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

Your Side, My Side, Our Side:
Mediating International Ecological Disputes
The International Joint Commission in the Great Lakes Region

by
Mary Hutcheon

A thesis submitted to
the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts

Department of Political Science

Carleton University
Ottawa, Ontario
May, 1997
© copyright
1997, Mary Hutcheon

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.

0-612-26922-1

Canada

The undersigned hereby recommend to
the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
acceptance of the thesis,

**YOUR SIDE, MY SIDE, OUR SIDE:
MEDIATING INTERNATIONAL ECOLOGICAL DISPUTES
THE INTERNATIONAL JOINT COMMISSION IN THE GREAT LAKES REGION**

submitted by

Mary Hutcheon, B.A. Hons.

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

Chair, Department of Political Science

Thesis Supervisor

Carleton University
June 27, 1997

Abstract

Resolving problems of ecological degradation is a complex and intricate affair. A successful process is one that includes all stakeholders and uses feminist notions of power and lends itself to the understanding of the dynamics of ecological, political and social conditions.

This paper is a critical response to the current practice of conflict management at the international level. Suggested in this paper is an alternative model which uses feminist and conflict resolution literature to construct an approach that is sensitive to the transformations advocated in feminist, ecological, pacifist, and mediation social movements.

This approach is used to assess the efforts of the International Joint Commission (IJC) during the 1970s. The IJC is a joint bi-national body mandated by Canada and the United States (US) to advise and oversee the Great Lakes clean-up.

Acknowledgements

I could not complete this paper without the help and support of many people. I would especially like to thank Michael Dolan and Cheryl Picard for their guidance and patience while I worked on this paper. Also, to those who provided comments regarding my presentation of a transformative approach of conflict resolution at the Mediation Symposium, Ottawa, February 1997 and at the International Studies Association, Toronto, March 1997. As well, I thank my friends and family who have supported me during my periods of isolation and confusion and bouts of foolish revelry and clarity.

My thanks to you all.

Your Side, My Side, Our Side

Table of Contents

I.	Introduction: Conflict over the stewardship of the Great Lakes eco-basin	1
II.	Theoretical Critiques and Re-thinking	10
	A. Feminist conceptions	10
	Nature, Environment, Ecology	13
	Critiques of Security	18
	Rethinking Security	22
	Feminist Power Politics	26
	B. Conflict Resolution, Mediation, and Transformation	28
	International and Environmental	32
	Four Transformative Approaches	39
	Management Approach	40
	Social Justice Approach	41
	Individual Agency Approach	45
	Communication Approach	47
III	From SNAFU to Snap-out-it!	50
	A. Towards Rethinking International Mediation	50
	Social Movements	51
	Transformative Directions	53
	Factors and Considerations	55
	B. The Building Approach	59
	A Proposal: from a management to a transformative approach	59
	Doubts and Challenges	63
	Using the Building Approach in Analyzing Responses to Environmental Problems	66
IV.	The Great Lakes Clean-up, c1970s	69
	A. Collaboration, Mediation, and Crises	69
	Binational Cooperation: GLWQA 1972 and 1978	70
	International Joint Commission	75
	Environmental Assessments: six crises	79
	typhoid epidemic	79
	extinction of indigenous fish	80
	rapid degeneration of the lakes' life cycle	82
	microscopic toxic chemicals	83
	approach and practice	85
	global reach	86

Your Side, My Side, Our Side

Table of Contents

B.	Apparent Changes in Direction	87
	Standardization and Control	87
	Waste Management	90
	Eco-system	92
C.	Cooperative Efforts Yet Restoration Failure	95
	Resolution processes	95
	Parties	95
	Identified positions and issues	97
	Explored options	98
	Generated solutions	99
	Participation	101
	Public hearings	103
	Consultation	105
	Education	106
	Power	109
	Control and Dominance	111
	Enabling and Partnership	113
V.	Conclusion: Transforming Stewardship	118
A.	Expectations and Limitations	118
	The Building Approach Assessment	118
	Contesting Perspectives	121
B.	Towards rethinking ecological conflicts	126
C.	Future progress and restorative steps	131
	Bibliography	136

I. INTRODUCTION: CONFLICT OVER THE STEWARDSHIP OF THE GREAT LAKES ECO-BASIN

One sees many things walking along a shoreline of a river or lake in the Great Lakes region. The rhythmic movement of the water lapping onto a sandy beach and birds flying overhead connect one's sensations of sight, sound, and smell to the water, land and air. One may wonder about the beauty of such a site and experience until one sees dead birds and fish mixed with garbage strewn on the shore, hears the constant noise of traffic from a nearby roadway and on the water, or smells the stench of grey and oil-slicked water. Thinking about such experiences leads one to wonder about how people, separately and collectively, have come to destroy this natural environment. This destructive capacity may be justified by the belief that nature provides us with the resources to satisfy human needs and pleasures. Perhaps awareness of these consequences ought to be enough to change how people alter, waste, and dispose of this natural setting. The efforts to restore vibrancy to the natural environment has yet to protect it from further harm. Despite the collaboration and cooperation between Canada and the United States (US) to bring about a change in people's relationship with the Great Lakes' natural ecology, the degradation problem persists and becomes more acute.

If the problem of environmental degradation is based upon what people have done to nature, also included are similar efforts to prevent further destruction and to restore the ecology's vitality. What fosters successful resolution of the Great Lakes ecological degradation problem? What are the factors that prevent the restoration of the Great Lakes eco-basin? Why do collaborative efforts between Canada and the US fail to protect the overall health of the eco-system and vibrancy of the Great Lakes region? How can binational dispute resolution processes be modified to ensure successful prevention and restoration? These questions allow me to consider the complexity of ecological problems and the obstacles to their resolution.

I suggest that certain factors, such as exclusion and control are inherent in the dispute resolution process which tends to aggravate the resolving of ecological issues in the Great Lakes region. Such a process orients specific problems that sustain prevailing judgments and positions framed as being in the interest of contemporary development. I also suggest that this process can be modified. This modification involves a holistic awareness which includes direct stakeholders and engages them in a collaborative venture to explore different avenues to end behaviors that sustain and escalate ecological degradation. I argue that both the prevention and restoration failures illustrate the difficulty of a resolution process that tends to both exclude direct stakeholders and make decisions before uncovering prevailing assumptions and belief systems as a way to end destructive practices.

The way in which ecological disputes are resolved in the international setting are fraught with a complex set of rules and procedures that inhibits the inclusion of social movement discourses that desire a resolution without incurring further harm upon both the environment and themselves. The political nature of exclusion tends to either separate interests into contesting dichotomies or supplants a divided half as being the interest that is identified, explored and judged. Furthermore, exclusion prevents all stakeholder parties from participating in the entire process, thereby enhancing the division of interests which narrows the scope of generating resolutions. These rules and procedures distinguish between advisory roles as performed by binational quasi-judicial bodies and decision-making roles as performed by federal governments. The complexity of the resolution process splinters institutional arrangements which hampers the flow of discourse among all stakeholders.

While the way in which conflicts are resolved might determine its escalation or de-escalation, perhaps equally important is how viewpoints are positioned as being competitive, contesting, or disputing. A mediated resolution process attempts to reposition parties from being oppositional to being collaborative to work through

'conflicts'. The challenge of transforming ecological problems is not just a symbolic change of positions from 'your' and 'my' sides. Rather the challenge is to move parties from a predetermined mindset towards a perspective of mutual understanding in order to work through assumptions and differences. Collaboration entails a sharing of 'our' problems and responsibilities in resolution. Whether this setting facilitates the exposure of assumptions and belief systems or movement away from predetermined viewpoints is open to question and analysis. Thus, the challenge under review in this paper is the transformative aspects of the resolution process as it includes and explores seemingly contentious discourses.

To assess and rethink environmental conflict resolution I consider feminist and mediation theory to inform me on the political aspects of ecological conflicts and their transformation. Where feminist literature allows me to broaden the perspective of traditional thinking and practice, mediation literature allows me to understand the notion of transformation. These two theoretical lens are not as mutually exclusive as I describe them, but these divisions serve to highlight the direction of my research and thinking. Therefore, while mediation literature gave me the tools to consider a transformative process to resolve conflicts, feminist literature gave me the necessary critical lens to analyze changes when they became apparent.

I consider the Great Lakes ecology problem because this region is noted as the industrial and commercial heartland of two nation-states (Ashworth, 1986 and Weller, 1990). Canada and the US not only share in consuming the natural wealth of this territory, but also their relationship is noted as cooperative and peaceful. While I do not question the absence of warfare between these countries (the War of 1812 notwithstanding) I challenge the assumption that this binational relationship is a testament to cooperation and peace in light of ecological degradation. The impact of industrial development on the natural environment challenges the health and well-being of a holistic ecology (humans and nature). Also, I challenge the notion that the consequences of

environmental degradation, deemed a resource scarcity, threatens national security and requires scientific, technical, and military expertise to fix this problem (Buzan, 1994; Royal Society of Canada, 1996; and Stranks, 1995). Such notions lose sight of the causes of pollution and over-consumption, particularly when these causes occur in a region promoted as cooperative, peaceful, and resource abundant. The notion of global reach, advanced by Vanadana Shiva (1994), suggests that western industrialized nations are spreading their excesses to the far reaches of the world. Therefore, I consider the Great Lakes region as a point of origin, or perhaps the homefront of these environmental conflicts and a test of pacifist means of resolution.

The trend towards extending security to cover ecological issues and its resultant debate have yet to critique the premise on which security is achieved. Feminist responses to the realities of this security agenda attempt to raise substantive issues to the level of discussion and analysis. Their critiques and analyses suggest that security-as-defined ought to preserve the sanctity and dynamics of life on planet earth, rather than to entrench dominance and control as protection and conservation processes. As a consequence of this reformed vision the subjects under review already incorporate ecological, human, economic, and other areas of well-being currently contested by traditionalists and post-modernists alike. This reformulation considers notions such as inequity, development, care, and power as to their effectiveness in the security agenda. In response to these debates, I have endeavored to analyze the story of the Great Lakes pollution and clean-up from the position of realizing a feminist vision of security.

The Great Lakes' story covers the intricate development of urban settlement, commerce, and industry. This story became a backdrop to explore how the International Joint Commission (IJC), a binational quasi-judicial body perceived and understood ecological problems and disputes pertaining to the Great Lakes region (a summary of this story can be found in chapter four). In doing so I narrowed my focus on the efforts of the commission and its subsidiary boards during the 1970s to discover the linkages between its

dispute resolution process and the political factors that seem to thwart prevention and restoration. Since its inception the IJC through its various boards investigated and assessed pollution issues and made recommendations to Canadian and American national governments on how and where to proceed. However, the IJC's progressive stance on ecological issues has yet to reverse the negative effects of urbanization and industrialization. I use feminist and conflict resolution theory to understand why awareness of ecological problems have not brought about a complete change in behavior, particularly in reference to the Great Lakes region.

The history of pollution and clean-up in the Great Lakes region is a long and involved story. It accounts for the natural changes and reactions to human development among five large freshwater lakes, their connecting waterways, and the rivers that flow to and from these inland seas. The natural abundance of the Great Lakes basin has declined due in large part by human activities traceable to the early days of European colonization. Despite the largely unchecked economic development and urbanization, people strove to protect the natural elements of this area. All of these human activities reside within social, economic, and political structures. This history weaves several stories that recount natural change, human destructive and protective interventions, and competing perspectives of proper and better uses of this geographical region.

The Great Lakes basin consists of five large lakes interconnected by smaller water bodies and spans 560,000 square kilometers (Cooper and Millyard, 1986). It feeds and is fed by an assortment of smaller rivers and tributaries covering two nations, Canada and the United States (US). The lake's drainage system works in such a way that water flows from the highest altitude downward in somewhat of a southwest to southeast direction. Therefore, water flows from Lake Superior into Lake Huron then into Lake Michigan eventually flowing into Lakes Erie and Ontario where it travels to the St. Lawrence River and eventually reaches the Atlantic Ocean. It would take approximately 500 years for water in Lake Superior, the largest lake, to drain and flow out into the Atlantic ocean

(Konasewich, 1979:69). In contrast the time frame for Lake Erie, the smallest and shallowest lake, would be approximately six years (Konasewich, 1979:69). The Great Lakes' nick-name -- inland freshwater seas -- illustrate its geographical placement, vast size, and volumous water capacity.

The sheer size of the lakes also contributes to an impression of its indestructibility from humanity's destructive interventions. This impression led to a belief that the lakes could dilute any waste matter put into it (Cooper and Millyard, 1986:5) while providing the needed ingredients for expansion of industrial, municipal, and commercial enterprises. The Great Lakes consists of one fifth of the total world supply of fresh water, and supplies approximately 95% of Canadian and American consumers¹ of fresh water (Cooper and Millyard, 1986:4). As an industrial resource, the lakes supply transportation, fresh water, and electrical power (Langford, 1965:3). Other sources such as lumber (originally from thick and lush forests), food (from abundant and diverse fish stocks and clear-cut nutrient rich agricultural soil), and recreation (expansive and interconnecting waterways, clean water and shoreline) assist in the development of a complex web of modern industrial, commercial, and urban development. This natural wonderland is source of a seemingly endless stream of uses, products, and supplies for humankind. Yet, our impression of the natural abundance has allowed us to consume and manufacture these resources without too much concern of the consequential damage to the Great Lakes eco-system.

These natural resources support and sustain a standard of living judged in terms of abundance, growth, and wealth. Since the mid-17th century, with the first appearance of European settlers, the Great Lakes basin has been used as a resource from which to build and develop communities, supported by industrial and commercial enterprises, into one of the world's most affluent and modern regions. From these early days, up to and including present times, the natural riches became depleted and polluted in order to make and keep

¹I use the term 'consumer' to denote the broadest definition possible in every context such as household, business, manufacturing, industry, recreation, and so on.

the region a western industrial heartland. The combination of social, political, and economic systems facilitated this ironic transfer of abundance from nature to commerce.

More specifically, in the last ninety years, the interaction between "man² and nature" can be seen as a series of crises in which the essence of development and its consequential pollution reached a peak that results in a rallying together of concerned persons and groups to limit the damage in the Great Lakes basin. Here I refer to public pressure on local and regional governments, who in turn referred to the IJC for its judgment and advice. The first crisis was the loss of human life from typhoid. Subsequent crises dealt with the damage inflicted on nature which then threatened either human life or human livelihood as in the depletion of fish stocks, excessive algae growth, deadly toxins, inadequate management practices, and the global reach of ecological damage. The political significance of each crisis is framed as a threat to the well-being of "man's survival," thus necessitating responses that consider nature's ill-health as a threat to man's well-being. Each crisis results in a more complex understanding of pollution, its causes, and effects. However, each awareness does not always result in stopping polluting behaviors, nor does it help to restore the environment to its original state. Thus, each crisis leads to the next, accumulating in size and complexity which in turn intensifies and complicates both our general understanding and the political expectations thought necessary to stop and/or control pollution.

The following chapters elaborate upon this general account as I attempt to analyze the difficulty of resolving international ecological disputes. Chapter two, "Theoretical Critiques and Re-thinking" gives an account of feminist and conflict resolution theory.

The first section of this chapter outlines feminist theory as a challenge to traditional

²Although I prefer to phrase terms in non gender specific language, my use of words like: man, mankind, and, man's refer to similarly phrased passages which indicate a gender specific behavior or decision making. Until recent times, most of the corporate and political boards, commissions, tribunals, and legislatures (and like organizations) were comprised of men or at least more than 90% of the composition. I do not wish to blame only men or mankind or leave out women exclusive of the events I refer to, however I wish to implicate fairly those who ought to shoulder their share of responsibility and consequence.

notions of nature, security and power. To be concise I endeavored to discuss only feminist theorizing; however, in order to be clear I have outlined the notion of security as a critique and a reconception. Feminist rethinking leads towards conflict resolution as one way to achieve security without relying upon powers of authority, conquest or domination. The second portion of this chapter outlines transformation as discussed in mediation theory. Mediation conceives the role of an objective party to facilitate disputants towards settling their own problems, rather than to adjudicate each disputant's claims on behalf of all parties. Explored here is the linkage between transformation and conflict resolution concerning international mediation and ecological dispute resolution. I also outline four approaches in transformative mediation to ascertain a reformist perspective.

Chapter three, "From Snafu-to Snap-out-of-it!" uses the principles from feminist, pacifist, ecologist, and mediation literature to conceive a transformative approach to international ecological dispute resolution practice. This model, which I call a "building approach," includes the pertinent factors of transformation in order to analyze international conflict resolution practices. Its five key points entail reframing, preventing, including, respecting, and recognizing bias, yet its guiding principle is an inclusive and open design. This design facilitates partnership powers and a wider participation base as enhancing the possibility to uncover and change the underlying dynamics that play in a conflict's creation and to prevent further destruction.

Chapter four, "The Great Lakes Clean-up" elaborates on events which led up to and occurred during the 1970's. As the IJC sought to remedy pollution its investigation developed out of the context of consumable water quality. The 1970s corresponds to how ecological destruction was viewed and subsequently changed in reference to these waters: first as standardization and control, second as waste management, and third as an ecological system. I use the building approach, outlined in chapter three, to analyze how the Great Lakes Water Quality Board and other IJC subsidiary boards dealt with

ecological damage during these three periods. This model helps me to determine the transformative elements in resolving Great Lakes eco-basin degradation. I consider how the resolution process, generally, and participation and power, specifically, brought about a transformation in the ecological problems and its discourse.

Chapter five, "Transforming Stewardship" concludes this paper with a summary of the strengths and weaknesses of international dispute resolution process as illustrated from the Great Lakes case. While I suggest that some transformation occurred in both the process of conflict resolution and the restoration efforts, I argue to the contrary that effective changes have yet to occur. For this reason, I suggest that the building approach becomes the international dispute resolution process. This suggestion is based on the belief that the conflict resolution process change from a management to a transformative orientation. This chapter summarizes my thinking regarding how ecological conflicts can be transformed. Suggested changes reflect an explicit expression of the direction of restoration, prevention, and development within the context of social, economical, and political environments. That future progress and restorative steps ultimately revive the natural must also be analyzed in the context of human destructive and constructive practices.

II. THEORETICAL CRITIQUES AND RE-THINKING

A. FEMINIST CONCEPTIONS

Food and shelter are oft cited as being fundamental basic needs for all animals to survive on planet Earth. Concentrate for a moment on humans, to consider the steps they take before eating, sheltered from the earth's climate. Casting back over the steps of food preparation, its cultivation, growth and cooking, as well as the work involved in making clothes and homes, I think of many more activities that guarantee the provision of these basic needs. Concentrating now on women, I consider their efforts in providing these needs for their families and friends. Yet women are not the sole providers. Men also share this responsibility. As well, casting back over how women and men have provided for these needs, I realized that nature contributes to human survival -- to its detriment. Yet this is necessary, or so the argument goes, to guarantee human survival.

Since the central issue is survival (the security of human life) at the expense of nature, the context of the argument is framed inside both competition and conflict, exclusive to all with exceptions made to rivals and adversaries. Framing security in this way prevents a more complete analysis of how life can be both sustained and dynamic. Feminists conceive security which balances provision and protection within nature. If the means to guarantee survival pits people's survival against nature's, one must challenge the assumptions made about how this contest is resolved. Questioning the validity of the position nature has been placed (in the security agenda) becomes the starting point of how to resolve issues of insecurity and destruction.

Although security is linked theoretically to power and conflict, its conceptual foundation is altered by a feminist understanding of women's lives and experiences. In terms of civil society, feminist social movements strove to define, uncover, and then eradicate patriarchy which places women in subordinate positions of worth, ability, and respect to that of men (Eisler, 1989; Grant, 1991; and Zalewski, 1993). Feminists involved in peace and ecological movements strove to uncover the roots of violence

against humans and nature, respectively, and in doing so they attempted to deal with the resolution of conflicts and disputes both individually and collectively (Birkeland, 1993: Carroll, 1987; Forsey, 1993; and Merchant, 1980). Androcentric thinking privileges humans above nature; however, patriarchal assumptions reside within androcentric conceptions of humanity where patriarchal thinking privileges men above women and nature (Birkeland, 1993:17 and 24). Feminists critique androcentricism and patriarchy not because these are the prevailing belief systems, but rather feminists consider these systems to be a contributing factor to how security scholars and practitioners, individually and collectively, come to frame the notion of security. Thus feminists' theoretical notions link security, power, and conflict together under a holistic rubric, perceiving the world as organic (rather than mechanistic). This understanding guides a different vision of how life can be sustained without resorting to dominance or violence and without a radical altering of the natural environment.

This chapter draws upon a wide spectrum of literature pertaining to security, gender politics, ecological degradation, peace, and conflict resolution. It is divided into two major parts: 1) feminists' critiques and conceptions of nature, security, and power and 2) the notions of transformation in conflict resolution, generally, and mediation, specifically. My intention is to move from the conceptual to the practical where security is positioned beside mediation as the practice of resolving conflicts in order to realize the end of conflicts and thus preserve life. This critical examination assists me to conceive a framework to analyze ecological degradation from the perspective of a workable and peaceful means of resolution, to be discussed in the next chapter.

Part one draws upon literature from democratic theory, gender analysis, peace and ecology studies, philosophy, and feminist critiques of the realist paradigm in international relations (IR). It starts with a section that defines nature, environment, and ecology in the context of security and its implications to the Great Lakes basin. The next section is a review of feminist critiques regarding the notion of security as conceived in international

relations theory. Following this is a section that reviews feminists' rethinking and rearrangements of security which coincide with the reality of women's lives and experiences. The last section in part one is a discussion of how these re-conceptions can help address conflicts generally, and ecological degradation, specifically.

Part two discusses the notions of transformation and conflict resolution. This portion explores the connections between transformative goals and the process of resolution within mediation theory and practice. While the linkages between international relations (IR) and environmental dispute resolution (EDR) literatures suggest certain transformations, I explore a more expansive base of mediation theory to analyze the notion of transformation and its direction. My exploration of a broader base in mediation theory allows me to link feminist theorizing to practical considerations when called upon to resolve conflicts in all of its dimensions.

While the literature reaches into many areas of human endeavor, discussions are rife with contesting notions of gendered socialization and biological determinism. A detailed discussion regarding the essential or foundational aspects of male and female behavior is not in the scope of this paper. However, there is an attempt to go beyond this essentialist and deterministic perspective to consider that people are socialized into specific sets of belief systems (be they noted as androcentric or gynanic modes, ideologies, ethics, stereotypes, or value systems). Women and men are raised into specific belief systems from which they either sustain these systems or redevelop them. Thus, the dynamics of human civilization work within the interaction between individuals and social groups forming, reacting, and exhibiting these discursive belief systems over time and space.

Nevertheless, two assumptions are within this notion of socialization. Here, I consider and share some of Jean Baker Miller's (1992) "essential truths." One truth being that "the world has been explained so far without the close observation of women's experience...[and it] is usually not what it has been said" (Miller, 1992:248). Miller

suggests that women's experience is not necessarily men's experience, nor does it "operate on the same bases, same motivations, or the same organization of personality" (Miller, 1992:248). The other truth is that "women are keenly aware...that we all need others, need to live in the framework of relationships" (Miller, 1992:247). Accordingly, feminist activism and scholarship have two basic themes: one is the uncovering of women's experience as defined by women and which may be unique to men's experience; and the second is the notion that relationships are central to understanding the connections between individuals and the institutions in which they reside.

Nature, Environment, and Ecology

Feminist scholars have noted that nature's subordination, exploitation, and oppression to mankind similarly parallels women's experiences of mankind's thinking and acting (Birkeland, 1993; Eisler, 1988 and 1996; Forsey 1993; Kheel, 1993; Merchant, 1980; Mies and Shiva 1993; and Vance 1993). While patriarchy or androcentricism has been recognized as being the fundamental perspective that guides subordination, exploitation, and oppression, these ideas and resultant activities have developed over time by many different male thinkers (Eisler, 1996; Forsey, 1993, Merchant, 1980). These developments fused ideas and activities which manifested into specific methods and approaches (Merchant, 1980; and Mies and Shiva, 1993). For instance, scientific inquiry allowed for technology to provide tools for man's comfort and easy living; social policies designed to improve the human condition; and the system of normative ethics attempted to guide human activities. Scholars have traced how each of these notions has been conceived to benefit man's existence, while in the process of their design and application they have come to limit both women's and nature's existence (Grant, 1991; hooks, 1984; Steinstra, 1994/95; and Whitworth, 1994).

Carolyn Merchant (1980) traces the origins of science, technology, and its philosophy as actively subordinating and exploiting both women and nature. She links the

fathers of modern science -- Francis Bacon (1561-1626), William Harvey (1578-1657), Rene Descartes (1596-1650), Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679) and Isaac Newton (1642-1727) -- to their persuasive use of language as a means of teaching the benefits of scientific inquiry and technical achievement: "As a woman's womb had symbolically yielded to the forceps, so nature's womb harbored secrets that through technology could be invested from her grasp for use in the improvement of the human condition" (Merchant, 1980:169). Merchant suggests that a feminist perspective, guided by a philosophy in tune with natural cycles can lead humankind from the grasp of modern science's destructive norms and instruction (Merchant, 1980:238).

Maria Mies and Vandana Shiva (1993) follow Merchant's lead, describing contemporary research and policy as contributing factors to women's and nature's oppression rather than providing assistance for their security in the wake of environmental damage. They denounce the notion that western living standards or "catching up development" will cure the problems of poor people living in conditions of scarce resources, inadequate housing, dirty water supplies, and non-arable land (Mies and Shiva, 1993:55-69). They contend that this western industrialized prescription may actually be the cause of resource depletion and degradation because it is based on a model of consumption, accumulation, and exploitation (Mies and Shiva, 1993:59-64). While believing that these policies are founded upon androcentric beliefs and implemented through institutions such as the "World Bank, IMF [international monetary fund], and banks and governments from the rich" states in the northern hemisphere, they also believe that a change can occur through local people's efforts, a disengagement of consumer ideology, and a "decolonization of the north" (Mies and Shiva; 1993:60, 250, 255, 265).

Janis Birkeland (1993), Marti Kneel (1993), and Linda Vance (1993) note that human responses to nature are diverse and culturally bound, yet related to patriarchal assumptions. These assumptions shape human responses in two central ways, one way conceives of nature as inert, which allows people to use and improve upon it, while

protecting it from humanity's destructive ways; the other sees nature as living yet requiring people to respect its health, power, and abundance. (Birkeland, 1993:26-32; Kheel, 1993:244-248; and Vance, 1993:124-126) These women contend that patriarchy and androcentricism are components of the environmental and ecological -- or green -- movements, and that these movements fail to examine how "manstream theories" (Birkeland, 1993: 23-31), "heroic environmental ethics" (Kheel, 1993:243), and "culture/nature dualism" (Vance, 1993:124) factor into the quest for a just and balanced 'stewardship' of nature. Birkeland, Kheel, and Vance suggest that the notions of justice, balance, and stewardship are not only culturally bound, but also they are resident in male-dominated thinking about nature.

As critical of the green movement as these women are, they believe that a feminist rethinking of nature and the environment would enlighten any prescriptive strategy. To these women this rethinking is also diverse and culturally bound, yet they contend that the removal of androcentric perspectives would encourage an eco-feminist stance of "going beyond power" to use women's experience with oppression to speak assertively and sensitively about the "integrity of the land and non-human life" (Birkeland, 1993:20; Kheel, 1993:261; and Vance, 1993:139). Thus, Birkeland, Kheel, and Vance believe that the environmental and ecology movements need a feminist reformulation before they can properly address the concerns of human survival on earth.

Riane Eisler (1988 and 1996) and Helen Forsey (1993) not only link patriarchy to planetary destruction, but also they describe the efforts of women and men who attempt to transform this human condition towards a more sensitive and healthy co-existence between the planet and each living entity. Where Eisler considers a broad scope of human evolution as a means to illustrate a feminist vision in the face of planetary destruction, Forsey critiques the marginalization of feminist leadership and research in both scholarly efforts and the environmental movement. Forsey claims that "the refusal to deal with the painful truths that women are exposing about patriarchy is in fact a refusal to go to the

roots of the violence and exploitation that is threatening life on earth" (Forsey, 1993:49). Eisler contends that these roots are found in cultural socialization of humanity along a "dominator model" symbolic of the lethal power of the blade as a means of securing an existence on earth (Eisler, 1989:xviii). Eisler and Forsey believe that all forms of oppression and exploitation prevent anyone from considering a fuller understanding of the challenges to life in current times.

Human exploitation of the environment mixes together several issues that relate to people's change and use of their surroundings on the planet's surface. The scholars noted above suggest that the way in which patriarchs organized and instituted science, technology, public policy, and normative ethics contributed to the progress of industrial and commercial development as a method of achieving security for themselves. Contributing factors such as: pollution; over-consumption and resource extraction; and population growth combined with urban and industrial development are brought together to denote the general terms of environmental degradation, environmental destruction, and environmental problems. Where the environment concerns geographical sites developed over time, it also denotes the androcentric control and selfish use of these sites. Feminists note the relationship between humans and nature is defined in terms of humans beings antagonistic to nature because certain androcentric thinkers have construed that nature is against mankind. (Birkeland, 1993; Mies and Shiva, 1993; Robinson et al, 1990; and Tickner, 1993).

Environmental destruction concerns human activity that obliterates the natural setting, while degradation concerns the destructive activities as surpassing a return to its original setting, although there can still be a return to a healthier condition. Environmental problems concern a general discovery of these issues as a puzzle, rather than a dispute, whereby it is a matter for requiring solutions as dictated from the perspective that science and technology is the privileged knowledge base. Population settlement, industrial growth, and the conflicts arising from the distribution of resources (termed either scarce

or natural) are the three primary contributory issues to the destruction of the environment. (MacNeil, 1989/1990; Mies and Shiva, 1993; Pirages, 1994; Renner, Pianta, and Franchi, 1991 and Woodhouse, 1992).

Ecology denotes the conception that nature functions as an interconnected system (Capra, 1982; Guha, 1990; and Merchant 1980). The notion of ecology as a system links the smallest particles and base elements to the life cycles of water, land, and air to that of all animal and plant life (including humans as animals), and extending these lives and cycles beyond the earth's hemisphere to include planetary and other space bodies (Capra, 1982). This system, commonly referred to as nature, or even as Mother Nature, provides a means of reconciling mankind's tarnished relationships to nature, women, and social-civic development (Capra, 1982; and GLRAB, 1978). Merchant writes that the ecology movement believes that nature must be restored to its original balance before industrialization and overpopulation had displaced it (Merchant, 1980:xvi). The threat is not just survival against human violence, rather survival is termed as being able to remain united with nature rather than replicated and altered artificially by certain mannish people. Therefore, ecology is conceived of as cyclical and inter-related which requires replenishment and reconciliation.

Ecology may indeed function in a cyclical and interconnected way that requires an understanding of its holistic workings, however this notion leaves out the relationship between human and natural survival. Ecology comes from the Greek term 'oikos' meaning household, whereby ecology denotes a spiritual and natural home (Mies and Shiva, 1993:104). Thus, the concept of ecology also entails nature as a living home that furnishes the necessary items that allow people to provide for their own shelter and sustenance over time and space. However, the 'home' not only furnishes and provides shelter for survival, but also the 'home' requires its inhabitants to take care of it while living inside. For ecology to function well, balanced in its provision and replenishment, its care and protection also needs to reflect how people are choosing to live within it.

Ashworth writes that it "would be foolish to argue otherwise" that the development of the Great Lakes basin led to the commercial, industrial, and social development of the North American continent (Ashworth, 1986:66). He makes an explicit claim that the development of this geographical region was a necessary component to the development of modern life, communities, and nation-states. Also made clear is the destruction of the natural environment as a consequence to these developments (Ashworth, 1986, Cooper and Millyard, 1986; Konasewich, 1979; Stuckey, 1979; and Weller 1990). While settlement and industrial developments have impacted upon the basin's environment in different ways, their impact relates to each other in terms of linking certain people's decisions within political, social, and economic structures formed to assist human's use of nature's furnishings.

