuvre enables the Reform Party of Canada to create a cohesive, categorical whole that has a manifold effect: it reduces racial difference into a singular category, 'non-white', that is then placed in opposition to the Canadian nation. This, in turn, renders social identity groups based on race as antithetical to the nation, home and family.

5.6 Non-Spaces in the Narrative:

While 'race' as a social category is excluded from the New Canada, so to have gays and lesbians been dis-placed from both the private and public realms. In order to justify this displacement, the Reform Party of Canada asserts that the relationship between heterosexual men and women is a natural relation. The debates surrounding Bill C-33 illustrate how the traditional family is used as a means to control sexuality while at the same time, ensures the exclusion of gays and lesbians from the project of nationalism.

In the spring of 1996, Justice Minister Allan Rock introduced Bill C-33 to amend the Canadian Human Rights Act, the law that prohibited discrimination based on sex, marital status and disability in the workplace. The proposed Bill sought to: "ban discrimination based on sexual orientation in the federal public service, administrative agencies and

federally regulated companies"(Dabbs,1997,p.188).

Shortly after Bill C-33 was introduced, Reform MP Ringma stated in the Vancouver Sun that "it would be okay to fire or 'move to the back of the shop' an employee who was homosexual or who was a member of an ethnic minority if that offended a bigoted customer"(Dabbs,1997,p.188). Soon after Ringma's comments, David Chatters, an MP from Alberta publicly defended Ringma's comments. The "homosexual issue" has proven to be a divisive topic for the Reform Party of Canada. As Frank Dabbs states:

The debate exposed the vulnerability of Reform's social conservatives, who on religious grounds were adversarial to gays. The stance was not one some MP's cared to hide because they represented communities, particularly in rural Alberta and the interior of British Columbia, that were unfriendly to gays. Journalists, gay activists and MPs in other parties probed the weakness.

(Dabbs,1997,p.188)

Reform opposition to Bill C-33 demonstrates how gays and lesbians are excluded from both the private and public spheres in Reform discourse. Although Bill C-33 dealt only with gays and lesbians in the public workplace, many Reform MPs expressed their concern that the Bill would result in a challenge to the private realm of the family. Over May 8th and 9th, vigorous debate ensued in the House of Commons over Bill C-33. On May 8th, 1996, MP Silye from Calgary Centre stated:

I stand before the House and I say I am against discrimination but I am also against same sex marriages, same sex adoption and same sex benefits

because those are the rights and benefits society gives, and they are privileges.

(House of Commons, May 8, 1996, Hansard)

MP Silye's statement illustrates the way in which 'family' is constructed as a right that can be restricted and repealed, depending upon one's sexual identity. The Reform Party's preoccupation with the potential threat Bill C-33 poses to the traditional family served as a focal point for Reformers to justify their opposition to the Bill. As Preston Manning states on May 9, 1996:

There is a second fundamental reason for having great reservations about this bill and its implications. It is a reason that has been expressed by many Members on both sides of the House and that is its potential impact on the traditional family.

(House of Commons, May 9, 1996, Hansard)

Although Bill C-33 was an Amendment to the Canadian Human Rights Act based on discrimination in the workplace, most Reform MPs justified their opposition to the Bill by insisting that the Bill would challenge the sanctity of the family and home.

In the Reform Party's New Canada, therefore, the family and home are constructed as rights and privileges that can be experienced only by heterosexual couples. The Fresh Start Platform of 1997 further entrenches the "traditional family" as the foundation of the nation based upon heterosexual assumptions of identity. In relation to the Reform Party's Spousal benefits program, the Reform Party concludes that these benefits apply to only specific groups of people,

defined by their sexuality:

For Spousal benefit programs funded or administered by the federal government, a Reform Government will maintain the current federal definition of marriage as a union of a man and a woman as recognized by the state, and define a family as individuals related by blood, marriage or adoption.

(Fresh Start 1997, p.13)

The exclusion of gays and lesbians from receiving the 'rights' given to traditional families illustrates the way in which social identities are implicated in the nationalist project of the Reform Party of Canada: since the New Canada rests upon the shoulders of the traditional family, those who are excluded from the "privileges" of the family are necessarily excluded from the nation as well. Thus, the special role afforded to the private space in the nationalist project of the Reform Party of Canada enables the Reform Party to craft the New Canada as a heterosexist space without explicitly referring to gays and lesbians.

