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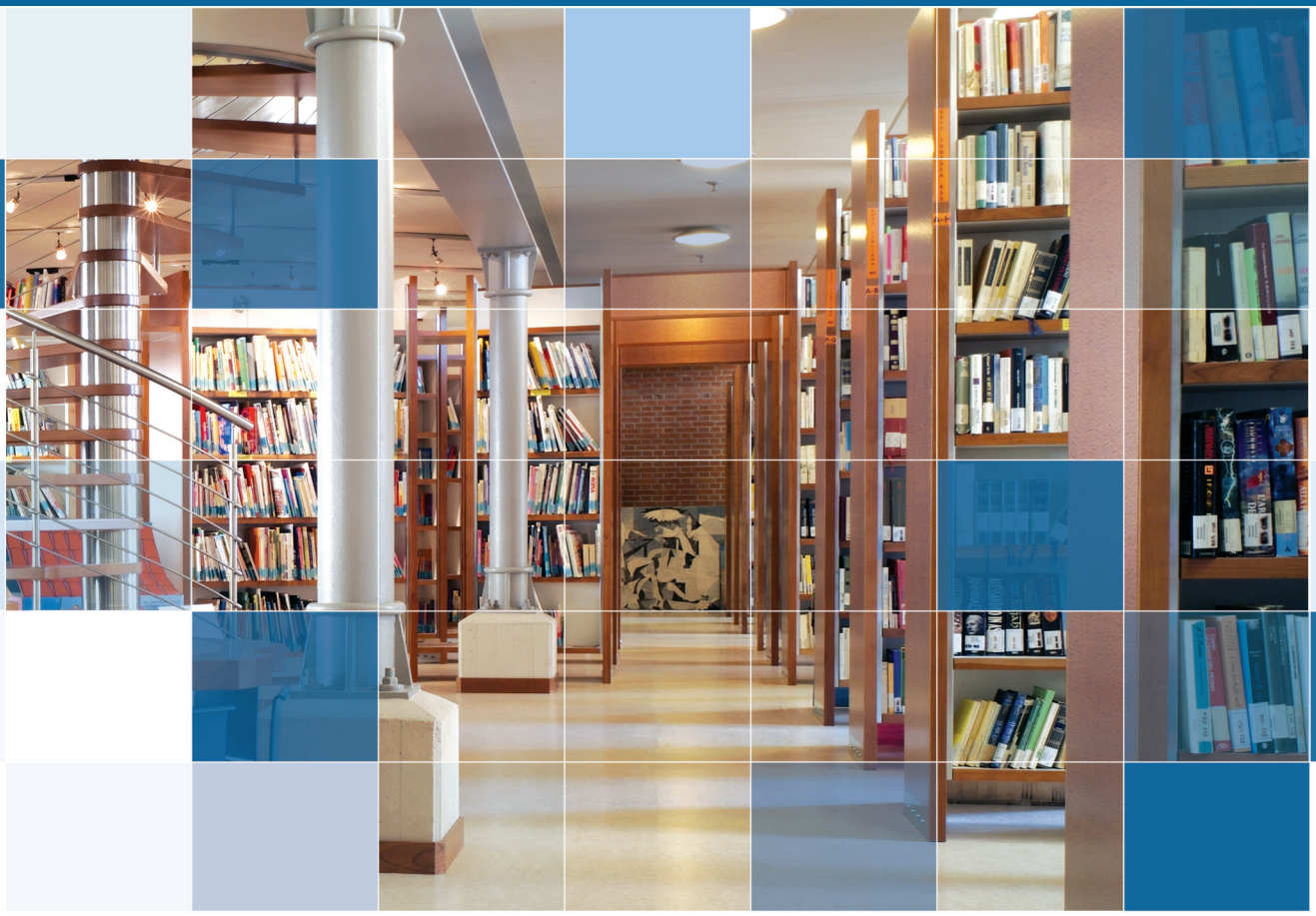

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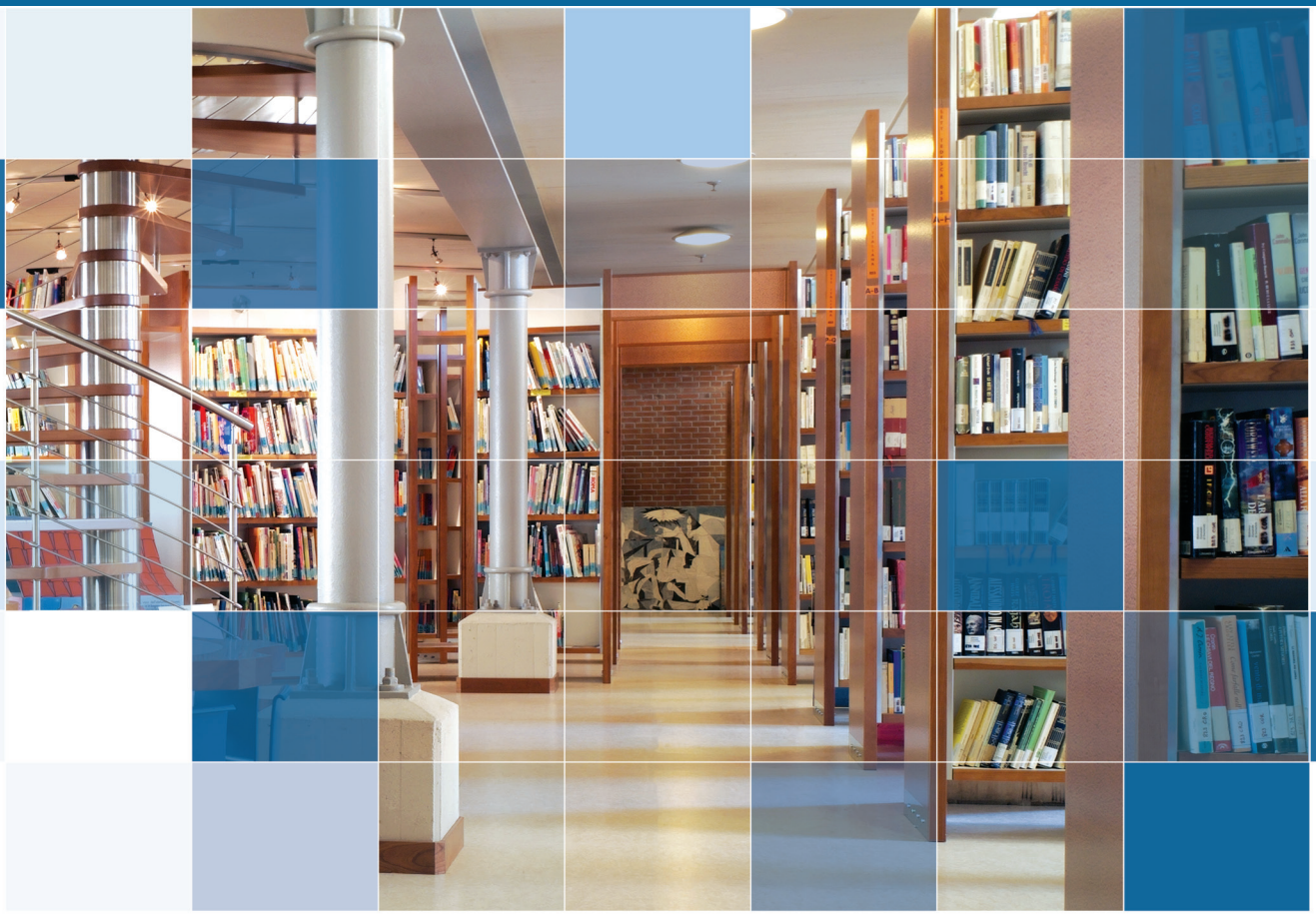
REVUE CANADIENNE DES ÉTUDES SUPÉRIEURES

EN SOCIOLOGIE ET CRIMINOLOGIE



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The Canadian Graduate Journal Of Sociology And Criminology
La Revue Canadienne des Études Supérieures en Sociologie et Criminologie

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CANADIAN GRADUATE JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY AND CRIMINOLOGY

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Understanding the Role of the State in Promoting Capitalist Accumulation: A Case Study of the Canadian Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program

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There is limited in-depth research focusing on how the state exerts its power and influence through immigration laws, policies and practices in structuring the relations of labour and capital in a manner that reflects capitalist interests. Therefore, the purpose of this paper is to explore the role of the state in fostering capitalist accumulation, using the Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program (SAWP) as a case study, and to consider the policy implications of this program. This paper addresses the following questions: What shapes and reproduces labour-capital relations with reference to SAWP? What are the repercussions of these relations, particularly on the international migrant workers? What should be the role of the state and law in transforming these relations? The paper draws on a constellation of insights from neoliberal globalization, segmentation of labour theory, and a conceptual overview of the role of the state in regulating labour-capital relations to illuminate the discussions. This paper helps broaden our current understanding of how the state facilitates capitalist accumulation in the agricultural sector in Canada through immigration policies and practices with reference to the SAWP. The paper therefore makes a contribution to the theoretical debates on the role of the state in the facilitation of capitalist accumulation in agriculture.

Keywords: capitalist accumulation; international migration; immigration policies; Canada.

Il y a peu de recherches approfondies axées sur l'exercice du pouvoir et sur l'influence des lois en matière d'immigration élaborées par l'État, ainsi que sur les politiques et les pratiques de structuration des relations entre les travailleurs et le capital, d'une manière qui reflète les intérêts capitalistes. Par conséquent, l'objectif de ce document est d'explorer le rôle de l'État qui vise à favoriser l'accumulation capitaliste, à l'aide du Programme des travailleurs agricoles saisonniers (PTAS) comme une étude de cas, et d'examiner les conséquences de ce programme. Ce document traite des questions suivantes : quels éléments du PTAS façonnent et reproduisent les relations entre les travailleurs et le capital? Quelles sont les répercussions de ces relations, en particulier sur les travailleurs migrants internationaux? Quel devrait être le rôle de l'État et du droit dans la transformation de ces relations? Afin d'éclairer les discussions, cet article s'appuie sur une constellation de connaissances concernant la mondialisation néolibérale, la théorie de la segmentation du travail, et une présentation conceptuelle du rôle de l'État dans la réglementation des relations entre les travailleurs et le capital. Ce document contribue à élargir notre compréhension actuelle de la manière dont l'État facilite l'accumulation capitaliste dans le secteur de l'agriculture au Canada par des politiques et des pratiques en matière d'immigration reliées au PTAS. Cet article propose donc une contribution aux débats théoriques sur le rôle de l'État dans la facilitation de l'accumulation des capitaux dans le secteur de l'agriculture.

Mots clés: accumulation capitaliste; migration international; politiques d'immigration; Canada.