However, implicit in this development is an acceptance of the ways in which some of the Great Lake's residents have gone about providing for their own sustenance. The provision of food, shelter and livelihood has not taken into account the necessary cyclical responsibility of humans caring and restoring their ecological household. A feminist understanding considers how security and political power have come to shape our present condition of environmental degradation in the wake of human excess and violence. Thus, in an ironic use of Ashworth's words, it would be foolish otherwise not to consider a feminist understanding of experience shared with nature's oppression, exploitation, and subordination within androcentric development.

Critiques of Security

A general working definition of security is that it protects people from threats and risks to their life and livelihood, and that it also provides for the basic needs for developing people's mind, body, and soul (Reardon, 1990:138-139 and Tickner, 1995:176-178). While protection is based upon shielding one from violence (attack, invasion, war) known as negative peace, provision is founded on the concepts of quality of life (food, shelter,

employment) and social justice (human rights) known as positive peace (Brock-Utne, 1990; Galtung, 1969; and Reardon, 1990). Feminists trace how this general definition, conceived and practiced by both realist and liberal enthusiasts, has had the opposite effect on women and nature.

Feminists suggest that not only is the conception state-centric, in that it places the state as the central provider and benefactor; but also feminists note that political institutions maintain an androcentric bias which fosters several dualities (Tickner, 1991:30). Using the above definition as the basis of critique, feminists have noted that the focus of security narrows to the extent that states become the only protectors and providers. Security thus conceived allows for several divisions with respect to its function, actors, focus, and practice. While addressing the various problems that have arisen from this narrowly conceived notion, feminists believe that these dichotomies also make it difficult to see the ironic face of security as well as exasperating the efforts of its reform (Elshtain, 1990; Grant, 1991; Tickner, 1991; and Zalewski, 1995). The critiques, maintain that these problems begin with androcentric thinking which creates dualities, whereby women and nature are removed from the sphere of security. (Cohn, 1987; Enloe, 1990; Elshtain, 1990, Grant, 1991; Peterson and Runyan, 1993; Steinstra, 1994; Tickner, 1995; and Zalewski, 1993).

One dichotomy is the inside/outside division, realized as state sovereignty and territoriality. This division illustrates the primary manner in which security is practiced, that of state-centric control in providing for the defence of its citizens against outside threat and risk. Security in this context equates defence and protection with military force designed to protect national borders from real and probable invasion from other states (Tickner, 1995:176). However, since the early 1980's IR scholars began to broaden security to include political, societal, and environmental tangents (Buzan, 1994 and Tickner, 1991 and 1995). Yet this type of security practice emphasizes military force as protectors and foreign states as predators, whereby each nation-state defends its internal

territory from expanding external territories. Inclusion of the political, societal, economical, and environmental implies only the extension of these factors as being an external risk to a state. The inside/outside division privileges nation-states as sole providers of security and presupposes that all threats and risks to its territory are outside its boundaries. While nature sees no boundaries between inside and outside, nation-states have nonetheless maintained its control of security practice in this context. (Agnew, 1994; Booth, 1995; Buzan, 1994; Grant, 1991; Halliday, 1991; Peterson and Runyan, 1993; Stranks 1995; and Tickner, 1995).

A critical view of security suggests that the problem is not just in its mirroring of a military model of perception, organization, and strategy, but that this type of model assumes the only function of security is protection. On one hand, the military accumulation poses the problem of a 'security dilemma,' illustrated by the fine balance between not enough force and too much force, thereby confusing defence with aggression (Grant, 1991 and Tickner, 1995). On the other hand, the establishment of 'common security' to control this dilemma realizes a rigid set of protocols and procedures to promote appropriate quantities of military hardware, as well as maintaining state-centric notions of sovereignty, territoriality, and citizenship (Daaler, 1994; Peterson, 1993, 1992, 1990; Peterson and Runyan, 1993; and Vayrynen, 1991). These responses maintain a system of protection based on the utility of violence and control of external factors while ignoring their contribution to environmental degradation around the planet (Stranks, 1995:2-3). Feminists contend that the continued justification of military powers to protect and defend against all sorts of risks and threats sustains a dominant and hierarchical position which negates security as an inclusive vision in which to sustain a stable existence on the planet. (Grant, 1991; Roberts, 1994; Peterson and Runyan, 1993; Tickner, 1991 and 1995; and Zalewski, 1993)

The nature/human dichotomy separates people from the ecology, thereby allowing for the negation of nature as an active component of security. The notion that security

also entails the provision of basic needs leaves out the care and nurturance of the environment as people consume it for their own survival (Brock-Utne, 1985; Eisler, 1988; Mies and Shiva, 1993; and Tickner, 1986). This division also reinforces the dichotomies of protection/provision and inside/outside and resists the notion of sustainable existence since in this case, sustainability connotes that both people and the state protect and provide the resources for themselves at the expense of nature. Tickner writes: "we must begin to take steps towards constructing a vision of security that can promote a viable ecosystem while at the same time working towards the elimination of both physical and structural violence" (Tickner, 1995:194). However, without the reunion between humans and nature the notion of sustainable existence (or development) becomes quite contested in terms of an expanded definition of security.

Many scholars have challenged the wholesale consumer practice that is ignorant of conservation and replenishment (Birkeland, 1993; Guha, 1990; Mies and Shiva, 1993; Tickner, 1991; and Vance, 1993). They note that the depletion and ruination of the earth's resources reflect traditional security policies that exclude the components of providing basic needs at the expense of forceful protection. Ecofeminists attempt to uncover the conceptions that underlie consumer mentalities and practices which sustain the objectification of women and nature as a resource to be marketed, sold, and despoiled (Kirk, 1995; Birkeland, 1993; Mies and Shiva, 1993; and Vance, 1993). The means to provide and maintain the basic necessities of life and living are problematized to the extent that they reflect the mis-alignment of prevailing state-centric economic and military policies and discourses. That these prevailing discourses construct ways to remove the human dimension from the process of conceiving ideas and building institutions is a central argument in feminist critiques. (Birkeland, 1993; Cohn, 1987; Dinnerstein, 1989; Enloe, 1988; Forsey, 1993; Kheel, 1993; Kirk, 1995; Molloy, 1995; Mies and Shiva, 1993; Peterson, 1990 and 1992; Peterson and Runyan, 1993; Tickner, 1991; and Vance, 1993).

Sustainable development, defined in various ways, nonetheless seeks to reconcile the dangers that environmental degradation has posed to the survival of and on the planet. Buzan, a neo-realist, suggests that the ability to sustain the environment is essential as it is the support system on which all human activities depend (Buzan, 1995:255). Alternatively, Our Common Future, prepared by the World Commission on Environment and Development (also known as the Brundtland Commission) defines a liberal viewpoint of sustainability as "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their needs" (as quoted in Woodhouse, 1992:111). Both these definitions privilege humanity above nature even though Buzan and the commission's report recognize the importance of a healthy natural setting. Preventing harm and exploitation are delegated to enforcing limits and constraints defined by the law, yet enforcement does not take place until after a transgression has occurred. Feminists' notion of ecology, noted above, suggests that before sustainable development can be defined sustainability must include nature's development as well; therefore, it opens up a critical analysis of development as performed through political, social, economic, and scientific practice. Neo-realist and liberal notions still maintain the human/nature dichotomy, while feminists try to reconcile this separation into their interpretation of a widely defined security.

Rethinking Security

A reconception of security rests upon holistic conceptions that requires giving attention to a healthy and balanced ecological existence (Reardon, 1990:140 and Tickner, 1995:194). However, to achieve this some scholars consider that a radical realtering of security is essential. This begins with the removal of humanity's privilege and superior rank as a start towards closing or bridging the dichotomies discussed above. A common element of this realtering is the removal of the military as providers of protection (Enloe, 1988; Molloy, 1995; and Reardon, 1985 and 1993). A disengagement of state-centric

practice would also involve a critical assessment of sovereignty, legal systems, economic regimes, and citizenship as to their exploitative and oppressive roles in women's lives (Peterson, 1992 and Tickner, 1991). Peterson suggests "moving beyond state sovereignty and the limiting construction of political community and identity it has historically imposed" (Peterson, 1992:32). Feminists rethink security in terms of a holistic notion of care and nurturance to both humans and nature. As well, feminists reconcile the separated domains as a means to uncover buried relationships to establish a better provision of earthly sustenance. In doing so, a feminist reconception of security works towards concepts of political power (agency) and the institutions (structures) that are sensitive to the dynamics of life and the reality of women's experiences.

A theme emerges in rethinking security: that the care of human beings is related directly to the care of the earth. The linking of health, well-being, and balance of earth to humanity's own restores the separation of man from nature -- and man from woman -- away from the framework of dominance, ranking, and artificial replication (Grant, 1991; Merchant, 1980; Peterson and Runyan, 1993; and Tickner, 1993). This connection is premised on deciphering practices institutionalized in civil society. According to Forsey: "To understand the environmental crisis, recognizing that regardless of capitalist or socialist labels, economic systems that apply patriarchal principles of domination to the universe turn out to be highways to disaster" (Forsey, 1993:41). Ignoring these connections and inter-dynamics of careful giving and taking prevents any forward movement on making security real.

Care-giving -- or care-taking -- is emphasized as a central tenet of a reconceived security. Here the focus is on sustenance where the provision and protection need not be performed at the expense of women and nature. Care becomes framed by kindness and empathy which sensitizes one to the discrepancies among people's agency, ability, and resources. The reality of individual lives is brought to bear on the organizational structures that provide health, shelter, and food. Such a conception has tended to place

the delivery and fulfillment of need in the human dimension, thus ignoring that the provision of needs are supported by and taken from the earth. In contrast, conceiving the environment as the fundamental provider of human needs, touches upon the critique of the uses of nature as an inert resource base as well as women's subjugation as passive domestics. From this understanding, one can begin to recognize the relationships inherent between people and the environment as security providers for each other (Aronoff, 1986; Brock-Utne, 1989; Gilligan, 1995; Duhan-Kaplan, 1994; Kroeger-Mappes, 1994; Reardon, 1993; Ruddick, 1990; and Pollitt, 1995).

Security defined as a sustainable existence requires a feminist understanding of lived experience. Guha states that an environmental ethic braids conservative, liberal, and socialist ideologies into one strand which respects the wisdom of ordinary folk; is respectful of individual autonomy and social plurality; and having an "unswerving" opposition to all tangents of human exploitation (Guha, 1990:445). Even though Guha blends the ethical dimensions of several ideologies, these remain in the context of human wealth and well-being. However, Guha states that human dynamics ought to be framed within an organic system rather than a mechanistic ordering. Feminists conceive of sustainable existence as beginning with nature's abundance, thus methods are devised to sustain the organic life cycles to which replenishment, reproduction, and restoration continue on a circular path. It is important to notice the rhetoric in both these understandings: androcentric notions are linear beginning and ending with human intervention, where feminists use circularity to express cycles, returns, and linkages (Kheel, 1993; Kirk, 1995; Michel, 1995; Mies and Shiva, 1993). Feminists expect one to understand that sustainability and nature are cyclical as they revolve in and around humanity (Robinson, et al, 1990:37-38).

Considering ecological balance requires a redefinition of security in terms of people's relationships to their environment. To include nature means that humanity is part of the ecology, not that biology plays the determining factor in specific gendered or human

behaviors and characteristics. Thus, peace as ecological balance not only looks at the dynamics of human relationships, but also it engages how these relationships contribute to the destruction of the planet. In this formulation, ecologist join pacifist and feminist movements in defining a peace-making security that entails a just and sustainable living condition. Thus, a suitable notion of security is one that allows for a discursive and broad range of people's physical, moral, social, and political leanings in terms of a productive and life affirming existence within the limitations of nature's ecology (Birkeland, 1993; Kheel, 1993; Kirk, 1995; and Merchant, 1980).

However, there are problems when caring, supporting, and nurturing are stated as essential female qualities, and privileged over competition, aggression, and coercion. Thus, feminists who promote care based on womanly niceness, sweetness and motherliness -- as a guiding light to follow -- (Aronoff, 1986; Gilligan, 1995; Reardon, 1985; and Ruddick, 1990) betray patriarchal values that women who are nice, sweet, and mothers should be the only care providers (Duhan-Kaplan, 1994; Kroeger-Mappes, 1994; Pollitt, 1995). Similarly, women conceived as inherently closer to nature because they give birth to children, thus mirroring the earth's "natural" mode of reproduction (Mies and Shiva, 1993) strikes at notions that man is not natural, thus replicating the very notions of artificial, abstract, and distance so disliked in patriarchal and androcentric thinking. Such essentialist notions mirror sexism, and they suggest that women are better than men in providing security in all its "positive" dimensions. As well, these notions put women back into the inescapable position of nature is nurture determinism (Forsey, 1993; Merchant, 1980; and Vance, 1993). Consequently, conceiving femininity-female-woman as having essential and biological characteristics that are the signs of the new vanguard provides a trap which prevents the progression of realizing an holistic and ecological security.

How can security redefined adhere to feminist principles without falling into patriarchal traps? Tickner suggests a definition of power that reflects feminist insight which can be used to develop modes of conflict resolution which take security out of the

'realpolitik' and competitive win-lose scenarios (Tickner, 1991:32 and 34). Women discuss power in terms of their personal experiences and methods of dealing with a variety of personalities and circumstances; therefore, their notion of power reflects these contexts.

Feminist Power Politics

In the area of scholarship, notions of power have been broadened to include enabling, nurturing, caring, and consensus building. This feminist politic (partnership as Eisler calls it) consists of an individual or a collective entity that shares, joins, and collaborates. Defining power as something other than control-of and dominance-over is akin to Hannah Arendt's definition of power, cited by Tickner: "power is the human ability to act in concert, or to take action in connection with others who share similar concerns" (Tickner, 1991:33). Therefore, power as influence works within people's ability to share, collaborate, support, and enhance those around them. Power defined in this way enables and celebrates life rather than destroys and desecrates it.

The partnership mode suggests an opposite characterization to the prevailing dominator model of security. The presentation of these models also suggests a duality poised in opposition: partnering being comprised of inclusion, helpfulness, and hopefulness versus dominating being comprised of exclusion, destruction, and fatalism (Eisler, 1988 and Reardon, 1985). Again, the dichotomy trap returns. This may be a misunderstanding of feminists' work such as Eisler's and Reardon's who both attempt a redefinition of politics as well as a practical strategy for change. However, if shared concerns rest upon moving in the direction of appropriate ways to rebel against and resist androcentric modes, then all types of feminists' conceiving needs to be wary of the difficulties in uniting dichotomies, using analytical dualities and misappropriating essential qualities.

Miller describes women's sense of their own power as something that is alien to men's in that women empower other people by increasing their resources, capabilities,

effectiveness, and ability to act (Miller, 1992:242). While noting that women "have lived as subordinates, and as subordinates, have been led by the culture to believe that their own self-determined action is wrong and evil," Miller suggests that women's power functions within dynamic and evolving circumstances (Miller, 1992:245). In noting the hostility at the centre of patriarchy, Hartsock suggests that people move towards a power based on intimacy in terms of equity and respect which cannot be co-opted into a defiling, debasing, and objectifying power (Hartsock, 1992:273, 255). The expanded notion of power allows for a broader theoretical understanding of how people can realize a stable existence in the face of conflict and uncertainty. (Dinnerstein, 1989; Eisler, 1988 and 1996; Harrington, 1992; Hartsock, 1992; hooks, 1984; Jones, 1990; Miller, 1992; Peterson and Runyan, 1993; Phillips, 1991).

While still uncovering the hidden assumptions embedded in security practices, feminists' creation of new processes, discourses, and strategies becomes the direction of this transformation. Therefore, thinking, conceiving, and teaching a feminist politic encourages people to engage in their own analysis of stereotypes, metaphors, social patterns, morality, and behavior that create violence and strife. It requires honesty and responsibility in each person as to how personal lives form social life (Dinnerstein, 1989:20-21). It engages our attention of language and storytelling and how these come to form our individual and collective histories (Molloy, 1995:89). It reverberates around questions of human limitations and excesses and their consequences (de Seve, 1987:46-47). It seeks a conscious recognition of the problem of theoretical dualisms and dichotomies such as men/women, domestic/foreign, public/private, and universal/particular (Harris, 1987:105-108 and Peterson and Runyan, 1993:79-80). A feminist power politic brings back morality, values, and judgment contextualized within motivation and influence. Therefore, all persons, individually and collectively, can participate in decision-making processes where they can assess whether sustaining a secured existence needs to develop either choices or limits.

In conclusion, feminist scholars and activists outline a programme that defines an outwardly progressive agency as a way to disrupt patriarchal and androcentric structures. Redefining power that reflects what women do and then using this power to uncover the relationships and linkages in effect transcends patriarchal and androcentric structures. This programme encourages discussion of "non-questions" to analyze linkages and relationships (McCalla Vickers, 1982:134). It also encourages a move away from mechanistic and rational research methods (Hanlon, 1995:21 and Merchant, 1980:xvi-xvii). Moreover, power and security ought to disengage from military-styled ranking, competition, and force (Aronoff, 1986; Cohn, 1987; Eisler, 1988; and Reardon, 1993). In essence feminist rethinking tries to move away from a war-making culture, symbolic of the blade, towards a peace-making culture, symbolic of the chalice (Eisler, 1988). This movement seeks to transform human existence away from androcentric destruction so that the notion of conflict resolution becomes a viable approach to security. The second part of this chapter reviews transformation ideology³ as suggested in various approaches of mediation theory and practice.

B. CONFLICT RESOLUTION, MEDIATION AND TRANSFORMATION

The goal of a transformative mediation entails the complete change of how humans perceive and approach conflict, crisis, and violence. The attempt is to change how people relate to each other during times of crisis and conflict (Bush and Folger, 1994; Levinger and Rubin, 1994; Menkel-Meadow, 1995; Rubin and Sander, 1991; and van de Vliert, 1992). The expectation is for people to turn their destructive behavior against others into a constructive action to enable each party to live and work peaceably (Nader, 1991; Mitchell, 1990; Moore, 1994; and Pruitt and Fry, 1989). It involves considerable efforts, for instance, the transition from dominating and controlling behavior to a partnership

³I use the term 'ideology' to denote a set of ideas, perspectives and theories as it is used in the mediation literature and not in reference to its hegemonic or pejorative usage.

approach directed at individual, organizational, national, and international levels (Birkeland, 1993; Brock-Utne, 1985 and 1989; Dukes, 1993; Eisler, 1987 and 1996; Large, 1995; and Reardon 1985 and 1993). Such a process encourages open communication, non-violence, provision of political equality, and a basis for reconciliation (Ananthu and Ananthu, 1991; Dukes, 1993; Fisher, 1994; Fisher and Keashly, 1991; Large, 1995; and Menkel-Meadow, 1995). Its political impact is sufficiently potent since transformative mediation is biased towards changing not only the dynamics of human behavior, but also the structure of governing institutions and organizations. Therefore, the goals regarding the direction of change as well as what, where, and how such transformations occur must be explicit since there remains a risk of failure or of co-optation (Merry, 1989; Menkel-Meadow, 1995; Putnam, 1994; Rifkin, 1996; and Silbey, 1993).

Here, a mediator is defined as a party that intervenes to assist disputant parties in their communication, negotiation, and problem-resolving processes, thus mediation may either be organized meetings or institutionalized procedures which move these groups towards a settlement (agreement or understanding) of an identified conflict. The following is an examination of the goals and beliefs of transformative mediation drawn from conflict resolution literature. First, I analyze the linkage between mediation and transformative goals. I then discuss the ideological perspectives within these transformative goals and outline where each perspective focuses its reformist efforts.

Theoretical understanding of conflict resolution generally, and mediation specifically, reflects a diversity of opinion, ideological perspectives and academic disciplines. Both researchers and practitioners belong to disciplines composed of psychology, law, politics, business management, sociology and anthropology. Therefore, these articles reflect the types of settings in which mediation and conflict arise, such as in

local communities, between organizations, and in international relations. Several authors⁴ review conflict resolution literature and practice in order to assess theoretical development and claims of transformation respectively. A debate arises from these articles regarding the validity of transformation claims in mediation. Although transformative aspirations remain controversial and contested, tensions emerge between the ideological perspectives held by mediators and researchers and the directions that these perspectives lead us in resolving conflict.

A general account of mediation theory suggests that there are two concurrent ideologies that seek to change both our perspective of and approach to conflict. Where one ideology seeks to transform an individual's approach to and thinking of conflict, another ideology seeks to change the structural arrangement which shape these individuals' perceptions, thoughts, and actions. Thus, a micro-level ideology pertains to individuals' perspectives, beliefs, values, and behaviors, while a macro-level ideology pertains to a range of relationships and structures, among which are social, psychological, and political. While 'individual' and 'social' ideologies theorize on all spheres and levels of conflict resolution, individual ideology emphasizes personal transformation where social ideology emphasizes structural transformation.

James A. Wall Jr. and Ann Lynn give an account of the role and theoretical determinants of mediation combining the literature from both social and individual ideologies. They set out an organizing framework which suggests that mediation is determined in three ways: act of intervention, process, and mediation closure. That mediation involves the intervention between two or more conflicting parties is a given definition (Wall and Lynn, 1993:161). However, the act of intervention occurs after a definition of the context of conflict, the style or size of the dispute, or the manner in which

⁴Sara Cobb (1994), Ronald J. Fisher (1994), Joseph P. Folger (1994), Christine Harrington (1988), Tricia S. Jones (1994), Carrie Menkel-Meadows (1995), Sally Engle Merry (1988 and 1989), Christopher Moore (1986 and 1994), Janet Rifkin (1994 and 1996), and J.A. Wall Jr. and Ann Lynn (1993).

mediation is initiated. Thus, these authors focus more on the process and closure of mediation in order to elicit its determinants.

The process, or rather a mediator's techniques and strategies, set both the tone and direction of closure. Such a process includes rules and standards; common ground and concern for parties outcomes; disputed characteristics; cultural dimensions; mediator training and ideology; and mediation context (Wall and Lynn, 1993:167). Each of these factors contributes to the success and failure of any mediated intervention. Depending on the course of mediation each factor brings the parties closer to an agreement, stalemate, or resumption of conflict (Wall and Lynn, 1993:165).

Thus, how mediated sessions proceed relates directly to its closure, or outcome in terms of future relationships, habits, and perceptions. Wall and Lynn state that the outcome also has its own set of determining factors outside of process determinates. These are the level of conflict; parties' motivation, scarcity of resources (ability to implement outcome); and the type of issue. Wall and Lynn observe that closure also impacts on both the mediator and the parties (Wall and Lynn, 1993:173-175). Although mediators' and parties' outcomes both impact future relationships, decisions to mediate, and the mediation process, each participant affects these components differently. Mediators' perception of outcome reinforces mediation as a conflict intervention, increases professionalization, strengthens procedural structures, and orients closure to benefit constituents and allies. Parties' outcomes are reflective of the quality of mediation and their ability during mediation to negotiate and settle, which then translates into their ability to implement the terms and conditions of the agreement. The relationship between the process and closure in mediation affects future intervention which is determined by mediators' decision to continue practicing as well as parties' future interactions with conflicts.

Wall's and Lynn's framework allows for an analysis of mediation and its transformative effect on mediators, parties and closure. They link the determinants back

to the mediation process and closure suggesting that in each factor (intervention, process, and closure) there are components which also direct the course of action. That is, each component in a mediation session -- irrespective of scale, context, or issue -- is open to analysis and discovery of its influence in the course of conflict resolution. Each of these components can alter or direct the course of negotiation in the way that an agreement is formed as well as influencing the substantive content of agreements. Since intervention reframes the dynamics of conflict, the act of intervention infuses a host of mediation perspectives regarding its shape and direction. Thus, one is able to understand how social and individual ideologies shape mediation theory and practice.

International and Environmental

Focusing on the international scene, Ronald J. Fisher (1994) and earlier with Loreleigh Keashly (1991) consider a mediator's intervention role within the context of conflict theory. The range of third party intervention methods suggests Fisher's and Keashly's preference since there is "no agreed-upon typology" (Fisher and Keashly, 1991:33). 'Conciliation' involves a trusted party who acts as a communication link between the disputants. Where 'pure mediation' involves a "skilled and experienced intermediary who attempts to facilitate" the negotiation and bargaining processes among conflicting parties, 'power mediation' adds some form of coercive leverage to move the parties towards a negotiation and settlement (Fisher and Keashly, 1991:33). 'Arbitration' entails a "legitimate and authoritative" party that arrives at a fair and binding decision based upon the disputants' presentation of their cases. 'Consultation' encourages facilitation of problem solving methods which attempt to "confront the opposing perceptions and attitudes and to reveal the underlying emotional and relationship issues" (Fisher and Keashly, 1991:33). 'Peace-keeping' is the "provision of military personnel by an outside party... to supervise and monitor a cease-fire between antagonists" (Fisher and Keashly, 1991:33). While each of these intervention methods may consist of similar skills

and processes, and involve either one person or a team of facilitators, Fisher and Keashly contend that due to the dynamics of conflict itself, the appropriateness of these methods is dependent upon the circumstances of a specific dispute.

Both researchers suggest that the point at which a mediator intervenes corresponds directly to a specific stage in a conflict's evolution. Therefore, each method (conciliation, pure mediation, consultation, power mediation, arbitration, and peace keeping) is matched with a particular level of conflict (discussion, polarization, segregation, and destruction) in order to realize a de-escalation of conflict. While the intervention sequence is far more complex than illustrated on a linear continuum, conciliation may take the parties to negotiate a settlement at the discussion stage; however, higher levels of escalation may result in power mediation, arbitration and peace-keeping. Pure mediation, then, is positioned in the middle of a continuum where parties are speaking, but not yet negotiating, although they have ceased destructive behavior. The connection between resolution methods and conflict levels becomes relevant when the researchers discuss various differences in each disputant's power, capability, and willingness to negotiate throughout the duration of the conflict (Fisher and Keashly, 1991:33-39).

However, Fisher and Keashly suggest that some mediation styles may be less capable of effecting structural change. They distinguish between two mediator styles of persuasion and leverage defined in terms of "pure" and "power." Where pure mediation entails a facilitated settlement focusing on negotiation of substantive issues, power mediation adds a military component to these talks. It is sufficient to say that the authors' other label of power mediation, "mediation with muscle" illustrates the use of physical force as a way to coax disputants towards a settlement in terms of rewards ("carrots") and punishments ("sticks") (Fisher and Keashly, 1991:33). The researchers imply that as mediation strays away from its pure form, towards force, there would be less of a likelihood that any resolution method could change the dynamics of the conflict among

parties as well as influence some form of political and social change in order to prevent a conflict's escalation.

Louis Kriesberg's analysis of the context in which mediation is performed coincides with Fisher's and Keashly's analysis of intervention during international conflicts. He also considers the distinction between coercive power and non-coercive power, placing military might in the context of organized violence from which such violence becomes a component of power (Kriesberg, 1991:21). Thus, if mediation methods can be seen on a continuum to illustrate the level of power from coercive (mediation with muscle) to non-coercive (pure mediation), one can note that the relationship between the type of mediation style performed and the stage of conflict in which intervention takes place is similar in its combination of military force and political power. As a conflict escalates in scale, intervention efforts may also increase their level of force to influence a de-escalation of the conflict. Thus, power is seen as a coercive form of influence which is practiced by both disputants and intervenors alike.

Briefly stated, international disputes share some characteristics with other types of conflicts, thus mediation as practiced also can be similar in approach and ideology. For mediation to take place, often the parties' own efforts to resolve the conflict are exhausted. As well, the parties are not prepared to continue funding or escalating the dispute, thus allowing for interventionist efforts. Therefore, the parties are prepared to cooperate with each other and engage in some communication and contact to affect a resolution of their dispute. (Bercovitch, Anagnoson, and Wille, 1991:8). Thus, international mediation also shares a problem-solving approach in which mediators intervene to de-escalate conflict and try to seek reconciliation among disputants (Pruitt and Fry, 1989:155-160).

However, there are unique characteristics to disputes both in the international arena and involving environmental degradation. In the international arena, third party interventions involve disputes escalated among warring nations, usually in conflict over scarce resources, expansion of state and its capital, or differences in values or beliefs

(Levinger and Rubin, 1994:209, and Vayrynen, 1991:3). Also, conflicts tend to be longer in duration, thus the causes and factors tend to be more drawn out and complex (Levinger and Rubin, 1994:209) than in other dispute scenarios. Parties may be difficult to identify, vary in number, and unclear as to who represents whom (Levinger and Rubin, 1994:206 and Susskind and Weinstein, 1980:324). Intervention tends to be state-centric (Bercovitch, Anagnoson, and Wille, 1991:9-9; Levinger and Rubin, 1994:20 and Susskind and Weinstein, 1980:355), which carries potential coercive tactics akin to "muscle mediation" (Fisher and Keashly, 1991:33 and Wall and Lynn, 1993:165, 174). Enforceability is difficult, despite the existence of the International Court of Justice (ICJ) and the United Nations (UN) which provide some form of international guidance and agreement of protocols. Since the "world's nations largely do as they please," (Levinger and Rubin, 1994:209) enforcement seems to be both state-centric and autocratic consistent with an Hobbesian conception of authority.

Regarding environmental disputes in particular, two additional factors are considered. One is the validity and complexity of technical and scientific data. This is usually illustrated in terms of choosing between either economic or ecological interests and options (Blackburn, 1988; Jeffery, 1988; and Susskind and Weinstein, 1980). The other factor is the fact that much of what happens to the ecology both prior to a dispute and as 'solutions' remains irreversible. The ecology is delicate so far as human programmes try to control and re-shape it back to health (Amy, 1987; Kartez and Bowman, 1993; Susskind and Weinstein, 1980). However, a survey of the environmental mediation literature reveals that these disputes tend to be described as being between 'ecologists' and 'business' interests, thus these disputes are often mediated through state apparatus, which suggests that ecological disputes are kept within prevailing state-centric operations (Baxter, 1992; Blackburn, 1988; Jeffery, 1988; Kartez and Bowman, 1993; Richard, 1993; Renner, Pianta and Franchi, 1991; Sadler, 1993; and Susskind and Weinstein, 1980).

While ecological disputes may be more intricate in substance which illustrates the potential of any agreement's destructive impact, these factors can be seen as similar to international conflicts in terms of its complex history and violent character. In both environmental and international disputes, the state sometimes plays a dual role as both disputant and mediator (Amy, 1987:35-36; Kriesberg, 1991:23-24; and Susskind and Weinstein, 1980:349-355). Douglas Amy (1987) suggests that since environmental disputes have a large issue base mediators must be aware of all the facets and possible offshoots that arise from these issues. Such a wide range of implications presents a challenge to public debate and policy development (Amy, 1987:23-25; and Susskind and Weinstein, 1980:355). Therefore, the way in which these issues are framed and negotiated by all concerned parties bears directly on future relationships and circumstances.

In a separate article, "Generic Principles for Resolving Intergroup Conflict," Fisher outlines three interconnected principles of conflict which govern mediators' intervention: its analysis, confrontation, and resolution. These principles are embedded in humanistic values and planned social change (Fisher, 1994:47). Conflict analysis involves an exploration into the sources, causes, and expressions of conflicts. Separations and distinctions are made to clarify connections to human needs, values, interests, and positions. Conflict confrontation deals with the actual disputing behavior between parties. Thus, the interaction deals with "collaborative problem solving in which the parties search for mutually acceptable mechanisms to de-escalate the conflict and improve the relationship" (Fisher, 1994:51). Conflict resolution principles frame decision-making policy formation, and social structures in such a way as to allow for a transformed "conflict within the context of a renewed relationship between the parties" (Fisher, 1994:49). The principles are antithetical to the suppression of differences between people and the coercive homogenization of people (Fisher, 1994:59). Fisher observes that the world is moving away from "traditional, power-coercive, and legalistic approaches toward collaborative, problem-solving ones" (Fisher, 1994:63). He believes if "we can learn to

understand, respect, collaborate, and share with our neighbour" (Fisher, 1994:63), we would be able to prevent tendencies toward "destruction and debilitation" that threaten our future (Fisher, 1994:64).