5.7 Conclusion:

The Reform Party of Canada has used the discourse of nationalism, rooted in economic rationality, in order to assert that its vision for Canada is new. In fact, however, it is not the RPC's neoliberalism that is new, but instead, the introduction of the neoliberal principle of 'sameness' into a brand of Anglo-Canadian nationalism. The reconstruction of social space has proved an invaluable strategy for the Reform Party of Canada. By constructing

rigid boundaries between spaces, the Reform Party's nationalist discourse speaks of spaces, and not of people. On this basis, the Reform Party of Canada can appeal to a much wider range of the Canadian population because its nationalist discourse does not explicitly refer to the exclusion of specific social identity groups from its vision of a political community. The RPC's exclusion of difference from its narrative of Anglo-Canadian nationalism challenges the construction of Anglo-Canadian nationalism since the Charter era. Further, the RPC's discourse of nationalism serves to further entrench neoliberalism in Canada.

CONCLUSION

My study of the citizenship and nationalist practices of the Reform Party of Canada bridges together previous research that has been conducted on the Reform Party of Canada with feminist research that has investigated the New Right from a gendered perspective. This investigation is only a preliminary step in feminist analyses of the New Right and in particular, the Reform Party of Canada. In this thesis, I had three main goals. The first was to situate the Reform party of Canada within the larger discourses on citizenship and nationalism in Canada. I argued that the citizenship practices of the Reform Party of Canada reflect the current practices of citizenship in Canada today. I also argued that the nationalist practices of the Reform Party of Canada offer something new to the narrative of nationalism in Canada today. The current Constitutional crisis in Canada means that a new vision of nationalism needs to be constructed. The Reform Party's brand of nationalism, although in sync with historical practices of nationalism, undercuts the Canadian mythology of nationalism that traditionally bound the country together during the post-Charter era. Reform nationalism is pro-American, pro-individual, and pro-free market enterprise.

My second goal was to deconstruct the citizenship and nationalist practices of the Reform Party. I situated the Reform Party of Canada within the larger ideological

currents of Western Canadian regionalism and the New Right. Although Manning claims that his party is not motivated by particular ideologies, I argued that the Reform Party is highly ideological. The RPC is part of the New Right movement and therefore supports strongly neoliberal ideologies that sustain individualism and laissez-faire economics.

My third goal was to illustrate how the Reform Party of Canada's constructions of citizenship and nationalism can, and should, be explained through the lenses of gender, class, race, disability and sexuality. Although citizenship and nationalism have been historically explained through public, male discourses, clearly they have wider implications that require more detailed analyses than have been previously posited.

6.1 Research Findings on the Reform Party of Canada:

1. That the citizenship and nationalist discourses of the Reform Party of Canada promote and protect a singular identity that is placed in opposition to social identity groups based on race, class, sexuality and gender.

The citizenship and nationalist discourses of the Reform Party of Canada have provided useful insight into the Party's vision of the Canadian political community. This is an envisioned community that is bound together by rigid terms and conditions of citizenship that exclude groups of people based on their social identities. The Reform Party's

emphasis on duties and responsibilities and property rights illustrates the rigid conditions of belonging in their community. Their liberal, individualistic model of citizenship emphasizes an equality that assumes that the terms and conditions of citizenship can be fulfilled by any individual, regardless of one's social identity. The political community constructed by the Reform Party of Canada demands allegiance and loyalty to a fixed identity that is deemed natural and inevitable. The stability of this singular identity denies the realities of difference that exist between groups of people. Thus, Reform's practices of citizenship and nationalism deny hyphenated and multiple identity constructions.

2. That the Reform Party of Canada's political community eliminates the possibility of 'difference' as a potential organizing principle for its vision of the future of Canada.

The Reform Party of Canada has an understanding of identity that does not allow for differences between social groups within its political community. The Reform Party's nationalist discourse divides national space between private and public. The Party ensures that their political community should be bound together by a singular narrative. Consequently, difference is excluded as a possible organizing principle for creating political communities in Canada. Reform's singular nationalist script also excludes social identity groups from the experiences of nationalism.

Within the lexicon of the Reform Party of Canada, the exclusion of social identity groups from the political community also means that social identity groups become identity-less-- since they do not 'fit in' to the identity of the political community, these oppositional identities are presented as hostile to the nationalist project and dismissed. The singular national narrative also ensures that the histories of social identity groups remain absent from the script of nationalism. The suppression of histories ensures that differences that have existed historically within a nation are erased from the nationalist script.

Further, the Reform Party's rigid interpretation of identity ensures that any challenges to their nationalist script are deemed unnatural and against the 'Nation'. Thus, nationalisms that emerge in opposition to the hegemonic nationalism(such as Black and Queer nationalisms) are cast as inauthentic, illegal or alien because they derive from social identity groups grounded in difference. Within this political community then, the lines of loyalty need to be clearly defined in order to ensure allegiance to a single polity.