Introduction

Globally, international migrants are estimated to number 214 million (International Labour Organisation, 2009). Migration is mainly driven by poverty, human rights abuses, social conflict and other forms of adversity in the countries of origin (Ontario Federation of Labour, 2012; International Labor Organization, 2009). Western countries, such as Canada, are the most desired destinations for migrants (Rogaly, 2008; Canadian Council for Refugees, 2010). Research indicates that the industrialized West has seen a growing recruitment of migrant workers, in addition to illegal migration, in recent years (Rogaly, 2008; Trumper & Wong, 2010; Preibisch, 2011). The global North increasingly depends on "low-skilled" temporary foreign workers, mainly from the South, to meet labour-force shortages in different sectors of the economy. Canada, for instance, has increasingly relied on migrant workers in recent years to meet labour shortfalls in low-skilled occupations (Trumper & Wong, 2010; Preibisch, 2012; Vosko, 2013). Occupations designated as low skilled are filled by about 60 per cent of migrants. This includes farm workers and live-in caregivers (Preibisch & Hennebry, 2011). International migrant labour has particularly been the fulcrum for the capitalist accumulation in agriculture (Martin, 1988; Mitchell, 1996; Martin & Martin, 2001).

Despite their indispensable contributions to the economy, temporary migrant workers are confronted with a wide range of vulnerabilities, such as unsafe working conditions, marginalization, discrimination, low wages (due to their migrant status), and a limited access to legal and labour rights in the host countries (McLaughlin, 2009; Trumper & Wong, 2010; Preibisch & Hennebry, 2011; Hennebry, 2012; Preibisch, 2012; Vosko, 2013). These vulnerabilities stem from restrictions on their immigration status that do not grant them full access to a range of services and rights available to the citizens of the hosting countries. The Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program (SAWP) in Canada is a case in point (Canadian Council for Refugees, 2010; Aceytuno and Greenhill, 1999; Ontario Federation of Labour, 2012). This program may be viewed as an attempt to exploit the migrant workers, because they are subject to restrictions linked to their migration status (McLaughlin, 2009; Trumper & Wong, 2010; Hennebry, 2012; Ontario Federation of Labour, 2012; Preibisch, 2012; Vosko, 2013). Some of these restrictions include state control over their travel documents, restrictions on physical mobility, inability to change employer and the work contract, and a limited (or unlikely) path to permanent residency and to citizenship (McLaughlin, 2009; Edmunds, Berman, Basok, Ford-Gilboe, & Forchu, 2011; Ontario Federation of Labour, 2012; Preibisch, 2012; Hennebry, 2012). They are also faced with arbitrary repatriation and termination of their contracts with the slightest demand for improved working and living conditions on the farms where they work (McLaughlin, 2009; Canadian Council for Refugees, 2010; Edmunds et al., 2011; Ontario Federation of Labour, 2012; Hennebry, 2012).

However, there is limited research focusing on how the state exerts its power and influence—through immigration laws, policies and practices—in structuring the relations of labour and capital in a manner that reflects capitalist interests. Therefore, the purpose of this paper is to explore the role of the state in fostering capitalist accumulation, using the SAWP as a case study, and to consider its implications for immigration policy and respect for the legal rights of agricultural workers. This type of case study can in turn help broaden our current understanding of how the state facilitates capitalist accumulation in the agricultural sector in Canada through immigration policies and practices with reference to the SAWP. The following specific research questions are addressed: What shapes and reproduces these labour-capital

relations with reference to SAWP? What are the repercussions of these relations, particularly on the international migrant workers? What should be the role of the state and law in transforming these relations? To answer these questions, the paper critically analyzes the relevant existing body of literature and draws on a constellation of insights from neoliberal globalization, segmentation of labour theory, and conceptual overview of the role of the state in regulating labour-capital relations to illuminate the discussions.

The Impact of Neoliberal Globalization on Poverty and Migration

The increasing rate of international migration, particularly the phenomenal pace of the emergence of temporary migrant workers, is best understood and situated in the context of global neoliberal transformations (Massey, 1998; Martin and Martin, 2001; Basok, 2002; Preibisch, 2007; Hennebry, 2008; Edmunds et al., 2011). Globalization describes "the constellation of processes by which nations, businesses and people are becoming more connected and interdependent via increased economic integration and communication exchange, cultural diffusion (especially of Western culture) and travel" (Labonte & Torgerson, 2005, p.158). This process of globalization is taking place within a neoliberal political-economic environment (Keough, 2006; Sharma, 2006; Rodriguez, 2010). Neoliberalism emphasizes privatization of state enterprises, unfettered market competition, individual autonomy, and the indiscriminate commercialization of public goods—such as education and health care—combined with declining state support for the poor (Bourdieu, 2005; Shaviro, 2010).

Mass poverty and social inequality, heightened economic insecurity, and the increased level of individualism at the expense of social solidarity have become an integral part of this global economic restructuring (Massey, 1998; Basok, 2002; Bourdieu, 2005; Shaviro, 2010). Shaviro (2010, p. 8) argues that "expansive and predatory capitalism is the only system that has found a way to perpetuate itself by means of its own inequities and crises"; he maintains that nothing has ever been able to "constrain human freedom as comprehensively—or as invisibly—as the neo-liberal market has done". Neoliberal political-economic ideology has become a tool for rationalizing abject poverty through the appearance of equal opportunity for all within the unfettered market competition system to sustain itself, without any strong resistance from the disadvantaged populations (Shaviro, 2010). This ideology fosters accumulation of wealth by the few through exploitation of many—individuals, countries and regions (Chow, 2003).

Neoliberal globalization, which is predominantly trumpeted and spearheaded by the global North, has resulted in the creation and heavy presence of transnational corporations and foreign products in terms of both production and consumption (or use) in the global South (Keough, 2006; Rodriguez, 2010). This usually tends to stifle local small-scale industries, particularly those in the agricultural sectors. Basok (2002) argues that "the displacement of Mexican rural producers" by mostly foreign-owned agribusinesses largely accounts for the rising numbers of Mexican migrant workers (p.93). Land grabbing by the large corporations also displaces rural small-scale producers. This leads to increased poverty—as the affected people are pushed out of gainful work—and the subsequent tendency for those involved to search for working opportunities elsewhere, as in the case of Mexican migrant workers involved in the SAWP (Basok, 2002).

World Bank and International Monetary Fund policies—such as the Structural Adjustment Program—based on neoliberal assumptions have worsened the conditions of poor

people, crippled economic growth, and, as a consequence, have sparked state-supported migration in the global South as a mechanism for generating revenue through remittances (Keough, 2006; Rodriguez, 2010). In this context, temporary migrant programs, like the SAWP, create a complex web of economic opportunities, and, at the same time, "real constraints in the form of restricted, dangerous and vulnerable work situations away from one's family" (Edmunds et al., 2011, p.73). The employment of migrant workers is restricted to sectors where the domestic labour force is not willing to work due to the dangerous nature and harsh conditions of the work, as well as the dismal remuneration packages offered, as in the Canadian agricultural sector (Preibisch, 2007). Temporary migrant workers, who fill this labour gap, are confronted with glaring forms of discrimination ranging from differential pay structure to limited access to health and social services (Preibisch, 2007; Goldring, Berinstein & Bernard, 2009; Hennebry, 2012). However, they have become an indispensable work force for high-income countries because the constraining and restrictive nature of their temporary contractual work serves capitalist interests (Sharma, 2006; Walia, 2010).

In sum, global economic transformations have immensely contributed to the rising rate of poverty generally and in the global South in particular, where multinational corporations have displaced small-scale local businesses, and have effectively shattered their means of livelihood—leaving them no better option than to migrate in search of greener pastures (Basok, 2002; Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouci, Pellegrino, & Taylor, 1993; Hennebry, 2012). Hence, Klein (2002, p. 165) contends that migrant workers constitute "the unseen side effect of free trade." It is in this context that Hennebry (2008, p. 353-354) argues that the SAWP is "inherently transnational, recursively related to globalization—stimulated and perpetuated through globalization". The dynamics of neoliberal global transformations shape the pattern of migration locally and internationally. The powerful states (the global North) play a crucial role in promoting capitalist accumulation through neoliberal reforms (Basok, 2002; Harvey, 2003). One way that they do so is through the segmentation of the labour market which allows for differential inclusion of migrant workers (Sharma, 2006) to further the interests of capitalism.

Segmented Labour Market Theory

The segmented labour market means that the labour market is fragmented into several subunits, each with a different package of reward systems, resulting in wage differentials and disparities in working conditions (Doeringer & Piore, 1971). More specifically, the dual labour market theory classifies the labour market into two distinct categories—the primary and the secondary segments (Gordon, 1972). The primary labour market is tied to high skills, high wages, job security, and favourable working conditions, including opportunities for promotion. On the other hand, the secondary market is linked to low skills, low wages, and a high rate of job insecurity (Doeringer & Piore, 1971; Gordon, 1972). This dichotomy suggests the existence of high-wage (good) jobs that have opportunities for career development and low-wage (bad) jobs (Gottfries & McCormick, 1993, p. 2).

There are different versions of what accounts for this segmentation of the labour market. The neo-classical economy theory assumes that labour market segmentation is based on the differences in skills and the capabilities of the individuals (Arrow, 1971, as cited in Reich, Gordon, & Edwards, 1973, p.359). In contrast, the labour market theory suggests that the differences in skill and the competence of employees cannot solely account for the accompanying disparities in wages and working conditions (Gottfries & McCormick, 1993, p.1-2).

Discriminations based on the nature of the industry, race, sex and other socio-demographic characteristics also account for the segmentation (Gordon, 1971, 1972). Minority workers and females are mostly represented in the secondary labour market segment (Reich, Gordon, & Edwards, 1973). Moving from the designated low-skilled category to high-skilled category is extremely difficult, because the latter is a preserve of the privileged group (Gordon, 1971 and 1972; Edwards, 1972; Gottfries and McCormick, 1993).

In her version of split labour market theory, Bonacich (1981) argues that split labour market principally stems from disparities in the price of labour predicated on racial lines. She contends that within the labour market, there are three distinct groups—capital, high-priced and low-priced labour. The high-priced labour—which is more politically powerful in comparison with low-priced labour—seeks to maintain its high-price tag by limiting capital access to 'cheap labour' sources. This approach takes different forms, such as limiting the racialized and the cheapened source of labour to only low-paid jobs, or ensuring their total exclusion from the labour market. These strategies, however, conflict with the interest of capital, which is bent on exploring opportunities to access cheapened labour reserves in order to maximize profit. The SAWP is one such opportunity for capital to exploit cheap labour reserves through immigration policy and practice facilitated by the Canadian Government. The SAWP helps to keep the racialized cheapened source of labour to low-paid, but highly demanding agricultural work.

A radical explanation for the principal driving force behind the persistence and increasing divisions of the labour market is offered by Reich, Gordon and Edwards (1973). They argue that labour market segmentation is an intrinsic feature of the capitalist economic system to facilitate capitalist accumulation. According to them, the political-economic forces that give rise to the divisions in the labour market cannot be explained outside of the capitalist economic system. The division of the labour force into several categories ensures that "the actual experiences of workers were different and the basis of their common opposition to capitalists undermined" (Reich, Gordon, & Edwards, 1973, p.361). Reich, Gordon and Edwards (1973, p. 364) further argue that:

> Labor market segmentation arose and is perpetuated because it is functional—that is, it facilitates the operation of capitalist institutions. Segmentation is functional primarily because it helps reproduce capitalist hegemony… As the historical analysis makes quite clear, segmentation divides workers and forestalls potential movements uniting all workers against employers.