Thus, the challenge to rethinking international mediation is not only in its application of ideology and approach, but also in its application of negotiation technique. Linda Putnam challenges traditional practice of negotiation, suggesting that it need not be only an instrument or a process. Negotiation techniques cannot be easily transferable or designed as smaller components which can be simply reordered and replanned (Putnam, 1994:338). While such approaches highlight key elements of the process, it also "shoves many features of negotiation into the background, and conceals other elements that are rarely noticed" (Putnam, 1994:337). Putnam also suggests that its prevalence prevents the "development of a field in which multiple paradigms flourish and inform one another" (Putnam, 1994:337). Thus, the three fundamental assumptions Putnam insists on further analysis are: one, negotiated outcomes defined through instrumental goals; two, the individual as the driving force in negotiations; and three, rationality as the privileged way of knowing (Putnam, 1994:344). So, rethinking international mediation entails an exploration of specific dispute resolution components, such as negotiation, in an effort to transcend the prevailing paradigm which governs theoretical understanding.

Despite Wall and Lynn's framework to guide one's thinking about how mediation attempts to resolve conflict, Putnam insists upon a more detailed examination of the above stated assumptions in order to generate a fuller understanding of how the resolution process attempts to transform conflict. Putnam suggests that instrumental goals are framed in a narrow context. The defining parameters in the study of conflict resolution are negotiation as a tool used to bring a dispute to an end and a concentration of substantive issues exclusive of other goals (Putnam, 1994:339). Other procedures such as deliberation, where parties come to define and test their understanding, and coaching where the mediator tries to equalize one of the disputants' ability may indicate how the

resolution process affects a transformation of the dispute. In negotiation, the focus of resolution is placed on the individual, thus a mediator becomes the agent of change (Putnam, 1994:341). Individualism becomes the prevailing model, exclusive of other social relationships. Notes Putnam: "a communitarian model would view negotiation as emanating from and contributing to the connection between self and other" (Putnam, 1994:341). The emphasis of rationality in conflict resolution prevents emotions and values from being studied adequately in order to assess responses and triggers which may also bring about a change in the dynamics (Putnam, 1994:343). Putnam notes that negotiation theory in itself is problematic because it is unable to explain assumptions or uncover hidden biases that may develop a richer understanding about how this resolution process works.

Clearly Fisher and Keashly concentrate on mediation as a method of dispute resolution which can affect some form of structural change at the international level. While realizing that not every mediated event will be conducted in the most humanitarian way, Fisher and Keashly consider the practice of mediation as a means to transform socio-political events and structures. However, the assumptions that Putnam highlights suggests that mediators will not be able to facilitate structural change without clearly changing the dynamics of parties' negotiation style so that their practice can transform how they conduct themselves during and after their dispute. Despite an insistence on an ethical guideline that gives a mediator a humanitarian perspective, the connections between facilitating social and individual change remains uncertain. Thus, the framework created by Wall and Lynn allows for an analysis of these connections to be brought forth in such a way that an understanding of how these transformative ideologies intend to change both individuals and structures that guide people's thinking and acting.

As mentioned above, I also rely heavily on other literature reviews for a general analysis of mediation theory. Alder, Lovass, and Milner (1988) compare community mediation groups in an attempt to define succinctly the goal of transformation. Bush and

Folger (1994) critique the application of mediation in its failure to transform. They are firmly embedded within individual ideology choosing to lobby mediators to focus their own and their client's personal moral, intellectual, and behavioral development.

Harrington and Merry (1988) bridge individual and social ideological visions in their analysis of community mediation groups. They outline three trends in mediation practice: delivery of service, social reform, and personal growth and development. Their analysis connects persons (disputant or mediator) to their social group (family, economic and employment group, neighbourhood, and so on). Menkel-Meadow (1995) reviews three books that critique the promise of transformation as told by practitioners working in various fields and at different levels. Her analysis deals with a mediator's agency to effect either personal or social change among clients. In all of these reviews, attempts to transform stays within the prevailing systems and structures, thus, the emphasis is on change from within. Whether change is seen as a reform or improvement the change agent must divide its focus among personal, local, and social levels. These studies, along with Wall and Lynn, allow for an understanding of how the two ideological positions can be directed into practical approaches.

Four Approaches to Mediation

Carrie Menkel-Meadow asks: "What transformative potential does mediation have to change people, situations, and political and social structures?" (Menkel-Meadow, 1995:217) The significance of this question is useful particularly when considering the transformative goals that mediation implies. Menkel-Meadow suggests that there is "an ongoing tension between conceptualization of mediation as a therapeutic, helping, or communication work with individuals contrasted to a more structural or political analysis of root causes of social problems, conflict, and collective action" (Menkel-Meadow, 1995:218). Along these lines the transformation takes on several meanings. It is not enough just to believe that transformation of a conflict occurs once intervention and

negotiation takes place. Nor is it satisfactory to assume that mediation can bring about a resolution of conflict because it seems to transform the dynamics of conflict from its destructive nature. In an analysis of the above mentioned literature and guided by Menkel-Meadow's questions, I give an account of four approaches to mediation: management; social justice; individual agency; and communication. An outline of these different methods follows below.

Management Approach

The management perspective stresses efficiency and cost savings in the delivery of conflict resolution services (Dukes, 1993; Harrington and Merry, 1988; Rifkin, 1996). Conflict management attempts to sort problems into appropriate avenues of solutions, thus its attraction towards conflict settlement and satisfied customers (Harrington and Merry, 1988; and Menkel-Meadows 1995). Mediation along with arbitration and negotiation are forms available to resolve conflict, but they are also seen as alternatives to litigation within the state's legal system (Harrington and Merry, 1988; and Rifkin 1984). Bush and Folger (1994) call these changes the "satisfaction story" to illustrate that changes are made to satisfy participants but not to change the overall setting in which disputes and conflicts take place and are resolved. Thus, mediation becomes a part of the alternative dispute resolution (ADR) movement which is driven by a larger organizational and institutional state operation.

Although a focus of change is towards informalism, change itself becomes infused in the bureaucratic and organizational network. Mediation becomes a process of facilitated and assisted negotiation which guide parties toward settlement in the form of reconciliation and restitution. In this scenario, the negotiation model is shaped around problem solving predetermined goals. The mediator guides parties towards a focus on shared interests and a sense of fairness as opposed to concentrating on individual legal rights and moral positions. Parties bargain from relatively equal positions. However, the

negotiation process becomes rigid and less apt to modification (Menkel-Meadow, 1995) or innovation (Harrington and Merry, 1988). Concerns regarding the quality of practice and outcomes push efforts towards standardizing procedures.

Despite the focus towards humanization of services, the direction of transformation is in the improvement and efficiency of service. Thus, the outcome or final product of a mediation determines its success, where the criteria consists of clientele satisfaction and practitioner status (Bush and Folger, 1994; Harrington and Merry, 1988; and Wall and Lynn, 1993). Services are directed to identified clientele and their appropriate needs. This reverberates to the betterment of service by way of an educated and skilled group of core practitioners (Harrington and Merry, 1988; Menkel-Meadows, 1995; Rifkin, 1984 and 1996; Wall and Lynn, 1993). Mediators are trained to be objective to both parties and the substantive content of the dispute before them. Greater emphasis is placed on a mediator's professional skills and experience, education, and career expansion as a measure of success and satisfaction.

A management approach to conflict privileges the settlement of conflict over that of process (Menkel-Meadows, 1995). Bush and Folger illustrate the benefits of a management approach to environmental and public policy mediation which "have produced creative and highly praised resolutions, while avoiding the years of delay and enormous expense that court action would have entailed" (Bush and Folger, 1994:17). This approach does nothing to influence personal moral, political, and inter-personal development. Nor does it change the social-political dynamics affecting the participants. Thus, its criterion for achievement serves greater professionalization, higher levels of customer satisfaction and increased rates of conflict settlements.

Social Justice Approach

This approach presents mediation as a process that seeks social harmony and community focusing on political development and social cohesiveness (Harrington and

Merry, 1988; Menkel-Meadows, 1995; Nader, 1991; and Rifkin, 1996). Thus, the process takes on an agenda to develop people's emotional, intellectual, social, and political bonds. While such an agenda entails a combination of individual and social empowerment, Nader (1991) suggests that the goal is social harmony. Political involvement becomes infused with communitarian values and social well-being (Harrington and Merry, 1988:715). This perspective has a clearly defined sense of community and consensual justice (Harrington and Merry, 1988:715). Parties hold democratic values of participation and self-government which give them a sense of their own authority and agency (Menkel-Meadow, 1995: 223, 229). Matched with an understanding of consensual justice, that of an individual's agency and involvement in a process -- free from coercion and external authority (Harrington and Merry, 1988:718) -- parties are given the authority and responsibility to work through their conflict. Parties active in their own conflict resolution become empowered by combining understandings of agency and justice. Therefore, these parties grasp the concept that agency is driven by sharing, responsibility, and moral consideration towards other people. Issues are framed to motivate parties to collaborate with each other in reaching an agreement which is satisfactory both to themselves and the greater collective body. Within this perspective, conflict resolution aims to reconcile disputants and restore social harmony.

Development implications centre on societal and political restructuring. Parties create new ways to apply justice and governance to restore balance and harmony within their community (Harrington and Merry, 1988:719; Menkel-Meadow, 1995:230; and Rifkin, 1996). Involvement in such a project entails a reformist vision. Bush and Folger (1991) suggest that mediation is akin to social justice by labeling its transformative effects after this reform movement. These reforms enable people residing in their own community to locate, provide, and maintain the necessary resources for such resolution services (Harrington and Merry, 1988:719-721; Menkel-Meadows, 1995:226, 230; and Rifkin, 1996). If self-governance implies a decentralized decision-making capacity, it also

implies decentralized control over provision of services. Mediators are representative of their community; therefore they reflect similar concerns, desires, and values. As peers, mediators are trained to be neutral towards parties in dispute, not towards the issues and context of conflict. Mediators become co-participants in the dispute (Menkel-Meadow, 1988; and Moore, 1994) where they not only try to facilitate a resolution, but also they try to bring about some form of social justice (Bush and Folger, 1994) and harmony designed to prevent similar conflicts. Thus, within this perspective, conflicts create opportunities for participants to redirect their efforts towards changing the direction of political and social events. Individuals are able to move their lives forward rather than to cope with similar issues locked in a cycle of conflict.

However, tensions may arise between community cohesiveness and individual self-direction. While mediation provides an opportunity for parties to decide their own terms and conditions -- exclusive of a central authority imposing a decision -- their agreement is framed by an expectation of communal harmony. As Nader (1991) suggests, while harmony models differ in time, region, and cultural setting, the focus is on creating and enforcing social cohesion rather than allowing communication of difference (perspective, physique, or behavior) to bring about ways to achieve peaceful and supportive existence which maintains these differences in conjunction with community harmony. Thus negotiation focuses on parties' needs and their relationships within the confines of the dispute. Mediators do not assume that parties are equally capable and resourceful. Therefore, a pragmatic or activist approach may restore some balance while negotiation takes place (Menkel-Meadows, 1995:227-230; and Wall and Lynn, 1993:165). Thus, mediation directs parties towards a resolution that seeks equity and harmony in their relationship while being respective of each parties' individuality. Mediators provide people with the skills of developing their own socio-political networks enabling them to resolve conflicts and make decisions without further assistance. The transformative aspirations

within this perspective are in constant tension -- pushed and pulled between creation and change.

However, let us be certain of our understanding of the relationships between individual and society, especially within the context of conflict resolution stressing creativity. Feminist scholarship highlights these relationships, albeit in a somewhat discursive way, discussed through a range of perspectives from liberal, socialist, radical, to post-modern. Put succinctly, V. Spike Peterson and Anne Sisson Runyan (1993) discuss the gendered nature and effect of power. They suggest that a masculinized version of power effectively translates into the creation of institutions and structures that compete, dominate, and coerce (Peterson and Runyan, 1993:79) to the point where it positions an equally constructed feminized version of power as useless, weak, and under-valued (Peterson and Runyan, 1993:80). Power in both its nature and effect is seen as stereotypically male and preferred. Developed thus far, power utilized through relationships is understood to be only competitive, dominant, and coercive. Thus, the formation of power and its effect on social-political relationships bears greatly upon both the making and resolving of conflict.

In terms of reform in which people generate just existence, a feminist account of relationships assists us in realizing how a social justice approach deals with conflict and its resolution generally. By bringing back into power the stereotypical feminine components of empathy, partnership, and equity the social justice approach articulates the type of relationship between individual and society necessary to create lasting networks and decision-making processes when facing conflict.

The social-justice approach to mediation suggests that, for environmental disputes, it illustrates a "facilitated... assertion of novel (and not strictly legal) claims by groups that have succeeded in redressing imbalances of power favoring land developers" (Bush and Folger, 1994:19). Individuals create for themselves a way to realize change in their own lives and to live peaceably within their community. The community as a whole does not

need to change itself, rather as individuals learn to realize their connection to their community (family and beyond) the community itself becomes transformed. Thus, creative means of dispute resolution bring about changes where these changes necessitate other creative approaches to communal conflicts. The social justice approach works within the prevailing structures to improve and reform its application of justice on the whole of society.

Individual Agency Approach

This approach focuses on individual agency as it highlights the notions that personal growth and development (Harrington and Merry, 1988:715) assist people to work through their conflicts. Bush and Folger (1991) suggest that the crux of transforming dispute resolution and conflict falls within this approach: "that disputes can be viewed not as problems at all but as opportunities for moral growth and transformation" (Bush and Folger, 1991:81). The development of one's character and inter-personal skills (Bush and Folger, 1991:81) instigates the transformation of conflict where conflict changes from being destructive and frequent to being constructive and infrequent (Levinger and Rubin, 1994:212). However, at the closure stage, this focus is split into two tangents -- mediator and disputant (Wall and Lynn, 1993:162). Mediators take on an agenda to improve their practice and understanding of conflict and its resolution. Aided by the tools of negotiation and bargaining, disputants are able to approach future interactions differently. Therefore, this perspective entails a dual understanding that on one hand, individuals both cultivate and resolve conflict (Bush and Folger, 1994; and Wall and Lynn, 1993), while on the other hand, people can change themselves in order to suit the context of these circumstances (Folger and Jones, 1994).

Understood in this way, a mediator moves parties towards closure by invoking a collaborative problem-solving and consensual decision-making process. Intervention is biased towards personal empowerment and control of one's life. Decision-making centres

around each parties' authority, maturity, and responsibility to reach an agreement (Harrington and Merry, 1988:715; Menkel-Meadows, 1995:226-227; and Wall and Lynn, 1993:171-175). Success is built around enhancement of interpersonal skills and the fulfillment of human needs. The rationale behind individual agency is that as people are more able to decide for themselves, the more apt they would be to govern and lead their lives thus improving the general quality of their personal lives as well as civic life (Harrington and Merry, 1988:715). The negotiation model is similar to the conflict management approach in that the focus is towards seeking common interests, equal power, and fairness. However, this process is more adaptive than the management approach as it is able to be more flexible towards individual needs from one session to the next, and from one sphere to another (Menkel-Meadow, 1995:238; and Rifkin, 1996). Mediation sessions are driven by a skill-set designed to bring parties together in order to reach a mutual agreement.

The educational factor of this perspective cannot be dismissed easily, since it is central to the process. Techniques and skills give a mediator the necessary tools to persuade and guide parties toward closure. Enhancement of these skills becomes the guiding criterion for success. Yet, parties are also taught to use these same skills. Their education is more subtle since the mediator acts as both guide and director rather than a teacher of negotiation and interpersonal communication. Thus, success is also determined by the parties attainment of appropriate disputing technique.

Therefore, the individual approach to mediation strives to achieve both empowerment and recognition (Bush and Folger, 1994:20). On one hand, "parties...discover that they can feel and express some degree of understanding and concern for one another despite their disagreement" and on the other hand, "acknowledgment and concern for each other as fellow human beings" promises to bring about empowerment and recognition respectively (Bush and Folger, 1994:20). Despite an open process which allows freedom in exploring issues and options, individual agency is

confined by learned design and technique which reinforces both the individuation of conflict and its resolution. Transformation in this perspective is kept within the sphere of specific cases where agency is directed at personal change and growth, rather than encouraging one's agency to affect exterior relationships and causes. The pragmatic tone is that mediators have to trust those they mediate to learn, grow, and develop on their own time.

Communication Approach

A new perspective in mediation research seeks to analyze the narratives amongst all participants, in particular the directives mediators give in their format design and parties' restatements (Cobb, 1994; Menkel-Meadows, 1995; Merry, 1989; Moore, 1994; Rifkin, 1996; and Wall and Lynn, 1993). This is not an methodological approach per se; however, it suggests that attention to the substantive content of the discussion (narrative or story-telling) links mediation to a larger context beyond the parties' conflict. That the methods in which people communicate to each other -- through their words and their descriptions -- illustrates a personalized view of their conflict as well as a larger context beyond the negotiation table. The premise of this approach is to identify and link these individual circumstances and relationships to similar socio-political structures in order for the possibility of change to occur. Of concern is the linkage between a mediation process and a conflict's context.

Communication analysis suggests that "the context is key to understanding the nature of effective mediation" (Folger and Jones, 1994:224). The linkage occurs at three junctures: definition of the context of the conflict and parties' relationships within the greater context; understanding of its implications; and adjustment of mediation procedures to accommodate the contextual concerns. Communication theorists place the mediation process at the centre of their examination. In doing so, they suggest that the process design itself damages the potential for social and political change. They raise the

argument that the means must suit the ends; therefore, they claim that the process design is ill-suited to change the fundamental relationships of power, resources and allocation which may have contributed to the formation of both the conflict and these structures. Critical analysis is directed at mediators' use of skill and technique in how they arrange speaking order, set time limits, and schedule frequency of meetings (Folger and Jones, 1994). These components shape the direction of argument placing one party in an active position that directs the logic, issues, and accusations while the other party is put in a responsive position to refute and rebut what they have heard (Cobb, 1994; and Merry, 1989). Thus, before parties meet, their fate is sealed -- depending on a disputant's ability to speak, persuade, and argue -- by the organization of meetings and discussions.

The communication approach is an analytical device rather than a practical approach. Christopher Moore illustrates this device by advocating that mediators can be effective when they are "able to analyze and assess critical situations and design effective interventions to counteract the causes of the conflict" (Moore, 1986:26). Researchers consider the range of strategies and techniques available during mediation (Wall and Lynn, 1993), but the discourse during the resolution process becomes the focus of attention. A mediator's verbal directives affect how parties relate to each other and how they conceive events and arguments (Merry, 1989; Cobb, 1994; and Moore, 1994). As well, the parties' communication skills also reflect the construction of the agreement. Cobb notes that more coherent "stories" dominate the content of agreements which marginalizes less coherent stories. Less coherent stories tend to lose legitimacy, therefore these stories do not provide a basis from which agreement is formed (Cobb, 48). The implication is that the mediator's skill and ability in reframing stories directly relates to the substantive content of the agreement. If a mediator chooses not to assist in bringing coherence to equal standing, the effect of changing dynamics is lost. Attention to substance thus adds to a comprehension that process alone is not isolated from closure.

Each approach is different in the way it positions mediation to resolve disputes and to assist people in working through conflicts. These approaches also place differently the responsibility for transformation either within individual or in socio-political contexts. Explicit in this responsibility is an awareness of the dynamics of social and political relationships that frame conflicts. Holistically, mediation is a process that involves people engaged in a conflict to recognize their contribution, thereby allowing them to form a type of settlement, agreement, or agenda that changes how they engage in conflict and crisis. Mediators cannot detach themselves easily from either the parties they mediate or the context of the dispute. Thus, mediators play a powerful role in directing parties toward closure. Their understanding of bias within their process design; their awareness of general context of the dispute; and their insight regarding the external relationships the disputants have concerning the conflict all factor into their perception of ability and effectiveness. Consideration of bias -- mediators' neutrality and objectivity -- is questioned to the extent that researchers suggest that mediators make explicit their intent and ideology regarding transformation and conflict resolution. As well, there needs to be an awareness of the actual consequences involved in the transformative bias in how it shapes discourse, closure, and systemic change.

III. FROM SNAFU TO SNAP-OUT-OF-IT!

A. TOWARDS RETHINKING INTERNATIONAL MEDIATION

As in the previous chapter, different ideological positions imply different tangents of change. Thus, the central feature of either ideological position, individual or social, will shape and direct the type of change at either microcosm or macrocosm levels respectively. As well, each approach refines the direction and type of change even further by focusing on specific areas and components available to a mediator. In redirecting the prevailing resolution process towards a perspective that affirms a gender sensitive life within a healthy ecology, both ideological position and approach of mediation must also be aligned along similar transformative goals. While a communication approach acts as a critical lens on the facilitation and negotiation processes, a social justice approach positioned within both individual and social ideologies assists the development of a transformative approach which challenges the management practice which prevails in the international level of mediating conflicts.

This chapter discusses the transformative ideals drawn from the hopes, ideas, and goals specifically from the social movements discussed in the previous chapter. The movements of ecology, feminism, mediation⁵ and peace attempt to challenge the conditions, essences, and structures that maintain unjust relationships, whether they be between peoples, men and women, or humans and nature. Explicit in these social movements is the desire to influence social change and that these changes take on a dynamic motion that spans time and space. However, implicit in their dynamic and transformative nature is a diversity of viewpoints, opinions, and conceptions that both enrich and confuse one's understanding as to the appropriate application of theory and practice.

⁵Mediation as a social movement is included here to illustrate the activities of people who seek and practice skills and techniques which encourage a collaborative and truth-seeking social environment to resolve conflicts. Thus, mediation as a social movement suggests approaches other than opposition, competition, and intimidation as illustrated by courts of law, commerce, and military defence.

In order to present a succinct and clear portrait these movements are treated as a unified whole; however, in reality the case may be quite different. As well, only the ideas that can assist in the purpose of this chapter will be considered. This dynamic atmosphere serves as a backdrop of a discussion of factors and considerations that need to be taken into account before redirecting IR resolution approaches from managing to transforming. This chapter isolates the transformative components that coincide best with feminist, ecologist, and pacifist political movements in order to conceive a framework (building approach) that has practical application at the international relations level. The building approach summarizes these components, and then uses them to analyze how the Great Lakes' ecological issues have been resolved by the IJC during the 1970s.

Social Movements

Ecologists wish to transform people's understanding of nature and of the earth from that of a separate and inanimate commodity to that of a living eco-system. Therefore, they wish to prevent people from using the earth's natural resources solely for their self-interested and consumption purposes (Ashworth, 1986; Capra, 1988; Guha, 1990; Langford, 1965; Li, 1993; Merchant, 1980; Mies and Shiva, 1993; Vance, 1993; Weller, 1990).

Feminists wish to transform androcentric structures which are seen as political domination ("power-over") into a form of political partnership ("power-with"); therefore, they wish to change the dynamics and substance of human power (political and physical) away from being used solely to control and to dominate. Feminist scholarship seeks to reveal the hidden assumptions that maintain forces of suppression and exploitation. Once these forces are brought into public awareness, it may be possible to eradicate its effects -- oppression, control, and dominance -- (Birkeland, 1993; Brock-Utne, 1985 and 1990; Eisler, 1988; Reardon, 1985 and 1993; Peterson and Runyan, 1993).

Mediation movement seeks to frame the disputing among individuals, groups, organizations, governments, or nations in terms of discussing issues as interests rather than arguing over positions and value-laden assumptions. Mediation as a social movement suggests that everyone is able to learn how to communicate and negotiate with anyone, whether assisted or not. Since disputes can be resolved through an ethical framework of discussion, bargaining, and negotiation -- this framework presupposes any need for violence as a form of persuasion and legitimization. While some would suggest that mediation is only one of many technical mechanisms of conflict resolution, its history and popularity suggests a socio-political insistence on resolving and transforming the approach to conflict from violence into constructive discussion (Ananthu and Ananthu, 1991; Large, 1995; Lederach, 1995; Mathur, 1991; Menkel-Meadow, 1995; Nader, 1991; Wall and Lynn, 1993).

Peace movements wish to end the organized violence of warfare by transforming how people think and act towards using force as a means to create and resolve conflict. Pacifists wish to transform aggression to assertion, thus establishing peaceable existence by removing overt and hidden violence from human interaction (Aronoff, 1986; Bok, 1990; Curle, 1971; Nakarada, 1987; Neufeld, 1993; Reardon, 1990).

Each of these movements reveals a similar philosophical understanding and ideological programme. Their similarity is not by accident, but rather many of these people share the same perspectives and beliefs despite the separateness of these categories. Thus, the guiding premise is to change the prevailing political structure away from its self-destructive course (Bok, 1990; Brock-Utne, 1990; Capra, 1988; Eisler, 1987; Jain, 1991; Large, 1995; Menkel-Meadow, 1995; Mies and Shiva, 1993; Vance, 1993). In order to achieve this goal, people must be open to examining their thoughts and actions towards a constructive and life affirming existence which maintains an ecological balance within nature (Birkeland, 1993; Capra, 1988; Eisler, 1987 and 1996; Gandhi, 1986; Mies and Shiva, 1993). How can these goals change the politics of international relations? Can

mediation practiced at the international level be adaptive to this transformative perspective? If so, how will sociological and political structures be changed without the use of domination, inequity, oppression, rigid control, and violence?

Transformative Directions

In order to begin an outline of such an approach, I consider the ideas of three people -- Fritjof Capra (1982), Riane Eisler (1987), and Mohandas Gandhi (1986) -- each of whom considers structural transformation necessary in order to realize and sustain resolution of conflicts. Each person believes in a restoration of balance brought forth through grass-roots-style organizing rather than an elite-driven programme. While taking a democratic orientation in framing and discussing a transformative agenda, a grass-roots movement preserves respect for local agency at the same time as it seeks a holistic restoration of balance and health at the global level. Each author strives to re-connect individuals to their social setting, and in doing so defines the relationships that connect each of us to each other over space and time.

Capra seeks to change knowledge paradigms based on research conducted under mechanistic and static understandings to one which is based on a dynamic inter-related system considerate of nature's ecology. According to Capra, knowledge and understanding that is based on an ecological system would allow one to perceive the world as a series of inter-related and inter-dependent systems (Capra, 1982:87-95). Critical of the development of western scientific-based knowledge, Capra looks towards eastern philosophy for guidance (Capra, 1982:26, 35-38). To Capra, the shift in paradigms is essential to bridge (or close) the gaps between dichotomies such as universal/particular, nature/nurture, public/private, and rational/emotional (Capra, 1982:40-49). By conceiving the universe as an ecology without exclusive dualisms, humanity would be less inclined to control nature for selfish desire (Capra, 1982:53-74). Research and development programmes conducted by private and public organizations would be more inclined to

consider sustaining and preserving balance among all living beings (Capra, 1982:15). Mirroring eco-feminists' critiques, Capra suggests that these dichotomies do not allow humanity to move forward, but its maintenance dooms us to an escalating cycle of self-created conflicts and crises.

Eisler considers socially constructed stereotypes which perpetuate gender exclusive behavior that takes place at all levels of social interaction. Stereotypes are symbolic teachers that show us how to behave and survive, what to think and value, as well as who acts and reacts. In an attempt to transcend gender-difference discourse Eisler believes that androcentric relationships which seek warrior-like domination can be transformed into "gylanic" relationships which seek pacific-like partnerships (Eisler, 1987:105-106). Therefore, Eisler seeks to change the structure of relationships that perpetuate gender exclusive elements throughout time and space. By restoring human relationships to a gylanic orientation Eisler believes that a gender inclusive understanding of humanity can improve how we deal with conflicting goals and ideals.

Gandhi seeks to change awareness by bridging the gap between means and ends. To Gandhi, the process is as important as the final outcome. He suggests that the method in which one achieves a goal is interwoven into what the achievement of the goal ultimately becomes (Gandhi, 1986:50). Therefore, if a conflict is not dealt with in a fashion similar in vision to its resolution, the conflict cannot be adequately resolved (Gandhi, 1986:46-47). The implication here is that when resolving conflict, the process must be adaptive to constituents and circumstances at hand, rather than using a generic method developed to resolve any conflict. However, Gandhi is quick to thwart relativism by insisting that strength and force need not be styled according to a military stereotype, nor are pacific methods (assertive and non-violent) the same as passive behavior (avoidance and blind acceptance) (Gandhi, 1986:49-50). Thus, Gandhi's consideration of conflict resolution is seen through a change of force from aggressive and violent to

assertive and non-violent that combines means and ends under a dynamic and adaptive process.

Capra, Eisler, and Gandhi believe that structural transformation is possible and that change can occur through individual and collective action. They also consider the necessity of transforming the prevailing or ill-suited practices by pointing to the damage and destruction that lies in its wake: warfare and militarization; excessive consumption and waste production; oppression and exploitation; economic and social inequity; uneven and rising population growth; and the constant removal of the earth's resources without equal amounts of replenishment. Capra wishes to transform paradigms in how we come to know, think, and understand the world about us. Eisler wishes to transform our conceptions of ourselves so that we will be better able to relate to each other in a more open, respectful, caring, loving, and just way. Gandhi wishes to transform how we act in terms of combining our actions with our thoughts and attitudes. All three persons expect personal introspection to foster grass-roots-style transformation in which there would be a simultaneous effort at both individual and social transformation. Therefore, their approach considers not only the ideas of a social justice approach in mediation, but also an approach that deals with reconstruction and restoration.

Factors and Considerations

A reconstructive approach in mediation ought to be flexible enough that it enables and affirms change through recognizing gender- and ecological-based inequities. However, this flexibility is matched with a certain amount of rigidity as it resists the fostering of change that leads back to a re-institution of systemic oppression, inequity, and violence. A reconstructive approach allows for an understanding of the necessity to change, the possibilities for change, and the creativity needed to realize these changes in both our individual and collective lives and livelihoods. Thus, such an approach works

towards restoration of relationships and activities which become disconnected at the onset of a conflict.

Within this approach is a consideration of several activities, all of which are organized in an holistic fashion. Within each of these activities is an awareness of the relationships that connect people to each other as well as to abstract societal values and ideas. Common within this range are the concepts of teaching and learning (Brock-Utne, 1989, 1985; Curle, 1971; Jain, 1991; Lederach, 1995; and Molloy, 1995); equality among all people combined with democratic forms of governance (Amy, 1987; Harrington, 1992; Jones, 1990; Pateman, 1983; and Philips, 1991); and non-violent forms of influence (Ashworth, 1995; Curle, 1971; Gandhi, 1987; and Reardon, 1990). New additions to this list are the concern about the eco-system and the destructive human practices that still continue unabated (Ashworth, 1986; Birkeland, 1993; Mies and Shiva, 1993; Vance, 1993 and Weller, 1990).

However there is much concern as to the realistic possibility of systematic transformation. While there is hope that change is indeed possible, supported by evidence of some systematic changes, there remains some doubt about the failure of complete structural change. Despite the evidence of change in attitudes and behaviors towards more equitable and balanced living, this evidence also reveals that not very much has changed (Cobb, 1994; Eisler, 1996; Harris, 1989; Menkel-Meadow, 1995, and Rifkin, 1996). Janis Birkeland (1993) diagnoses this problem, suggesting that: "the realization that we cannot rely on patchwork reforms through more appropriate economics, technology, and regulation, or better policies gained through green electoral politics" (Birkeland, 1993:13). Therefore, an approach seeking structural transformation would require framing agendas that transcend sub-systems such as economics, technology and regulation.

As mentioned above, the ability to bridge dichotomies, based on an holistic understanding, would allow people to frame their conflicts in such a way as to create

options that prevent the cyclical pattern of crises and unresolved problems. A holistic approach would allow subjects and issues to be reframed from "either/or" to "with/and" scenarios. With such an approach, members of conflictual parties working on larger scale problems would be encouraged to deal with their conflict(s) in a multi-dimensional fashion. Mediation itself would not only be seen as one of many 'tools', but rather the mediation process would spread out from the initial issue- or crisis-specific event. Discussions and negotiations would be performed over time and space, throughout the network of organizations in all directions, including top to bottom and bottom to top. While bridging dichotomies allows for a transcendence of war-making processes towards peace-making processes, the emphasis is on building and supporting existing peaceable behaviors conceived along ecological, feminist, and pacifist understanding (Capra, 1988; Eisler, 1987; Fisher, 1994; and Guha, 1990).