6.2 Broader Implications of the Work:

1. To provide a theoretical link between citizenship and nationalism.

In this thesis, I examine the citizenship and

nationalist practices of the Reform Party of Canada. By bridging together the two fields of citizenship and nationalism, it is my intention to indicate how the connections between the two provide important insights that could not have been garnered otherwise. The links between citizenship and nationalism are particularly important in the exploration of identity constructions in political communities. In this thesis, the Reform Party's vision of the political community is interrogated through the deconstruction of the party's discourses of citizenship and nationalism. Theories of citizenship help to explain the nature of the relationship between individuals and the state while theories of nationalism help to explain the common connection that exists between members of the community. Thus, in combination, citizenship and nationalism help to explain the web of connections that exist amongst identities, communities, and states. Although the relationships amongst them are often complex, contradictory and contested, explorations of both citizenship and nationalism provide a comprehensive framework that enables a thorough investigation of these connections. In this thesis it is my intention to point out that citizenship and nationalism are in fact co-terminous-- one cannot be explored without the other satisfactorily.

2. To contribute to the theoretical field of feminist analyses on the New Right.

In this investigation, I focus on the citizenship and nationalist discourses of the Reform Party of Canada. While this thesis seeks to make conclusions about the RPC, it is my intention that it also contribute to the larger theoretical field of feminist analyses on the New Right. The Reform Party of Canada must be understood within the larger ideological movement of the New Right, and as a result, conclusions can be drawn about the characteristics of the New Right movement in Canada. Primarily, it can be asserted that neoliberalism as a major tenet of the New Right movement existed prior to the emergence of the Reform Party of Canada as a federal political party. Both the Mulroney and Chrétien governments, as well as several provincial governments (Alberta and Ontario, for example), have enacted economic policies that indicate that the New Right movement is a pervasive feature of our current economic landscape. The RPC, then, cannot be understood as the only representation of the New Right in Canada but instead, a part of a larger ideological movement that has a great deal of established power in Canada. On this basis, the New Right movement in Canada can no longer be understood as a reactionary phenomenon that poses a challenge to the status-quo. Instead, the New Right must be understood as a movement that is a central facet of the Canadian political system.

Feminist insights on the New Right, and in particular, on the Reform Party of Canada, are needed now more than

ever. As I discussed in this thesis, feminist analyses have already begun to explain the economic restructuring projects of neoliberal governments from gendered perspectives. Yet, feminist investigations of the relationship between neoliberalism and nationalisms remain largely unexplored. My investigation of the nationalist practices of the RPC indicates that the nationalist discourses of the New Right are significantly gendered. Although further investigation is necessary, it is apparent that in the Canadian case, a further institutionalization of neoliberalism and nationalism will have a devastating impact on marginalized people.

3. To provide a useful critique of the Reform Party of Canada that will assist in coalition-building against the New Right in Canada.

The political community offered by the Reform Party of Canada is a homogeneous entity that excludes a great deal of people. The party has repeatedly insisted that its 'New Canada' is the only solution to the impending fragmentation that threatens Canada because, it suggests, its 'New Canada' is a singular identity. But, the postulation of a single-nation does not resolve conflict, it merely ignores it. It is my intention in this work to indicate how the RPC's vision of the political community is not a viable solution to the 'crisis' of Canada. The political community envisioned by the Reform Party is not an alternative that we

should consider because it seeks to further marginalize people. New understandings of the political community must be created that take into account that choices, access to power, and access to material needs are structured differently for different people. New understandings of community must be articulated from different positions and identities. This requires the efforts of many different social identity groups to work together on new interpretations of communities, citizenship and nationalism. In order to make the relationships between identities, communities and states more equitable, such an endeavour demands the coalescence of different groups as we work together to struggle against the New Right in all of its manifestations.

Appendix A

Charter of Duties and Responsibilities

This enactment establishes a Charter of Duties and Responsibilities for Canadian citizens and permanent residents of Canada.