By extension, the labour market divisions are not merely based on the competence and the capability of employees, but rather represent a conscious attempt to weaken workers' united front against capitalism. This fragmentation also "legitimizes inequalities in authority and control between superiors and subordinates" (Reich, Gordon, & Edwards, 1973, p.364). This explanation reflects Marxian perspective on labour-capital relations.

The explanation offered by Reich, Gordon and Edwards (1973) and Bonacich (1981) within the context of the labour market segmentation framework sheds light on the phenomenon of the SAWP. This is because their explanation provides better insights into how the state employs the SAWP as a labour policy tool for promoting capitalist accumulation by means of unfriendly SAWP policies, such as inability of migrant workers to unionize relative to their Canadian counterparts. The SAWP can be conceptualized as a segment of the labour market. This segment created by the Canadian Government ensures continuous flow of cheap labour from abroad with several regulatory shackles, such as the inability of migrants to change employers, to

unionize, and also to get permanent resident status (Edmunds et al., 2011; Ontario Federation of Labour, 2012; Preibisch, 2012; Hennebry, 2012). This facilitates the exploitation of the migrant workers involved in a manner that helps agricultural employers to accumulate wealth through profit maximization.

Conceptual Overview of the Role of the State in Regulating Labour-Capital Relations

According to Marx, the executive of the state is merely a "committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie" (Marx & Engels, 1967). The state is therefore a mechanism for managing divergent interests of the fragmented capitalist groups in the long-term interest of capitalism (Burawoy, 1985; Rutherford, 2004). The SAWP is one way that Canadian Government has restructured the labour market to serve capitalist interests in the agricultural sector (Basok, 2002; Sharma, 2006; Preibisch, 2007; Bauder, 2008). The role of state intervention in the labour market (Burawoy, 1985; Rutherford, 2004) in structuring and institutionalizing overall production and work processes, including political representation of labour (Selwyn, 2012) cannot be overemphasized. The state continues to dominate particularly in "procuring the reservoirs of labour and influencing labour market policy" (Preisbisch, 2012, p. 64). It is exceptionally powerful in shaping the agricultural labour-capital relations (Preisbisch, 2012). More important, Selwyn (2012) contends that the state is not a neutral referee of labour-capital relations, because it collaborates with employers to weaken workers' bargaining power. In supporting this view, Sharma (2006, p. 50) argues that most states increasingly regulate national labour markets through immigration policy, targeting particularly the procurement of migrant workers who are restricted, easily regulated and cheaper. Thus, the immigration policy is a mechanism for "organizing and restructuring employment relationships by making weakened and cheapened forms of labour available" (Preibisch, 2012, p.65).

Additionally, nation states may also formulate restrictive borders and asylum policies in order to cheapen and weaken other groups, such as refugees (Giles, 2010) and undocumented migrants (Heyman, 2010). In this light, immigration restrictions do not only function to exclude people from the global South (Richmond, 1994), but also to include them differentially in the global North (Sharma, 2006). Therefore, Preibisch (2012) asserts that the widening gulf of income inequality and human insecurity between the global North and the South has transformed immigration policy as a site of labour market regulation. He argues further that there has been "a protracted history of state collaboration with employers to weaken farm labour through discriminatory legislation and the supply of labour reservoirs that is over a century old" (Preibisch, 2012, p. 65). Evidence also suggests that in the case of the United States, agricultural employers have successfully influenced immigration policies to meet their labour needs (Griffith, 2006). Critical analysis of the farm-labour history in Canada points to similar findings (Basok, 2002; Hennebry, 2012; Preibisch, 2012).

In light of the foregoing, Hunt (1976) was right in arguing that law is "constitutive" of all social relations; it both reflects and legitimizes the "embedded values of the dominant class(es)" (Hunt, 1976, p. 103). Law directly or indirectly projects the interests of the dominant class(es) or "the power bloc" (Hunt, p. 102). Nonetheless, he argues further that law is a relatively autonomous. By implication, law can serve as a source of transformation to prevent labour exploitation because it is not the case that law is used at all times to disadvantage the subordinate class in society. Such transformation, however, is not automatic; it has to be pressed for peacefully, particularly by the civil society.

The Background of the Canadian Seasonal Agricultural Work Program

The history of Canada's employment of international labour migration is traceable to World War II (Satzewich, 1991). Internal migration from Newfoundland and Quebec was not enough to address the agricultural labour shortfalls in Ontario and British Columbia—as it is today (Hennebry, 2006). In 1966, the Canadian Government granted farmers' demand for foreign migrant workers, and this resulted in the birth of the SAWP, with the first batch of migrant workers from Jamaica in 1966; Trinidad and Tobago were brought on board the following year (Hennebry & Preibisch, 2010). Mexico was included in the SAWP in 1974, and the Organization of Caribbean states in 1976 under the same bilateral memoranda of understanding, which still governs the program presently (Basok, 2007; Hennebry and Preibisch, 2010). Under the SAWP, temporary work visas with a maximum duration of 8 months are issued to temporary international migrants, and the participants are expected to go back to their countries of origin following the end of their contractual work (Preibisch, 2010). This program does not make provisions for "family reunification" in Canada (Preibisch, 2010, p. 411). Currently, the SAWP involves annual movement of an estimated 27000 people from Mexico and the English-speaking Caribbean states to Canadian farms (Hennebry & Preibisch, 2010).

The SAWP is a federal program based on bilateral agreements between Canada and the sending-countries. These bilateral agreements are "formalized" through Memoranda of Understanding; the sending countries, the workers and the employers are parties to the employment contract (Preibisch, 2010, p.412). Agricultural employers in fruit, honey bees, greenhouse, vegetables, and processed food industries, qualify for the SAWP. Human Resource and Social Development Canada (HRSDC) assesses employers' requests for migrant workers, and issues a report on the labour market situation. Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) takes care of the appropriate travel documentation for both employers and workers, which must be approved by the Canadian Border Services Agency (CBSA) (Basok, 2007; Hennebry, 2008). Sending countries recruit and serve as agents in Canada as a point of contact for workers and employers. Workers bear the Canadian visa costs, travelling costs within home countries to and from the airport, medical examination costs, and portions of airfare (FARMS, 2008).

Who Benefits, and Who Loses? Exploring the Implications of the SAWP

Using employer-specific work permits technically constrains migrants' labour mobility to the assigned employers (Hennebry, 2012; Read, Zell, & Fernandez, 2013). Theoretically, migrant workers are allowed to request a transfer to another employer. In practice, however, it is a complex terrain for migrants to navigate, because there are no mechanisms in place to facilitate the process for them (Preibisch, 2010). The program allows transfer between employers on condition that the employers involved arrange and endorse that transfer (Hennebry & Preibisch, 2010). Migrants have no means of requesting any employer transfer. Workers are therefore tied to their employers, because the change of employers is almost unrealistic (Sharma, 2006). The program also allows the employers to segment migrant labour market based on ethnicity, race, citizenship, and gender, a practice which is prohibited in the case of the Canadian domestic labour market (Basok, 2003; Hennebry, 2006). Unsurprisingly, women make up only 3 per cent of all participants, a practice aimed at reducing "sexual tensions on the shop-floor" or to prevent "the development of sexual relationships among the migrants on farm property"—with the

claimed possibility of affecting the pace of farm work (Preibisch, 2010, p. 417). Surprisingly, this blatant discrimination in violation of the Canadian laws on discrimination is packaged in the SAWP as a choice for employers.

The repatriation provisions that authorize employers to dismiss migrant workers at will and to initiate their deportation has become a weapon of control in the hands of employers. The basis for repatriation includes workers' failure to follow the orders of their employers—even if that means refusal to work under unsafe conditions (Hennebry, 2012). There have been instances where workers have been deported as a result of farm injury, sickness, unsafe work, raising complaints, becoming pregnant, and challenging abuses (Preibisch, 2007; Preibisch & Encalada, 2010). Unfortunately, the terms of the SAWP make no provision for any independent body that workers can rely on to either investigate or challenge the ground for the termination of their contracts (Verma, 2003). In view of the fact that there have been cases of arbitrary and unfair repatriations in the past, migrant workers are overly submissive to employers to the detriment of their health and general welfare (Basok, 2007; Preibisch & Encalada, 2010: Edmunds et al., 2011). Accordingly, the threat of repatriation has become an effective instrument of control in the hands of the employers (Basok, 2002; Hennebry, 2012). On-farm housing arrangements have also served as the conduit for employers to impose further constraints on the mobility of the migrant workers off the farm. In most cases, they are not allowed to receive opposite sex visitors, although this practice is against their fundamental human rights (Preibisch, 2007; Preibisch & Encalada, 2010). Farey et al. (2008, p. 6) concur with these findings, arguing that "the SAWP is not protecting workers rights" as a result of a "jurisdictional void" created in the coordination of the program at the federal level. Preibisch (2010) also echoes this concern by arguing that despite the migrants' glaring vulnerability to exploitation and abuse, the Canadian Government has not instituted adequate safeguards to monitor the employers, and to sanction those who break the law.

The SAWP capitalizes on poor people in the global South, who are most unlikely to challenge low wages and to assert their labour rights—such as the right to organize to improve their bargaining power (Basok, 2007). Migrant workers receive lower wages compared to the earnings of their domestic counterparts. A survey that investigated wage differentials between migrant workers and domestic workers found that migrant workers were paid CAD$0.96 per hour lower than that of domestic workers, with the difference doubling in some provinces (Statistics Canada, 2004). International migrants' low wages are further subject to a series of federal and program-related deductions (Hennebry, 2012). The only way for migrant workers to increase their earnings is to agree to work longer shifts—74 hours in a week, or up to 18 hours a day (Otero & Preibisch, 2008). Farmers are permitted to withhold up to 25 per cent of the workers' earnings, 19 percent of which they can recover following their return home. The remaining 6 percent is used to support the government agents in Canada (Otero & Preibisch, 2008). Migrant workers from the Caribbean region are also subject to a forced saving scheme. The wages of all migrants are subject to further deductions for federal social benefits—such as Employment Insurance, Canadian Pension Plan and income tax (Basok, 2007). However, migrant workers do not have equal access to the employment benefits in comparison with permanent residents. Although migrant workers pay into the employment insurance system, they do not qualify for unemployment coverage once they return to their home country. They only qualify for parental benefits—but they are not permitted under the SAWP to sponsor their families to visit them while in Canada (Hennebry, 2012). Technically, they cannot benefit from the employment insurance to which they contribute; the same is true for Canada Pension Plan (CPP).

The terms and conditions of the SAWP do not only substantially reduce migrant workers' earnings and benefits, and erode their freedoms by way of restrictive mobility, but also endanger their health. Concerns have been raised with respect to workplace health and safety (Hennebry, 2012). Evidence suggests that migrant workers have greater exposure to heat and sun, to airborne dust and animal diseases, and to dangerous pesticides and fertilizers compared to domestic workers (McLaughlin, 20009; Edmunds et al., 2011). They are also subject to long hours of work without adequate rest (Basok, 2002). Depression, anxiety and stress are prevalent among migrant workers. They are also afraid of reporting accidents and injuries for medical health attention due to fear of repatriation (McLaughlin, 20009; Edmunds et al., 2011). Housing arrangements on farm sites pose additional health risks—lack of access to clean drinking water, lack of safe food storage, proximity to pesticides and fertilizers, inadequate bathroom and toilet facilities, overcrowding, and limited cleaning amenities (Hennebry, 2007; McLaughlin, 20009; Edmunds et al., 2011). Further, migrant workers' access to health care and insurance is very limited. A survey of 600 Ontario migrant workers found that almost 20 per cent did not have a health card, and 45 per cent reported that their colleagues work despite being ill and injured for fear of telling their employers (Hennebry, Preibisch, & McLaughlin, 2010). The vulnerability of the migrant workers is therefore not in dispute.