Adaptability is a key factor in designing mediation services. Consideration in design would follow along Gandhi's conception of means equaling the ends, and Eisler's conception of reconstruction of relationships along partnership (gylanic) lines. Cathy A. Costantino and Christina Sickles Merchant (1986) suggest a dispute resolution programme suitable for organizations. They suggest that a process be conceived not so much by specialists and elite groups, but that the process be open to include anyone affected at every phase and step of a conflict and its resolution. Therefore, a dispute can be resolved by those involved directly and well as those being affected by the decisions made and its resulting implementation and administration. Each stakeholder, rather each person responsible for specific tasks along the 'reform' agenda would be given the opportunity to be involved. Thus, every person within the organization can participate in building relationships and activities. Such a design needs to be adaptable to the specific needs of the stakeholders as well as the type of dispute parties experience. Since part of the process is to work through conflict rather than avoid it or get rid of it, a dispute resolution

system must be able to flow easily from its various stages and not expect people to wear a rigid suit of conformity.

Thus, the focus and direction of a dispute resolution approach is to build, restore and reconstruct ways in which people can work through their conflicts and differences. The focus and direction of such a programme would follow along the prescriptions of Adam Curle (1971) and John Paul Lederach (1995) in which awareness of oppression and exploitation would be brought into the open for both oppressor/exploiter and oppressed/exploited to eradicate. In this context, feminists' dissatisfaction with mediation as being unable to support disadvantaged persons and misappropriated values has a chance to be addressed. The dispute resolution process focuses not on splitting the difference, or equally distributing the settlement, but rather it is designed to build both constructive relationships and peaceable existence. The principles of change -- consistent with Capra, Eisler, and Gandhi -- open awareness, gylanic relationships, and linked goals to actions are woven inextricably together. Such an approach emphasizes building a peaceable, ecological and partnership existence.

The challenge is to consider a mediation approach that realizes peace building, in which relationships are restored and lives are reconstructed. This approach considers an ecological-based system that fosters a wealth of activities at many levels throughout the duration of a conflict. It is able to reach beyond prevailing systems in order to bridge dichotomies and close exclusive dualisms in an attempt to uncover assumptions and desires. It is sensitive to Nadar's critiques of harmonization at the expense of diversity and the ability to confront and raise awareness of potential and real difficulty. It is adaptable to both the context and the persons involved, thus sensitive to destructive and constructive relationships. Finally, a building approach is a process designed to focus multi-dimensional directions united in changing prevailing structures from war-making to peace-making existence.

B. THE BUILDING APPROACH

A Proposal

As the social justice approach seeks harmony within the general community, so too does a building approach. Similarly, it seeks justice through discussions oriented along the lines of inclusive participation. Also the forum of these discussions not only allows people an opportunity to voice their concerns without fear of retribution or ostracism, but also the discussions effect some form of consensus and collaboration in the decision-making process. Open decision making may not be totally feasible, however, the goal is to bring as much of the discussion of options into the public forum. Also, by fostering an open forum, injustices can be revealed and dealt with, thus facilitating a process that prevents regressive or superficial solutions. A building approach encourages relationships that develop respect and partnership while discouraging relationships that devalue and coerce.

Feminist understanding of relationships are identified, made explicit, and developed. This entails the development of institutions and systems consistent with power-with and power-to conceptions detailed earlier. Such political reorientation seeks to guide personal power to enrich social relationships and envelop strength and force within partnering activities. The implication is to relate to one another not in terms of androcentric power structures of competition, coercion, and dominance, but rather foster relationships which are respectful, considerate, compassionate, and informed so that political power itself is balanced towards experience and potential within the ecology. A unified conception of political capability also nurtures humane development in which people work with nature, rather than against it. Feminist conceptions of a building approach to dispute resolution entails an open framework that works towards revealing imbalance and disempowerment.

Development and reform programmes allow for the dual actions of teaching and learning. Personal as well as communal visions steer individual and group agency towards the elimination of violence, both obvious and hidden. Thus, awareness about the ways to

live with nature bring together old and new ideas in an effort to sort out constructive from destructive practices, technologies, and habits. Options are sought that imbue one's agency and creative energies. Not only do relationships become explicit in negotiated options, but also the means to establish personal agency in order to garner grass-roots style building.

Since the process design combines both means and ends, the individual is linked to the social in which open and collaborative action is fostered continuously. Therefore, mediators encourage the consideration of change as multifaceted and dynamic, thereby affecting social and political joint efforts and partnerships. One's behavior becomes matched to one's attitudes, thus discouraging falsification and co-option. Thus, personal actions impact social actions. Small everyday activities are nurtured into active rather than passive quests, and assertive behaviors are sought rather than aggressive stances; whereby violence is deflected rather than engaged, so that creativity and life are affirmed rather than discounted. During sessions mediators can encourage the parties to focus their realization along several paths.

Firstly, mediation reframes conflict as a means to discuss the factors under dispute, rather than treating the conflict as a problem to be prevented altogether. Discussions are framed to reflect how participant attitudes and behavior are linked to the issues. Interests are phrased in terms of fundamental expectations, beliefs, values, fears, concerns and needs. Positions are identified as predetermined judgments which expresses both problem (what it is) and solution (what should happen). Values may still reflect local belief systems, but parties would be aware of how their attitudes and behaviors influence outward onto the global scene. Important design factors to consider are the way in which participants are identified, the length and sequencing of discussions, and the appropriate times in which talks may resume, either in follow-up procedures or long after implementation of options. If mediators promise to teach resolution skills to their

clientele, then clients would be able to monitor their own programmes, engaging in further discussions and negotiations on their own as the need arises.

Secondly, a building approach to mediation reconsiders theoretical issues of conflict, confrontation, and crisis so that intervention does not need to mirror the level of force once intervention is under way. Management scenarios can be reoriented towards prevention, not in terms of force and control, but in terms of conceptions shared among social movements presented above. This entails that violent and aggressive approaches to conflict change towards non-violent and assertive attitudes and behavior. The focus of building is on the desolation brought forth by androcentric means of force and exploitation. Theoretical reconsiderations seek to change the circumstances of a mediator's influence and persuasion into a power-with and power-to resource.

Thirdly, a building approach promotes a collective understanding of how inequities, responsibility, and insensitivity towards difference fosters conflict and violence. By increasing the level of participation, the discussion can become more inclusive. Sharing among people's experiences, talents, and knowledge allows for the dissemination of participant geared reconstruction. People then create and construct ways to bridge different perceptions of reality and belief systems, thus supporting an engagement of resolutions away from destructive and violent behaviors and practices.

Fourthly, such a method considers action as involving respect and care of a healthy eco-system. On-going and continuous approaches realize that the eco-sphere needs to be vibrant in order to sustain health and peaceable existence in both human and natural spheres. For instance, economics and ecology need not be separated in agreements which assumes a competitive division between takers (consumers) and providers (producers). While nature may appear to be separate and distinct from humanity, what humans create and build is not natural. Therefore, dispute resolution processes must be sensitive to the ease at which settlements, agreements, or other resolutions can bring about economic and technical development meant to 'improve' thus replace the natural environment. A primary

factor in the framing of resolutions would be the recognition that the individuals seated at the resolution table cannot compromise or control nature to suit their own identified needs both present and future.

Lastly, recognition of mediators' bias and participation in the development of options can ensure that parties are actively engaged rather than coerced, restricted, or overlooked. Problems that surround a mediator's stance on neutrality and objectivity are noted and dealt with accordingly. Then if the possibility that agendas different from the expressed purpose of the talks (held by either mediators or a party) arises, it can be brought out into the open to be dealt with accordingly. If the process is compromised then mediated talks cannot continue. Peace-making activities need not be compromised with war-making activities. The political impact of mediation can be made both clear and explicit. Therefore, recognition of bias is important as it seeks clarity in the direction mediation seeks to change.

A building approach accounts for the transformative directions sought by certain social movements. This bias in this approach travels down several pathways. The first direction is to change the management approach of international mediation. While managing conflict may be the preferred means regarding protracted and irreconcilable disputes, this leads to settlements which in turn leads to recurrence and escalation of the initial conflict (Putnam, 1994:337). A second direction advances Putnam's request to broaden the scope of knowledge and understanding from the rational and individualistic mode of negotiation. Continuing along this line would be to examine the privileging of science as the expert knowledge base. Another direction the building approach takes is in its direction of uncovering and changing the resident structures in which problem-solving efforts reside. It is in this direction that the inclusion of all parties -- those directly involved and those who live under the conditions of both protracted conflict and its piecemeal settlements -- may have to transform both the process of managing conflict and the contributing factor of the conflict itself. Thus, social movements guide a building

approach in seeking many pathways of transformation to restrict destructive aspects in the management of conflict.

Doubts and Challenges

International and environmental disputes, as noted above, have similar characteristics to other disputes, however it is in their uniqueness that makes conflict resolution more of an intricate process. Thus, as a conflict becomes more complex, so too does the means of resolution and development of options. With these factors in mind, there are several doubts and challenges that come to the fore when rethinking international disputes and its mediation practice.

First, the organizational scale seems incomprehensible. The mass of human effort combined with the will necessary to de-escalate conflict from its crises prevents notions of transformation from seeping all the way down to each and every person. The more complex and intricate an agreement is, the more difficult the attempts to implement it (Wall and Lynn, 1993:177). Similarly, the more intricate a conflict is, the more difficult the resolution (Wall and Lynn, 1993:174). Since international settlements tend to be incremental and narrow in scope (Levinger and Rubin, 1994:211), what can be expected to change? How broad must decisions range before reconciliation or restoration takes effect on a broad scale? How many small disputes need to be mediated over time and on similar issues before a change of state behavior takes effect on larger structures? The political nature in fostering transformation remains unclear. Although constraints are put into place to make things workable and feasible, negotiation (whether assisted or not) ought to be considered an ongoing and multi-leveled process, rather than being restricted to single issues or one-time scenarios.

Second, pragmatic measures cannot mean just anything if a building approach presupposes the withdrawal of violence as a tool of persuasion. Thus, third party neutrals cannot be accepting of violence, exploitation, and oppression as the means to bring parties

together or move them towards agreement. The possibility of peace-making and reducing violence is almost non-existent if international mediation swerves from a pacifist protocol. Curle (1971), Gandhi (1986), and Lederach (1995) suggest ways in which one can reframe the conflict in terms of how it touches each and every person. For example, Curle suggests that mediators put on a human face, that they respect everyone as a means to confront and make known that destructive behaviors are inappropriate and futile (Curle, 1971:197-208). Hopefully when people are confronted by the effects of oppressive and exploitative behavior it will make them aware of how their involvement effects their circumstances. Pragmatic measures work to the extent that pacifist means ensure peaceful existence.

Third, if international mediation is kept within strict procedural guidelines and protocols, thus creating a closed model, what are the means available to elicit productive talk, negotiation, and agreement? Mediation in the form of democratic style decision making and public policy development ensures that discussion and creation of options are kept from being framed solely by elite groups of specialists and androcentric power-brokers. Also, if dispute resolution models recognize the natural ability of women and children to resolve disputes and problems, such models can become more open not only to procedural flexibility, but also they become sensitive to existing resolution techniques at all levels (Large, 1995). How is a flexible discourse going to shape a transformative style agreement? Tensions occur between a process that is too closed and one that is too dynamic. Procedural guidelines and protocols need not be fixed entirely but used as a framework to guide and refer. Such factors can be considerate of a process that combines means and ends as well as an approach consistent in its sensitivity to context and the relational aspects of all involved.

Last, transformation is influenced by two sets of factors: a power-over and a power-with scenario. Menkel-Meadow proposes that after clearly stated conditions and goals, change is possible if mediators, "remain sensitive to the social and political

situations and institutions in which we do our work" (Menkel-Meadow, p239). In other words, the transformative aspects of mediation lie within the process design, that it remain dynamic enough to ensure open communication while promoting the values of equity, respect, and awareness. The power Menkel-Meadow refers to may not be the mediator's influence to bring closure, rather the power mediators have is their ability to enable parties to collaborate rather than compete. The type of power that influences parties moving from their adversarial positions towards some form of common ground seems more intune with feminist conceptions of power that encourages rather than coerces. Thus, a building approach ensures an active awareness of how the parties are going to implement their agreement and that there be a greater sensitivity given to what and how people communicate: the words people use, their arguments and their body language.

Yet, in becoming sensitive to social and political situations and institutions, is there an expectation of mediators to change those situations and institutions or be respectful of them? Listening and observation become key factors to facilitated negotiations. The process of mediation -- its assisted dialogue -- raises awareness on one's self and of social and political relationships. Awareness of oppression and its destructive effects on both the oppressed and the oppressor are important to the healing and restorative work that mediation seeks to bring about (Jain, 1991; Large, 1995; Lederach, 1995). The culture of dominance keeps both its perpetrator and its victim in the same position of one who is superior and one who is inferior, respectively (Gadlin, 1994). So, the responsibility of realization rests not only upon the shoulders of mediators, but also upon the shoulders of conflicting parties. However, it is still up to the parties involved to work their way out of a dominant and controlling environment. Mediators are ultimately left to bring parties together to facilitate a building approach of restoration and reconstruction from the damage caused by competing and warring behavior.

Using the Building Approach in Analyzing Responses to Environmental Problems

As indicated in the introduction concerted effort among individual people representing interest groups, IJC, and governments have proceeded to solve the intricate problem of pollution in the Great Lakes basin. However, despite these efforts the Great Lakes basin remains polluted and with few signs of an unmanipulated ecology. An account of how this problem is identified, articulated, and resolved reflects an understanding of feminist and conflict resolution theories as outlined previously. As well, the theoretical notion of transformative resolution -- that is the facilitated exposure and discussion of underlying factors that contribute to persistent disputes dealt within a holistic understanding -- is consistent with applying this theoretical understanding to ascertain the transformation of polluted waters, lands, and airways to a cleaner and healthier condition.

This model is a framework to analyze the resolution processes directed by the IJC to determine two things: Firstly, to assess if the IJC resolution efforts are transformative in nature. Secondly, to identify the elements that need to be added or modified so that the IJC's problem-solving processes can become more transformative. In this way, applying the building approach to their resolution processes may facilitate a greater degree of success to restore the ecology, prevent further destruction, as well as develop ways to problem-solve without resorting to further ecological destruction.

As the process becomes modified to strengthen restoration and prevention, a greater understanding of the ecology and its reactions occurs. While understanding and expertise becomes more complex and sophisticated, there is a belief that these attributes can be transferred into modifying thoughts and behaviors generally. Such learning and teaching continues to foster, yet a building approach to dispute resolution also fosters the development of current ways, as well as blending in new ways to live and work in a non-destructive capacity. Hence, decision-making or problem solving processes are posited inside a framework of restoration, prevention, and ecologically sensitive development.

These efforts of restoration, prevention, and development together orient the resolution process. Prevention deals with problems before they escalate and persist as conflicts (or crises). Restoration seeks to heal the damages, and to return harmony and balance to the ecology cycle. Development consists of ways to learn, teach, and encourage a dynamic and diverse civilization viable within the ecological system. Therefore, it is not enough just to prevent escalation of problems, or to just restore health, or to only develop a sustainable society, but rather all three actions must be present and work in concert with one another. Also, the focus of these efforts is geared to changing the dynamics of oppression and exploitation towards a more respectful and egalitarian approach towards nature and human relationships. A building approach to dispute resolution processes incorporates these notions of transformation.

As a case study, the Great Lakes clean-up is analyzed using this framework of dispute resolution theory, generally, and a transformative vis-à-vis a building approach, specifically. This case is analyzed in the following manner: Firstly, to look for apparent changes in direction towards a non-destructive and restorative practice. Then, to identify these changes in terms of what specifically brought about this change; the historical and popular influences that brought forth these changes; and to note if there were any after effects that illustrate a general change of awareness and practice. The scope of this involvement is within IJC's reference directives and binational GLWQA precedents of 1972 and 1978. The materials analyzed are primarily reports published during the 1970s by the IJC and its other advisory entities, including the GLWQA of 1972 and 1978. Other materials include scholarly accounts of the history of the IJC and the environmental problems in the Great Lakes region.

Secondly, using these apparent changes as a backdrop to analyze the resolution process in terms of problem identification, exploration of options, and solutions generated. The process of dispute resolution, that is the three primary stages of identification, exploration, and generation overlap each other and involve the efforts of many people who

represent various parties interested in the health, abundance, and beauty of the Great Lakes region. Thus, as problems and issues are identified, they are also explored to uncover various options in which to proceed in order to generate or reach a variety of solutions that attempt to restore the Great Lake's basin to its original condition.

Thirdly, within the context of this resolution process, an analysis of the participation and power employed to bring about a restoration of the Great Lakes ecology. Such an analysis attempts to determine: 1) if these changes occurred at times when participation was opened to include parties other than the IJC and its subsidiary board members; 2) if changes can be attributed to enabling and partnering powers; and 3) how to refine the process towards transformative attributes.

Lastly, bringing the above three stages together to determine who decides what, when, and how in terms of a criteria based on a holistic building approach. Therefore, this analysis identifies if conflicts are reframed so that people can discuss and deal with their own and collective underlying interests, needs, and motivations. Also noted are the attempts made to move away from stated positions illustrated as standardized methods and pre-judged solutions, and if these attempts use non-violent power conceived as enabling (power-to) and partnering (power-with). This analysis also identifies whether there has been a fostering of inclusive representation that enables collaborative understandings, responsibilities, and efforts in a manner that is respectful and honest towards all life forms present and absent from the "table." Within this discourse, questions arise as to whether the parties imbue respect of other people and their ideas and to encourage agreements that lend themselves towards healing of damages (emotional, physical, and ecological); the disengagement of harmful practices; and the careful provision of sustainable and renewable needs. This approach to problem-solving can be summarized into four components that link progressively: moving from positions to interests; enabling and partnering powers; non-violent collaborative efforts; and the scope of discovery.

IV. THE GREAT LAKES CLEAN-UP, c1970s

A. COLLABORATION, MEDIATION, AND CRISES

How the International Joint Commission (IJC) dealt with environmental problems is the subject of this chapter rather than its organization and mandate. While the Boundary Waters Treaty and the Great Lakes Water Quality Agreement (GLWQA) shaped the IJC's capacity to deal with binational disputes, these agreements have not fully explained how the IJC proceeded towards resolution of pollution in which its policy recommendations eventually were stated in these treaties. Given the range of cases brought before it -- the IJC has not only developed into a body that researches and assesses these cases, but also it monitors and manages various government programmes created in accordance to its own assessments and advice. Despite the IJC's progressive and active attempts to resolve environmental and ecological issues, questions concerning the factors that influence and develop the IJC's understanding and perspective remain unanswered. The intention of this chapter is to uncover and suggest what these influencing factors might be.

What follows is a study of how the IJC through its subsidiary boards attempted to resolve ecological disputes concerning Great Lakes regional pollution during the 1970s. First presented are the pollution and clean-up stories beginning with the significance of the 1972 and 1978 GLWQAs, then how the IJC operates, and last a brief history of the ecological crises. These stories are presented separately; however, they each help to form the context of how binational ecological disputes are resolved: formal agreements and cooperation facilitated by a legitimate mediating body, and based on the facts and understanding of the crisis, conflict, or dispute under review. Second is an account of three apparent changes that occurred during the 1970s. These changes paralleled ecological crises (rapid degeneration, micro-toxins, and ineffective practice) which directed how the clean-up efforts were conducted. Third these changes are analyzed in the context of dispute resolution processes in terms of (1) parties, (2) identifying positions

and issues, (3) exploring interests and options, and (4) generating solutions. Participation is analyzed at points along these resolution stages to determine whether exclusion or inclusion of parties enhances the movement towards effective restoration efforts. Along these lines, the kinds of political power used to stop polluting behavior also are assessed. The following review considers how the IJC's recommendations changed to suit growing awareness of the pollution problem and to bring about its clean-up amongst polluters and consumers.

Binational Cooperation -- Great Lakes Water Quality Agreements, 1972 and 1978

On April 15, 1972 American President Richard Nixon and Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau signed the Great Lakes Water Quality Agreement (GLWQA, 1972:13). This agreement sought the regulation of sewage and water treatment facilities and the prohibition of chemicals in products and refuse. It provided joint goals for clean-up and protection of the Great Lakes, thus giving a renewed focus on the damaging effects of pollution and a framework for cooperative binational research and abatement initiatives. The IJC⁶ was given political weight so that it might better serve its additional responsibilities in administering the GLWQA, its programmes and scientific assessments (Ashworth, 1986:1-4; GLWQA, articles II-V). Also included was a provision to revise the agreement in five years so that adjustments could be made to reflect changes resulting from these clean-up initiatives (Weller, 1990:122). The GLWQA signified a renewal of binational cooperation where both parties recognized that their shared efforts were needed to restore the quality of the Great Lakes waters.

This agreement generated a plethora of municipal, state, and provincial legislation all of which was aimed at reducing pollution, generally, and stopping algae growth, specifically. Each piece of legislation sought to improve and unify a diverse range of

⁶The commission was formed as a result of Boundary Waters Treaty of 1909 signed by American and Canadian national governments to resolve questions that affect transboundary rivers and lakes situated between Atlantic and Pacific coasts. (Burpee, 1925; and MacKay, c1930).

municipal sewage and water treatment plants, prohibit open dumping from industrial and municipal sources, and reduce the amount of "organic nutrients" released into the waters. (Ashworth, 1986:1-4). For instance, the American government created the US Clean Water Act, 1972, which brought forth amendments to the Federal Water Pollution Control Act, 1956. It introduced nation-wide water quality guidelines to which effluent standards must adhere. Penalties were initiated for polluters who continued to use and release prohibited organic substances. Federal grants and other monetary subsidies were made available to municipalities to either upgrade their existing treatment plants or to build these facilities (Ashworth, 1986:1-4). On the other side of the boundary, the Canada Water Act, 1972 provided many of the same changes and standards, but it included a legislated reduction of detergent phosphates to 5% by weight (Ashworth, 1986:p1-4). Both national governments founded agencies and departments specifically required to administer these laws and programmes, as well as instituting their own monitoring of pollution and water quality issues.

The 1972 GLWQA signaled the cumulation of efforts among concerned citizens and the IJC. The IJC's involvement was not directly initiated by civic and environmental activists, rather it began as a U.S. State Department's response to pressure from Governor of Ohio, Anthony J. Celebrezze's request to study the issues. Celebrezze acted on behalf of concerns raised by locally produced scientific assessments of water quality and pollution of Lake Erie (Ashworth, 1986:136). The State Department's and the Canadian External Affairs' 1964 reference to the IJC included Lake Ontario and the international waters of the St. Lawrence River with that of Lake Erie (Weller, 1990:86). This broader scope signified that algae growth was potentially disastrous to the entire Great Lakes' region since it was beginning to show up in waters other than in Lake Erie.

In response, the IJC began its research by conducting its own set of public hearings, backed by university assisted scientific studies. Incorporated into this research programme were the many studies, completed or underway, conducted by scientists who

were among the first to raise concerns about algae growth and water quality. In 1970, the IJC published a report that summarized the issues in response to the algae and eutrophication problems as dictated by the 1964 reference. This report also outlined the IJC's recommendations on how both national governments ought to proceed. While this report dealt specifically with pollution which caused the algae bloom and the ways in which to prevent -- or lessen -- such a reaction, the IJC reported that such considerations were consistent to its earlier studies and recommendations which Canada and the US had not adequately acted upon (Ashworth, 137-142; IJC, 1970:2-5; Weller, 1990:61-89). This report stated: "[the] adverse effects on the environment and on the 18 million people who live on or near the shorelines, will become more critical unless there is vigorous and concerted implementation of imperative remedial measures" (IJC, 1970:67 and Weller, 1990:89). Two years later the GLWQA was signed into action specifically to deal with these problems and to reaffirm the IJC's role in mediating these issues among governmental bodies.

Shortly after 1972, given the political impetus of the GLWQA to clean up the pollutants in the Great Lakes and through the efforts of IJC, researchers discovered a new facet of pollution: toxins. These synthetic chemicals have an enormous detrimental effect at every level and cycle in the ecological system. Their presence is so dangerous that even when microscopic amounts are detected in soil and water samples these toxins are considered to be extremely dangerous (Ashworth, 1986:162). While these toxins are dangerous in the smallest detectable amounts, they are also very durable to break-down and dilution; therefore, these substances last for a long time which presents a problem for their storage and disposal. The discovery of the detrimental effects of these microscopic toxins displaced an earlier belief that the Great Lakes could absorb anything that was dumped into it (Ashworth, 1986:143).

The complexity of the pollution problem was further illustrated when scientists began to differentiate between wastes dumped directly into waters, land-fills, or open pits

(source points) and toxins and other risky substances eventually showing up in water, soil, and air without being directly put there (non-point sources). On one hand the GLWQA 1972 provided for the research which brought about a greater awareness and understanding of the ecological destruction resulting from unlimited industrial growth and waste. On the other hand IJC officials and researchers were unable to do much in the way of designing or implementing clean-up efforts specifically for toxic wastes because the GLWQA 1972 did not address toxic pollutants. Those working on the micro-toxin crisis anticipated the 1978 revision deadline so that they could begin implementing prescriptive measures which reflected this new awareness of pollution.

In 1978, the GLWQA was amended to reflect the wider complexity of the pollution problem. The changes were significant in that they added both toxins and non-point sources to established pollution controls and waste management initiatives. Time limits were set to make monitoring and controlling initiatives more effective. Scientists from both countries agreed on recommendations to eliminate persistent toxins which increased pressure to prevent industrial dumping and discharges. Lake Michigan, the only lake not shared by the two countries, was included under this amended agreement. However, the IJC's emphasis was shifted from nutrient over-enrichment to toxins as these substances were the most dangerous to the Great Lakes' basin population. This shift represented a change from controlling against pollution to managing the output of toxic wastes.

As a result of the amended agreement the IJC reformed its Great Lakes Science Advisory Board (GLSAB) and Great Lakes Water Quality Board (GLWQB) and added a group that considered pollution from land-usage, Pollution from Land-use and Activities Reference Group (PLUARG). Once these changes were complete, IJC officials regarded the Great Lakes basin as an ecological system rather than a vast resource and a waste depository to be exploited (Cooper and Millyard, 1986:12). This shift meant that the natural environment was to be seen as a delicate and interconnected system which reacted

in various ways and time periods to substances put into it. The IJC recommendations reflected this notion in terms that all waste products (organic and artificial) are eventually dangerous to the natural life cycles of water, land, and air. Once the natural environment was damaged it would eventually impact negatively on peoples' health and livelihood; therefore, pollution became understood as a waste management problem with potential detrimental effects on the social-economic arrangements in the region. The most significant political response to this new understanding was managing the outpouring of industrial wastes and byproducts. This shift opened the doors to research and monitoring programmes that considered the effects of pollution on agricultural crop and food production as well as human physiology.

Another significant change was in the planning of remedial and long-term clean-up programmes, specifically for micro-toxins. IJC recommended that there be legislated bans on the use, sale, and disposal of approximately 25 specific toxic compounds found to be bioaccumulative, carcinogenic, or mutogenic (Ashworth, 1986:163). The "zero discharge" goals of the 1978 agreement "reflected, on paper, the abandonment of old philosophies for managing chemicals" (Weller, 1990:178). Noting limited financial and human resources, the zero discharge goals were limited to remedial rather than long-term clean-up efforts. In 1985, the IJC used the revised GLWQA to create remedial action plans (RAPs) that pinpointed approximately 48 sites along the rivers and lakeshores of the basin. The IJC diagnosed these sites as the worst sources of contamination and the highest health risks to the basin's ecology; therefore, in accordance with RAPs, these sites required immediate attention. Although the focus is on the worst sites of contamination, the mandate of RAPs is for a complete removal of toxins and the prevention of future contamination. Once these sites are cleaned of toxic substances, the IJC can return to its long-term clean-up efforts. Since the storage and disposal methods were not reviewed, this challenged the success of clean-up efforts both in RAPs and in long-term forecasting.

The GLWQA emphasized and renewed the general objectives of Canada and the US to clean up the Great Lakes region of persistent pollutants as well as maintaining "friendship and cooperation" between these countries (GLWQA, 1972:preamble). Both 1972 and 1978 GLWQAs strengthened the IJC as the major institutional vehicle in which to play out these objectives. The commission's mandate was broadened to oversee all research efforts that dealt with both identified and potential environmental threats in the Great Lakes region. The IJC (through the 1972 and 1978 GLWQAs) became the primary binational organization in which transboundary environmental disputes were researched, assessed, managed, and perhaps resolved.

International Joint Commission

As a quasi-judicial body the IJC has two primary roles: one as an adjudicator and the other as an advisor. The 1909 Boundary Waters Treaty gave the IJC the ability to decide and investigate specific transboundary questions. The IJC's mandate is to:

prevent disputes regarding the use of boundary waters, and to settle all questions which are ... between the United States and the Dominion of Canada involving the rights, obligations, or interests of either in relation to the other or to the inhabitants of the other, along their common frontier, and to make provision for the adjustment and settlement of all such questions as may hereafter arise (Burpee, 1925:63).

The commission can make decisions regarding issues that deal with navigational, recreational, commercial, and industrial uses of the transboundary waters between Atlantic and Pacific coastlines. As an adjudicating and advising body, its scope of interests have been broadened during its existence so that it may attend to emerging issues concerning the vibrancy of the region it oversees. The interests under review in this paper are public concern about water quality and the relationship between ecological degradation and industrial development.

The IJC's role as adjudicator and advisor suggests that it judges and assesses various claims referred to it concerning binational ecological interests. That its judgment expressed through recommendations to Canada and the US illustrates its dual role however this does little to express the extent of the procedures undertaken to "settle all questions." In the strictest sense, adjudicator bodies hear claims regarding specific cases in which to decide upon a course of action suitable to all parties involved. While this role assumes the posture of an authoritative body capable of acting and speaking on the behalf of all concerned, it does not adequately describe the extent to which the IJC settles ecological questions. The commission's capacity lies not in the final decision-making and implementation, rather the IJC's capacity lies in the process of discovery and consultation. The notion of mediation as described in the previous chapters assists in analyzing the IJC's capacity to "prevent" and "settle" ecological "questions." The IJC's quasi-judicial role is placed in the context of mediating claims presented by state actors, private investors, and local citizens.

The IJC's advice are set in terms of assessments and judgments on specific questions or cases. These cases are either referred or applied to the commission. Governments from both countries may either make an application for judgment on building structures that would divert or modify the natural flow of waters (Bloomfield and Fitzgerald, 1958:21), or they may seek a reference for advice on specific matters that concern real and potential risks to the natural environment of transboundary waters (Bloomfield and Fitzgerald, 1958:38). Private corporations can make applications to build facilities where these projects may result in large-scale changes in the landscape and ecological setting (Bloomfield and Fitzgerald, 1958:36). Hence, the IJC acts as a judge and advisor for two nation-states' pertaining to their shared geographical regions (IJC, 1975: 2-3). National governments may use the IJC's advice and judgment to form its policy or legislation, but they are not compelled by the Boundary Waters Treaty (1909) to do so. State and provincial governments responded to the IJC's recommendations either

voluntarily or through negotiations with their respective national governments. Therefore, while the IJC's recommendations are not binding in the formal legal sense, they might be binding in terms of requests for policy guidance.

The IJC's institutional arrangements extends beyond its six commissioners, which consists of three persons appointed by Canada and the US foreign affairs and state departments respectively. This six-member commission oversees the activities of ten other research and task force groups (IJC, 1995:130). The six commissioners are responsible for reporting and advising Canada and the US governments as mandated by treaty. The members of subsidiary groups are responsible for the researching, advising and monitoring specified by applications and references. These advisory boards and workgroups report either directly to the commission or the IJC's Great Lakes Science Advisory Board (GLSAB).