An Act to establish a Canadian Charter of Duties and Responsibilities

Whereas it is impossible for a civilized society to exist unless the citizens of that society recognize that their rights and freedoms are dependent upon the fulfillment of their duties and responsibilities;

And Whereas the existence of these facts justifies the establishment of a Charter of Canadian's duties and responsibilities toward Canada and toward Canadian society;

Now, Therefore, Her Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate and the House of Commons of Canada, enacts as follows:

This Act may be cited as the Canadian Charter of Duties and Responsibilities

Duties and Responsibilities

Every Canadian citizen and every permanent resident of Canada has the duty and responsibility:

to contribute to the defence of Canada from attack, whether by a foreign power or by insurrection from within; to abide by the Constitution of Canada, to respect, comply with and uphold the laws of Canada and to obey and assist the authorities who enforce those laws; to render assistance in cases of emergency or calamity or in circumstances that are likely to endanger the existence or well-being of all or part of the population of Canada; to responsibly exercise his or her rights and freedoms as an individual while having due regard for, and without restricting, the rights and freedoms of others; to vote in elections and referendums and to participate in civic affairs, within the limits and conditions established by law; to pay his or her fair share of taxes, within the limits and conditions established by law; to receive education and training under the conditions and in the manner provided by law, in order to meet his or her personal obligations to family, to the community and to society as a whole; to provide the necessities of life to his or her children and to educate and protect them until they are adults; to bear financial responsibility for crimes committed by his or her children that are the result of inadequate parental control and supervision; to support and

protect his or her parents in case of need and to the extent of his or her means, particularly when his or her parents are old or unable to work; to assist and support other members of his or her family in case of need, to the extent of his or her means; to do his or her fair share for society and to not take advantage of other people or of the State; to endeavour to meet his or her own needs before taking advantage of any program, grant or loan supplied by government; to work in accordance with his or her capacity to do so, and to not apply for assistance from government until he or she is destitute and unable to work because of disability, age or ill-health, and when no support is available from family, private charities and non-governmental organizations; to comply with a personal code of conduct, behaviour and lifestyle that will not cause him or her to become a burden to his or her family, to the community or to society as a whole; and to respect the rights and freedoms of others, and to conduct himself or herself in an honest and fair manner so as to contribute to the well-being of his or her family, community or province, and Canadian society as a whole.

Entitlements to Remedies and Benefits

No Canadian citizen or permanent resident of Canada is entitled to receive any remedy pursuant to the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms Canadian Human Rights Act any loan, grant, benefit, pension, financial assistance or other assistance provided directly or indirectly, in whole or in part, by Her Majesty in Right of Canada or any agent of Her Majesty in Right of Canada until he or she has signed a statement, in a form approved by the Governor in Council, setting out the duties and responsibilities mentioned in section 2 of this Act and stating that the person signing the statement has complied, and intends to comply, with those duties and responsibilities.

Legislation Referred (1) Every Act of the Parliament of Canada, and every regulation made pursuant to an Act of the Parliament of Canada, stands referred to a committee of Parliament, which Parliament shall designate for the purpose, to be examined for compatibility with the principles set out in this Act. (2) The committee mentioned in subsection (1) shall report to Parliament, at times set by Parliament by means of resolution, as to whether Acts and regulations referred to it are compatible with the principles set out in this Act and, in case of incompatibility, recommending actions to correct the incompatibility.

Penalties Every person who makes a wilful misrepresentation in a statement mentioned in section 3 is guilty of a summary conviction offense.

Appendix B

SAMPLE ONLY**STATEMENT OF DUTIES AND RESPONSIBILITIES**

by Garry Breitkreuz, MP (Yorkton-Melville)

Every Canadian citizen and every permanent resident of Canada has the duty and the responsibility:

- (a) to contribute to the defence of Canada from attack, whether by a foreign power or by insurrection from within;
- (b) to abide by the Constitution of Canada, to respect, comply with and uphold the laws of this country, and to obey and assist the authorities who enforce those laws;
- (c) to render assistance in cases of emergency or calamity or in circumstances likely to endanger the existence or well-being of all or part of the population of Canada;
- (d) to responsibly exercise his or her rights and freedoms as an individual while having due regard for, and without restricting, the rights and freedoms of others;
- (e) to vote in elections and referendums, and participate in civic affairs within the limits and conditions established by law;
- (f) to pay his or her fair share of taxes, within the limits and conditions established by law;
- (g) to receive education and training under the conditions and in the manner provided by law, in order to meet his or her personal obligations to family, to the community and to society as a whole;
- (h) to provide the necessities of life to her or her children and to educate and protect them until they are adults;
- (i) to bear financial responsibility for the crimes committed by his or her children that are the result of inadequate parental control and supervision;
- (j) to support and protect his or her parents in case of need and to the extent of his or her means, particularly when they are old and unable to work;
- (k) to assist and support other members of his or her immediate family in case of need, to the extent of his or her means;