The availability of migrant workers has been pivotal to the profitability of the agricultural industry in high-income countries, including Canada. The Canadian Government—through the SAWP—has "liberalized the international 'reserve army of labour' by allowing growers to access the global labour market" for cheapened farm workers (Preibisch, 2010, p.432). The benefit of the SAWP transcends the mere provision of a consistent supply of cheap labour, because the SWAP also "allows employers to reorganize the production process in specific ways" to their advantage (Preibisch, 2010, p.432). In shedding further light on the role of the temporary migrants in the world system, Wallerstein (2001) argues that although the underdeveloped countries play a crucial role in the productive processes through the supply of a labour force, they have little political power within the global political economy. The temporary migrant programs—like the SAWP—which seek to "keep foreign workers segregated in low-wage industries," have been "unmitigated success stories" (Hahamovitch, 2003, as cited in Hennebry & Preibisch, 2010, p. 5) due to power imbalances, as noted by Wallerstein (2001). Denied the right to vote and to act collectively, migrants can neither challenge their unfair treatment nor advocate for their rights within the boundaries of Canada (Sharma, 2001). They solely rely on civil society, such as non-governmental organizations (NGOs) to advocate for them (Preibisch, 2007; Read, Zell, & Fernandez, 2013). Undoubtedly, the SAWP "leaves migrants open to exploitation, and abuse" because it "contains mechanisms that effectively disempower migrants relative to citizens and permanent residents" (Hennebry & Preibisch, 2010, p. 17). Migrant workers are powerless to fight for their welfare under the SAWP, as Hennbry (2008, p. 347) argues:

> The organization of the SAWP institutionalizes power relations in such a way that migrant workers are controlled and restricted temporally and spatially from the moment they enter the evaluative process of the program, and this makes these migrants a 'captive market' for intermediaries and businesses targeting migrants. Government, SAWP management, FARMS, and employers are the most powerful actors in the program as they have the direct control of the spatial and temporal parameters of workers' lives.

This indicates that the structure and the operations of the SAWP fundamentally incapacitate migrant workers' ability to ensure their welfare. In contrast, the SAWP grants almost unrestrained powers to the employers, including the power to dismiss workers and to assess them to determine eligibility for their subsequent participation in the program (Basok, 2007; Preibisch, 2007).

The Canadian Government, which is required by international law to serve as a neutral referee in this employment contract, has already taken side with the employers—as evidenced by its unwillingness to put in place measures to protect migrants' labour rights (Sharma, 2006; Hennebry, 2008). In effect, the Canadian Government is shielding the agricultural employers to facilitate capitalist accumulation, as a result of its refusal to ratify international conventions that provide safeguards to the recognition, the promotion, and the observance of migrants' fundamental human rights, such as labour rights (Hennebry and Preibisch, 2010; Hennebry, 2012). Canada has not ratified two International Labour Organization Conventions—C197 Migration for Employment Convention (Revised) (1949), and C143 Migrant Workers (Supplementary Provisions) Conventions (1975)—sanctioned by the UN regarding the rights of migrant workers. Canada has also not ratified the 1990 United Nations (UN) International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families (as cited in Hennebry & Preibisch, 2010, p.20). This unfavourable stance of the Canadian Government towards the protection of the rights of migrant workers suggests its tacit determination to serve capitalist interests by ensuring adequate supply of cheap labour.

The engagement of agricultural migrant workers fundamentally "benefits the agricultural sectors of the core regions," while the "benefits to migrants and their families are unclear" (Hennebry, 2008, p. 347). In this age of highly liberalized and competitive global food market, Preibisch (2010, p. 429) argues that the only pathway for agri-food industries in Canada to exert "some degree of control over the profit margins and continue to accumulate capital" is to have flexible labour arrangements, such as the SAWP. The access to cheapened and weakened migrant workers has played a crucial role in the capacity of Canada's horticultural industry to remain competitive in the global food market (Preibisch, 2010). Clearly, there is a direct relationship between the growth of Canada's horticultural industry and the increasing number of migrant workers in most commodity groups (Weston and Scarpa de Masellis, 2004). Flexible migrant labour arrangements, as offered by the SAWP, allow the agricultural employers to accumulate capital (Bauder, 2008; Hennebry, 2008; Preibisch, 2010).

Conclusion

The SAWP demonstrates the role of the Canadian Government in the facilitation of capitalist accumulation through the segmentation of the labour market, and the accompanying differential reward systems within the Canadian labour force through immigration policies, laws and practices. Fundamentally, the SAWP undermines the legitimate welfare of the migrant workers, while promoting the interests of capital in terms of profit maximization. Positive change is largely feasible through increased and consistent imposition of pressure on the federal government and the provincial administration by the civil society, such as the NGOs, to ratify the requisite international laws and conventions for the protection of migrant workers' rights. Currently, Manitoba has taken the lead in promoting migrant workers' access to permanent residency through its Provincial Nominee Program (Read, Zell and Fernandez, 2013; St-Aubin and Bucklaschuk, 2014), although there is still a long way to go in terms of relaxing the eligibility

criterion, which is virtually employer-based and rigid, given that most migrants find it extremely difficult to meet the current eligibility benchmark.

In general, Western countries, such as Canada, are sometimes overly selective and probably discriminatory when it comes to ratification, implementation and enforcement of certain UN conventions and international laws. The Canadian Government's persistent refusal to ratify the necessary international conventions in the interest of the migrant workers clearly substantiates this observation. This suggests that the ratification and the enforcement of UN conventions and international laws largely lie at the mercy of the nation-states, resulting in arbitrary adoption of laws and conventions that best promote state interests. There is therefore the need for alternative ways to ensure a universal ratification and enforcement of international laws and conventions for the protection of the rights of the vulnerable migrant workers.

In addition, global neoliberal transformations disproportionately serve the interests of both the global North generally, and the global capitalist class specifically. Free trade agreements and the opening of national borders to multinational corporations have immensely contributed to the rising rate of poverty in the global South, mainly through the displacement of the masses and small-scale local businesses by way of land grabbing and foreign produce. This rising rate of poverty in the global South largely accounts for the influx of migrants from the global South to the global North in search of greener pastures (Basok, 2002; Rodriguez, 2010), which potentially subjects them to unfavourable and discriminating laws and policies of host countries, as exemplified by the SAWP. This suggests that the nation-states in the global South need to be strategic in the signing of free trade agreements, and in the opening of national borders to multinational corporations to help protect small-scale local businesses and to prevent land grabbing. For example, there is the need for institutionalization and strong enforcement of some protectionist mechanisms, such as trade restrictions in the form of quotas and high import taxes on foreign products that have local substitutes. However, Western states that predominantly spearhead neoliberal globalization seem to have more clout to serve their interests; for example, by linking conditions, such as trade liberalization, and privatization of state enterprises, to loans and grants, which some nation-states in the global South significantly depend on.

Finally, both the sending and the receiving states conceivably facilitate capitalist accumulation, although they do so in varying forms and intensity by their actions and inactions. On one hand, the Canadian Government, by reference to the SAWP, has structured the relations of labour and capital in a manner that reflects the interest of capital at the expense of the vulnerable migrant workers. These migrant workers have to sell their labour power as a necessity for survival under certain terms and conditions, as exemplified by the case of the SAWP, over which they have little control. On the other hand, the sending states in the global South contribute to the facilitation of global capitalist accumulation to some extent by the signing of apparently non-strategic international free trade arrangements, and the indiscriminate opening of national borders to multinational corporations, as well as foreign produce. This research paper therefore demonstrates the role of the state in the creation of the necessary conditions in promoting capitalism, and for that matter, capitalist accumulation in the agricultural sector.

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Genital Culture: Exploring the Cultural Importance of Genital Surgery in the West

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The assumed importance of genital surgery for intersex children as well as the rising popularity of cosmetic surgery for one's genitals (namely for women) exemplify the importance placed on gender distinction in Western culture. This paper will explore how these genital surgeries are tied to the idealized conception of the gender binary that exists in our culture. Despite the reality that genitals, especially the vulva, vary widely in appearance (size, shape, colour), the belief that there are norms of genital appearance that need to be adhered to continues to be propagated within Western culture. I will posit that genital surgeries in the West are a culturally imbued practice. This will be argued in light of Leti Volpp's assertion that people in the West need to recognize how our own culture promotes patriarchal/normative practices that can be dangerous and degrading to individuals. For instance, Western discourse vilifies cultures that engage in female genital mutilation (FGM) without realizing how Western culture itself pressures women to 'mutilate' their genitals through cosmetic surgery or intersex surgery. The cultural influence of the West must be acknowledged so that we can better perceive how the agency of Western subjects is also directed and confined by our cultural context. Western culture also acts upon its subjects and, in this case, pushes gender binaries and the ideal of the perfect 'normal' vagina. This paper will utilize queer theory to question the necessity of gender binaries and to reveal the way that binary gender is privileged in our society.

Keywords: culture; genital surgery; gender binary; norms.

L'importance majeure de la chirurgie génitale pour les enfants intersexués ainsi que la popularité croissante de la chirurgie esthétique pour les organes génitaux, particulièrement pour les femmes, illustrent l'importance accordée à la distinction entre les sexes dans la culture occidentale. Cet article examine comment ces interventions chirurgicales génitales sont liées à la conception idéale d'une sexualité binaire présente dans notre culture. En dépit du fait que les organes génitaux, particulièrement la vulve, varient largement en apparence en terme de taille, de forme ou de couleur, la croyance qu'il existe des normes d'apparence génitale qui doivent être respectées continue à être transmise dans la culture occidentale. Ce document soutient que les chirurgies génitales dans l'Ouest sont une pratique déterminée sociologiquement. Cet énoncé repose sur l'affirmation de Leti Volpp qui soutient que les Occidentaux doivent reconnaître comment leur propre culture favorise des pratiques patriarcales et normatives qui peuvent être dangereuses et dégradantes pour les individus. Par exemple, le discours occidental avilit les cultures qui pratiquent les mutilations génitales féminines (MGF) sans se rendre compte combien la culture occidentale elle-même exerce des pressions pour que les femmes « mutilent » leurs organes génitaux par la chirurgie esthétique ou par les opérations génitales intersexuelles. L'influence culturelle de l'Ouest doit être reconnue afin que nous puissions mieux comprendre comment le comportement des Occidentaux est également dicté et déterminé par son contexte culturel. La culture occidentale agit également sur ses sujets, et dans ce cas précis, favorise une sexualité binaire et l'idéal d'un vagin parfait et normalisé. Cet article s'appuie (texte supprimé) sur l'approche théorique homosexuelle pour remettre en question la nécessité d'une sexualité binaire, et pour révéler comment une sexualité binaire est privilégiée dans notre société

Mots clés: culture; chirurgie génitale; sexualité binaire; normes.