These boards are formed to deal with general or specific mandates as directed by the six IJC members upon receiving applications or references. The specific reference boards, of whose activities are under review in this paper, are the Great Lakes Science Advisory Board (GLSAB) and the Great Lakes Water Quality Board (GLWQB). The GLSAB considers and guides the methodological approaches of each of the research programmes the IJC undertakes. It has three sub-groups that report directly to it on issues regarding ecosystem health, parties implementation, and emerging issues. The GLWQB was formed to assess water quality standards and administer the directives stated within the 1972 and 1978 GLWQAs. Also, a former subgroup of the GLWQB is included in this review. The Pollution from the Land Use Activities Reference Group (PLUARG) assessed the range of land uses in and around the Great Lakes basin in order to determine how these uses altered the natural environment. The IJC and its various advisory entities will be referred to as one group unless specifically noted.

To conduct its work (in the past and present), the IJC interacts among each of the political jurisdictions encompassing eight states (Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Minnesota,

New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin), one province (Ontario), and two nations (Canada and the US). The IJC also deals with groups of research scientists, concerned citizens, rate-payer groups, environmental and ecological interest groups, and industrial and corporate associations. Of significance is that the IJC as a whole interacts amongst these groups when concerns about pollution become contentious public issues.

Although the IJC became involved in numerous cases since the GLWQA expanded its powers, the commission is still limited to acting upon cases it receives rather than acquiring cases on its own initiatives or recommendations. It may, however, apply to Canada and the US federal governments for support to continue and expand projects it has already undertaken (Ashworth, 1986:142). The IJC cannot initiate research projects without there first being an application or reference from either public or private sectors. In this sense, there is tension between the unlimited scope of issues the IJC becomes involved with and the limited capacity of the IJC to direct its own case involvement pertaining directly to these issues.

Occasionally the IJC heard from various non-governmental groups (NGOs) voicing their interests regarding questions of water quality, pollution, and ecological damage. In doing so the IJC included parties in its resolution of these questions. While on one hand the IJC adjudicated these questions by having the final say in its recommendations, on the other hand it mediated by involving a range of parties in the identification and exploration stage of these questions. It is therefore useful to consider how the IJC mediated events occurring shortly before and during the 1970s to ascertain the transformative impact of restorative and preventative efforts in the Great Lakes region.

The IJC's dispute resolution story is told within the growing concerns over water quality and environmental damage. It is within this context that the environment was deemed as a potential risk or threat to human health and livelihood. Framed as a crisis, each new concern touched upon its preceding crisis which illustrated the enormity and complexity of the issues. While nature first experienced the brunt of these abuses, much

of the concern focused on the damage as experienced by local citizens. A brief summary of these crises follows to describe the extent of the ecological damage.

Environmental Assessments

Crisis I: typhoid epidemic

This first crisis signaled pollution as a concern in the Great Lakes waters. The typhoid epidemic occurred during the beginning of this century and touched almost every city and town along Lakes Ontario, Erie, and Michigan. Concern about the epidemic and its death rate directed scientific research towards considering the quality of the water retrieved from the lakes. High levels of fecal bacteria and other organic substances were blamed for the water's impurity and less than perfect aesthetics. It was determined that dumping organic wastes directly into the lakes and rivers were the cause, or rather the creation, of pollution in the Great Lakes basin. These wastes consisted primarily of fecal matter and by-products from lumber and tannery industries. While organic waste was deemed the culprit of impure water, prescriptive measures focused on cleaning water taken from the lakes and rivers rather than filtering the wastes before returning the 'used' water to its original source.

The reduction of deaths from typhoid can be attributed directly to the IJC's power to negotiate settlements through its intervention in locating the cause of pollution and introducing sewage systems as a solution (Burpee, p5-6, 1925). However, when the quality of water decreased in some areas, municipal works extended their water intake pipes further out into the lakes. Some municipalities chlorinated the water before it was consumed and dumped back into the lakes. Therefore, the IJC's intervention affected only local change in laws, regulations, and waste disposal systems. Its settlement of the issue did not reflect standards that could cover the overall geographical scope of its own investigation. (Cooper and Millyard 1986, Ashworth 1986, Weller, 1990)

These activities did not change the dual relationship of consuming lake water and using the lakes as dumping facilities. Water quality focused only on human consumption, that is a minimum standard of quality set to judge the suitability for drinking and cooking, rather than standards which could also maintain the natural environment and habitat for all animal species. IJC recommendations had not touched on changes that could decrease the total quantity of waste, nor had it considered limiting the growth of settlement and industry. Quality of water, therefore, consisted of standards for human usage, tested and determined locally, thus clean waters were outside a notion of holistic water quality reflective of total water quantity maintained for the ecology.

Crisis II: extinction of indigenous fish

Beginning in the mid-thirties, the depletion of fish stocks became a crisis that threatened the viability of both commercial enterprises and a regional food supply. Seen in terms of its adverse effect on fishing indicated that this crisis became a concern once fishers (commercial, family, and native groups) complained about the possible end of their livelihoods and way of life. Therefore fish extinction was first recognized and dealt with only in economic terms: manage 'fishing' through issuing licences, breeding of 'stock', and transferring commercial enterprises from providing employment to selling recreation and sport. The economic implications of depleting fish stock brought about the attention of IJC research and its judgment once again. (Ashworth, 1986 and Weller, 1990)

Despite the IJC's research and discovery of the causes of fish depletion it was unable to negotiate any formal agreements between Canada and the US regarding pollution abatement and fishing controls. In lieu of this, it set about a plan of action that would broaden its research of pollution and damage controls in three directions: monitor changes in water quality and natural chemistry, develop voluntary pollution abatement, and institute wildlife management techniques. In realizing that the Great Lakes region was under the jurisdiction of eleven different governments, and that this contributed to the

hodgepodge organization and lack of success with pollution controls, the IJC designed these research directions accordingly.

During the forties and fifties other causes of fish depletion were examined further. The loss of species diversity and fish quantity signified a problem more substantial than originally assessed. Other contributing factors included continued ignorance of water pollution (knowledge and policy implementation), artificial introduction of non-indigenous predatory fish (ships emptying their ballast water), and destroyed fish habitats (drained marshes and natural harbours for marinas, dams, and canals). Although understood as a complex problem having interconnected implications, policy guidelines continued to focus only on the quantity of fish stocks.

Fish management programmes did not distinguish between non-indigenous predator fish and indigenous species as 'stock' items. While fish farms bred replacement stocks and licensing policies controlled against over-fishing (not over-consumption), similar programmes controlled against the breeding of fish accidentally introduced into the Great Lakes' waters. The guiding factor was maintaining the quantity of catchable fish, rather than preserving the indigenous aspect of a diverse range of fish species and their habitats. The extinction of fish was 'solved' through managing the fishing business rather than relating the crisis to underlying factors that destroyed the viability of a natural habitat.

As a crisis, the depletion of fish stocks were due to a combination of causes and failures. Dumping of organic wastes continued the damage of natural habitats. Further damage was inflicted by recreation and commercial water traffic, accidental introduction of predatory fish, and general over-fishing contributed to the loss of abundant and reproductive fish in the Great Lakes' waters. These causes are not only related to each other, but also they related to past inability to offset damaging practices. These political stalemates made an influence on ecological crises -- past, present and future.

Crisis III: rapid degeneration of the lakes' life cycle

The causal linkages of eutrophication, algae bloom, and oxygen depletion were traced to the general degeneration of Lake Erie's life cycle, specifically and the rest of the regional waters, generally. The common denominator was traced to industrial and urban waste. Eutrophication describes the scientific state of high levels of organic nutrients dissolved in water. Although these nutrients are natural components in lake water the increased amounts of phosphorus and nitrogen were traced to artificial sources traced to the manufacture and disposal of these nutrients. Algae, a lower plant life, blossomed directly because of the eutrophication process in Lakes Erie, Ontario and Michigan. However, as the algae continued to blossom, it depleted the oxygen supply which accelerated the degeneration of lake water and the life within it. The failure to adequately streamline water treatment and filtration systems was put forth as the underlying cause to the general degeneration of Great Lakes basin waters.

Since waste material was isolated as the base cause to the natural changes cited as eutrophication, algae bloom, and oxygen depletion. Public critiques of unabated pollution were directed towards governments to act to control and limit industrial waste. The revelation that eutrophication was caused by human interference and "much of it due to fecal waste, industrial effluent, and inappropriate disposal methods" (Ashworth, p127, 1986) led to public debates and meetings throughout the region. Public indignation over the closing of beaches and the stench from pollution, and their disgust over the persistent and unsightly "green paint" brought about a series of petitions to municipal, state, and provincial governments (Ashworth, 1986, Cooper and Millyard, 1986, and Weller 1990).

During the 1960s, these appeals prompted hearings, conferences, and public forum discussions bringing together citizens, scientists, government and industry officials to discuss the pollution problem and figure out how to solve it. It became apparent that the water treatment programmes recommended by the IJC were either not standardized and implemented completely or were not substantial enough to prevent this latest crisis.

Some people charged that: "a large measure of responsibility for the neglect of the lakes is due to the fact that there had been no ministry of government charged with the specific duty of guarding our most important natural resource" (Langford, p2-3, 1965).

George Langford, a Canadian scientist, suggested that the: "Rivers and Lakes have a wonderful capacity for self-cleansing... [however, t]hey can receive and destroy many kinds of polluting substances but there is a limit to the kind of quantity of materials they can handle. He then critiqued industrial development: "let anything happen that may interfere with our use of the Lakes and we are striking at the roots and foundations of our propriety." Further to these comments, Langford pointed to the IJC as having: "a record of achievement in settling contentious issues between our two countries which is unparalleled in the annals of international affairs (Langford, p2-3, 1965). He and others believed that the resolution of the pollution problem could be mitigated by a cooperative effort through IJC organization. The public outcry concerning the degeneration of lake life began the process of working to lessen the tide against pollution and bring about restoration of damaged natural environments.

Crisis IV: microscopic toxic chemicals

All micro-toxins are synthetic chemicals manufactured by industry for household, commercial, and industrial use. These chemicals are used as is or in conjunction with other materials and serve a wide range of purposes from agricultural pesticides to domestic cleaners and solvents to industrial coolants and lubricants (Ashworth 1986, Cooper and Millyard 1986, Weller, 1990). While industrial growth began with European settlement, industry per se did not grow into international firms rapidly developing and selling these compounds until well after WWI (Weller, p66, 1990). Nonetheless, it is in this growth of industrial and commercial development that turned the Great Lakes basin into the present day North American industrial heartland and garbage dump (Konasewich,

p64, 1979). These industries began discharging diverse and voluminous amounts of toxic substances in their home-land long before their reach became transnational and global.

These toxins can pass on their destructive effects to future generations of plants and animals because they damage or mutate key biological building blocks. The warning signs researchers point to are the obvious health problems and malformations found in birds, fish, reptiles, mammals, and plant life. Since these signs are identified chronologically in the food chain, and that larger amounts of toxins reside in fatty tissues of animals further along in the food chain, scientists implied a risk to humans' health and reproduction. Since it is more difficult to filter out these compounds than organic substances, and once in the water, soil, and air "contamination is likely to be there essentially forever" these micro-toxins posed catastrophic dangers well into the future (Ashworth, p164, 1986).

Toxins are produced in a number of ways such as through iron and other metal refineries which produce metal ions; production of synthetic chemicals; chemical mixing of organic and synthetics; and oxidization of gases (Konasewich, p65, 1979). Equally varied are the contamination sources. Depending on how toxins are created and used such sources include: sewage treatment plants; runoff from agricultural areas, urban developments, forests, and roadways (Konasewich, p65, 1979); industrial disposal methods like mine tailings, land fills, dumps, and drainage directly into waterways; and shipping discharges such as accidental sinkings, groundings, bilge cleaning and deck hosing (Ashworth, p179, 1986, and Weller, 1990). Contamination is as varied as their production.

Environment Canada researchers traced the existence of chemicals such as polychlorinated biphenyls (PCBs), chlorinated benzenes, mirex, and chlorotoluenes to a "progressive increase in contamination from about 1915, with the highest levels occurring in the late 1950s through the early 1970s" (Weller, p117, 1990). Mere detection of substances was not enough to stop these toxins finding their way into wildlife, sludge, and

plants or at beaches, harbours and shorelines. Nor can detection be traced easily back to a specific factory once toxins are found elsewhere in the environment, thus posing a complex problem which challenged the success of prohibition and abatement solutions.

Crisis V: approach and practice

During the 1970s and into the early 1980s a somewhat minor crisis occurred. Rather than being a crisis caused by pollution, it was a political and administrative crisis. Scientists and ecologists studying the pollution problem realized that pollution as defined was more than garbage and natural responses to these wastes, but that the core of the problem was man's making. Thus, not only did these "man-made poisons" harm nature, but also man's misuse of nature crept in to threaten man's industry, commerce, and physical life (Mortimer, p 11, 1979). The realization that the changes in the basin were not attributed only to nature per se, but linked directly to artificial modification of nature altered the dynamics of how pollution was treated politically and scientifically.

That "man" was responsible for his predicament and possible extinction suggested that the very solutions caused new harm or enhanced destruction. The crisis was the paradox of managing and controlling approaches in that as they helped restorative efforts they also facilitated the destructive efforts. The shift towards an ecosystem approach became a policy critique of 'management' and 'control of nature' as 'solutions' that could keep water, air, and soil 'clean.'

Once the ecosystem approach was applied to policy and research man was united with nature, and that this combination was a multi-dimensional system evolving over time and space. Significant about this crisis was that it marked a change in how pollution was conceived. It ended claims that changes in the natural environment could only be from natural evolution. Thus began the notion that only human intervention was responsible for the destruction and rapid change of the 'natural' environment.

Crisis VI: global reach

The most recent crisis deems pollution to be global in its size and self-defeating in its persistence. Although this is not referred to as a crisis per se, research indicates that pollution effects are world-wide and that ecological damage reaches beyond its geographical source. (Scientists have proven that the Great Lakes' pollution reaches far beyond its geographic area, and equally so, pollution from afar works its way into this area.) Scholars informed by the changes of the last ten years consider 'globalization' to be a significant trend that influences both social and political decisions. The question under consideration is whether humanity can adapt itself in order to survive its own behavior and the damage they are doing to the earth and atmosphere. Since the ecological damage is so acute, some scholars wonder about the durability of nature, yet these people also question whether political, economic, and scientific practices are adequate in their ability to reverse the present course. Therefore, globalization (as both a trend and an understanding of ecological behavior) frames a discussion about the sustainability and viability of life on earth.

While this crisis is about the global-size ecological degradation and abuses towards nature, it brings forth a challenge that current political efforts do not adequately protect the environment from those who abuse it -- both near and far away. Thus, while the global-wide industrial and commercial maltreatment of the eco-system is mediated through political structures, the resulting measures do not act to reverse the trend of destruction, but merely soften its impact. That political decisions impact adversely on ecological well-being may indeed be an emerging awareness. Yet, behind this awareness is a critique that these decisions do not yet reflect an eco-system understanding of nature, nor are the resulting programmes constructed to mirror the dynamics of an ecological approach.

These six crises indicate the growth of both ecological degradation and complexity of the issues. While awareness has yet to generate substantial change in public and private

behavior, these crises form the backdrop of how clean-up efforts were created and implemented. The following section outlines three apparent changes in direction regarding political responses to degradation: standardization and control, waste management, and eco-system approaches. All of these changes became apparent during the 1970s and all of these responses are still evident today.

B. APPARENT CHANGES IN DIRECTION

Standardization and Control

The first change in direction can be illustrated in terms of concerted binational efforts to unify standards of water quality and control against open dumping of wastes which resulted in the signing of the GLWQA in 1972. The unification of waste control systems attempted to achieve cleaner water, thus improve the quality of water for personal and industrial consumption. While the scope of the 1972 GLWQA was limited to dumping of waste matter into the Great Lakes' basin waters, the agreement directed efforts in three areas: The first was both federal governments' financial support for the upgrade and building of municipal water and sewage treatment plants. The second was binational directives to the IJC to allow the commission to continue its research programmes to develop water quality standards and facilitate the practical application of these standards in the Great Lakes region. The third was enactment of state, provincial and federal laws to limit the amount of phosphorous and other organic nutrient substances from being dumped directly into the basin waters. The significance of GLWQA, 1972 was that it focused attention not only on municipal responsibility for dumping waste into the waters, but also it focused attention -- for the first time -- on the responsibility of industrial companies for contributing to the pollution problem (GLWQA, 1972:articles II-V).

The other significant factor of the GLWQA, 1972 was in the understanding of pollution as it affected the natural environment. The initial concern was the overwhelming bloom of algae, a lower aquatic plant, in and around the lower Great Lakes

region. This "green paint," as Dr. Clarence Taft of Ohio State University called algae growth, was covering the water surfaces of bays and inlets all over Lake Erie and in parts of Lakes Ontario and Michigan (Ashworth, 1986:123). Biologists, limnologists (lake scientists) and chemists set about to discover why algae became so abundant and why Lake Erie had a greater coating of "green paint" than the other lakes. Scientific discussions and debates centred around changes in lake water as exhibiting either a natural phenomena of lake development or a natural response to the continued and unaltered dumping of organic wastes by municipalities and industries.

Although Taft first noticed and documented algae as being disastrous to the ecology during the 1930s (Ashworth, 1986:123), it was not until a series of beach closings in the 1940s and 1950s that scientists began to notify government authorities on the connections among algae growth, oxygen depletion, and pollution. (Ashworth, 1986:123) Dr. Alfred M. Beeton's 1961 report to the US Bureau of Commercial Fisheries discusses the connection between algal floral growth and organic nutrients found in industrial and human waste. He concluded that the "wholesale ecological deterioration" of Lake Erie came about because the lake was well nourished in nutrient substances (eutrophic state), yet this nourishment condition also severely depletes the water of oxygen (Ashworth, 1986:125). Algae converts energy from sunlight and other minerals in the water into more complex organic substances (Stoermer, 1979:14). In order to do this it needs a nutrient agent, like phosphorous. Scientists came to the understanding that although too much algae depleted oxygen and threatened the more complex aquatic plants and animals, algae growth itself resulted from the artificial addition of nutrient substances.

The source of nutrients was the industrial manufacture of phosphorous and nitrogen. These substances are ingredients of detergents and fertilizers and are also used by industry to refine sugar, assist in silk production and to make match heads (Ashworth, 1986:135). Therefore, these nutrients were introduced in the lakes as primarily industrial (but also agricultural and household) wastes and byproducts. Yet, the increase of

nutrients in the waters was also believed to be the either uneven or non-existent standards and practices of municipal sewage and water treatment facilities which household, agricultural, and industrial wastes eventually fed into before entering the Great Lakes waters (Ashworth, 1986; and IJC, 1970).

Since scientists generally dismissed the notion that the algae growth was part of a natural aging process of lakes in and of itself without outside or artificial interference, scientists still looked at the algae growth as a potential danger within the lake's natural function and life. Scientists identified several other factors that also contributes to the growth of algae. Algae is also a fundamental biological component in which animals, like fish, feed on. Factors such as high water levels, warmer water temperatures, and water turbidity also contribute to its rate of growth (Stuckey, 1979:31).

Scientific reports conclude that eutrophication is a significant and necessary factor in algal floral growth, but that this growth rate becomes an additional concern because it depletes the amount of oxygen in the waters which affects the life of more complex plants and animals. More importantly the reduced supply of oxygen would suffocate the already depleted supply of fish and make corrective and resource management efforts more difficult to administer (Ashworth, 1986, IJC, 1970; and Weller, 1990). The reduction of fish life, although not a direct cause, was a factor only in terms that fewer fish would not be around to eat these plants. These changes in temperature, water levels, clarity, and reduced animal life were all attributed to industrial and recreational activities located either directly on the lakes, bays, and harbours or indirectly in areas such as rivers and lands farther away from the Great Lakes (Stuckey, 1979:31). As concerned scientists and naturalists began to make the connection between fish depletion and the lack of organized pollution prevention, they became aware that algae growth appears to be a component in a vicious cycle of natural responses to human intervention and consumption of the natural environment. Therefore, scientists began to attribute algae growth to humans' general over-use of and modifications to the natural resources.

Waste Management

The second change in direction can be illustrated in terms of the efforts to manage the disposal of general waste materials and to control the industrial practice of storing and removing of toxic wastes. Waste management became the means to control against the ever-increasing complexity of the pollution problem as reflected in the 1978 GLWQA amendments. Despite initial improvements, attributed partly to the initiatives stated in the 1972 agreement (Weller, 1990:124), by about 1975 there was a marked reversal of this trend. This may be due in part as Weller suggests that: "industries tended to view pollution control as a threat to their profits and resisted spending the necessary money for environmental improvements" (Weller, 1990:124). The discovery of the ill-effects of micro-toxins brought about by the newly focused attention to pollution as well as an overall rise of the Great Lakes' water levels are also contributing factors (Ashworth, 1986:148). The failure to restore the Great Lakes' water quality brought about a change of emphasis in dealing with polluters.

While scientific procedures became more sophisticated, allowing for testing measures to be more sensitive to detecting minute traces, their scope was too narrow to determine precisely the water's pollutant-free purity. To test pollution levels was to test for bacteria, yet many industrial wastes destroy coliform bacteria (Ashworth, 1986:161). Since sewage treatment plants rely on other bacteria to render human waste harmless, assessment of water purity based on bacterial levels seemed inadequate. The attempt to form basic standards of water quality was hampered by the sophisticated sensitivity of state-of-the-art detection and understanding that natural fresh-water lakes and clean drinking water have different standards of ecological vibrancy.

IJC's recommendations on new research directions in the 1978 GLWQA suggested that both governments and their agencies direct attention to the dynamics of pollutants as they affected the natural environment. Testing for micro-toxins showed that water sampled at certain levels of depth or at regions in a river and lake may test 'healthy' but

that there could still be dangerous substances located elsewhere in these waters or in their silty bottoms (Ashworth, 1986:161). It also became apparent that the detection of pollutants was geared towards looking specifically for known substances rather than testing generally for harmful substances. Sample testing did not provide much information about the relationship between pollutants and a particular use of either artificial chemicals or surrounding land as being harmful to the overall condition of Great Lakes region. However, such measures only controlled against known practices that really had been going on unabated for decades. Pollution as an activity has a long and detailed history; however, pollution as a subject of ecological damage was only recently acknowledged.

It is true that the problems of pollution can be traced directly to poor waste disposal and lack of treatment of waters being returned to the lakes and rivers. However, this short-sighted and superficial understanding defines pollution as a problem in terms of garbage disposal. This is particularly evident when one considers that pollution issues cannot address artificial management of wildlife. Nor can these issues begin to touch upon the problematic attitudes evident in terms such as 'over-consumption' and 'natural resource.' Urbanization, which is the human settlement component of development, is blamed continually for the ecological problems in the Great Lakes basin. Industry and commerce, the other part of the development equation, would also be considered equally for harming the environment once the problem of pollution was understood in terms of the manufacture of these toxic substances rather than only a problem of waste disposal.

Yet, the fact that industry pollutes was not a new discovery. Reports by the IJC since 1918 discussed industry's contribution. However, something was still missing in the understanding and political action of the 'pollution problem.' Weller suggests that the "failure to recognize the inextricable interconnections of land, water, air and -- people -- would prove to be persistent during the subsequent years of governmental efforts to control environmental problems in the Great Lakes region" (Weller, 1990:95). He also suggests that control efforts are not enough considering the persistence of toxins and that

source points of pollutants "were not the only cases of toxic chemicals entering the lakes" (Weller, 1990:95). What Weller and other people suggest is that we begin to look at the origins of pollutants, not just their detected source points.

The "list of laws developed during this period (1969-1972) was impressive, but something was missing: the idea that all the elements and activities of the environment formed a whole, and thus the need to integrate and co-ordinate all the various laws passed to protect the environment" (Weller, 1990:94). Ashworth explains the dilemma: "the besiegers are good, well-meaning people.... Ourselves. They -- we -- seek only to make a better life (richer, easier, more affluent) ... the problem is that the means we have found are slowly but surely killing the lakes" (Ashworth, 1986:152). Ashworth, Weller and ecologists they quote directed people's attention to the manufacture of these products and the corporate and political decisions that permit the continued misuse and abuse of nature.

Eco-System Approach

The third change in direction can be illustrated in the IJC's review of events between the 1972 and 1978 GLWQAs, summarized as a switch of approach from a management and control to an eco-system application when dealing with persistent pollution of the Great Lakes region. The so-called management solutions did not work since they too created problems either elsewhere in the system or later on into the future. The change in approach focused on the deteriorating environment, "particularly to those changes that are byproducts of desired and consciously created change, such as the arrival of lampreys and alewives fish" (Ashworth, 1986:151). Any detected changes in the condition of the Great Lakes' water or flora and fauna were no longer seen as a natural development separate and distinct from any adverse changes human settlement made to the environment.

The natural life cycle of the basin is threatened with too much human activity and uncontrolled resource depletion. Sustenance and commercial fishing are no longer viable

activities. Sport fishing can occur only because expensive programmes exist to breed and stock the lakes artificially. Other programmes control breeding and quantity of wildlife without natural predators so that there would be enough of a general variety and quantity of fish in the waters (Ashworth, 1986:151; and Mortimer, 1979). Recreation activities (swimming, camping, and boating) are also without some form of risk or danger. The eco-system approach to pollution tries to bridge the dilemma between resource consumption and natural conservation.

This approach is sensitive to the natural interconnections between living and non-living materials. Its philosophy is that all life exists within intricate webs: relational, cyclical, developmental, non-hierarchical, chain-linked. "That the damaged parts of the web reverberate, eventually effecting other webs either/or positively and negatively. Ecosystem is a giant recycler with its own cleansing and healing system" (Cooper and Millyard, 1986:2). Although resilient, this system is also delicate in that a fine balance exists between a healthy and self correcting ecology and an unhealthy mutilated ecology (Cooper and Millyard, 1986:2). The dimensions of cycles within and overlapping each other create larger systems and networks which can house, heal, and moderate specific locations and materials. The ecological approach includes humanity as being a component of nature, rather than humanity being an external component that is superior to nature.

The scope of the problem understood by scientists and ecologists alike, must also be reflected in the agreements and laws written by government officials. A 1978 report by the Great Lakes Research Advisory Board (GLRAB), to its overseer, the IJC, suggests that the commission incorporate an eco-system approach "within the advisory and management functions of the Commission and Parties...necessitates political recognition of the Great Lakes" as a ecological system having interconnections between all facets of life including humans (GLRAB, 1978:pvii). The report calls for a change suggesting that the replacement of "system-external-to-man concept" to an eco-system approach based on

"man-in-a-system concept (GLRAB, 1978:pvii). The benefits to an ecosystem approach is a holistic vision:

acid rain; road salt; the need for early detection of toxic influences of pollutants on human organ systems, the reserve capacity of these organ systems, and their ability to adapt to toxic stresses, including behavioral effects; carrying capacity; human attitudes, perceptions, behavior; and surveillance. Collectively, these show how the ecosystem approach forces us to speak of discharging wastes in the Ecosystem and biosphere of which we are part, rather than to an external environment around us (Special Report to IJC, 1978:pvii).

All the "innovative steps" taken over that last 70 years of government and political action can be strengthened within this "integrative framework" which would "connect human and non-human parts of the ecosystem and biosphere" (GLRAB, 1978:pvii).

The report's critique of "system-external-to-man" suggests that the framing of the problem in terms of 'water quality' or 'fish depletion' narrows the scope considerably. Thus, the pollution problem was seen only in terms of drinkable water and a constant supply of fish. Such a narrowing left out man's own tinkering as well as other destructive or problematic actions. In its conclusion, the GLRAB suggests that such a management perspective "perpetuate[s] an out-dated mind-set" (GLRAB, 1978:25). The GLRAB recommends that the approaches stemming from the Boundary Waters Treaty of 1909 and the GLWQA of 1972 are "inadequate." They request that Canada, the US and the IJC adopt an ecosystem approach in all of its environmental legislation and programmes and that the IJC with its institutions be augmented in order to administer better the goals of the treaty and agreements (GLRAB, 1978:35). The critique of administrative practice brought about a realization that political understanding must mirror an ecological understanding of pollution in order to restore environmental balance and health.

C. COOPERATIVE EFFORTS YET RESTORATION FAILURE

Resolution process

The resolution process entails parties to progress through the stages of identification, exploration, and generation in a linear fashion in order to work through crises (or conflicts). The simplicity of this process allows for underlying and shared interests to be identified which forms the context from which the crisis is resolved mutually. The 'agreements' generated act to guide the closure of a particular crisis. Therefore, these agreements shaped the resolution direction for future crises. The apparent changes noted above suggested that ecological crises have been resolved by standardizing and controlling natural life cycles and managing societal waste production. Yet, with continued exploration these two methods posed greater difficulties to the resolution of the crises as they developed. The eco-system approach created an alternative procedure designed to rectify previous mishaps. The Great Lakes clean-up case suggests that as this resolution process is applied to each crisis, new interests might be addressed which changes the course of future actions.

A deeper analysis of change brought about by the IJC and its process to "settle questions" requires one to note the interests under review as they are re-addressed chronologically during the resolution process itself. It is helpful to remember that the IJC can only recommend not implement policy initiatives, so in this context the IJC functioned more as a mediator than as an adjudicator. Likewise, the IJC facilitated the identification and exploration of interests before it recommended 'solutions' to Canadian and American governments. However, the IJC was able to implement its own policy guides in how it conducted its scientific research and monitoring of ecological issues and crises. Therefore, once pollution was identified as a threat, the common interests became understood as the clean-up of industry and urban progress' excesses. Beginning with water quality, followed by soil and air purity, these interests directed the resolution process from which standards,

control, management, and eco-system approaches were applied to restore and prevent further damage upon the natural environment.

Parties

Who participates is as important as the resolution process itself. To recap, the IJC oversees and directs almost all of the ecological management efforts in the Great Lakes. Therefore, the clean-up work is a joint bi-national effort between Canada and the US where the commission acts as the institutional go-between. However, the commission also interacts with state and provincial governments as part of their duties. NGOs have been able to voice their concerns to the commission and on occasion they participated in public policy formation. The IJC became an institutional forum which brought together stakeholders from government, commerce, industry, and environmental science. The IJC in its mandate to review, assess and recommend, performed its duties as an adjudicating body. However, when it included a wider range of stakeholder groups in its policy formation it leaned towards a mediating role.

The resolution process analyzed below involves the IJC and these stakeholders from 1964 to 1979, roughly a fifteen year period. 1964 marked the date of the initial reference that resulted in the 1972 GLWQA; however, most of the events (under review) occurred in the 1970s, beginning with the IJC's report, Pollution of Lake Erie, Lake Ontario, and the International Section of the St. Lawrence River, and ending with the eco-system approach and environmental management strategies published 1978. As noted above, the 1972 and 1978 GLWQAs marked transitions in approach regarding environmental issues in the Great Lakes basin. The following is an analysis of these discussions as documented in IJC reports and scholarly accounts. Stakeholders' participation is discussed in more detail after this section.

Identified positions and issues

Pollution was identified as contaminating clean water, soil and air. Positions based on cleansing became the factors that guided interests in the restoration of the Great Lakes ecology. While there were several sources of contamination, the focus remained on cleansing, filtering, or removing these contaminants from the environment before reaching people's bodies. Thus each cause of pollution was treated against a standard of cleanliness suitable for human consumption. As long as the water, soil, and air were clean enough to use for whatever purpose designated, the threat from pollution was deemed minimal. Consequently the outcome of quality standards became the measuring stick to assess potential risks of contamination, and control against extending pollution's harm. While the issues were quite complex, positions were confused as interests which combined together stalled restoration efforts.

Discovery of pollution did not change how progress dictated Great Lakes regional development, rather pollution was seen as a controllable outcome to this development. Thus, while industrial and economical development took hold unabated and uninhibited, its waste and toxic by-products were managed to minimize their destructive attributes. The common interests in progressive development allowed for its continuation, despite indications that this development created destructive behaviors. It was believed that any destructive behaviors could be limited and controlled once they were assessed and measured against the standards that conservation and preservation dictated.