Bibliography

- Abella, Rosalie. "Solidarity Attacked by Exclusion: Respecting Equality and Diversity" in Queen's Quarterly, 98/2(Summer 1991), pp.353-362.
- Anderson, Benedict. Imagined Communities. Verso, New York: 1983.
- Archer, Keith and Ellis, Faron. "Opinion Structure of Party Activists: The Reform Party of Canada" in Canadian Journal of Political Science. Vol. 28. June, 1994. pp.-277-308.
- Bannerji, Himani. "On the Dark Side of the Nation: Politics of Multiculturalism and the State of 'Canada'" in Journal of Canadian Studies. Vol.31, No.3(Fall 1996) pp.103-128.
- Bakker, Isabella. Rethinking Restructuring: Gender and Change in Toronto, University of Toronto Press, Toronto: 1996.
- Barrett, Stanley. "The Far Right Movement in Canada" in Humanist in Canada. Summer 1996, No.117, pp. 8-11
- Bashevkin, Sylvia. True Patriot Love: The Politics of Canadian Nationalism. Oxford University Press, Toronto: 1991.
- Bashevkin, Sylvia. "Confronting Neo-conservatism: Anglo-American Women's Movements under Thatcher, Reagan and Mulroney" in International Political Science Review Vol. 15, No.3, pp.275-296: 1994.
- Biagini, Eugenio, F. Citizenship and Community. Cambridge University Press, Great Britain: 1996.
- Bissoondath, Neil. "Am Canadian" in Saturday Night. October 1994, pp.11-18.
- Bliss, Michael. Right Honourable Men: The Descent of Canadian Politics from Macdonald to Mulroney. Harper Collins Ltd., Toronto: 1994.
- Bonnett, Laura. Toward a More Inclusive Concept of Citizenship: Women and the 1981 Ad Hoc Constitutional Conference. Masters Thesis, Carleton University, Ottawa, Canada: 1997.
- Bretton, Henry, L. "Political Science, Language and Politics" in Language and Politics. William and Jean

- O'Barr, eds. pp.431-451. Mouton & Co., Publishers, The Hague, Netherlands: 1976.
- Brodie, Janine. "Canadian Women, Changing State Forms, and Public Policy" in Women and Canadian Public Policy. Janine Brodie, ed. Harcourt Brace & Company, Canada: 1995, pp.1-30.
- Brodie, Janine. "Restructuring and the New Citizenship" in Rethinking Restructuring-Gender and Change in Canada, Isabella Bakker, ed. pp.126-140. University of Toronto Press, Toronto: 1996.
- Cairns, Alan. "The Fragmentation of Canadian Citizenship" in Belonging- The Meaning and Future of Canadian Citizenship, ed. William Kaplan. McGill-Queen's University Press, Canada: 1993, pp.181-220.
- Cameron, Deborah. Feminism and Linguistic Theory. MacMillan Press, England; 1985.
- Cameron, D., Frazer, E., Harvey, P., Rampton, M.B.H., Richardson, K., eds. Researching Language: Issues of Power and Method. Routledge, London: 1992.
- Canadian Council on Social Development. A Guide to the Charter for equality-seeking groups- Court Challenges Program. Ottawa: 1987.
- Carroll, John, B. The Study of Language. Harvard University Press. U.S.A.: 1968.
- Chatterjee, Partha. Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World. University of Minnesota Press. Minneapolis: 1995.
- Corman, June and Marilyn Porter. "How Do Feminists Confront the 'New Right'" in Atlantis, Volume 21.2 Spring/Summer 1997, p.1-4
- Curthoys, Ann. "Feminism, Citizenship and National Identity" in Feminist Review, Issue No.44(Summer): 1993.
- Cook, Ramsey. The Maple Leaf Forever. Macmillan of Canada, Toronto: 1971.
- Dabbs, Frank. Preston Manning: The Roots of Reform. Greystone Books, Vancouver: 1997.
- Dacks, Green and Trimble, "Road Kill: Women in Alberta's Drive Toward Deficit Elimination" in The Trojan Horse- Alberta and the Future of Canada. Harrison and Laxer,