In "Feminism Versus Multiculturalism", Leti Volpp argues that Western conceptions of "third-world culture" as uniquely oppressive to women work to conceal the ways that Western society itself also promotes patriarchal and normative practices that can be dangerous and degrading to women (Volpp, 2001, p.1217). The argument in this paper will demonstrate how Western discourse vilifies cultures (namely those in varying countries throughout Africa and the Middle East) that engage in female genital mutilation (FGM)[1] without realizing how the Western practices of intersex surgery and cosmetic vaginal surgery are also culturally imbued practices that can be seen as forms of genital mutilation. The assumed importance of genital surgery for intersex infants (Kessler, 2000, p.34) as well as the rising popularity of cosmetic surgery for women's genitals (Braun, 2009, p.133) exemplify the importance placed on gender distinction though genital appearance in our culture. Genital surgeries such as these are tied to the idealized conception of the gender binary that exists in Western culture. Despite the reality that genitals, especially the vulva, vary widely in appearance (size, shape, colour) (*The Perfect Vagina*, 2008), the belief that there are norms of genital appearance that need to be adhered to for females and males continues to be propagated within Western society. Suzanne Kessler's (2000) work on intersex surgeries and Virginia Braun's (2009) work on the growing popularity of cosmetic genital surgeries both illustrate how these norms are acted upon through genital surgery. The extreme surgical and emotional trauma that is taken on by individuals who undergo genital surgery is illustrative of the importance placed on normative ideals of gender through genital presentation. Although the enforcement of binary gender creates pervasive ideals that affect everyone in Western society (including constructing gendered norms for men and ideals of masculinity), this paper will focus on the way that Western society promotes glorified conceptions of vaginal appearance and the appearance of the female body in general. This focus will allow for a more in-depth examination of the similarities between Western genital surgeries and FGM by exposing how Western values also regulate the female body. For the purposes of this paper, the study of 'Western society' will focus most prominently on the United States, Canada, and the United Kingdom. This paper will utilize the theoretical framework of queer theory, specifically the work of Dean Spade, to reveal the way that binary gender is privileged in our society and how this privileging regulates Western subjects (Spade, 2004, p.241). The cultural influence of the West needs to be recognized so that we can better perceive how the agency of Western subjects is also directed and confined by our societal context. Western society is often conceived of as "normal" and "un-cultured" in comparison to the broad category of the "third-world", which is seen as abnormal and cultured (Volpp, 2001, p.1217). The use of Western society as the reference *par excellence* by which to measure other cultures arguably needs to be questioned (Mohanty, 1991, p.334). Western society is also a cultured space wherein subjects are regulated and controlled and, in this case, where the importance of gender norms and the idea of the perfect 'normal' vagina influence women and their bodies.

Female Genital Mutilation and the Cultural Order

Volpp (2001) exposes the way that Western discourses towards third-world and immigrant women act to construct an, overly broad, category of women as cultural 'others' that are deeply oppressed by their patriarchal culture, in contrast to Western women who are constructed as liberated actors living in a society that is free from patriarchy (Volpp, 2001, p.1198). Thereby, non-white and non-

[1] See Volpp 2001 for more on the vilification of cultural practices such as FGM.

Western people are viewed as being 'ethnic', creating a cultural 'other' that is seen as distinct from, and abnormal in comparison to, the Westerner (Volpp, 2001, p.1190). These two categories of people are further polarized by the narratives of Western media that focus on third-world practices such as "**…***sati*, dowry death, veiling, female genital surgeries, female infanticide, marriage by capture, purdah, polygamy, footbinding, and arranged marriages" to bolster conceptions of the oppression of the cultural other as "alien and bizarre**…**" (Volpp, 2001, p.1208). Martha Minow argues that Western narratives focus on practices such as these not only because we are intrigued by their bizarre and unfamiliar nature, but also because these practices are uncannily familiar to us: "**…**they illuminate 'otherness' but also, perhaps, echo something familiar, in reality or in metaphor, in the practices of the dominant Western nations" (Minow, 2000, p.128). In regard to FGM, this argument seems to ring true. Firstly, the cultural ideals of femininity and the desire to control female sexuality that motivate FGM are extremely familiar to Western society, as these ideals remain hugely influential to our culture. The significance of these ideals of the West will be discussed further in the section "Constructing women through genital and bodily appearance". Secondly, the specific 'mutilations' that fall under the heading of (FGM) are very similar to the surgical procedures that are performed in intersex and cosmetic vaginal surgeries. In fact, the very definition of FGM can be read to include both of these Western genital surgeries.

The World Health Organization (WHO) reports that practices of FGM are concentrated in 29 countries throughout Africa and the Middle East. Complications of FGM include severe bleeding, difficulty urinating, infections, and other medical complications. WHO defines FGM as including:

> [All procedures that] alter or cause injury to the female genital organs for non-medical reasons. The procedure has no health benefits for girls and women. [FGM] comprises all procedures that involve partial or total removal of the external female genitalia, or other injury to the female genital organs for non-medical reasons (The World Health Organization, 2013).

A great deal has been written on the problematic nature of FGM and the human rights implications for the females that are forced to undergo this procedure. However, for the purposes of this paper, the Western gaze will be turned away from a focus on FGM and toward Western culture itself to reveal how similar issues are manifested in the West. Surgeries on intersex children adhere to the definition of FGM provided by WHO as they involve reducing in size, or removing entirely, parts of the female genitalia. The vast majority of these surgeries have no health benefits, and in fact often make the genitals less functional as they can result in extensive scarring, an inability for the individual to gain sexual pleasure, and/or extreme pain when sexually aroused (Kessler, 2000, p.45). Although some intersex surgeries are necessary for urination to occur without pain, most genital surgeries on intersex children are performed for the purely aesthetic reason of re-sculpting what are described in medical literature as genitals that are too "ambiguous" in appearance (Kessler, 2000, p.34). These surgeries can involve procedures such as clitoral reduction wherein the clitoris is seen as "too large", and thus "too phallic" in appearance (Kessler, 2000, p.37). These surgeries are similar to the category of FGM that WHO refers to as a clitoridectomy and describes as the "**…**partial or total removal of the clitoris" (The World Health Organization, 2013). Although the cultural reasons behind these two practices are different, both involve reducing in size or removing the clitoris and reflect cultural values about female sexuality that privilege the appearance and

cultural meaning of female genitals over the functionality of these genitals and the ability for female sexual pleasure.

Further, two other types of FGM that WHO refers to as excision and infibulation, can be seen as similar to the cosmetic procedures that Western women are choosing to have performed on their vaginas. Excision, which is described as "the partial or total removal of the clitoris and the labia minora" (The World Health Organization, 2013), is comparable to what Western cosmetic surgeons refer to as labiaplasty. Labiaplasty involves "trimming" down the labia minora to "correct"/beautify labia that are seen as too large or asymmetrical (Manhattan Center for Vaginal Surgery, 2013). Again, this procedure is not performed for health reasons, but rather because the appearance of the labia minora could "cause embarrassment with a sexual partner or loss of self-esteem [or because] some women just want to look 'prettier' like the women they see in magazines or in films" (Manhattan Center for Vaginal Surgery, 2013). Similarly, infibulation, described as the "narrowing of the vaginal opening through the creation of a covering seal [that is] formed by cutting and repositioning the inner, or outer, labia, with or without removal of the clitoris" that is most often performed as a way to ensure women's virginity or sexual fidelity (The World Health Organization, 2013), is comparable to the Western cosmetic surgery referred to as vaginoplasty. Vaginoplasty is a surgical procedure that aims to "tighten the vagina" by "removing excess vaginal lining and tightening the surrounding soft tissues and muscles" (Manhattan Center for Vaginal Surgery, 2013). This surgery is often desired due to cultural pressures that tell women their vaginas should feel young, tight and virginal. The *Manhattan Center for Vaginal Surgery*'s website explains the societal anxiety around the loose vagina when it warns that, following childbirth or due to ageing, a woman's "partner may notice a change although he may say nothing" (Manhattan Center for Vaginal Surgery, 2013). Again, although there are different cultural reasons around infibulation and vaginoplasty, and although cosmetic surgeries on adult women involve a greater amount of female choice and agency, both practices involve cultural pressures for female genitals to appear virginal and both involve women's bodies being altered for the purpose of male sexual pleasure. Therefore, the culturally imbued and possibly harmful nature of both intersex and cosmetic surgeries need to be exposed because, like FGM, they generally have no physical health benefits and involve subjecting individuals to painful surgeries that can result in the removal of, or damage to, previously functional genitals.

Genital Culture in the West

By focusing on how women are oppressed in "cultured" societies, Western society conceals the ways in which women, as well as intersex, trans, and gender non-conforming people, are oppressed by the West's binary gender enforcing culture. The enforcement of sex-gender alignment and the focus on genitals as a defining feature of one's identity in Western culture leads to the regulation of non-normative bodies and expressions of self. Despite the propagation of narratives of freedom and equality, Western society continues to be a highly patriarchal and heterosexist society that enforces gender binaries and the subordination of women as well as gender non-conforming subjects. In *Herculine Barbin* (1980), Michel Foucault discusses the modern Western idea that it is imperative for individuals to identify with one "true sex", that is with one gender that "matches" one's genitals (Foucault, 1980, p. vii). Foucault asks, "do we *truly* need a *true* sex?" and declares that, "with a persistence that borders on stubbornness, modern Western societies have answered in the affirmative" (Foucault, 1980:vii). Radical queer theorist Dean Spade is also concerned with the way that Western culture privileges binary gender and demands that individuals' gender identities

"match" their biological sex based on genital appearance (Spade, 2004, p.243). Spade's (2004) theories have been influential in questioning deeply held Western gender norms and gendered practices that are often believed to be natural and acultural. The lens of queer theory seeks to undermine normative assertions that identities are static, natural and given, and is thus useful as a tool to contest the way that Western culture reinforces gender roles and normative gender enforcing practices. Spade asserts, "we all face the consequences of living in a capitalistic, binary gender-enforcing context, where impossible standards of masculinity, femininity, and wealth keep us consistently punished and punishing for gender variation" (Spade, 2004, p.243). This enforcement of binary gender is exemplified by the fact that intersex children are assumed to need 'corrective' surgery despite the risks, pain, and side-effects that these surgeries involve and the fact that the 'ambiguity' of their genitals is of no consequence to their physical health. Therefore, these surgeries are not performed for the sake of health but due to the fact that intersex people "[call] into question the idea that female and male are biological givens compelling a culture of two genders" (Kessler, 2000, p.13). Surgeries are performed because the existence of intersex people questions the foundations of the binary gender enforcing and patriarchal society of the West. In Kessler's study of surgeons who perform intersex surgeries, she explains that these doctors do not feel a need to explain *why* these purely aesthetic surgeries are necessary to perform on intersex infants, aside from the simple explanation that if they are not performed these children will be teased about their genitals by other children later in life (Kessler, 2000, p.34). As Kessler explains, this teasing by other children is seen as reason enough to perform surgery. Due to the significance that is given to genital appearance and sex-gender "alignment" in Western culture, it is the genitals that are seen as wrong and in need of correction "rather than treating the teasing and the institutions that tolerate is as in need of correction" (Kessler, 2000, p.34). Members of the Intersex Society of North America (ISNA) are working to end genital surgeries on intersex infants (Kessler, 2000, p.80). ISNA hope to eliminate the shame around intersex genitals so that these children can live happy lives as intersex people, or at least make informed choices about surgery as adults rather than having the negative side effects of these surgeries forced upon them (Kessler, 2000, p.80). This is a difficult venture because, in a society that is as invested in binary gender as ours, the idea of leaving a child in a place in-between two genders can be interpreted as a form of psychological torture.