However, over emphasis on management, controls, and standards led to the realization that these methods provided few checks and balances against destructive practice. As the issues became more complex, pollution could no longer be defined as contamination. The sources of pollution, that is the progress of industrialization and urbanization was re-assessed. From the point of view that man distinguished himself from nature to the extent that nature supplied what mankind demanded, environmental damage became the identified concern of which pollution was one of many components. While

standards of 'quality' and 'restoration' remained unchanged (based on human well-being), the environment was seen as an integral system which mankind needed to acknowledge and claim responsibility for his destructive progress.

The trend towards re-conceiving the problem of pollution became linked to other aspects of human natural resource usage. Over-fishing, additions to fish stocks (accidental or artificial), regulating water levels through dams and canals, dredging, and harbour development all of which altered the natural environment. The degree that aquatic plants and animals were affected negatively, and the changes in each lake's limnological condition (biological, meteorological, physical and chemical) were understood as reactions to human development and intervention. The eco-system approach re-identified common concerns that began with cleanliness and purity of resources, and were modified to include intervention and collection of these resources. The eco-system approach attempted to include "mankind" in with nature as a way of abating "mankind's" destruction of his resources (IJC/GLRAB, 1978:23-25).

Explored options

Yet as each crisis was dealt with, and as each change brought awareness of the complexity, the identified problems continued to be framed as specific incidents of waste and production rather than in the general context of mankind's direction of progress. The problems were narrowly defined and kept as positions rather than defined in the broader context of interests phrased as fundamental expectations, beliefs, values and needs. Emphasis on waste, pollutants, and regulating nature formed the basis in which particular options were explored. Since the focus was on waste and toxicity all possible options dealt with the elimination of these wastes and toxins from the environment rather than working to eliminate destructive practice at the onslaught of progress. Consumption and land development were unexplored areas left out of this stage of the process.

The exploration of options were phrased as managing the environmental damage which had a high probability of risk or threat to economic, social and physical well-being. Options coincided with industrialization and urbanization trends, for example regulating water levels to satisfy transportation and water in-take facilities that filtered out waste from waterways both of which maintain constant levels of clean water. While prohibitions were placed on hazardous products, manufacturing of these products continued because the measurement of harm occurred long after the sale and public consumption. While high levels of chemicals were discovered in the water, soil, and air, toxicity was considered harmful when physical defects found in birds and fish were traced to these chemicals. Therefore, abatement, fines, and prohibition policies dealt with the end point of industrial development. Harm to the environment was an issue of waste rather than consumption and production. Thus, environmental damage remained a consequence of progress placed in the context of a dispute over natural resources or land use and development. The 'problem' to be explored and solved remained outside of the larger context of the progress of settlement, industry, and commerce.

Generated solutions

While legislation and regulation became more complex and wider in scope in order to deal with the complexity of the issues, often the implementation, administration, and enforcement were delayed or withdrawn after the groundswell of public indignation faded (Ashworth, 1986 and Weller, 1990). National governments were responsible for implementing the commissions' recommendations which suggests that inclusive participation did not carry forward. Enforcement of legislation remains in the sphere of government not the IJC, suggesting that these methods are different from the resolution process and do not include all stakeholders. Ashworth and Weller suggest that public concern waned once legislation was enacted and that the commercial and industrial

stakeholders remain unconvinced of the need for environmental protection and conservation (Ashworth, 1986:243-47 and Weller, 1990:174-5).

On one hand legislation dealt primarily with controlling industries' and municipalities' outpouring of waste products, while on the other hand, regulation sought to control and standardize specific aspects of the environment's natural cycle. These solutions emphasized the maintenance of resources garnered from the environment for human uses while only limiting the consequence of these uses. Therefore, the implication of recognizing pollution as a problem in the context of human development has been limited to maintaining the natural resource base for human consumption rather than conceiving that humans' unlimited consumption and waste are ruining the natural ecology. The solutions sought dealt with correctives and adjustments in using nature rather than prevention of harm done to nature.

The dilemma between human exploitive uses of nature and humans as part of a supportive ecology remained outside of the identification, exploration, and generation stages of the resolution process. In terms of problem-solving pollution, the identification issues (cleanliness, purity, resource extraction), exploration of interests (abundant and vibrant ecology) and options (managing production and waste), and the generation of solutions (legislation) mimicked the dispute resolution process. While industrialization and urbanization were still noted as common interests, nature was identified as a resource which mankind was able to use to his benefit. The eco-system approach attempted to reconcile the harmful effects of unabated and unlimited progress; however, it failed to reconcile these effects on nature since it remained a system of usable resources from which mankind continues to extract, use and develop.

A 1976 IJC report on the regulation of Great Lakes water levels discussed this issue in terms of the "impact of the total ecology" (IJC, 1976:1). Yet while the report dealt primarily with the artificial manipulation of water levels strictly for human use in terms of the impact of these uses on nature as a whole, the report only considered

enhancing the environment as a result of these uses rather than modifying human behavior as preventing further environmental destruction. The issue was seen as maintaining differing uses of the lakes in terms of "shore property, fish and wildlife, navigation and hydro-electric power" (IJC, 1976:5). Despite a discussion on the need to "seek answers to the large problem of living in harmony with the Great Lakes" and stressing the "limits to the shaping of nature to man's general benefit" the interests, options, and solutions discussed maintained the general hold of human control of nature explicitly for human-directed interests (IJC, 1976:3).

Each stage of the resolution process can bring about changes in a crisis or problem. The identified problems and interests go on to shape the discourse at each subsequent stage. Failure to identify or acknowledge certain aspects may subvert restorative efforts because these factors remained hidden and unexplored. Similarly reliance on certain practices suggests that the process was not fully utilized to its fullest extent, thus appropriate and practical solutions cannot be created. If each stage does not exhaust all possibilities as to identifying the issues and contributing factors and exploring these to uncover interests then there remains a risk of settling a problem based on positions (narrowed perspective). The difficulty is in distinguishing positions from interests. If interests are not identified separately from positions, then they would not be explored to ascertain options and generate agreements. Yet, the transformation of crises and conflicts entail more than proceeding through and exhausting all possibilities during each resolution stage.

Participation

As suggested in the previous chapter including a wider range of parties allows for a wider scope of perspectives to provoke some form of transformation. Inclusion assumes that the greater number of participants ensures a wider range of perspectives. With

respect to the changes in approaching pollution as noted above (control and standardization, management, and eco-system), it is uncertain that these changes resulted from including a broader participation base in the decision-making or resolution processes. The IJC may have been influenced by its own discoveries and its diligent efforts to stem pollution. Nor was there evidence of perspectives that challenge the prevailing ideology of industrial development or ecology as something other than housed resources. One cannot so easily assume that increased levels of participation will guarantee an equally opened process from which to challenge and transform prevailing assumptions.

However, increased public attention facilitated the signing of the 1972 GLWQA as noted by Ashworth and Weller and the IJC own reporting of these events. The IJC noted that without public hearings local concerns and interests could not have been addressed and dealt with (IJC, 1970:17). The IJC has a history of considering local concerns and wishes long before the 'eutrophication' hearings occurred (Bloomfield and Fitzgerald, 1958:62, and Burpee, 1925:67). Since the IJC's holds public hearings as part of its investigations, questions arise as to how this interaction actually facilitates the discourse of environmental degradation as stakeholders proceeded through the resolution process. As well, in terms of the IJC's behavior as a mediating body, its action to include participants in the resolution process suggests that the IJC facilitates the communication amongst several interested publics. Taking these facts into account begs one to investigate the assumption that inclusion is a factor in transformation generally, and transformative mediation, specifically.

Public complaints regarding the obvious effects of pollution in local areas in and around the Great Lakes indirectly brought about the IJC's investigation of eutrophication and rapid algae bloom. During the 1970s, the IJC proceeded to engage various publics through hearings, consultation, and education. Public hearings were a common feature of investigation usually conducted by the Great Lakes Water Quality Board (GLWQB), Great Lakes Levels Board (GLLB), and Pollution from Land Use Activities Reference

Group (PLUARG). However, PLUARG established and promoted public consultation to "allow for a more substantive input to study priorities and design" strategies and management programmes concerning real and potential risks that developed from the land-use and zoning (IJC-PLUARG, 1978:91). Education programmes began as part of the IJC's administration of the terms stated in the 1972 GLWQA. Initially, education was a tool to provide the public with information on IJC activities, hearings, and news of state, provincial, and federal legislation. How these stakeholders were engaged depended on which stage in the process they were included and what the IJC expected from them.

Public hearings

Public hearings occurred at the onset of research to discover the impact and scope of the pollution problem (IJC, 1970) and before setting recommendations to test stakeholders' approval or disapproval of the IJC's findings (PLUARG, 1977). During these hearings, the public can be contrasted between representing industry or development interests and environmentalists (IJC, 1970, IJC-GLLB, 1976). Speakers at the hearings mirrored a similar membership to that of the IJC (government officials, scientists, research groups) to a more diverse selection of stakeholders that range from paper, oil, soap, and chemical firms; rate-payer, boating clubs, and other property-owner groups; anti-pollution, conservation, naturalists, environmental and ecologist groups; to one or two concerned individuals without designated membership. Testimony was on a voluntary basis in which participants made requests to speak at hearings held in their area.

While these speakers represented a diverse range of positions and perspectives, most of the speakers voiced concerns about protecting their established way of life (IJC, 1970:18-20 ; GLLB, 1976:49-55; PLUARG, 1978:73). Therefore, the soap and detergent industry spoke against limiting its disposal and manufacture of phosphates and critiqued the validity of the evidence before them (IJC, 1970:18); and government agents agreed with the IJC's findings, supportive of its recommendations to clean-up nutrient pollutants

(IJC, 1970:19). GLLB similarly expressed the prevailing sentiment that: "the only way to control pollution is to establish standards which apply equally to all the waters under consideration" (IJC, 1970:19). GLLB observed that public response constituted: "divergent interests compound[ing] the difficulties associated with high and low water levels" (GLLB, 1976:5). However the GLLB summarized public want as: "the principal direction of testimony by shoreline interests was a request for regulation of lake levels so as to reduce the frequency and magnitude of water level fluctuations consequently reducing shoreline damage" (GLLB, 1976:55). Note that the term shoreline does not necessarily mean natural rather that it denotes marinas, recreational facilities, and other artificial developments of the natural environment. The IJC's investigation of public desire placed it in a position to reconcile divergent positions, few of which sought the exclusive protection of nature and its environment.

Absent from these speakers' lists were aboriginal peoples, rural, and agricultural interests. While occasionally a group from one of these publics spoke at a hearing, their absence in the early-to-mid 1970s suggests that the hearing process was not as accessible to them as organized environmentalists, commercial interests, and government agents. IJC documents did not indicate specific reasons for their absence. However, Ashworth cites apathy and docility as reasons for the lack of public involvement (Ashworth, 1986:245-247). Weller suggests that the hearings were inaccessible to most grass-roots citizen groups in terms of poor timing of meetings and the lack of resources required to mount convincing testimonials (Weller, 1990:133-138). Public hearings were scheduled at more convenient times in the 1980s after several citizen groups mounted protests (Weller, 1982). Also, few individuals spoke, indicating a bias towards organized groups that have available resources to travel and prepare convincing statements. The suspicion is that the publics granted a voice to testify are only those who can be identified as a group, legitimate in their representation and interests, and reliable enough to attend pre-scheduled hearings.

Consultation

In 1978, PLUARG initiated a consultative process as a means to raise public response, responsibility, and knowledge of the pollution garnered by land usage. Their goal was to engage concerned stakeholders to form public policy with respect to effective management strategies for the Great Lakes region, thereby encouraging a higher rate of compliance and environmental sensitivity. PLUARG's intention was to address a wider range of people beyond that of the IJC's own personnel of scientists and engineers.

Membership reflected interests from labour, educators, environmentalists, farmers, hunting and fishing associations, government officials, and women's groups. Panels were organized in both countries to discuss and make recommendations on the environmental, social, and economical relationships between pollution and land development (PLUARG, 1978:15). While these consultative groups attempted to reconcile established land-use and development with an eco-system approach, their recommendations fell within established policy of impact assessments, monitoring programmes, and remedial measures (PLUARG, 1978:16, 90-91). While this process promised variety of perspective and interests, it failed to infuse the process away from established forms of prescriptive policy-making.

Despite inclusion of publics to review and write policy, their views were in keeping with the general ideology of economic and industrial progress. Thus, members' perspectives maintained the bias towards scientific understanding of events and methods of researching the pollution problem. As well, there is a general reflection that expert understanding and opinion is superior to the general public's knowledge. While PLUARG promoted the consultation process as progressive in vision, the consulted publics maintained the philosophy of making industry greener by implementing economic management strategies and scientific based technology as curatives.

Education

The IJC also engaged the public through its education programmes designed to build awareness of degradation, legislation, and restorative efforts. One project, Focus, an IJC newsletter, began in 1974 to disseminate information to the public on how it can become more ecologically sensitive and aware. News items ranged from changes in commission personnel; all IJC hearings, programmes and research projects; to articles on topical issues, IJC recommendations, and legislation initiatives. The articles were written in more accessible language than its reports suggesting that the IJC tried to reach stakeholders beyond those currently involved.

Through the information presented in Focus, any person or group discovered a range of events catering to environmental issues. Events such as conferences were promoted as a place to learn about the effects of pollution and find out about governments' and IJC's efforts in its elimination. Reading lists and book reviews encouraged citizens to read material available in their local bookstores and libraries. Social events encouraged an atmosphere where keen supporters met each other to exchange ideas and share resources. Focus geared itself towards raising public awareness and encouraging public sensitivity to ecological damage. (Focus, v5, n1-4, 1979).

Notwithstanding the educational value of newsletters and conferences, they did not engage parties directly in the resolution process. The critical aspect of public inclusion is to not only engage stakeholders in communicating its wants and needs, but also to engage their responsibility in how they use the environment in order to stop their destructive behavior. Therefore the consultation process, introduced by PLUARG, seemed to apply this dual vision than had either public hearings or educational vehicles. While the consultation process engaged only selected (broadly defined) publics, it opened up the resolution process to include a wider range of stakeholder parties. In this sense, the IJC's

practice of consultation (advanced in its subsequent investigations) modified itself as a mediator actively including stakeholders to resolve their own problems and disputes.

However, as stated above, one must be careful to assume that inclusion facilitates transformation of underlying assumptions and paradigms. Public testimony reflected expertise and understanding of the issues, positions, and interests suggesting that these people were able to inform each other and the IJC board members as they committed to the problem-solving process. This commitment satisfied the notion of 'informed publics' as having sufficient expertise, yet parties tended to reflect only urban, industrial, and commercial interests which catered the use of products and methods that altered and improved nature's productive capacity. If the general public reflects a discursive reality of identities and ideological viewpoints, then it ought to be reflected in the IJC list of speakers at its public hearings, in consultations, and cited references in report bibliographies.

The IJC's engagement with public groups required these citizens to be cohesive, identifiable, and recognizable. Assessment of the list of parties at public hearings and consultations seemed to reflect a mirror image of the commission with a few exceptions (IJC and subsidiary boards reports from 1970-1978). However, the emphasis on science to research environmental issues and pollution effects remained as noted from lists of names of participating memberships and in the technical language used in these reports (IJC, GLLB, GLWQB reports 1970-1978). Since fewer groups represented views divergent from the general assumptions, or are radically different in their articulation and framing of the problem, participation at each process stage remained relatively elite and exclusive.

The IJC maintained its position to reconcile the many divergent uses of the region's resources. For instance high water levels benefit commercial and recreational boating, fishing, and hydro electric power, while low water levels preserve commercial and residential shoreline development, beaches for swimming, and harbours for marinas (IJC-

GLLB, 1976:5). As noted by the PLUARG agricultural uses contrast with industrial and urban land-usage (IJC-PLUARG, 1978:72-74). While government legislation persisted as the answer to these different uses, the problem framed suggests that the environment must be preserved to secure the public's use of these resources. The IJC's inclusion of public stakeholders had not changed the prevailing ideologies that sustain ecological degradation from which to dodge ecological recovery. Groups adhered to the notions that nature be used and developed solely as a resource and that political and economical solutions provided the best prescriptive measures based upon a scientific understanding and identification of these problems.

How open and inclusive can the resolution process become? This question is significant in terms of how parties reflect those who have a direct stake in living in a healthy ecology. Since pollution is framed as a problem of unlimited waste disposal, and in keeping the utilitarian and development ideologies, those directly associated with this problem ought to be identified. Maintaining this premise as fundamentally unchallenged, does the identification and inclusion of all stakeholders provide sufficient factors for transforming ecological disputes? Had the IJC reformed its public inclusion of stakeholders to meet its goal of engendering responsibility and sensitivity?

Within this group of stakeholders belong members who contribute to the production and disposal of waste. However, these parties are not the only stakeholders. Also in this group are those that rely on the ecology for its provision of resources. Added to this list is another group which bears resemblance to the providers of these resources, namely nature itself. The practicality of representation arises when it is understood that these groups represent a diverse range of human parties, while excluding nature as a participant. Yet, it is not entirely possible for nature to speak on its behalf. Thus, the question of inclusive participation affirms a practical problem of how people attempt to speak for nature at the 'problem-solving table.'

While the tendency has been to exclude polluters -- identified mainly as industrial and commercial interests -- there also is a tendency to include only members who wish to rely on nature for the provision of its resources. Within this second group, membership may not be reflective of an ecology solely on the basis of resource extraction and utilization. If the ecology is seen as an inclusive entity of humanity interwoven into the rest of nature this representation may dismiss the way in which people have settled and developed the Great Lakes basin thus, also responsible for being destructive of the environment. Simply adding people to the problem solving table is insufficient, rather inclusion entails the addition of perspectives which may provoke discussion of interests and would not confuse stated positions with fundamental interests.

Also generally excluded is the involvement of those directly responsible for the creation and disposal of waste. While industry and commerce tended to be placed into this stakeholder category, it assumes that all persons within this group conduct themselves in a wasteful manner. Such an assumption blurs investigation of who, specifically, has been and still is destructive and who has the capacity to bring about a change in behavior. Thus, in terms of including all stakeholders, an inclusive process must recognize the kinds of agents involved, rather than maintaining a stance that an open process guarantees a range of perspectives, understandings, interests, and expertise from which transformation will occur. Any person may fit into one or more of the above noted stakeholder categories. The responsibility of these stakeholders is to be open to a perspective that resembles nature's voice or one that challenges their utilitarian assumptions of environmental conservation and protection.

Power

Considering the IJC's role as a quasi-judicial body, its capacity to influence rests upon its performance as judge and advisor. As noted earlier, transformation occurred at points when the IJC modified its practice away from adjudication towards mediation. In

its identification and exploration of ecological issues the IJC mediated amongst stakeholders, but in the generation of solutions, the IJC seemed to work without the presence of these parties, thus it adjudicated. In essence, the IJC practices a form of mediation and arbitration, in which it switches consistently from mediator to arbitrator when it begins to recommend policy. That these two roles are conflictual and use different powers is clear, but it seems that change occurs when the process leans towards mediation. Its practice of switching from facilitator-mediator to advisor-adjudicator distinguishes its ability to use a variety of ways to influence both government and non-government stakeholders.

The IJC's ability to influence can be seen in a variety of ways as it investigated and recommended policy. One way is to note how it performed its various responsibilities through specific duties and joint efforts in research, investigation, assessment, monitoring, discussion, and recommendations. Another way is to note its published ideas, expectations, and responsibilities. Both ways illustrated that the commission combines a variety of methods to influence and affect change among governments, commercial enterprises, and industries. These methods suggest a range of powers suggestive of elicitive, educational, forceful, instructive, prohibitive, and collaborative. The IJC's influence, while used disproportionately, is defined as power-over (controlling, coercive, dominant), power-with (partnering), and power-to (enabling).

While the IJC's mediator and adjudicator practices implies that 'mediators' use partnering and enabling powers while 'adjudicators' use coercive and controlling powers, this dichotomy belies both theoretical and real examples. Rather what is suggested in IJC reports and other accounts of its actions is a trend towards using less controlling powers. During each of the periods of apparent change, the IJC moved away from using power-over, as indicated by standardization and control approaches. Towards the late 1970s the IJC had adopted an eco-system policy which coincided with its partnering and enabling

influence. IJC's powers are analyzed chronologically, beginning first by its controlling powers and followed with its partnering and enabling powers.

Control and Dominance

Recommended legislation forced polluters to change by setting production and disposal limits and issuing fines against non-compliant actors. From the early 1970s reports suggested controlling emissions; instituting abatement programmes; and prohibiting the production, sale, release and dumping of specific chemicals and products (IJC, 1970-1973). IJC recommendations dealt with government voluntariness to correct the course of nature rather than changing the direction in the prevailing course of industrial and commercial progress.

Monitoring included effects of known pollutants on the region's ecology. Research into water quality controls did not include the direct consequences of waste produced by industrial growth and urbanization. Therefore, regulations addressed organic pollution abatement programs; monitoring of municipal waste disposal and intake treatment systems; and standardization of control and management methods only where possible.

Wildlife management was standardized and instituted slowly across the region in which state and provincial governments supported fish farms developed to replace disappearing fish species. Regulation of water levels maintained high levels to allow boating and commercial navigation without endangering the fish 'living' in these waters. With respect to regulation, IJC efforts fall exclusively within dominating and controlling powers. Managing the life-cycles of fish, lakes, and forests have been going on long before the IJC became involved with the pollution problem (Ashworth, 1986). However, a feature of advice based on scientific oriented research is to manage and control these cycles (Merchant, 1980).

Despite the predilection towards management and control evident in regulation programmes, the GLLB noted in its 1976 report that "there are limits to the shaping of

nature to man's general benefit... as he calculates the costs of structural solutions as well as the amount of environmental impact deemed acceptable" (IJC-GLLB, 1976:3). This indicated an awareness that too much control or manipulation over the natural life-cycles could become destructive. The same report also stipulated that the Great Lakes "must be seen ... as a whole, as a bi-national treasure and as a bi-national responsibility" (IJC-GLLB, 1976:3). While this sentiment possibly reflected the commission's own binational role, it nonetheless indicated a connection between the natural abundance and "man's" responsibility in consuming this abundance.

These programmes dealt with controlling the obvious after effects of pollution and settlement and focused only on aquatic animals at the higher end of the food chain. Changes in aquatic plant life, marshlands, shoreline, river and lake bottoms, and lower animal forms did not factor into these management and controls programmes. Therefore, the IJC's political intervention narrowed in concentration choosing not to challenge either industrial growth or management systems as these affected the ecology. Instead, it directed its efforts solely on its own scientific research to manage nature which did not require formal agreements and sanctions from any of the national, state, and provincial governments.

Towards the end of the 1970s recommendations reflected continuation of abatement programmes and legislative goals, but the IJC introduced site specific remedial action plans (RAPs) and expansion of its evaluation and consultation projects. This advice again reflected a tendency towards using the law to coerce, control, and dominate its recipients. However, the emergence of further evaluation and consultation reflected enabling and partnership powers but only among convinced stakeholders. While RAPs illustrated the immediacy of protecting the natural environment, these plans still utilize power-over efforts. There are aspects to the legislative recommendations that fostered enabling and partnership powers; however, the framework of prescriptive measures relied upon a consistent use of power-over authority.

Yet the full recommended programme involved a combination of funding, prohibitions, and punishments. While funding indicated an enabling power, both prohibitions and punishments indicated a power position of dominance and control. The agreement stipulated that the IJC became the vehicle to broker amongst stakeholders. The GLWQA maintained cooperation only between the two countries through which the IJC acted. The agreement did not suggest that governments join in to realize this partnering power to enable the disengagement of polluting practices.

Enabling and Partnership

Research initiatives while tending towards consultation with various government agencies, regulatory bodies, and the general public, indicated collaborative and partnering efforts. These efforts, however, grouped together like experts that concentrated on singular problems and research subjects. Thus while these efforts connote partnering and collaborative exploration, suspicions arise as to the full extent that these powers are utilized. It may be feasible for limnologists to work on water quality research, but few limnologists were engaged in the water levels study. Similarly, if only engineers are required for public works projects this negates the possibility of bringing their knowledge into researching pollution from land-uses. Furthermore, with the exception of PLUARG's public collaborative initiative noted above, questions arise as to the extent that interests and options were explored when engaging a wider participation base. This suggests that grouping together like minds and ideologies preclude collaboration and enabling powers. Such powers might be proven effective if noted in circumstances which brought together diverse participants.

Also problematic are the time-frames and expense that the IJC research projects entail. The GLLB took ten years to complete its report on water levels (IJC-GLLB, 1976:6). Other projects seemed to be ongoing and some date back before the 1970s because the initial references have been renewed or expanded. In each of the analyzed

reports, there were general themes of either requesting additional funds to carry out the projects or that the lack of funds cause delays in judgment and advice. Most of the recommendations in both 1972 and 1973 IJC reports on water quality under the 1972 GLWQA stipulated the need for binational financial resources for the IJC to carry out its mandate as requested by this agreement (IJC, 1972/73:6, 27). In these cases, the IJC seemed powerless while it waited for two national governments of whom were either reluctant to support or were unable to support the IJC's efforts. In any event, the lack of binational support and extensive time frames suggests that IJC's research initiatives tended to lack power rather than having the ability to use controlling, enabling, or partnering powers.

A change towards using partnering and enabling powers was noted in the GLRAB's 1978 special report on The Ecosystem Approach, and in the Canadian Environmental Protection Agency (CEPA) policy review documents that pertained to negotiated settlements and precautionary principles. As mentioned earlier, the eco-system approach views humanity as being interconnected with nature, thus nature as a whole entity must be dealt with when dealing with ecological problems generally, and pollution particularly. While GLRAB recommended that the eco-system approach be recognized explicitly in policy formation, the GLRAB did not indicate how this new approach would affect the prevalence of using power-over in its legislative and regulative advice. The CEPA documents may give some indication of how the eco-system approach may develop legislative powers. However, such policies began to be formed during the mid 1980s, a period that followed events under analysis in this study.

The policy goals of both CEPA documents indicated a movement away from coercive law enforcement to a more enabling and partnering stances with violators. "The goal of negotiated settlements is to increase compliance with the law and decrease the need for the regulator to prosecute or seek an injunction" (CEPA #13, 1994:1). Negotiated settlements are seen as an enforcement option and is dependent on the severity

of the violation (CEPA #13, 1994:4). However, its practice may involve parties previously or purposely left out of the stages of solving environmental problems. The terms in a negotiated settlement reflected a violator's future potential to engage in conservation and protective behaviors. While this practice has yet to prove itself viable, it suggests a change in managing and controlling polluters to initiatives that partner with, thus enabling violators to stop their destructive behavior.

The precautionary principle serves to guide the formation of public policy and law. Its approach is that "where an activity raises threats of harm to the environment or human health, precautionary measures should be taken even if certain cause and effect relationships are not established scientifically" (CEPA#18, 1994:1). Indicative of this principle is a lessening of scientific rigor and control to form policy regarding ecological degradation. The significance of this policy guidance to both the IJC (IJC 1994:8-9) and Canada's Environment Department is to treat the waste problem in terms of a "reverse onus" (CEPA#18, 1994:2). While the notion of reverse onus falls within a spectrum of "competing philosophies of life, one eco-centric and risk-adverse, the other more utilitarian and risk-taking," it signified a "reversal of burden of proof onto polluters or developers, requiring them to demonstrate" the absence of harm to the ecology before any projects are approved or undertaken (CEPA#18, 1994:6). The reverse onus situates polluters and developers in the position to actively solve environmental problems connected to their behavior.

All three types of powers attempted to stop destruction of the eco-system and to prevent further destruction; however, only enabling and partnering powers seemed to redirect momentum and develop constructive relationships amongst all parties. If legislation developed along the policy guidelines CEPA outlined, perhaps the coercive nature of law and enforcement may not be relied upon so heavily to persuade a change in behavior. Engaging the commitment of stakeholders responsible for destructive and

exploitative behaviors is an on-going project. However, such a project must be conversant with the range of powers to engage, as well as redirect such behavior. Continually seeking coercive, dominant and controlling powers may only temporarily hinder these stakeholders. The powers available to 'mediators' during the procedures of dispute resolution and negotiated settlements also need to reflect an enabling and partnering stance. This does not suggest an acceptance of exploitive and destructive influences, nor does it suggest passive or weak capacities to withstand and redirect such behaviors. Instituting a combination of powers in the generation of solutions may entail an understanding of the diverse range of parties' interests and capabilities in both the cause of and resolution of ecological problems.

This account of the Great Lakes clean-up reveals certain trends and patterns. First, each crisis accumulated problems identified by local scientists, naturalists, and government officials. These problems led and framed general awareness whereby public opinion was used to exact quick and simple political solutions to these problems. Second, if the problem was conceived in terms of a crisis that threatened human life it brought about joint national (and regional) political efforts to change the outcome of these circumstances. Third, political solutions treated ecological destruction in a piece-meal way, each problem was addressed in its own discipline area or bureaucratic sector, despite the promotion of an ecological approach. Fourth, political measures did not focus on economic and industrial development to stop environment damage outright, but rather controlled against escalating its damaging effects. Last, despite these abuses and the scale of destruction a perception persists that nature has an ability to sustain life and rebound from any harm done to it. The ecological system still appears to be adaptive, vibrant, and alive. It is often difficult to persuade people that the way in which we consume and alter nature becomes problematic to our own survival.

While on the one hand there is a trend to speak generally about environmental issues as global, on the other hand, there is an equal tendency to discuss these issues in terms of specific causes, culprits, and their destructive behaviors. There is a growing frustration among some people about the poor success rate in stopping, let alone preventing, pollution (Ashworth, 1986; Mies and Shiva, 1993; and Weller, 1990). They criticize the ineffectiveness as being due to piece-meal legislation and lack of long term government commitments. They suggest a reconsideration of abatement programs that ought to focus on the culprits who pollute, rather than just the discovery and clean-up of pollutants. With this approach, under the philosophic umbrella of ecology, a further push is made towards including direct stakeholders.

V. CONCLUSION: TRANSFORMING STEWARDSHIP

A. EXPECTATIONS AND LIMITATIONS

The IJC's involvement indicates a long term commitment to environmental issues in the Great Lakes region. Although the typhoid crisis brought about action which changed specific practices, even some IJC officials criticized its narrow scope in its investigation and recommendations (IJC, 1970). Yet it was not until 1972 that any agreements were signed between the two national governments. Almost seventy years of monitoring, observing, and recommending passed by before Canada and the US governments combined legislative efforts to change the course of Great Lakes destruction. Although these laws achieved some restoration of water quality, they stopped short in extending controls beyond the disposal of waste and by-products.

I have suggested that inclusion of stakeholders in the resolution process and re-conceived notions of power fosters successful transformation. These are two factors within the building approach to conflict resolution. While the collaborative efforts among the IJC, Canada and the US have yet to protect the overall health and vibrancy of the Great Lakes ecology, these efforts began a process of collaborative problem-solving. I suggest that this collaborative process move forward from management towards a transformative approach to ensure successful prevention and restoration of the ecology.

The Building Approach Assessment

The building approach was used as a model to assess the IJC's environmental resolution process during the 1970s. As stated in chapter three, this approach has five key points: reframe, include, prevent, respect, and declare biases. Feminist re-thinking of power are interspersed throughout these five points. Implied in these points is the idea that mediation works using enabling and partnering powers rather than using control and dominance. Of these key points, the IJC has made a few shifts towards a transformative approach with respect to reframing and including. In the areas of prevention, respect of

nature and declaring bias, the IJC has made almost no effort. The following is a brief recap of the IJC's performance in each of the building approach's key points.