- eds. Black Rose Books Limited, Montreal: 1995.
- deLauretis, Teresa. "Upping the anti (sic) in feminist theory" in Hirsch, Marianne and Fox Keller, Evelyn. Conflicts in Feminism. Routledge, New York: 1990.
- Dermer, Jerry, ed. The New World Economic Order: Opportunities and Threats. Captus Press, Toronto: 1992.
- deSève, Micheline. "Gendered Feelings About Our National Issue(s)" in Atlantis Volume 21.2 Spring/Summer 1997, p.111-117.
- Dobbin, Murray. Preston Manning and the Reform Party. James Lorimer & Company. Toronto: 1991.
- Dubinsky, Karen. "Really Dangerous: The Challenge of R.E.A.L. Women" in Canadian Dimension. October 1987, Vol.21, No.6, pp.4-7.
- Eley, Geoff and Suny, Grigor Ronald. Becoming National- A Reader. Oxford University Press, New York: 1996.
- Emberley, Peter. C., ed.. By Loving Our Own. Carleton University Press, Ottawa: 1990.
- Enloe, Cynthia. Bananas Beaches and Bases. University of California Press: Berkeley: 1989.
- Erwin, Lorna. "Challenging Feminism: The Organized Anti-feminist Backlash" in RFR/DRF Volume 17 number 3, pp.147-149.
- Faludi, Susan, Backlash. The Undeclared War Against American Women. Anchor Books. New York, New York, U.S.A.: 1991.
- Fishman, Joshua, A. Language and Nationalism. Newbury House Publishing Inc., U.S.A.: 1972.
- Flanagan, Tom. Waiting for the Wave: Preston Manning and the Reform Party. Stoddart Books. Toronto: 1995.
- Flanagan, Tom and Harper, Stephen. "Conservative Politics in Canada: Past, Present, and Future" in Gairdner, William, D. After Liberalism: Essays in Search of Freedom, Virtue, and Order. Stoddart, Toronto: 1998.
- Frishman, Bob. American Families Responding to the Pro-Family Movement. people for the American Way. North Carolina, U.S.A.: 1984.
- Gellner, Ernest. Nations and Nationalism. Basil Blackwell,

England: 1983.

- Gibbins, Roger. "The West Wants In" in Beyond Quebec-Taking Stock of Canada. McRoberts, Kenneth, ed. pp.45-60. McGill-Queen's University Press, Kingston: 1995.
- Gibbins, Roger and Youngman, Loleen. Mindscales: Political Ideologies Towards the 21st Century. McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited, Toronto: 1996.
- Gibbins, Roger and Arrison, Sonya. Western Visions: Perspectives on the West in Canada. Broadview Press, Canada: 1995.
- Gould, Ellen. "The Right Hand of God: Preston Manning and the Gospel of conflict resolution" in The Canadian Forum. September, 1997, pp.10-15.
- Graham, Ron. All the King's Horses. Macfarlane Walter & Ross, Toronto: 1995.
- Grant, George. Lament for a Nation. Carleton University Press, Ottawa: 1995.
- Gray, Deborah. "An Address from the People". February 26, 1996. www.reform.ca
- Gray, John. Liberalism. Second Edition. University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis: 1994.
- Harrison, Trevor. Of Passionate Intensity: Right-Wing Populism and the Reform Party of Canada. University of Toronto Press. Toronto: 1995.
- Hobsbawm, Eric. Nations and Nationalism since 1780. second edition, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge: 1990.
- Horsman, Mathew and Marshall, Andrew. After the Nation-State. Harper Collins Publishers, London: 1994.
- Hutchinson, John and Smith, Anthony D. Nationalism. Oxford University Press, New York: 1994.
- Ivekovic, Rada. "Women, Nationalism and War: "make love not war" in Hypatia V.8, N4, pp.113(14): Fall 1993.
- Jenson, Jane and Susan D. Phillips. "Regime Shift: New Citizenship Practices in Canada". in International Journal of Canadian Studies, Fall 1996, Citizenship and Rights. pp.111-135.
- Kaplan, William. "Who Belongs? Changing Conceptions of