The growing popularity of elective vaginal surgeries is further proof of the idealized conceptions of gender and genitals that are privileged in Western society. The popularity of these surgeries has been steadily increasing since cosmetic genital surgery entered popular media in the late 1990's, and more surgeons than ever are offering these procedures (Braun, 2009, p.134). The "impossible standards" of femininity that Spade refers to in the quote above (Spade, 2004, p.243) are exemplified by cosmetic vaginal surgeries that are undergone due to cultural pressures to achieve what is perceived as 'normal', but is actually a socially constructed ideal of, vaginal appearance. Despite the reality that there is a wide spectrum of difference in the appearance of vaginas, for instance most labia minora range all the way from two to ten centimetres, women are led to believe that their vaginas are not 'normal' (*The Perfect Vagina*, 2008). Surgeons' websites promoting "designer vagina" surgeries utilize these societal ideals of femininity and vaginal appearance to attract potential clients (Braun, 2009, p.133). Thereby, these sites "work to pathologize genital diversity" by positing that it is not only physically abnormal but also psychologically harmful (Braun, 2009, p.137). The consequences of this pathologization are apparent in the fact that, in the last six years, a reported three hundred and forty-three cosmetic vaginal surgeries have been carried out on girls under the age of fourteen in the United Kingdom (Hope, 2012). These surgeries are justified by the belief that the anxieties these young girls harbour

towards their genital appearance can result in low self-esteem that is psychologically damaging (Hope, 2012). The fact that cosmetic genital surgery is marketed as a necessary physical *and* psychological transformation (Braun, 2009, p.140) demonstrates the regulatory power that Western culture holds over both the bodies and minds of women in the West. It has been suggested that the pornography industry is to blame for the increasing anxiety around vaginal appearance, as this industry tends to display female performers with genitals that are small, symmetrical, waxed, and bleached (Manhattan Center for Vaginal Surgery, 2013). However, this is a very limited analysis of the situation, as there are a plethora of societal beliefs, institutions and industries that regulate female sexuality and influence the way women perceive their bodies.

Constructing Women through Genital and Bodily Appearance

FGM is perceived as a culturally significant practice that reflects the way women and femininity are conceived of in the cultures that practice it. As WHO asserts, "FGM is associated with cultural ideals of femininity and modesty, which include the notion that girls are 'clean' and 'beautiful' after removal of body parts that are considered 'male' or 'unclean'" (The World Health Organization, 2013). Although WHO makes this assertion with the intention of revealing the uniquely oppressed nature of women in these cultures, these same notions of women and femininity are clearly present in the Western practices of intersex surgery and cosmetic vaginal surgery. Both FGM and these Western genital surgeries are imbued with societal ideals of gender and femininity, and both expose the extent to which the cultures in which they are practiced act to control and regulate female bodies and female sexuality. Kessler describes how intersex surgeries are tied to gender ideals in regard to masculinity saying, "descriptions of the micropenis are tied quite explicitly to gender role" as males are seen as needing a large enough penis to "support masculinity" (Kessler, 2000, p.37-38). However, Kessler argues, "physicians do not question whether a large clitoris ill prepares a girl for the female role. The emphasis is more on its ugliness" (Kessler, 2000, p.37). I would argue that this focus on beautifying female genitals and on reducing genitals that are judged to be too large is in fact a significant indicator of the role that women are prescribed to play in Western culture. Women are taught that it is important for their bodies to be 'feminine', that is, attractive, small and unobtrusive. Sandra Lee Bartky reports that a study of typical feminine body posture by German photographer Marianne Wex revealed that women "make themselves small and narrow, harmless; they seem tense; they take up little space" (Bartkey, 1997, p.135). Bartky explains how these norms of femininity have become even more evident in the recent cultural trend towards extremely thin women in Western fashion magazines and media. She asserts, "massiveness, power, or abundance in a woman's body is met with distaste. The current body of fashion is taut, small-breasted, narrow-hipped, and of a slimness bordering on emaciation" (Bartkey, 1997, p.132). These ideals of feminine appearance are reflected in both intersex and vaginal surgeries that aim to make female genitalia smaller and 'prettier'. For instance, labia minora reduction is the most popular cosmetic vaginal surgery due to women's anxiety around the possibility that their labia minora are too large or simply not pretty enough (Braun, 2009, p.137). Echoing cultural messages about ideas of the female bodily appearance, surgeons' sites such as that of the *Manhattan Center for Vaginal Surgery* say that the labia minora needs to be small, symmetrical, thin, and beautiful as well as to look "young" and "tight" (Manhattan Center for Vaginal Surgery, 2013). This site propagates and confirms female anxieties about labia minora that are "too large" by using page headings such as "Taut and Terrific" and "Neatness Counts" to assert that female genitals should be tidied up and hidden away to create a more 'feminine' appearance (Manhattan Center for Vaginal Surgery, 2013).

Thus, female genitalia that are perceived to be too large are seen as not only aesthetically displeasing but also as culturally disturbing.

The regulation of, and disgust towards, larger female genitalia reflects the more general cultural ideals of the West that construct women as inferior to men and pressure women to remain unobtrusive, docile, and obedient (Bartky, 1997, p.143). Women's bodies are subjected to disciplinary practices, such as make-up and dieting, which are viewed as necessary for them to meet the cultural standards of beauty and size that are demanded of them (Bartky, 1997, p.139). Thus, women in our society can be made to feel ashamed when they do not live up to the diet, exercise, make-up, and hair removal regimes that are expected of them. As Bartky asserts, "a woman's face must be made up, that is to say, made over, and so must her body […] but this presupposes that a woman's face, unpainted, is defective" (Bartky, 1997, p.139). The widely dispersed belief that female bodies are defective if they do not adhere to the ideals and normative standards ascribed by our society leads to a trend wherein women's bodies are judged and regulated by others as well as self-regulated by women themselves. Intersex and cosmetic vaginal surgeries are pertinent examples of the extent to which women's bodies are regulated to adhere to normative standards of feminine appearance. As mentioned above, the extent of the cultural significance of female genital appearance is revealed by the fact that the appearance of female genitals is often privileged over their functionality. For instance, in Kessler's studies, intersex surgeons asserted the belief that a surgically altered clitoris that is no longer able to attain sexual pleasure for a woman is preferable to a clitoris that can attain pleasure but is larger than average (Kessler, 2000, p.37). The significance placed on female genital appearance demonstrates Bartky's assertion that "to have a body felt to be 'feminine' – a body socially constructed through the appropriate practices – is in most cases crucial to a woman's sense of herself as female and, since persons currently can *be* only as male or female, to her sense of herself as an existing individual" (Bartky, 1997, p.146). With such huge significance being placed on the appearance of the female body, even what appears to be a Western woman's 'choice' to undergo elective vaginal surgery cannot be seen as an entirely free decision being carried out by a purely liberated woman. Rather, these surgeries could be perceived as a form of self-regulation that is influenced by cultural standards and constructed norms of femininity. Surgeons' websites, such as that of *NewWoman Canada* (NewWoman Canada, 2013), utilize the power of these culturally constructed standards by taking-up the language of normativity to convince women that their genitals may not be 'normal' and may require surgical intervention. Thereby, these sites engage in the regulatory pressure that leads to women's anxieties about their bodies' ability to live up to normative standards. For instance, *NewWoman* explains that labiaplasties are performed when "a woman wishes to *correct* the size and symmetry of her labia minora for *normal* sexual appearance" (emphasis added) (NewWoman Canada, 2013). What these websites do not explain is that this 'normal' sexual appearance is a constructed ideal created by our gender enforcing and patriarchal society, rather than an objective reality.

Medical Rhetoric and Conceptions of Normality

NewWoman, Manhattan Center for Vaginal Surgery and the medical literature studied by Kessler all use 'normal genitals' as the reference against which some genitals are judged to be abnormal and in need of surgical intervention. This constructed concept of genital normality is used alongside medical rhetoric to bolster the perception that Western genital surgeries are medical necessities that have only positive results. Conversely, non-Western forms of genital surgery are given the

extremely value laden and horror-inducing name of *female genital mutilation*. Thus, despite the multiple similarities between these surgeries, one is presented as a benign medical procedure while the other is presented as a value-laden form of violence. That is, one is seen as genital *mutilation* and the other as genital *normalization.* Recognizing this double standard, the ISNA has attempted to use the cultural disgust towards FGM to argue for intersex rights: "in 1997 press releases, ISNA cleverly began to refer to intersex surgeries as 'IGM' to heighten the association with 'FGM'" (Kessler, 2000, p.80). Dean Spade has also acknowledged this double standard as he also refers to intersex surgeries as "intersex genital mutilation" (Spade, 2004, p.241). By echoing the language that is normally used to refer to non-Western or 'cultured' forms of genital surgery, these activists call into question the assumed legitimacy of intersex surgeries. This questioning helps to reveal that the use of medical rhetoric and the concept of normality act to elide the cultural and moral judgements at work in both intersex and cosmetic vaginal surgeries.

Elisabeth Lloyd's work on the use of conceptions of normality within the medical sphere is extremely helpful in understanding how Western society has come to view genitals that are 'ambiguous', 'too large', 'too small' or just 'ugly' as objectively wrong and in need of medical correction. Lloyd explains that it is commonly assumed that "science tells us what is normal or abnormal, diseased or healthy, and that the social and moral issues begin where the science leaves off" (Lloyd, 2008, p.133). In contrast to this assumption, Lloyd posits that "states of organisms do not announce themselves as desirable or undesirable, healthy or diseased, normal or abnormal; such classifications are inevitably applied by comparing the state of the organism to some *ideal* which serves a normative function" (Lloyd, 2008, p.134). Therefore, both health and normality are socially constructed categories that are based on cultural perceptions of "how we envision human life ought to be" (Lloyd, 2008, p.141). For instance, it is the culturally entrenched importance of binary gender that leads a doctor to define intersex genitals as abnormal and unhealthy. Although the result of this surgery may in reality be that the genitals have been damaged and are less functional, the surgeon views these genitals as having been 'corrected' and made 'normal' (Kessler, 2000, p.40). Although cosmetic vaginal surgery may not be perceived as being as imperative as intersex surgeries, these surgeries are likewise influenced by societal norms and conceptions of what the ideal woman ought to look like.