Firstly, the apparent changes from standardization and control, management to eco-system approaches suggests partial reframing. However, upon analysis the issues were discussed from positional standpoints rather than from fundamental interests. As mentioned earlier, positions and interests were not clearly distinguished, so positions tended to be reified as interests. The fact that the IJC is primarily an adjudicating body and not a mediating body may keep it from facilitating the identification, exploration, and generation stages to ensure that the issues are reframed from a position- to an interest-based standpoint. As an advisory body, the IJC assessed and commented on ecological issues. As an adjudicator, the IJC judged and made recommendations regarding the consequences of commercial and industrial development. The commission has not suggested that 'progress' itself ought to alter its course or to prevent 'progress' from exploiting nature.

Secondly, most of the transformation occurs when the IJC includes NGO stakeholders in its resolution process. Inclusion seems to be a factor in transformation by motivating stakeholders to form policy prescriptions which ensures non-destructive development. Mediation theory articulates a process of dispute resolution that suggests transformation occurs when parties' move from pronouncing their 'positions' to clarifying their 'interests.' Within this movement lies a process which promises to bring all parties together to work collaboratively to identify their interests; explore various options; and generate ideas to settle the dispute collectively and collaboratively. The IJC has on occasion used its powers to open access of its resolution process to include stakeholders, during the identification and exploration stages. Stakeholders are not included further on in the process, nor are they part of the implementation processes where prevention and enforcement still takes place.

Exclusion of parties prevents movement and transformation because parties are unable to discuss and understand one another and work together to achieve goals of peaceful and sustainable existence. Exclusion continues to silence differing voices allowing for blame and ignorance to facilitate the escalation of destructive conflicts. While parties that value nature as an inert and exploitable resource and conceive the eco-system as mechanistic tend to be included in the process, parties that believe nature to be a living entity and think of the ecology as organic tend to be excluded from the process. Failure to include differing perspectives has prevented a significant change in how ecological problems are identified, explored and solved.

Thirdly, prevention seems to be outside the IJC jurisdiction of powers; therefore there is no attempt at seeking to prevent the exploitation of nature. While prevention of exploitation was left out of the IJC's recommendations, the commission attempted to forestall destruction by suggesting prohibitions and fines. However, the adoption of the eco-system approach indicated that the destruction of the environment was tied to industrial and commercial exploitation. During the 1980s some effort was made to incorporate preventive measures such as negotiated settlement and reverse onus. Since the IJC concentrated its study on waste, few preventative efforts were directed to consumption of nature and industrial production.

Fourthly, the inability to prevent exploitation does not mean that little respect exists for nature. However, since nature is still exploited for human use and nature is managed and regulated to suit western-styled development, nature continues to be viewed only as a resource (for industry) and commodity (for commerce). Therefore, the resolution process as used by the IJC does not engender respect for nature as living and organic.

Fifthly, as noted earlier, managing the resources through scientific knowledge and methods prevail. These privileged perspectives are undeclared biases, thus the IJC's work maintains a single perspective which obstructs other perspectives or ideologies from being

instituted into its programme. The management of the eco-system is predicated on an mechanistic notion of nature which hinders resolution and transformation of ecological problems.

Contesting Perspectives

Regarding ecological degradation and societal development, the conflict posed is the contest over the necessary 'resources' for survival. Manipulating the earth to the extent that some people sustained and secured it for themselves has brought about re-examinations of pollution, environmental change, and sustainable development. However, the notion of sustainable development reveals a range of connotations which challenges assumptions of how 'sustaining existence within development' might be acted out. While some words have changed to reflect awareness, the dispute continues posited within the scope of development and resources.

Awareness about the impact of human development on the Great Lakes eco-basin can be illustrated through the different responses to pollution. These responses started with water quality standards. Such standards were used as the basis to monitor water treatment systems which filtered out organic waste from municipalities and industries before they returned the water to its source. These same standards assessed the operation of public works projects that controlled water levels and diversions designed for navigational, recreational, commercial, and industrial purposes. In turn, these controls altered and regulated the natural environment to suit the development of human activities. However, management and regulation became known for both assisting in the clean-up efforts as well as for intensifying some of the damaging effects of pollution felt by the wildlife. It was these ironic effects that led to the adoption of an eco-system approach to solve pollution problems.

Realizing that the intricacies of nature must be reflected in how water quality and pollution was assessed, the IJC included industrial output in its recommendations. Thus,

the prohibitions and limitations on the uses and disposals of materials, respectively, expanded to include chemicals outside of its determination as waste matter. While the primary focus of clean-up efforts was to remove contaminants, the constant concern was the effects on human health that these materials posed. The most toxic substances were isolated as needing instant removal whereby the 'solutions' continued to ignore other destructive practices maintained by industrial development. Since pollution was defined as dirtying the water, land, and air, immediate and potential risks were assessed on the basis of waste rather than including extraction and consumption of natural elements and wildlife. For the most part, solutions to degradation remained within limiting and controlling excesses rather than modifying development's progression.

Critics claimed legislation landed short of their intentions because they either fell within the working assumptions blind to a living-ecology perspective, or that these programmes were modified by pressure from corporate and industrial groups unwilling to change their behavior and attitudes. Good housekeeping management practices gave a false impression of restorative goals. Control programmes gave an equally false impression that pollution and other forms of destruction would end once brought under legislative governance. While many will disagree that the Great Lakes basin suffers from over consumption and human domination of natural resources, there are some people who believe an ecosystem approach may keep the region in a state of a somewhat healthy and bountiful condition (GLRAB, 1978; and CEPA, #13 and #18, 1994).

Despite awareness of each player's role in ecological degradation there was a reluctance to change overall prevailing habits, methods, and practices which were determined as direct contributors to this damage. Indeed, in current discussions there is a consideration that people's attitudes (of nature, ecology, and the environment) reflect either a natural resource or an ecological vision (Birkeland, 1993). These perspectives have come to shape the way people relate to their surroundings. Polluters may indeed disregard the consequences of their actions, however, those who concern themselves with

ecological damage strive toward making these consequences apparent and preventable. Consequently, either people see nature as a resource to exploit, consume, and improve upon which requires protection and conservation, or they see themselves in a larger system to live and share within its self-providing, self-healing, and self-cleansing structure.

Relinquishing artificial tampering may be as difficult as relinquishing the use of force as a means to persuade and change behavior. The perception that artificial tampering works and allows for the adjustments of loss and damage negates the ecological understanding that manipulation and control only sustains methods of destruction. Where the environment is seen in terms of site and surroundings, and the ecology is articulated in terms of a multi-dimensional living entity that links nature to the environment. The challenge is for people to notice how their 'position' within the ecology affects nature in order to effectively collaborate in shared 'interests'. Where humans stand on the geographical environment is as significant to where humanity sits at the problem-solving table.

It is in this locale that ecological disputes become situated. During the 1970s, the IJC worked to restore the Great Lake's basin, and in doing so it moved itself away from acting as an arbitrator towards performing mediating tasks. Introduction of the eco-system approach furthered the direction of transformation. The IJC's challenge is to direct this movement towards a holistic vision. The lengths at which affirmation of an eco-system approach moved the resolution process towards the premise of 'ecological sustainability' remains unclear. While protection and conservation are transformed from a less authoritative and custodial behavior, management of the eco-system prevails.

The root causes of the ecological problem are seen as unchecked industrial production and growth fostered by enormous commercial and natural resource consumption and its consequential waste of resources and garbage production. Rather than blaming the chief executive officers (CEOs), boards of directors, and shareholders who all share the responsibility of running multi-national corporations (MNCs), perhaps an

approach can be to match specific actions and attitudes with the appropriate person or group. Moving beyond blame is a necessary component to explore every person's and institutional contribution to the problems and its settlements. While these contributions are not equal in responsibility and intensity, the point is to realize that oppression and exploitation is neither progressive nor sustainable at both agent and structural levels.

Then, as Weller suggests, perhaps the consideration under review ought to be how each of us, collectively and individually, behave within this ecology as consumers and promoters of this sort of development (Weller, 1990:66). While there may be considerable evidence to remain skeptical about future success, this trend suggests an attempt to get business leaders on-side with environmentalists in becoming more sensitive to the detrimental effects of industrial development. The global crisis may direct our attention to what we do in our own homes, that shape our actions to create the economics, social relationships, and politics we promote. The challenge is not only in setting limits, but also in uncovering how our expectations shape relationships among gender, nature, and development.

Therefore, a rethinking of pollution in terms of its root causes would allow us to look at preventing destructive practice instead of only dealing only with the 'clean-up.' While it is true that the IJC and the Canadian government attempt to match programmes with an ecological approach, they still keep their efforts at the clean-up stage. A survey of some government policy papers suggests that political governance of the environmental question is at a cross-roads (Baxter, 1992; CEPA, 1995 and 1995; IJC 1995/6; Royal Society of Canada, 1996; and Stranks, 1995). There are two basic responses. One response is proactive. Such a response suggests an elimination of destructive industrial and commercial activities; both prevention of new and elimination of existing products that threaten the ecology; and a move towards ecologically sound development (industry and economy). The other response is defensive. This approach seeks to frame environmental issues as a security problem, whereby pollution and industry can be brought under political

control. This approach also considers nature by way of degradation and resource depletion as being a potential destructive force that threatens prevailing social, economic, and political structures. They resist change in current practice, policies, and programmes, and they reflect a hard line approach to prohibition, enforcement, and risk. Each response seeks to end the destructive effects of 'pollution'. However, while the defensive response seeks to maintain current approaches, the proactive response seeks a rethinking of industrial and commercial development, natural evolution, and people's role within ecology. The traditional orientation in the study of pollution has shown that mechanistic and positivistic (science and research) methodologies continue to separate humans from nature. A feminist analysis assists to rethink and reverse the trends that divide and separate humanity from the rest of nature.

These responses reflect the relationship between security and sustainable development. The debate over broadening security to encompass environmental degradation focuses on rethinking security as traditionally defined. The neo-realist view suggests that the definition is too narrow which prevents new risks, threats, and dangers from being considered. Their fears and apprehension place cultural, environmental, human, economic, and military security systems together suggesting the plan of action must be authoritative and technologically swift. The post-modernist position considers that the broader definition would put issues such as pollution, resource extraction, consumption, development, and production into the same militarized context that reveals security as armed offence and protection. Such a position is critical of the fearful visions that sees only outsiders and enemies. The feminist perspective suggests that a critical eye look in two directions. One place sees security as altogether different and outside of a military force ruled by rationality and state-centric protection. The other place sees insecurity in all dimensions of human behavior in which power is rethought to restore partnership relationships amongst men, women, and nature. Feminist re-thinking suggests

transformation of socialized practices in order to realize security and sustainability as the provision of life.

B TOWARDS RETHINKING ECOLOGICAL CONFLICTS

While mediation deals with a process of working through conflict, feminist analysis highlights relationships which offer different connotations of power, experience and care. Utilizing the building approach informed by feminist and mediation theory, the resolution of conflicts begins with addressing the destructive character of stakeholders in how they have come to cause devastation as well as how they have come to resolve and prevent further destruction. How conflicts are resolved focuses on the relationship people have with each other and their environment, natural and artificial. The process in which these issues are resolved and dealt with focuses on both describing and preventing destruction through the withdrawal of violence, exploitation and oppression. Thus, the experiences, powers, and care-giving are performed without the need to coerce, dominate and control nature.

A feminist conception of looking at ecological problems entails noting who the stakeholders are; their relationship to each other in terms of power, socialization and ability; and their attitudes and behavior towards nature and local environments. By depicting stakeholders in this way, perhaps the positivist dilemma can be brought forward in the discussion. (That is, while only people create and resolve ecological degradation other animals and plants also suffer the consequences of humanity's aggressive interventions.) Awareness of people's attitudes and behavior are an important factor in terms of living and sustaining a peaceable existence on earth. Conceiving nature as a stakeholder is difficult to visualize, yet as a current stakeholder it is dealt with as a passive, excluded and silent member. If humans rely on nature to secure themselves a sustainable

existence, then a feminist notion of security offers the means to conceive a holistic and non-destructive means of survival.

Seen in its entirety the ecological problem can be explained as unlimited human activities in order to satisfy basic needs of food, shelter, and sustainability (Mies and Shiva, 1993). The pollution problem, specifically, can be described as how people have settled in the Great Lakes region -- urbanization -- by using the materials that were already here -- resource extraction. Overall this dynamic interplay of extraction set the standard of development of agriculture, commerce, and industry. (Ashworth, 1986:37-120; and Weller, 1990:42-82). Although natural resources were consumed and disposed of along with created materials, perhaps the abundance of this resource consumption facilitated its inefficient uses. Thus in the broad sense of the term, waste connotes disposal and careless consumption. In the context of unlimited extraction, consumption, and waste -- eventually -- very little of nature would be left. While early settlers noted the abundance of flora and fauna in and around the great inland seas, today the conception of the Great Lakes basin is North America's heartland -- an abundance of commerce, industry, and population, but a dwindling natural resource (Ashworth, 1986; and Weller, 1990).

Along these lines there are three basic behaviors: the first action is the extraction of resources; the second act is consumption of these resources; and the third act is waste production. Seen in a cycle: humans take, then consume, then throw away the left-overs, and return to taking. Left out of these behaviors is reproduction or replenishment. These steps would seem to follow, logically, after the third act of waste production; however, reproduction and replenishment may also be positioned between each step. In noting the contrast between early settlers' and contemporary observation the cycle of human behavior continues to revolve around the first three actions, but instead of an ecological (or natural) replenishment there is a reproduction of human-made articles. The abundance is no longer found in nature -- or the environment, but in industrial society.

During the 1970s, the assumption that the Great Lakes could absorb all that was put into it was reinterpreted. Pollution became the byproduct of industrial and economic growth rather than the Lakes failing to absorb human waste (broadly defined). Therefore, pollution connotes a waste problem, thus necessitating proper water treatment and standards of quality. This new understanding brought about waste management solutions to deal with artificial, albeit, toxic substances. While this notion still holds weight, the eco-system approach to understanding waste makes it possible to draw connections between organic and artificial substances and their effect on water quality as well as the wellness of flora and fauna life. Further connections can be drawn in terms of the quality and quantity of the products people use that helps to provide food and shelter. The cycle of modernization and human development links with how people produce and manage their waste within the ecology.

Pollution remains a waste problem which is left out the other stages in the human-resource cycle. Extraction and consumption still are ignored. Furthermore, if an ecosystem approach is adopted organically, then other steps are also seen to be missing: reproduction and replenishment. Thus, a further articulation of pollution can be made in terms of extraction and over-consumption. Human disregard of the ecology and nature would reflect the missing stages of reproduction and replenishment. Yet, if reproduction replaces nature with an artificial environment and ecological-like system, then nature is threatened with extinction. However, in bringing "man" back into nature, an ecological understanding of reproduction does not entail replacement, rather it ensures diversity, where replenishment ensures care and sustenance. An articulation of pollution, specifically, and ecological degradation, generally, would entail an ecological approach since humans act upon and use the ecology to satisfy their basic physical needs. What the possible solutions to this re-articulation would be remains to be seen; however, the solutions would also reflect the complete human-resource cycle.

The IJC's attempt to solve the pollution problem has taken the commission into many research areas regarding the natural life cycles. This route can be traced as the study of the lakes, its flora and fauna, and then the surrounding lands and its wildlife and the atmosphere which completes the cycle of air, land, and water. The commission also developed its research efforts into tracing the production of wastes, land development, and pollution effects on human health. Although the commission has maintained a narrow articulation of the problem -- waste as a byproduct of the region's development -- it had made a significant move when it adopted an ecological-systems approach to its research directives and policy formation. However, its maintenance of a narrow view has conflated the problems of pollution, environmental destruction, and ecological degradation. The dichotomy of man/nature resurfaced since nature is still the resource for mankind to exploit (develop) and oppress (sustain its evolution). This has consequently hindered the IJC from studying the problems of unlimited extraction and consumption as well as missing opportunities to develop policies to encourage less-artificial reproduction and replenishment of the eco-sphere.

The causal link to pollution stops at the disposal of waste materials and artificially produced chemicals. While the causal link isolated certain people as the agents behind pollution, the linkage to resource extraction and consumption has not yet been made. Without this connection being completed, it is difficult to illustrate that harm occurred when the natural environment (or ecology) is conceived solely as a resource to be used. The eco-system approach has been dichotomized into two absolute 'self-sustaining' systems: human and natural. These systems are linked in terms of human use of the natural ecology where both systems are geared to support humanity. This dichotomy is referred to as an utilitarian approach to sustainable development (CEPA#18, 1994:6). In this context, development may continue as long as people limit their waste rather than limiting both their waste and consumption.

Therefore, the scope of the research agenda remains predominantly dichotomized. While the breath of research has delved into several areas (such as potential risks from airborne substances and locally supplied food) these research projects have not touched upon the intersections of the economical, social, and political with that of the natural, environmental, and ecological (IJC, 1995/6). While natural, environmental, and ecological intersections have already been made, and to some degree been linked to the social (IJC, 1995/6:70-71), the tangents of economics and politics are seen not as causes, but rather as answers to the pollution problem (IJC, 1995/6:93-94). Similarly, the rigor of scientific methodologies maintains in its primacy to provide answers -- while not inferring upon its own causal linkages to facilitating the problems of pollution, damage, and degradation (IJC, 1995/6:85-87). The eco-system approach advanced in the late 1970s concerned itself with conceiving the environment as a living cycle. It did not concern itself with scientific methods that habitually divide and second nature from people's thinking and behaving. In reading the IJC's recent publication, Priorities and Progress Under the GLWQA in which the commission reported on issues of inquiry, emergent trends and organized international responses, the divide between 'mankind' and 'nature' remains.

Maintaining the position that nature provides people with the resources for their own survival privileges humanity as the providers, rather than observing that nature -- in its splendor and abundance -- also provides for human survival. The care and sustenance of the ecology excludes the survival of the natural environment as a means to ensure human sustainability. In studying pollution as a problem, the IJC researched how the human production of waste destroyed the environment, thus causing irreversible harm to the ecological system. Maintaining the split between provision and resource extraction further sustains the dichotomies of taking, consuming, and wasting. Stewardship of the environment and ecology implies directing custodial care of nature for the benefit of human enjoyment of development. Environmental destruction and ecological degradation

cannot be linked as consequences when humans continue to believe they are the sole providers of their own survival and sustainability.

The IJC attempted to keep the Great Lake basin's ecological house in order by utilizing a range of powers and including a variety of stakeholders, thus changing towards a direction advocated by feminist theory. Its attempt to move from positional standpoints to an interest-based orientation illustrates a transformation desired by mediation theory. Peaceable existence is a tenet of feminists' notion of security, both at home and abroad. Since the homeland is both local and global, security is realized by the process of making a sustainable existence respectful of all living forms. Working through the complexity of ecological degradation the IJC attempted to move away from controlling, dominating and coercive methods. As a binational body, the IJC seeks to link 'local' interests to 'global' interests. While I suggest that the IJC has a long way to go towards fully realizing a building approach to resolving conflicts, its mandate to "prevent disputes" and "settle all questions...involving the rights, obligations or interests" (Burpee, 1925:63) is central to a feminist notion of security and peaceable sustainability.

C. FUTURE PROGRESS AND RESTORATIVE STEPS

Currently the IJC endeavors to consider a broader spectrum of problems and initiatives (IJC, 1995/6:117). As it faces these challenges the commission continues to broaden its scope of involvement. The course of this involvement requires many steps including extending invitations to various publics for consultation, research, and policy formation. However, the key factor of the IJC's involvement is its role within the dispute resolution process. Defined by treaty the commission advises and adjudicates; however, it is restricted to recommending policies rather than implementing legislation. (This is not a critique of the absence of implementation in the resolution process, nor of governments having the power to implement law.) To overcome this restriction the IJC attempted to bring parties together to collaborate in resolving ecological disputes. The IJC has

returned to the 1909 Boundary Waters Treaty and the GLWQAs for support in its various explorations and prescriptive tangents to seek ways to modify its dispute resolution role from adjudicator to mediator.

When the IJC included stakeholders' perspectives and identified common interests it started to function as a mediator. The commission facilitated parties towards articulating concerns as a means of both educating and evoking responses towards a restored environment. Consistent inclusion of publics participating in the entire process has yet to occur; however, during the initial stage of problem identification and in early experiments with consultations the IJC was able to expand its range of recommendations that encouraged stakeholders to settle their destructive and conflicting customs.

A 1989 IJC report on the 1978 GLWQA acknowledged public criticisms regarding its uneven history of including the public (IJC, 1989:14-16). This report is significant as it addressed the importance of public involvement to encourage greater efforts of restoration and prevention. Citing public criticisms, the IJC promised to involve citizen input through advisory, consultative, and educative capacities (IJC, 1989:14-16). This same 1989 report noted Aboriginal groups' request to be consulted since they have "lived in harmony" with nature for centuries, yet unlike non-native populations they "are more directly and adversely affected by disruptions" to the ecology (IJC, 1989:15). By expanding participation the IJC continues to move the discourse away from fundamental positions.

This same report indicated a change of power to influence less destructive behaviors. It reiterated the concept of reverse onus as a preventative measure (IJC, 1989:9). The commission also wrote that the RAPs and zero tolerance of toxic substances continued to be thwarted by lack of government support (IJC, 1989:10). Hence matters regarding ecological obligations and prevention seemed to be placed into the public's sphere of responsibility. Lack of government support indicated the failure of punitive enforcement to bring about a change in destructive behaviors (IJC, 1989:10). This suggested a move away from reliance on control and force to influence industry behavior.

Its adoption of a eco-system approach also moved the IJC closer to a holistic understanding of nature. Although this understanding connotes linking people's behavior and thoughts to their treatment of the environment, the analysis above suggests that the IJC remained short of completing a holistic approach. The IJC's 1993-1995 report on the GLWQA reassessed its own scientific inquiry. The commission questioned its adherence to scientific rigor and compared approaches to decipher a way to develop decisions "in the face of uncertainty" (IJC, 1993/5:80). While both the scientific rigor and the eco-system approaches brought forth great advances in understanding restorative efforts, the commission would be better served if it were to "seek out" an assortment of civil, political, and economical assessments (IJC, 1993/5:94). However, before assuming the IJC endorses an alternative to (or expansion of) scientific inquiry, the report indicated that these assessments be brought into the framework of "civil science" (IJC, 1993/5:86,88). Understanding nature is to be kept scientific, but understanding prevention could be made multi-disciplinary. Consequently the IJC reaffirmed scientific expertise which reified scientists as experts and a scientific vision of ecology in all of its mechanistic connotations.

With respect to the IJC's commitment to restoring the vibrancy of Great Lakes region and its position as a binational quasi-judicial body, the IJC continues to be in a unique position to foster prevention, restoration, and development of aspirations held within a building approach to mediating conflicts. Including all stakeholders to make recommendations expands the resolution process its beyond previous inclusion at the identification stage. These efforts connote not only binational political expectations, responsibility and enforcement, but also they engage social and economic expectations to fulfill basic human needs. The expression of societal wants, desires, and interests would also reflect the responsibility to protect and replenish the ecology. These modifications could enable prevention of further destruction and the development of partnering behaviors with all stakeholder parties.

These efforts do not negate the 1909 Boundary Waters Treaty in that it stipulates that the "rights, obligations, and interests of both countries" ought to be involved (Burpee, 1925 and MacKay, 1930). While the powers invested in the IJC by the 1972 and 1978 GLWQAs indicated restoration of the Great Lakes basin premised on water quality, the IJC was also given powers to engage with all the stakeholders to realize these goals. Therefore, the efforts to restore, prevent, and develop entailed an interconnected approach among political, economical, and social actors known to contribute to ecological degradation. The articulation of "rights, obligations, and interests" promises greater participation.

As stated above a different way of conceiving stakeholders participation must take place. Parties at the problem-solving table would then include stakeholders who contribute to ecological destruction, as well as those who rely on the provision of natural substances and the providers of these substances. As previously stated, nature as an entity cannot sit at the table, however in adopting holistic and ecological approaches, there is a movement towards hearing nature's voice. These approaches are to be seen as transcending androcentric philosophies and ideologies. With this re-conception of stakeholder participation, resolution discourse would reflect the parties who most directly face the desolation. In doing so they become involved in the process to develop public policies that address their reality and the problems they face from living in an area controlled and managed by other stakeholders.

Feminist theorizing makes connections with several other theoretical studies -- mediation, ecology and peace -- of which I have outlined. Linked together are strategies to achieve a secure existence for all living things on earth such as a way to deal with disputes and conflicts which ensures an open and dynamic process free from using violence and coercion. This process engenders collaborative and consensus-building amongst all stakeholders. The notions of non-violence, gylanic powers and respect for nature are brought into a conflict resolution practice. Such a framework draws out local

concerns and experiences connecting these with other localities to realize a global picture that also reflects the diversity of each locality. A feminist vision of transformative mediation seeks to fashion a security vehicle in which destructive performances are no longer touted as practical, beneficial or constructive.

Where do we go from here? Being cognizant of the fact that time moves forward, and that development -- even in its most nastiest of ways -- progresses towards the future underscores the fact that we cannot go backwards in time. Restoration may not be able to reverse efforts of manipulation and control. That binational efforts occur within some sort of a condition of ignorance emphasizes the reality that harm is an ever present possibility. If knowing past events increases the ability to withstand further harm, then a start towards developing ways to replenish the ecology begins with inclusion and a shift in power provided by a transformative approach to conflict resolution.

Bibliography

- Agnew, John, "The Territorial Trap: The Geographical Assumptions of International Relations Theory." Review of International Political Economy, Vol 1, No 1, 1994, p53-80.
- Albin, Cecilia, "The Role of Fairness in Negotiation." Negotiation Journal, Vol 9, No 3, July 1993, p223-244.
- Adler, Peter, Karen Lovaas, and Neal Milner, "The Ideologies of Mediation: The Movement's Own Story," Law and Policy, Vol 10, No 4, Oct 1988, p317-339.
- Amy Douglas, J., The Politics of Environmental Mediation, Columbia University Press, New York, 1987.
- Ananthu, Jyoti, and T.S. Ananthu, "Gandhi's Soul-Force and the Preservation of World Peace." Peace and Conflict Resolution in the World Community, Rose, Anima, ed., Vikas Publishing House P.V.T. Ltd., New Delhi, 1991.
- Ashworth, Georgina, ed., A Diplomacy of the Oppressed: New Direction in International Feminism, Zed Books, London, 1995.
- Ashworth, William, The Late Great Lakes, AA Knopf Inc., New York, 1986
- Arnett, Robert, "Soviet Thinking on Nuclear War," Strategic Power USA/USSR, Carl G. Jacobsen, ed., The MacMillan Press, London, 1990, p370-381.
- Aronoff, Phyllis, "A Feminist Approach to Militarism and Peace." Roots of Peace: The Movement Against Militarism in Canada, Shragge Eric, Ronald Babin, and Jean-Guy Vaillancourt eds., Between the Lines, Toronto, 1986, p95-103.
- Axelrod, Robert, "Building Cooperation," A Reader in Peace Studies, Smoker, Paul, et al, Pergamon Press, Oxford, 1990, p21-25.
- , and Robert O. Keohane, "Achieving Cooperation Under Anarchy: Strategies and Institutions." World Politics, Vol 38, Oct 1985, p 226-254.
- Bacon, Francis, A Selection of His Works, Warhaft, Sidney, ed., MacMillan of Canada, 1965.
- Ball, Terence, "New Faces of Power." Rethinking Power, Wartenberg, Thomas E., ed., SUNY Press, Albany, 1992, p14-31.
- Banks, Michael, "The International Relations Discipline: Asset or Liability for Conflict Resolution?", Burton, John, ed., Conflict Management/Resolution, St. Martin's Press, N.Y., 1990, p51-69.
- Baruch Bush, R. and Folger, J., "The Mediation Movement: Four Diverging Views," The Promise of Mediation, Jossey-Bass, San Francisco, 1994, p15-32.
- Bazerman, Max, H., and Harris Sondak, "Judgemental Limitations in Diplomatic Negotiations," Negotiation Journal, Vol 4, No 3, July 1988, p303-316.
- Bercovitch, Jacob, "International Mediation," Journal of Peace Research, Vol 28, No 1, 1991, p3-6.
- , and Jeffrey Langley, "The Nature of the Dispute and the Effectiveness of International Mediation," Journal of Conflict Resolution, Vol 37, No 4, Dec. 1993, p670-691.

- Bercovitch, Jacob, and J. Theodore Anagnoson, Donnette L. Wille, "Some Conceptual Issues and Empirical Trends in the Study of Successful Mediation in International Mediation," ibid. 1991, p7-17.
- Birkeland, Janis, "Ecofeminism: Linking Theory and Practice," Ecofeminism: women, animals, nature. Gaard, Greta, ed., Temple University Press, Philadelphia, 1993, p13-59.
- Black, Peter, W. and Kevin Avruch, "Culture, Power, and International Negotiations: Understanding Palus-US Status Negotiations," Millennium. Vol 22, No 3, 1993, p370-400.
- Blackburn, J. Walton, "Environmental Mediation as an Alternative to Litigation," Policy Studies Journal. Vol. 16, No. 3, Spring, 1988, p562-573.
- Blight, James, G., and Andrew W. Lynch, "Negotiation and the New World Disorder," Negotiation Journal. Vol 8, No 4 Oct 1992, p347-363.
- Bloomfield, L.M., and Gerald F. Fitzgerald, Boundary Waters Problems of Canada and the United States: the International Joint Commission, 1912-1958, Carswell Co. Ltd., Toronto, 1958.
- Bok, Sissela, A Strategy for Peace: Human Values and the Threat of War, Vintage Books, New York, 1990.
- Booth, Ken, "Human Wrongs in International Relations," International Affairs. Vol 71, No 1, 1995, p103-126.
- , "War, Security and Strategy: Towards a Doctrine For Stable Peace," New Thinking about Strategy and International Security. Booth, Ken, ed., Harper Collins Academic, London, 1991.
- , "US Perceptions of Soviet Threat: Prudence and Paranoia," Strategic Power, op cit. p50-71.
- , Strategy and Ethnocentrism. Croom Helm, London, 1979.
- Boutros-Gali, Boutros, An Agenda for Peace. 2nd edition, United Nations, 1995.
- , "Empowering the United Nations", At Issue: Politics in the World Arena. Spiegel, Steven L. and David J. Pervin, eds., 1994, p387-397
- Brock, Lothar, "Security Through Defending the Environment: An Illusion?," New Agendas for Peace Research: Conflict and Security, A Reexamining. Boulding, Elise, ed., Lynne Rienner, Boulder, 1992, p79-102.
- Brock-Utne, Brigit, "Feminist Perspectives on Peace," A Reader in Peace Studies, op cit., p144-150.
- , Educating for Peace: A Feminist Perspective, Pergamon Press, New York, 1985.
- , Feminist Perspectives on Peace and Peace Education, Pergamon Press, New York, 1989.
- Butler, Judith, Gender Trouble: Feminism and The Subversion of Identity, Routledge, New York, 1990.
- Buck, Nancy Lewis, "Grief Reactions and Effective Negotiation," Negotiation Journal, Vol 7, No 1, Jan 1991, p69-84.
- Bunch, Charlotte, and Roxanna Carrillo, "Global Violence against Women: The Challenge to Human Rights and Development," World Security: Challenges for a New Century, Klare, Michael, T., and Daniel C. Thomas, St. Martin's Press, New York, 1994, p256-273.