- Citizenship and Nationality" in Belonging- The Meaning and Future of Canadian Citizenship, ed. William Kaplan. McGill-Queen's University Press, Canada: 1993, pp.245-264.
- Kernerman, Gerald. Deconstructing "Equal Citizenship": The Reform Party's Equality Platform and the Calgary Declaration. A Paper presented at the Annual General Meeting of the Canadian Political Science Association, Ottawa, June 2, 1998.
- Klatch, Rebecca. Women of the New Right. Temple University Press, Philadelphia, 1987.
- Laforest, Guy. Trudeau and the End of a Canadian Dream. McGill-Queen's University Press: 1995.
- Laycock, David. "Reforming Canadian Democracy? Institutions and Ideology in the Reform Party Project" in Canadian Journal of Political Science. Vol. 28, June 1994, pp.213-248.
- Laxer, James. In Search of a New Left. Penguin Books, Toronto: 1996.
- Lewis, Robert and Wilson-Smith, Anthony, eds, "Manning keeps up the pressure" in Macleans, December 29, 1997/January 5, 1998, pp.72-73.
- Manning, Preston. The New Canada. Macmillan Canada, Toronto: 1992.
- Manning, Preston. "The Canadian Agenda For Change-Remarks to a Reform Rally". Speech given in Windsor, Ontario, November 3, 1995.
- Manning, Preston. "The Canadian Agenda For Change" Speech at the Vancouver Leader's Dinner", Vancouver, British Columbia, November 16, 1995.
- Manning, Preston. "Etobicoke North By-Election". Speech given in Etobicoke, Ontario, March 20, 1996.
- Manning, Preston. "An Alternative View of the 1996 Federal Budget and the Path to a Secure Future" Speech given to the Canadian Association of Financial Planners, Ottawa, Ontario, March 28, 1996.
- Manning, Preston. "Reply to the Speech from the Throne" September 24, 1997. www.reform.ca
- Marshall, T.H. and Tom Bottomore. Citizenship and Social

- Class. Pluto Press, Concord, MA: 1992.
- McBride, Stephen and Shields, John. Dismantling a Nation-Canada and the New World Order. Fernwood Publishing, Halifax: 1993.
- McClintock, Anne. "Family Feuds: Gender, Nationalism and the Family" in Feminist Review. Issue No.44 (Summer): 1993.
- McClintock, Anne, Mufti, Aamir and Shohat, Ella, eds. Dangerous Liaisons Gender, Nation & Postcolonial Perspectives. University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis: 1997.
- McCormick, Thelma. Politics and the Hidden Injuries of Gender: Feminism and the Making of the Welfare State. CRIAW/ICREF, Ottawa, Canada: 1991.
- Milne, David. Tug of War: Ottawa and the Provinces Under Trudeau and Mulroney. James Lorimer & Company, Publishers, Toronto: 1986.
- Melnyk, George. Radical Regionalism. NeWest Press, Edmonton Alberta: 1981.
- Melnyk, George. Beyond Alienation: Political Essays on the West. Detselig Enterprises Ltd., Calgary, Alberta: 1993.
- Mercer, Kobena. Welcome to the Jungle. Routledge, New York: 1994.
- Merequior, J.G. Liberalism Old and New. Twayne Publishers, Boston: 1991.
- Morton, Desmond. "Divided Loyalties? Divided Country?" in Belonging- The Meaning and Future of Canadian Citizenship, ed. William Kaplan. McGill-Queen's University Press, Canada: 1993, pp.50-63.
- Morton, F.L. "The Charter and Canada Outside Quebec" in Beyond Quebec Taking Stock of Canada, ed. Kenneth McRoberts. McGill-Queen's University Press: 1995, pp.93-116.
- Mouffe, Chantal. "Feminism, Citizenship, and Radical Democratic Politics" in Feminists Theorize the Political Butler, Judith and Scott, Joan W., eds. pp.369-384. Routledge, New York: 1992.
- Ng, Roxana. "Sexism, Racism, Nationalism" in Race, Class, Gender: Bonds And Barriers. Chapter 2. Socialist

- Studies, A Canadian Annual no.5., Canada: 1989.
- Oommen, T.K..Citizenship, Nationality and Ethnicity. Polity Press, Oxford: 1997.
- Parekh, Bhikhu. "Discourses on National Identity" in Political Studies, XLII, p.492-504: 1994.
- Ralph, Diana, ed. Open for Business, Closed for People. Fernwood Publishing. Halifax: 1997.
- Rawls, John. Political Liberalism. Columbia University Press, New York: 1996.
- REAL Women. A Voice for Canadian Women. Position Paper. March, 1994
- Reform Party of Canada. Awaking the Sleeping Giant. Speech given by Preston Manning to The Canadian Club, London, Ontario, November 2, 1995.
- Reform Party of Canada. The Canadian Agenda for Change. Speech given to a Reform Rally, Windsor, Ontario by Preston Manning, November 3, 1995.
- Reform Party of Canada. The Canadian Agenda for Change. Speech given to the Vancouver Leader's Dinner by Preston Manning, November 16, 1995
- Reform Party of Canada. A Fresh Start for Canadians. 1997 Election Platform.
- Reform Party of Canada. House of Commons Debates, 35th Parliament. Speeches by Preston Manning.
- Reform Party of Canada. Blue Book. 1996-1997 Principles & Policies of the Reform Party of Canada.
- Reform Party of Canada. New Canada Act Draft, May, 1998
- Resnick, Philip. Thinking English Canada. Stoddart Publishing Co, Limited. Toronto: 1994
- Rowland, Robyn. Women Who Do & Women Who Don't Join the Women's Movement. Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, Englan: 1984.
- Saul Ralston, John. Reflections of a Siamese Twin: Canada at the End of the Twentieth Century. Viking Books, Toronto: 1997.
- Scott, Joan. "Deconstructing Equality-Versus-Difference: Or,