Issues of Agency and Concluding Comments

In this paper I have engaged with Volpp's argument that a focus on immigrant and third-world women's oppression "diverts one's gaze from the sexism indigenous to [Western] culture and politics" (Volpp, 2001, p.1205). By comparing the 'cultural' practice of FGM with the Western practices of intersex and cosmetic vaginal surgeries, I have hoped to demonstrate that Western women (and gender non-conforming people in the West) are also oppressed and regulated by their culture. I want to clarify here that I am not trying to argue that all women are simply victims of culture who are void of agency. Rather, I want to question the dichotomy that sets up third-world and immigrant women as purely oppressed and victimized, and Western women as "secular, liberated, and in total control of their lives" (Volpp, 2001, p.1198). The experiences of women in any culture cannot be simply defined as one of pure agency nor as one of pure victimization. Women in cultures that practice FGM are not totally void of agency, and women in the West who choose to undergo cosmetic vaginal surgery are not acting with pure agency that is free from societal pressures. This is not to deny the extreme emotional and physical trauma experienced by many women who undergo FGM procedures in countries throughout Africa and the Middle East,

but rather to point out that we should not allow these extreme affronts to female agency to invisibilize the less obvert pressures that affect women in countries such as Canada, the United States, and England. WHO estimates that more than three million girls and women in African countries, namely in western, eastern, and north-eastern regions, are presently at risk of FGM. Additionally, many girls and women in some countries in Asia and the Middle East, and migrants from these areas living outside their home countries, are still at risk of undergoing FGM (The World Health Organization, 2013). Although it is important to recognize the injustice of FGM and the ways that this practice limits female agency, Western narratives around FGM need to deconstruct the false polarization between the West and the East to recognize the way that all people are influenced by the dominant norms of their culture.

The link between sex and truth posited by Foucault continues to be a hugely influential force in Western society (Foucault, 1980, p. x). The regulatory power of the cultural privileging of binary gender problematizes the perception of the West as a place defined by agency, choice and equality. In the case of cosmetic vaginal surgeries, it raises questions about "whether women can be said to choose cosmetic surgery, or whether that 'choice' is over determined by a larger patriarchal structure that makes cosmetic surgery seem like the only option for psychological survival in a world hostile to women's bodies" (Heyes & Jones, 2009, p.7). While in the case of intersex surgeries on infants, the agency of these individuals is clearly jeopardized as these surgeries are carried out when the child is too young to provide consent. As Foucault attests, "biological theories of sexuality, juridical conceptions of the individual, forms of administrative control in modern nations, led little by little to rejecting the idea of a mixture of the two sexes in a single body, and consequently to limiting the free choice of indeterminate individuals" (Foucault, 1980, p.x). Recognizing the regulatory power of this privileging of binary gender in Western culture, Spade calls for "[an] end [to] the mechanisms of coercion that incentivize binary gender" (Spade, 2004, p.241). Thus, both Foucault and Spade recognize the harm that results from the enforcement of ideals of binary gender. It is necessary to proliferate this recognition of the multiple ways that entrenched ideas of sex-gender alignment and the male-female gender binary influence Western society, as these concepts limit the choices available to individuals and lead to the punishment of those who do not conform to them. Until our society can recognize the way that the West influences and controls its people through binary gender, intersex children will continue to be subjected to unnecessary surgeries and some women will continue to choose cosmetic surgery in an attempt to attain the mythical 'normal' vagina.

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Re-Introducing Structure: An Historical Analysis and Structural Account of Political Cultures in the Prairie Provinces

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In this paper, I conduct an historical structural analysis to explain the preservation of political cultures across the Canadian Prairie Provinces. Taking into account Alberta's historically conservative climate and bootstrap individualism, Saskatchewan's historically left-leaning policy environment, and Manitoba's moderate culture between its two prairie compatriots, I explain how these different cultures have persisted using a "polity-centred" approach. Perhaps the most popular explanation for such a "prairie paradox" is "fragment theory", or looking at different "waves" of settlers including Loyalists, Americans, and early Ontarians, across the prairies. Scholars such as Alan Cairns and Jared Wesley have critiqued this approach, arguing that it is the structure of federalism itself that preserves these cultures over time, or that it is the agency of political parties and their campaign literature that reflects political culture back at their populations. A "polity-centred" approach, as I present it here, synthesizes these two critiques of fragment theory to look at how structures both affect political agents and provide tools to affect political culture in their provinces. This is accomplished by, first, a more general examination of how the Canadian federal structure influences political parties; second, a discussion of how political parties use structure to affect discourse in a province, preserving and/or changing provincial political culture. I conclude that polity-centred approaches should be taken more seriously by sociologists and political scientists when looking at political cultures, and that this approach is useful for examining the cultures of other states and sub-states.

Keywords: polity-centred; sub-state; culture; prairies; federalism.

Dans ce document, je fais une analyse structurelle historique pour expliquer la préservation des politiques culturelles des provinces des Prairies canadiennes. En tenant compte du climat conservateur historique de l'Alberta et de l'individualisme en circuit fermé, de la politique de l'environnement, historiquement à tendance gauchiste, de la Saskatchewan et de la culture modérée du Manitoba située entre ses compatriotes des deux Prairies, j'explique comment ces différentes cultures ont perduré en utilisant une approche « de régime politique centré ». L'explication la plus populaire à un tel « paradoxe des Prairies » est probablement la « théorie de la fragmentation » ou la considération de différentes « vagues » de colons dont les Loyalistes, Américains et les Premiers Ontariens s'établissant dans les Prairies. Des spécialistes tels qu'Alan Cairns et Jared Wesley ont critiqué cette approche, soutenant que c'est la structure du fédéralisme elle-même qui préserve ces cultures au fil du temps ou que c'est l'organisme des parties politiques et leur documentation de campagne électorale qui reflète la culture politique à sa population. Une approche de régime politique centrée, telle que je la présente ici, résume ces deux critiques de la théorie de la fragmentation pour expliquer comment elles affectent les programmes politiques et fournissent les instruments pour influencer la politique culturelle dans leurs provinces. Cela s'effectue d'abord par une analyse plus générale des influences de la structure fédérale canadienne sur les parties politiques et comment elle est exercée; deuxièmement, par une discussion évaluant comment les parties politique utilise la structure pour affecter le discours dans une province, en préservant et/ou changeant la culture politique provinciale. Je conclus que les approches de régime politique centré devraient être prises plus au sérieux par les sociologues et les politicologues lorsqu'ils se penchent sur les cultures politiques et que cette approche est utile à l'analyse des cultures d'autres états et sous-états.

Mots clés: politie-centrée; sous-états; cultures; Prairies; fédéralisme.

Introduction

While scholars of political culture often take the nation-state as their primary unit of analysis, sub-states and institutions also work to sustain a variety of political cultures within the same national border (Henderson, 2010a). While this has been shown to be true in Canada, fundamentally linked with the Canadian federal structure, scholars have historically disagreed on how and why federalism fosters such cultural variation, and whether such variation is a positive or negative development (Clarke, Pammett, and Stewart, 2002; Cardinal and Brady, 2009; Behiels, 2010). Political culture, as defined by Jared Wesley (2011, p. 4) refers to a set of taken-for-granted assumptions about the political world and what that world should look like, according to its subjects. The Canadian prairies are a good example of the diversity of political cultures across Canada. Despite their geographical and economic similarity, Canadian everyday wisdom and scholarly research has held that Albertans are Canada's most politically conservative population; Saskatchewan, collective and left-leaning, while Manitoba is moderate and temperate, somewhere between its two prairie compatriots. This phenomenon is what Wesley (2011) has called the "prairie paradox" (p. 2).

One explanation for the existence of this "prairie paradox" are various settler fragments that gradually moved into the Canadian West, each with their own political culture. This account is known as "fragment theory" (Hartz, 1964). Theorists David Bell (1992) and Nelson Wiseman (1996b) describe these "waves" of settlers that moved into the Canadian West, consisting of early Ontarians, the British working class, and Americans, which led to the deep-rooted and varied political cultures scholars in the prairie provinces today. Such deep-rootedness and variation, according to this account, are products of a socio-historical "congealing" around these "fragments" of settlers (Stewart, 1990, page numbers). Jared Wesley (2011) critiques this approach, arguing that such an explanation does not discuss *how* these provinces' cultures have remained so consistently different over time. He instead argues it is the agency of political parties that, through campaign rhetoric and leadership, transmits such culture to provincial electorates over time. Alan Cairns (1977) also critiques such an approach, albeit differently. He has argued that we see diverse political cultures across Canada *because of* the federalist structure, rather than any *a priori* settlement patterns. The seeds of difference, for Cairns, were sown when Canada took on the system of federalism. The product is then sown through the functioning of that system.

The aim of this paper is to reconcile these two critiques of fragment theory to give a new account of how the Prairie Provinces have sustained their diverse political cultures. Using a "polity-centred" or "neo-institutionalist" approach (Olsen, 2002), I will argue that Canada's federal and provincial political *structures* are central to explaining the diverse political culture among the prairies. Specifically, the political party agency to which Wesley (2011) refers has been influenced by structure, both in that such agency has *been* structured and *utilizes* structure in transmitting diverse political cultures in different provinces. First, I will discuss conceptual and theoretical problems associated with "political culture" in the literature, and explain how a polity-centred analysis is appropriate given such problems. Second, I will explain how structure both influences, and is influenced by, political agency (such as that of political parties and citizens), establishing it as a key pillar in any analysis of political culture. Last, I apply this structural analysis in a more specific manner, examining the interacting structures of parliaments and political party agencies in Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba. Although I focus here only on the prairies for the purposes of brevity and their economic and geographical similarity, I conclude that provincial state structures are key to transmitting and influencing provincial political cultures. This analysis therefore has

general utility, both nationally and sub-nationally. I also conclude with some general comments concerning the value of polity-centred approaches, breaking the scholarly muteness on such approaches to political culture. In doing so, I contribute to the "urgent call" for a synthesis of structure and culture through a socio-political lens (Rubinstein, 2001, p. 8).

Political Culture, Regions, and Provinces

Many attempts have been made to define and classify political culture. Landes (1995, p. 294) offers a definition slightly different than Wesley's: "the attitudes and beliefs people have about the political system". It delineates what counts as legitimate in the public sphere, and the extent of political participation for individuals. Although definitions like this are typical in the literature, the concept of political culture itself has been critiqued heavily. According to Ian Stewart (1990), there are three historically dominant critiques of "political culture": it is too abstract (is it more than the sum of what individuals think, or does it end with the individual?); there are simply too many explanations as to why political cultures exist and what influences them; last, that most scholars of political culture have ignored the role of power and elite influence on how people perceive political systems. Despite these criticisms of the concept, however, Stewart also notes that "[t]o deny the existence of political cultures may be foolish" (ibid, 90). Despite the definitional issues plaguing the term, then, it denotes something that is very real.