- Burpee, Lawrence, J., "Insurance For Peace," 1925, Papers Relating to the Work of the International Joint Commission, c1930.
- Buzan, Barry, "Patterns of Global Security in the 21st Century," At Issue, *op cit.*, p237-257.
- , "Is International Security Possible?," New Thinking, *op cit*, p31-55.
- Capra, Fritjof, The Turning Point: Science, Society, and the Rising Culture, Bantam, New York, 1982.
- Cappon, Paul, "The Movement and the Levers of Peace," Roots of Peace, *op cit*, p156-164.
- Carroll, Berenice A., "Feminism and Pacifism: Historical and Theoretical Connections," Women and Peace: Theoretical, Historical, and Practical Perspectives, Pierson, Ruth Roach, Croom Helm, London, 1987, p2-27.
- Centre for International Studies, Canada 21: Canada and Common Security in the Twenty-First Century, Toronto, 1994.
- Chan, Steve, "Grasping the Peace Dividend: Some Propositions on the Conversion of Swords into Plowshares," Mershon International Studies Review, Vol 39, 1995, p53-95.
- Chandler, Zala, "Antiracism, Antisexism, and Peace (Sapphires' Perspective)," Rocking the Ship of State: Towards a Feminist Peace Politics, Harris, Adrienne, and Ynestra King eds., West View, Boulder, 1989, p25-34
- Cimbala, Stephen J., chapter two, Military Persuasion, Deterrence and Provocation in Crisis and War, The Pennsylvania State University Press, Pennsylvania, 1994, p73-120.
- Cobb, Sara, "A Narrative Perspective on Mediation," New Directions in Mediation, Folger, Joseph P., and Tricia S. Jones eds., Sage, Thousand Oaks, 1994, p48-63.
- Cohn, Carol, "Sex and Death in the Rational World of Defense Intellectuals," Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society, Vol 12, No. 4, 1987, p687-718.
- Connolly, W.E., "The Politics of Territorial Democracy," Identity/Difference: Democratic Negotiations of Political Paradox, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 1991.
- Cooper, Kathy and Kai Millyard, The Great Lakes Primer, Pollution Probe, Toronto, 1986.
- Costantino, Cathy, A., and Christina Sickles Merchant, Designing Conflict Management Systems: A Guide to Creating Productive and Healthy Organizations, Jossey-Bass, San Francisco, 1996.
- Curle, Adam, Making Peace, Tavistock Publications, London, 1971.
- Daalder, Ivo H, "Arms Control and the End of the Cold War," At Issue, *op cit*, p210-229.
- de Seve, Micheline, "Feminism and Pacifism, or the art of Tranquilly playing Russian Roulette," Women and Peace, *op cit*, p44-49.
- Dinnerstein, Dorothy, "What Does Feminism Mean?," Rocking the Ship of State: Toward a Feminist Peace Politics, *op cit*, p13-23
- Downie, Bryan, M., "When Negotiations Fail: Causes of Breakdown and Tactics for Breaking the Stalemate," Negotiation Journal, Vol 7, No 2, April 1991, p175-186.

- Doyle, Michael, "Liberalism and World Politics Revisited", Kegley, C., ed., Controversies in International Relations Theory, St. Martin's Press, N.Y., 1995, p83-106.
- Druckman, Daniel and Richard Harris, "Alternative Models of Responsiveness in International Negotiation." Journal of Conflict Resolution, Vol 34, No 2, June 1990, p234-251.
- Duhan Kaplan, Laura, "Woman as Nurturer: An Archetype which supports Patriarchal Militarism." Hypatia, special issue, Vol 9, No 2, Spring 1994, p123-133.
- Dukes, Frank, "Public Conflict Resolution: A Transformative Approach." Negotiation Journal, Vol 9, No 1, Jan 1993, p45-57.
- Dunn, David J., "Peace Research versus Strategic Studies," New Thinking, *op cit*, p 57-72
- Edwards, Gordon, "Fuelling the Arms Race: Canada's Nuclear Trade." Roots of Peace, *op cit*, p137-147.
- Elworthy, Scilla, "The Assumptions Behind Nuclear Weapons Decisions and Our Role in Changing Them." Surviving Together. The Oliv Palme Lecture Series, 1987.
- Eisler, Riane, Sacred Pleasure: Sex, Myth, and the Politics of the Body -- New Paths to Power and Love, Harper Collins, San Francisco, 1996.
- , The Chalice and The Blade, Harper Collins, San Francisco, 1988.
- Enloe, Cynthia, "Bananas, Bases, and Patriarchy." Women, Militarism and War: Essays in History, Politics, and Social Theory, Eshstain, Jean Bethke, and Sheila Tobias, eds., Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc. New York, 1990, p189-205.
- , Does Khaki Become You?: The Militarisation of Womens' Lives, Pandora, London, 1988.
- Elshtain, Jean Bethke, "The Problem with Peace." Women Militarism and War, *ibid*, p255-266.
- Fisher, Roger, and Scott Brown, "How Can We Accept Those Whose Conduct is Unacceptable?," Negotiation Journal, Vol 4, No 2, April 1988, p125-136.
- Fisher, Roger, and William Ury, with Bruce Patton, Getting to Yes: Negotiating Agreement Without Giving In, second edition, Penguin, New York, 1991.
- Fisher, Ronald, J, "Generic Principles for Resolving Intergroup Conflict," Journal of Social Issues, Vol 50, No 1, 1994, p47-65.
- , and Loreleigh Keashly, "The potential complementarity of Mediation and consultation within a contingency model of third party intervention," Journal of Peace Research, Vol 28, No 1, 1991, p 29-42.
- Fritsch, Bruno, "On the Way to Ecologically Sustainable Economic Growth," International Political Science Review, Vol 16, No 4, 1995, p361-374.
- Folger, Joseph P., and Tricia S. Jones, "Epilogue: Toward Furthering Dialogue Between Researchers and Practitioners." New Directions in Mediation, *op cit*, p209-221.
- Forsey, Helen, "Back to the Quagmire." Alternatives, Vol 19, No 3, 1993, p47-49.

- Gadlin, Howard. "Conflict Resolution, Cultural Differences, and the Culture of Racism." Negotiation Journal. Vol 10, No 1, Jan. 1994, p33-47.
- Galtung, Johan. "Violence, Peace, and Peace Research." Journal of Peace Research. Vol 6, 1969. p167-191.
- Gangal, S.C., "Gandhi and World Peace," Peace and Conflict Resolution in the World Community, op cit, p106-119.
- Gandhi, Mohandas K., "Means and Ends; Passive Resistance: The Atom Bomb, America and Japan," Vasquez, J. A., Classics of International Relations. Englewoods-Cliff, 1986.
- Gilbert, Felix, "Machiavelli: The Renaissance of the Art of War," Makers of Modern Strategy: From Machiavelli to the Nuclear Age, Peter Paret, ed., Princeton University Press. Princeton. 1986, p11-31.
- Gilligan, Carol, "Hearing the difference: Theorizing connection." Hypatia. Vol. 10, No 2, Spring 1995, p120-127.
- Grant, Rebecca. "The Sources of Gender Bias in International Relations Theory." Gender & International Relations. Grant, Rebecca, and Kathleen Newland. eds.. Indiana University Press. Indiana. 1991. p8-26.
- Guha, Ramachandra. "Towards a Cross-cultural Environmental Ethic." Alternatives. Vol 15. 1990. p431-447.
- Hanlon, Gail. "Envisioning a Partnership Future." Women of Power, issue 24, Winter 1995. p20-27.
- Halliday, Fred. "International Relations: Is there a new Agenda?." Millennium. Vol 20, No 1, 1991. p57-72.
- . "Hidden from International Relations: women and the international arena." Gender and International Relations. op. cit., p158-169.
- Harding, Sandra. "The Instability of the Analytical Categories of Feminist Theory." Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society. Vol 11, No 4, 1986, p645-664.
- Harrington, Christine B. and Sally Engle Merry. "Ideological Production: The Making of Community Mediation." Law and Society Review. Vol. 22, No 4, 1988. p709-735.
- Harrington, Mona. "What Exactly is Wrong with the Liberal State as an Agent of Change?." Gendered States: Feminist (Re)Visions of International Relations Theory, V. Spike Peterson, ed., Lynne Rienner, Boulder, 1992, p63-82.
- Harris, Adrienne, "Bringing Artemis to Life: A Plea for Militance and Aggression in Feminist Peace Politics." Rocking the Ship of State, op cit, p93-114.
- Hartsock, Nancy, C. M., "Gender and Sexuality: Masculinity, Violence and Domination," Rethinking Power, op cit, p249-276.
- , "Masculinity, Heroism, and the Making of War," Gendered States, op cit, p133-152.
- Hawkesworth, Mary, "Knowers, Knowing, Known: Feminist Theory and Claims of Truth," Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society, Vol 14, No 3, 1989, p533-57.
- Hirschmann, Nancy J., "Toward a Feminist Theory of Freedom." Political Theory. Vol 24, No 1, Feb. 1996. p46-67.

- Hobbes, Thomas, Leviathan, MacPherson, C.B. ed., Penguin Classics, Toronto, 1985.
- Holsti, K.J., International Politics, A Framework for Analysis, 6th ed., Prentice Hall, New Jersey, 1992.
- Homer-Dixon, Thomas, "Environment Scarcity and Intergroup Conflict," World Security: Challenges for a New Century, Klare, M. and Thomas Danies, eds., St. Martin's Press, New York, 1994, p290-313.
- Honeyman, Christopher, "On Evaluation Mediators," Negotiation Journal, Vol 6, No 1, Jan. 1990, p23-36.
- hooks, bell, Feminist Theory: From Margin to Centre, Boston: South End Press, 1984.
- Howard, Michael, Clausewitz, Oxford University Press, New York, 1993.
- Jagger, Alison, M., Feminist Politics and Human Nature, Rowman and Allanheld, Publishers, Sussex, 1983.
- Jain, Devaki, "Perspectives in Conflict Resolution Emerging from Women's Experience," Peace and Conflict Resolution in the World Community, op cit. p146-160.
- Jeffery, Michael I., "Science and the Tribunal," Alternatives, Vol.15, No. 2, 1988, p24-30.
- Jones, Kathleen, B., "Citizenship in a Woman-Friendly Polity," Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society, 1990, vol 15, #4, p781-812.
- Kartez, Jack D., and Peter Bowman, "Quick Deals and Raw Deals: A Perspective on Abuses of Public ADR Principles in Texas Resource Conflicts," Environmental Impact Assessment Review, Vol. 13, 1993, p319-330.
- Kegley, Charles W., and Eugene R Wittkopf, eds., World Politics: Trend and Transformation, 5th ed., St. Martin's Press, New York, 1995.
- Keohane, Robert O. "International Relations Theory: contributions of a feminist standpoint," Gender and International Relations, op cit., p41-50.
- Kheel, Marti, "From Heroic to Holistic Ethics: The Ecofeminist Challenge," Ecofeminism: women, animals, nature, Gaard, Greta, ed., Temple University Press, Philadelphia, 1993, p243-271.
- Kincade, William, "American National Style and Strategic Culture," Strategic Power, op cit. p10-33.
- Kirk, Gwyn, "Women Resist Ecological Destruction," Diplomacy of the Oppressed, op cit., p69-89.
- Konasewich, Dennis, "The Most Difficult Problem: Toxins and the Lakes," Rousmaniere, John, ed., The Enduring Great Lakes: A Natural History Book, WW Norton & Co., New York, 1979, p63-74.
- Kriesberg, Louis, "Formal and Quasi-Mediators in International Disputes: An Exploratory Analysis," Journal of Peace Research, Vol 28, No 1, 1991, p19-27.
- Kroeger-Mappes, Joy, "The Ethic of Care vis-à-vis the Ethic of Rights: A Problem for Contemporary Moral Theory," Hypatia, vol 9, No 3, Summer 1994, p108-131.
- Langford, George B., "Some Aspects of the Great Lakes Pollution," paper given Nov.6, 1965 during United Action for Clear Water Conference.
- Large, Judith, "Feminist Conflict Resolution," Diplomacy of the Oppressed, op cit., p23-32.

- Lederach, John Paul, Preparing for Peace: Conflict Transformation Across Cultures. Syracuse University Press, Saracuse, 1995.
- Levinger, George and Jeffrey Z. Rubin, "Bridges and Barriers to a More General Theory of Conflict," Negotiation Journal, Vol 10, No 1, Jan 1994, p33-47.
- Li, Huey-li, "A Cross-Cultural Critique of Ecofeminism," Ecofeminism: women, animals, nature, op cit. p272-294.
- Long, David, "The Harvard School of Liberal International Theory: A case for Closure," Millienium, Vol 24, No. 3, 1995, p489-505.
- Machiavelli, Niccolo, The Prince. Penguin Books, Toronto, 1981.
- , The Art of War. Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., New York, 1965.
- Mack, Phyllis, "Feminine Behavior and Radical Action: Franciscans, Quakers, and the Followers of Gandhi," Rocking the Ship of State, op cit, p207-233.
- MacKay, Robert. A., "The International Joint Commission Between the United States and Canada," Papers Relating to the Work of the International Joint Commission, c1930.
- MacNeill, Jim, "The Greening of International Relations," International Journal, Vol 45, No 1, Winter, 1989-1990, p1-35.
- Mathur, Purnima, "On Conflict Resolution," Peace and Conflict Resolution in the World Community, op cit, p106-119.
- Mandell, Brian S. and Brian W. Tomlin, "Mediation in the Development of Norms to Manage Conflict: Kissinger in the Middle East," Journal of Peace Research, Vol 28, No 1, 1991, p43-55.
- McCalla Vickers, Jill, "Memoirs of an Ontological Exile: The Methodological Rebellions of Feminist Research," Feminism in Canada. Miles, Angela, and Geraldine Fin, eds., Black Rose Books, Montreal, 1982.
- Mead, Margaret, "Warfare is Only an Invention - Not a Biological Necessity", Vasquez, J.A. ed., Classics of International Relations. Englewoods-Cliff, 1986.
- Merchant, Carolyn, The Death of Nature: Women, Ecology and the Scientific Revolution, Harper & Row, San Francisco, 1980.
- Merry, Sally Engle, "Myth and Practice in The Mediation Process," Mediation and Criminal Justice: Victims, Restitution and Reconciliation, Wright, M., and B. Gallaway, eds., Sage, Thousand Islands, 1989, p239-250.
- Menkel-Meadow, Carrie, "The Many Ways of Mediation: The Transformation of Traditions, Ideologies, Paradigms, and Practices," Negotiation Journal, Vol 11, No 3, July 1995, p217-242.
- Michel, Andrée, "Militarisation of Contemporary Societies and Feminism in the North," Diplomacy of the Oppressed, op cit., p33-51.
- Mies, Maria and Vandana Shiva, Ecofeminism. Fernwood Publications, Halifax, and Zed Books, London, 1993.

- Miller, Jean Baker, "Women and Power," Rethinking Power, op cit, p240-248.
- Mische, Patricia, M., "Security through Defending the Environment: Citizens say Yes!," New Agendas for Peace Research Conflict and Security, Re-examinig, op cit, 1992, p103-119.
- Moore, Christopher, "Mediator Communication annd Influence in Conflict Management Interventions," New Directions in Mediation, op cit, p209-221.
- , "How Mediation Works," The Mediation Process: Practical Strategies for Resolving Conflict, Jossey-Bass, San Francisco, 1986, p13-43.
- Molloy, Patricia, "Subversive Strategies" or Subverting Strategy: Toward a Feminist Pedagogy," Peace Research. The Canadian Journal of Peace Studies, Vol 27, No. 3, August 1995, p75-95.
- Morgan, T. Clifton, "Mediators, allies and opportunists: Third Parties in Internatonal crises," Rationality and Politics, Booth, James and H.Meadwell, eds., London: Cambridge Press, 1994, p266-280.
- Mortimer, Clifford, H., "The Enduring Great Lakes Natural History," The Enduring Great Lakes: A Natural History Book, op cit, p1-12.
- Nader, Laura, "Harmony Models and the Construction of Law," Conflict Resoulution: Cross-Cultural Perspectives, Avruch, Black and Scimecca, eds., Greenwood Press, Westport, 1991, p41-59.
- Nakarada, Radmila, "The Contribution of Social Movements to Common Security," Surviving Together, op cit., p201-211.
- Neale, Margaret, A., and Max H. Bazerman, "Perspectives for Understanding Negotiation: Viewing Negotiation as a Judgemental Process," Journal of Conflict Resolution, Vol 29, No 1, March 1985, p33-55.
- Newland, Kathleen, "From Transnational Relationships to International Relations: Women in Development and the International Decade for Women," Millenium, Vol 17, No. 3, 1988, p507-516.
- Neufeld, Beverly, "The Marginalization of Peace Research in International Relations," Millenium, Vol 22, No 2, 1993, p165-184.
- Pateman, Carole, "Feminism and Democracy," Democratic Theory and Practice, Duncan, Graeme, ed., Cambridge University Press, 1983, p204-217.
- , "The Disorder of Women:" Women, Love and the Sense of Justice," Ethics, Vol 91, No 1, 1980, pp20-24.
- Peterson, Spike, V., "The Politics of Identity in International Relations," The Fletcher Forum of World Affairs, Vol 17, No 2, 1993, p1-12.
- , "Security and Sovereign States: What Is at Stake in Taking Feminism Seriously," V.S. Peterson, ed., Gendered States: Feminist (Re)Visions of International Relations Theory, op cit, p31-64.
- , "Whose Right?: A Critique of the 'Givens' in Human Rights Discourse," Alternatives, Vol 15, 1990, p303-344.
- , and Anne Sisson Runyan, Global Gender Issues: Dilemmas in World Politics, Westview Press, Boulder, 1993.

- Phillips, Anne, "Public Spaces, Private Lives." Engendering Democracy. Polity Press, Oxford, 1991, p92-119.
- Pirages, Dennis, "Demographic Change and Ecological Insecurity," World Security: Challenges for a New Century, op cit. p314-331.
- Platter, Adele G. and Thomas Mayer, "A Unified Analysis of Conflict and Cooperation," Journal of Peace Research. Vol 26, No 4, 1989, p367-383.
- Pollitt, Katha, Reasonable Creatures: Essays on Women and Feminism, Alfred A Knopf, New York, 1995.
- Postupalsky, Serjej, "The Bald Eagle Return," The Enduring Great Lakes: A Natural History Book, op cit. p75-84.
- Putnam, Linda. L., "Challenging the Assumptions of Traditional Approaches to Negotiation," Negotiation Journal. Vol 10, No 4, Oct 1994, p337-346.
- Pruitt, Dean. G., and William Rick Fry, "Conflict Escalation & Problem Solving," Peace: Meanings, Politics, Strategies, Forcey, Linda Rennie, ed., Praeger, New York, 1989, p149-162.
- Rath, Biraja Shankar, "Gandhi and International Conflict Resolution," Peace and Conflict Resolution in the World Community, op cit. p120-145.
- Rapoport, Anatol, Strategy and Conscience, Harper & Row, New York, 1964.
- Reardon, Betty, Women and Peace: Feminist Visions of Global Security, State of New York Press, Albany, 1993.
- , "Feminist Concepts of Peace and Security," A Reader in Peace Studies, op cit., p136-143.
- , Sexism and War, Teachers College Press, Columbia University, New York, 1985.
- Ren, Zhou Dun, "Yin-Yang Theory and Conflicts," Conflict Between People and Groups: causes, processes, and resolutions, Worchel, Stephen, and Jeffry Simpson, eds., Nelson-Hall Publishers, Chicago, 1993, p 233-235.
- Renner, Michael, Mario Pianta, and Cinzia Franchi, "International Conflict and Environmental Degradation," New directions in Conflict Theory, Conflict Resolution and Conflict Transformation, Raimo Vayrynen, ed., International Social Science Council (ISSC), London, 1991, p108-128.
- Richard, Debrah, "Regulatory Negotiation: An Assessment of its Application," Environmental Impact Assessment Review, Vol 13, 1993, p189-198.
- Rifken, Janet, "The State of the Field: Conflict Resolution," lecture, October 3, 1996, Carleton University, Ottawa.
- , "The Practitioner's Dilemma," New Directions in Mediation, op cit, p204-208.
- Rigby, Andrew, "Unofficial Nonviolent Intervention: Examples from the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict," Journal of Peace Research, vol 32, No 4, 1995, p453-467.
- Roberts, Brad, "Arms Control and the End of the Cold War," At Issue, op cit, p191-120.
- Robinson, John, George Francis, Russel Legge, and Sally Lerner, "Defining a Sustainable Society," Alternatives, Vol 17, No 2, 1990, p36-45.

- Ross, Lee, and Constance Stillinger, "Barriers to Conflict Resolution," Negotiation Journal, Vol 7, No 4, Oct. 1991, p389-404.
- Rosecrance, Richard, "A New Concert of Powers." At Issue, *op cit.*, p43-57.
- Rubin, Jeffrey, Z., and Frank E.A. Sander, "Culture, Negotiation and the Eye of the Beholder." Negotiation Journal, Vol 7, No 3, July 1991, p249-254.
- Ruddick, Sara, "The Rationality of Care." Women, Militarism & War, *op cit.* p229-254.
- Sadler, Barry, "Mediation Provisions and Options in Canadian Environmental Assessment." Environmental Impact Assessment Review, Vol 13, 1993, p375-390.
- Salem, Paul E., "A Critique of Western Conflict Resolution from a Non-Western Perspective." Negotiation Journal, Vol 9, No 4, Oct. 1993, p361-369.
- Santa Barbara, Joanna, "Values of a Non-violent Society." Peace Research, *op cit.*, p47-50.
- Saunders, Harold H., "We Need a Larger Theory of Negotiation: The importance of Pre-negotiation Phases." Negotiation Journal, Vol 1, No 3, July 1985, p249-262.
- Scholte, Jan Aart, "From power politics to social change: an alternative focus for international studies." Review of International Studies, Vol 19, 1993, p3-21.
- Shaw, Martin, "There is No Such Thing as Society: Beyond Individualism and Statism in International Security Studies." Review of International Studies, Vol 19, 1993, p159-175.
- Shiva, Vandana, "Conflicts of Global Ecology: Environmental Activism in a Period of Global Reach." Alternatives, vol 19, 1994, p195-207.
- Shuman, Micheal H, and Hal Harvey, eds. "Security without War: A Post Cold War Foreign Policy." Westview Press, 1993.
- Sigler, John, "The Continuing Search for Peace: the Changing agenda for Peace Studies in the 1990s," based on a lecture presented to "Science for Peace," April 11, 1991, Toronto: University College Lectures in Peace Studies, p25-38.
- Silbey, Susan, "Mediation Mythology," Negotiation Journal, Vol 9, No 4, Oct 1993, p349-353.
- Smith, Heather, "Seeking Certainty and Finding None: Reflections on the 1991 Canadian Foreign Policy Review," Canadian Foreign Policy, Vol. 3, No. 1, Spring 1994, p117-124.
- Smith, Standford, H., "Pushed toward Extinction: The Salmon and Trout," The Enduring Great Lakes: A Natural History Book, *op cit.* p33-46.
- Snyder, Jack, "The Concept of Strategic Culture: Caveat Emptor," Strategic Power, *op cit.* p3-9.
- Sterba, James P., "Feminist Justice and The Pursuit of Peace," Hypatia, special issue, Vol 9, No 2 Spring 1994, p173-187.
- Suenstra, Deborah, "Can the silence be broken? Gender and Canadian Foreign Policy," International Journal, Vol L, No 1, Winter 1994-5, p103-127.

- Stoermer, Eugene, "Bloom and Crash: Algae in the Great Lakes," The Enduring Great Lakes: A Natural History Book, op cit, p13-20.
- Stuckey, Ronald, "The Decline of Flowering Plants," The Enduring Great Lakes: A Natural History Book, op cit, p21-32.
- Susskind, Lawrence, and Alan Weinstein, "Towards a Theory of Environmental Dispute Resolution," Boston College Environmental Affairs Law Review, Vol 9, 1980-1982, p311-357.
- Summy, Ralph, "The Efficacy of Non-Violence: Examining the Worst Case Scenerio," Peace Research, Vol 25, No. 2, May 1993, p1-19.
- Swarup, Hem Lata, "Women's Global Peace Movement: A Focus on Women's Organizations, Issues and Methods," Peace and Conflict Resolution in the World Community, op cit, p161-187.
- Swerdow, Amy, Women Strike for Peace: Traditional Motherhood and Radical Politics, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1993.
- Swift, Richard, "The Environmental Challenge: Towards a Survival Economy," Conflicts of Interest: Canada and the Third World, Swift, Jamie and Brian Tomlinson, eds., Between the Lines, Toronto, 1991, p213-240.
- Takala, Annika, "Feminist Perspective on Peace Education," Journal of Peace Research, vol 28, No 2, 1991, p231-235.
- Tickner, Ann J, "Re-visioning Security," International Relations Theory Today, Booth, Ken, and Steve Smith, Pennsylvania State University Press, Pennsylvania, 1995, p175-197.
- , "States and Markets: An Ecofeminist Perspective on International Political Economy," International Political Science Review, Vol 14, No 1, 1993, p59-69.
- , "Hans Morgenthau's Principles of Political Realism: a Feminist Reformation," Gender and International Relations, op. cit., p27-40.
- , "Local Self-Reliance versus Power Politics: Conflicting Priorities of National Development," Alternatives, Vol 11, 1986, p461-483.
- Touval, Saadia, "Ethical Dilemmas in International Mediation," Negotiation Journal, Vol 11, No 4, Oct 1995, p333-337.
- Tuchman Matthews, Jessica, "Redefining National Security," At Issue, op cit., p458-470.
- Ury, William, Getting Past No: Negotiating Your Way from Confrontation to Cooperation, Batham Books, New York, 1991
- , Jeanne M. Brett, and Stephen B. Goldberg, "Dispute Systems Design: An Introduction," Negotiation Journal, Vol 5, No 4, Oct 1989, p357-405.
- van de Vliert, Evert, "Questions about the Strategic Choice Model of Mediation," Negotiation Journal, Vol 8, No 4, Oct 1992, p379-390.
- Vance, Linda, "Ecofeminism and the Politics of Reality," Ecofeminism: women, animals, nature, op cit, p118-145.

- Vayrynen, Ramio, "To Settle or to Transform? Perspectives on the Resolution of National and International Conflicts," New direction in Conflict Theory, Conflict Resolution and Conflict Transformation, *op cit.* p1-25.
- , "Common Security, and the State System," Surviving Together, *op cit.*, p 39-57.
- Verba, Sidney, "Assumptions of Rationality and Non-Rationality in Models of the International Systems." The International System: Theoretical Essays, Korr, Klaus, and Sidney Verba, eds., Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961, p93-117.
- von Clausewitz, Carl, On War, Anatol Rapoport, ed., Penquin Books, London, 1968.
- Wall, James A. Jr., and Ann Lynn, "Mediation: A Current Review," Journal of Conflict Resolution, Vol 37, No1, March 1993, p160-194.
- Watson, Carol, "Gender versus Power as a Predictor of Negotiation Behavior and Outcomes." Negotiation Journal, Vol 10, No 2, April 1994, p117-141.
- Weber, Cynthia, "Dissimulating Intervention: A Reading of the US-Led Intervention into Haiti." Alternatives, Vol 20, No 3, 1995, p265-278.
- Weller, Paul, Fresh Water Seas: Saving the Great Lakes, Between the Lines, Toronto, 1990.
- , John Jackson, and the Waterloo Public Interest Research Group, Chemical Nightmare: The Unnecessary Legacy of Toxic Wasters, Between the Lines, Toronto, 1982.
- Whitworth, Sandra, Feminism and International Relations, St. Martin's Press, New York, 1994, p11-38.
- Woodhouse, Philip, "Environmental Degradation and Sustainability," Poverty & Development in the 1990s, Allen, Tim and Alan Thomas, eds., Milton Keyenes: Oxford University Press, 1992, p97-115.
- Working Together: New Ways of Resolving Local Development Disputes, Proceedings of a Conference held April 10-12, 1992, Victoria, British Columbia, sponsored by the University of Victoria for Dispute Resolution and Heritage Canada through the Canadian Centre for Livable Places, 1992.
- Worchel, Stephen, Dawna Coutant-Sassic, and Frankie Wong, "Toward a More Balanced View of Conflict: There is a Positive Side." Conflict Between People and Groups: causes, processes, and resolutions, *op cit.* p76-89.
- Zalewski, Marysia, "Well, what is the feminist perspective on Bosnia?," International Affairs, Vol 71, No 2, 1995, p339-356.
- , "Feminist Theory and International Relations," From Cold War to Collapse: Theory and World Politics in the 1980s, Bowker, Mike, and Robin Brown, eds., Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1993.
- Zartman, William I., and Saadia Touval, "International Mediation in the Post-Cold War Era," Managing Global Chaos: Sources and responses to International Conflict, Crocker, Chester A, Fen Osler Hampson and Pamela Hall, eds., US Institute of Peace, Washington, DC, 1996, p445-461.

Government Documents

Baxter, Rachel Rolston, "Conflict Resolution and Sustainable Development: An Alternative Dispute Resolution Policy for Ontario. A Study for the Ontario Round Table on Environment and Economy. April 1992.

Canada and the United States, Great Lakes Water Quality Agreement of 1972, signed April. 15, 1972. IJC. 1972.

Canada and the United States, Great Lakes Water Quality Agreement of 1978, signed Nov. 22, 1978, revised. IJC, 1987.

Department of the Environment, Canada, Environment Protection Legislation Designed for the Future: A Renewed CEPA, a proposal, CEPA Review, The Government Response, 1995.

Department of the Environment, Canada, Reviewing CEPA: The Issues #13, Negotiated Settlements: An Enforcement Option, 1994.

Department of the Environment, Canada, Reviewing CEPA: The Issues #18, CEPA and the Precautionary Principle/Approach, 1994.

Focus, Vol. 5, Nos. 1-4, IJC newsletter, 1979.

Great Lakes Levels Board (GLLB), Further Regulation of Great Lakes, IJC, 1976.

Great Lakes Levels Board, Regulation of Great Lakes Water Levels: A Summary Report, 1974, IJC, 1974.

Great Lakes Research Advisory Board (GLRAB), Annual Report, IJC, July 1978.

Great Lakes Research Advisory Board, The Ecosystem Approach, Scope and Implications of an Ecosystem Approach to transboundary problems in the Great Lakes Basin, Special Report to the International Joint Commission, 1978.

Great Lakes Research Advisory Board, Third Semi-annual Report, IJC, April 1974.

Great Lakes Research Advisory Board, Semi-annual Report, IJC, September 1973.

Great Lakes Water Quality Board (GLWQB), Annual Report, IJC, 1976.

Great Lakes Water Quality Board, Annual Report, IJC, 1974.

Great Lakes Water Quality Board, Annual Report, IJC, 1972.

International Joint Commission (IJC), 1993-1995 Priorities and Progress Under the GLWQA, August, 1995.

International Joint Commission, Fifth Biennial Report under the GLWQA of 1978 to the Governments of the United States and Canada and the State and Provincial Governments of the Great Lakes Basin, 1989.

International Joint Commission, First Biennial Report under the Great Lakes Water Quality Agreement, 1978.

International Joint Commission, New and Revised Great Lakes Water Quality Objectives, Oct., 1977.

International Joint Commission, Annual Report, 1975.

International Joint Commission, Annual Report on the Great Lakes Water Quality. 1972.

International Joint Commission. Annual Report: Recommendations to revise the Great Lakes Water Quality Agreement. 1972.

International Joint Commission, Pollution of Lake Erie, Lake Ontario, and the International Section of the St. Lawrence River. 1970.

International Joint Commission. Final Report of the International Joint Commission On the Lake of the Woods Reference. IJC, Ottawa and Washington. 1917.

International Joint Commission. Final Report of the International Joint Commission On the Pollution of Boundary Waters Reference. IJC, Washington and Ottawa. 1918.

International Reference Group on the Pollution from Land Use Activities (PLUARG), Annual Progress Report. IJC, July 1977.

Pollution from Land Use Activities Reference Group (PLUARG). Environmental Management Strategy for the Great Lakes System. IJC, July 1978.

Ministry of Ontario, the Environment (MOE), "Achievements and Future Directions in Great Lakes Clean-up and Drinking Water Protection." Facts Sheet. c1986.

Report of the Special Joint Committee Reviewing Canadian Foreign Policy, Principles and Priorities: Position Papers: and Dissenting Opinions and Appendices. Ottawa. 1994.

Royal Society of Canada (The). Environment and Security: An Overview of Issues and Research Priorities for Canada. Research Panel on Environment and Security of the Canadian Global Change Program. Technical Report No 96-1. 1996.

Stranks, Robert T., A View of the Forest: Environmental Stress and Violent Conflict and National Security. Policy Staff Paper. Ottawa: Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade. April 1995.

Vontobel, Roy, ed., Man and Wildlife in a Shared Environment. Department of the Environment. 1982.

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