- the Uses of Poststructuralist Theory for Feminism" in Conflicts in Feminism. Marianne Hirsch & Evelyn Fox Keller, eds. Routledge, New York: 1990 pp.134-149.
- Seidel, Gill, ed. The Nature of the Right. John Benjamins Publishing Company, U.S.A.: 1988
- Sigurdson, Richard. "Preston Manning and the Politics of Postmodernism in Canada" in Canadian Journal of Political Science. Vol. 28: June 1994, pp.-249-276.
- Sigurdson, Richard. "First Peoples, New Peoples and Citizenship in Canada" in the International Journal of Canadian Studies: Fall 1996, Citizenship and Rights, pp.53-76.
- Simeon, Richard and Janigan, Mary. Toolkits and Building Blocks: Constructing a New Canada. C.D. Howe Institute, Toronto: 1991.
- Simpson, Jeffrey, C. Faultlines: Struggling for a Canadian Vision. HarperCollins Publishers, Ltd., Toronto: 1993.
- Sharpe, Sydney and Braid, Don. Breakup: Why the West Feels Left Out of Canada. Key Porter Books, Toronto: 1990.
- Sharpe, Sydney and Braid, Don. Storming Babylon: Preston Manning and the Rise of the Reform Party. Key Porter Books Limited, Toronto: 1992.
- Smith, A.D. "Introduction: The Formation of Nationalist Movements" in Nationist Movements. London: 1991.
- Smith, Shannon. "Feminist Nationalist Movements" presented at the MacDougall Symposium at Carleton University, Ottawa: March 1997.
- Taft, Kevin. Shredding the Public Interest: Ralph Klein and 25 Years of One-Party Government. University of Alberta Press. Edmonton: 1997.
- Tanesini, Alessandra. "Whose Language?" in Women, Knowledge and Reality. Ann Garry and Marilyn Pearsall, eds. Routledge, New York: 1996, Chapter 19.
- Taylor, Charles. Reconciling the Solitudes: Essays on Canadian Federalism and Nationalism. McGill-Queen's University Press, Kingston: 1994.
- Thanh Ha, Tu. Globe and Mail. "Reform braces to face its own". Thursday, October 13, 1994, p.A1

- Thanh Ha, Tu. Globe and Mail. "Reform to debate spreading its wings" Friday, October 14, 1994, p.A4
- Toneguzzi, Mario. Calgary Herald. "Reform claims women's group discriminatory" June 15, 1994, p.A1
- Van Dusen, Thomas. The Chief. Castor Publishing, Russell, Ontario: 1968.
- Vickers, Jill. "At His Mother's Knee: Sex/Gender and the Construction of National Identities" in Nemiroff, (ed). Women and Men: Interdisciplinary Readings on Gender. Fitzhenry & Whiteside Limited, Montreal, 1990.
- Vickers, Jill. "Changing the Gender of the Nation: Women and Nationalisms in English Canada" presented at the MacDougall Symposium, Carleton University, Ottawa: March 1997.
- Weinfeld, Morton. "Social Identity in the 1990s" in Clash of Identities, ed. James Littleton. Canadian Cataloguing in Publication Data: 1996.
- West, Lois. Feminist Nationalism. Routledge, New York: 1997.
- Wilson-Smith, Anthony. "Reform's Rough Road" in Macleans. October 10, 1994, p.19
- Wright, Robert W. Economics, Enlightenment and Canadian Nationalism. McGill-Queen's University Press, Kingston: 1993.
- Yeatman, Anna. Postmodern Revisionings of the Political. Routledge, New York: 1994.
- Young, Iris Marion. Justice and the Politics of Difference. Princeton University Press, New Jersey: 1990.
- Yuval-Davis, Nira. Gender and Nation. TCS Politics & Culture. A Theory, Culture and Society Series. Sage Publications, New York: 1997.

IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (QA-3)

APPLIED IMAGE, Inc
1653 East Main Street
Rochester, NY 14609 USA
Phone: 716/482-0300
Fax: 716/288-5989

© 1993, Applied Image, Inc., All Rights Reserved