Trying to apply the idea of "political culture" to a Canadian context brings with it even more baggage. One of the more pertinent issues is whether *regions* or *provinces* qualify as the main unit of analysis with respect to political culture. Regions have been a dominant variable in studies of Canadian political culture, with "the Prairies", "Atlantic Canada", and "Central" Canada (or Ontario and Quebec) grouped together (MacIvor, 2010). Recently, McGrane and Berdahl (2013) have made the case that political attitudes cut across provincial boundaries, indicating that regional variation may be more important than provincial variation. Nonetheless, they maintain that "province of residence *is* a significant determinant of political culture" (ibid, 488). Alisa Henderson (2010a) has also shown that despite the fact that regions have been the dominant variable, provincial borders do contain within them varying levels of trust in government, and that differences in this variable do exist within regions. The result is that citizens of different provinces (even of those within the same region) will vary in their support for various social programs, government intervention, and so on. In addition, she explains this province-bound variation as the capacity for institutions to "create a unique political environment that prompts specific expectations about government performance…support for an active or a small state…or community belonging" (Henderson, 2010b, p. 441). Not only are there some sort of differences within regions to be explored then, they are likely to do with the fact that sub-states have the capacity to transmit cultural variations through "unique political environments." Precisely how this is done so will be explored further below.

The work of Nelson Wiseman (1996a, 1996b, 2007) provides some guidance to analyzing political culture in a Canadian context, given these issues. The notion that political cultures are concurrent with provincial boundaries has been buttressed by his analyses. Wiseman has argued that with the shift of the Canadian federal system from *intrastate* (or institution-building and representation) to interstate (competition among substates), provinces have become a primary mechanism of identity rather than region (2007, p. 116). The failure of the Canadian electoral system and senate to adequately represent *regions* is also to blame for the disintegration of "region" as a salient identity (Bickerton, 2007). One is now more likely to identify as "Albertan" or

"Manitoban" than "Western Canadian", although this was not always the case. Further, Wiseman (1996a, 2007) has been able to provide some clarity to the cultures of individual Canadian provinces. His empirically based "metaphorical images" for Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba are affectionately termed the "Prairies' America", "Prairies' Britain", and "Prairies' Ontario", illustrating the individualist, collectivist/deferential, and temperate attitudes that Wesley (2011) speaks of, respectively. This conceptualization of political cultures as contained within their respective provinces makes the concept of "political culture" ripe for a neo-institutional analysis by providing us with a key question: how might the *structure* of the Canadian federal system, and provincial sub-states, help sustain the political culture of their populations over time?

While I intend to demonstrate how provincial state structure is a key variable when discussing provincial political cultures, it should be noted there are multiple influences and explanations as to their existence, as Stewart (1990) notes. Wiseman (1996a), for example, discusses *staples theory*, *formative events*, *quakes*, and *settler patterns* (fragment theory) as all playing a role in the development of political cultures. The fact that the prairies harboured a great resentment for the economic protectionism of Central Canada after Confederation, for example, would have had an impact on the West as a whole, interacting with other factors (Henry, 2002). This might include the Winnipeg General Strike, the Great Depression, or the oil boom in Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta, respectively. Fisherman rely extensively on their private ownership over boats, for example, and so Atlantic Canadians may have a significant individualist component to their political culture. Wesley (2011, p. 33) notes, however, that such explanations fail alongside fragment theory to explain the *persistence* of divergent cultures in these provinces. By synthesizing the structural critique by Cairns, and the agential critique of Wesley, I invoke a sentiment once articulated by Whittington:

> Structures of the Canadian political system…are some of the objects toward which we acquire attitudes. Conversely, however, the political structures must reflect the dominant values of our political culture if they are to be effective…*One way or the other, the analysis of political structures is an essential and integral companion to the political culture approach*. (1978, p. 150, emphasis added).

By examining the ways in which political parties both use and are constrained by their provincial state structures, we acknowledge that institutions themselves directly influence the "cultural and political complexion" of a population by shaping social policy and bureaucratic structures (Banting, 1987, p. 39). It is to such an examination I now turn.

State Structure and Permanence of Political Parties

Since Confederation, Canada's federalist structure has facilitated increasing decentralization that remains a significant force today. Provinces, under section 92(13) of the *Constitution Act, 1867* (property and civil rights), have become increasingly autonomous, gaining residuary powers beyond what the Founding Fathers had originally intended (Bakvis, Baier and Brown, 2011). Alan Cairns, in his work, has argued that the phenomenon of Canadian decentralization is a product of the *structure* of federalism. He notes that many federalists and theorists fervently critiqued the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council (JCPC) for its decentralizing decisions, and having appropriating far more power to the provinces than what was intended at confederation (Cairns,

1971). He articulates an alternate view; put simply, that it is "far too easily overlooked, because of idolatry with which the Fathers and their creation are often treated, that in the long run centralization was inappropriate for the regional diversities of a land of vast extent" (ibid:, p. 320). The beginnings of the provinces' regional diversity across the prairies and Canada, he concedes, are explained well by fragment theory. The notion that different settlers established a patchwork of varying cultures can help to account for initial centrifugal thrusts (Wiseman, 1996b).

The issue that Cairns raises with such an approach, however, is that it "pays inadequate attention to the possibility that the support for powerful, independent provincial governments is a product of the political system itself…such support need not take the form of a distinct culture [as] these are conventionally understood" (1977, p. 699). The appropriate theoretical framework to explain the *continued* variation of cultures across Canada is thus not historical settlement patterns, but the system that formed itself around such patterns. Provincial governments, part of a system that is necessarily power-sharing and was introduced to a land consisting of such varying settler cultures, inevitably sought political autonomy. The JCPC, in this context, was simply a catalyst for decentralization, rather than its instigator (Bakvis et al., 2011, p. 9). Decentralization has been the norm that continues to present day (Salmon and Keating, 2001; Bakvis et. al, 2011). In short, it was the *structure* of federalism that encouraged the aggressiveness of provinces, which "steadily [extended] their tentacles of control, regulation, and manipulation into society…playing a 'steering role'" (Cairns, 1977, p. 706). Such a "steering role" has enabled provinces to move their populations further away from one another, culturally speaking. Exactly how they have done so will be further explained in the analysis section of this paper.

Another structural and countervailing force to this *decentralization* of power at the federal level has been the *centralization* of power at the provincial level. This has intensified the role structure as a whole plays in the ideological trajectory of government, and therefore political culture. The Premier is the most important and powerful player in any provincial government. McArthur (2007, p. 247) notes that, by consolidating power over institutional features such as cabinet committees, provincial governments have developed the maneuvering space needed to guide their respective governments in different directions in policy and culture. The combination of the Westminster model, with a bias toward a powerful and dominant executive branch (Smiley, 1987), combined with the decentralizing tendencies of Canadian federalism, have led to a cultural environment where this relative ideological autonomy among provinces have become possible. Moreover, the Canadian approach to ensuring interests are represented at the cabinet level (both federally and provincially) has been to ensure diverse representation within the executive, rather than create external checks on the executive (Smiley, 1963). Therefore, the attempts to make executive branches sensitive to diverse interests have gone *with* the grain of centralized power, rather than against. Take for example Saskatchewan, under the leadership of Tommy Douglas. The province was able to develop a radically different (at the time) planning structure at the behest of their Premier, including a Planning Board which operated as a support body to cabinet. Specifically, it was "mandated to address the shortcomings of capitalism, which emphasized production for profit rather than human needs" (McArthur, 2007, p. 243). Social policy and spending became a priority, rather than business-friendly policy.

In addition, bureaucratic configurations in the provinces have gotten closer to, and intense with, the Premier as the centralization of power has increased. Bureaucracies have claimed significant authority as a result of this development (Dunn, 1996). As such, when the Devine conservatives took control of Saskatchewan in the 1980s, they had a difficult time undoing many of the policy structures put in place by the previous Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF)

and the New Democratic Party (NDP). Similarly, in Alberta, Premiers Lougheed and Getty had a difficult time creating policy-creation structures after Manning's complete overhaul of the system (McArthur, 2007). The point here is that the structural trajectory of provincial sub-states becomes key in looking at why varied political cultures have continued to be so different among the prairies.

Wesley (2011) argues that the agency of political parties, through their leadership, has reflected and transmitted cultures back onto populations—the approach I am presenting here is that they do so equally through such structural policy set-ups, and are guided by such set-ups. That Alberta has historically possessed a minimalist policy framework, making it difficult to pass social policy—and that Saskatchewan has historically had the opposite—is the starting point for illustrating that political parties can (and do) transmit culture through structure. Even when the electorate in these provinces chose an ideologically different leader (such as the Devine conservatives in Saskatchewan), policy continued to move in more or less a similar direction due to bureaucratic and structural inertia. While agency remains an important factor, structural analyses look at the ways in which political institutions shapes the behaviour of, and provides a limited set of tools for, political parties which transmit cultures among the provinces.

As Cairns (1977, p. 707) notes, "[w]hile the jurisdiction of a province lacks the comprehensive coverage enjoyed by the government of a unitary state, it is a sufficiently impressive base of governmental power to elicit visions of futures to be pursued." Structure provides opportunities for provinces to both *create* and *pursue* such visions, and the tools through which those visions can be realized—part of which involves their political cultures. In the analysis that is to follow, I will show how federal and provincial structures, beyond the control of any political actors, have influenced and nurtured the very different political cultures we see among the Canadian prairies provinces of Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba. The "visions" that Cairns speaks of, in other words, are nurtured by, and depend on, political structure to be fulfilled. The prairies will be discussed for two main reasons. First, for purposes of brevity. An analysis of all ten provinces is beyond the scope of this paper. Nonetheless, the conclusions will provide a tentative commentary of how this analysis could apply to other provinces. Second, because of Wesley's (2011) so-called "prairie paradox"—that these provinces are *similar* to one another on many other measures (including economic staples, geography, and acquisition of natural resources throughout confederation) besides political culture.

Structural Influence on Political Parties, their Ideology, and Culture

The idea that political cultures stem from historical waves of "settler fragments", or "fragment theory", is a cornerstone of political culture literature. Nonetheless, as Wesley (2011, p. 34) points out, "[w]hereas Wiseman argues there would have been no Tommy Douglas without a collectivist political culture…the persistence of Saskatchewan's social democratic impulse owes as much to Douglas's leadership as vice versa". Looking at structure, the first question then becomes, how were political agents like Tommy Douglas *influenced by* structure to transmit such cultural "impulses"? One important point of investigation is the Canadian parliamentary system itself. According to Brownsey (2005, p. 212), "[w]hile institutions do not determine outcomes, they do 'provide an enabling, restricting, or stimulating context for individual or corporate action'". Olsen (2002, pp. 152-153) discusses this idea in the Canadian context at both the federal and provincial level in Canada. Strict party discipline and bloc voting among parties encourages dissenting voices to break off and create their own parties. The Great Depression among the prairies, for example, resulted in political disagreements and the split between ideological factions that led to the creation

of both the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (social democrats), Social Credit (populist/social conservatives), and Progressive Conservative (social conservatives) parties in the Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba (Robin, 1972). This political entropy is further exacerbated at the provincial level, where the smaller number of seats at this level heavily encourages strict party discipline (Coleman a& Skogstad, 1990, p. 18). Noting this structural feature of the Canadian polity sheds some light on the "stimulation" of action and political behaviour among provincial parties.

In addition to the rule of bloc voting in Canada, parliamentary politics are adversarial. This is true in Canada to a large extent. At both the federal and provincial levels, "[a]dversarial polities promote the role of public debate, are hostile to inter-party coalition and power sharing, and discourage the effective functioning of investigative machinery within Parliament" (Coleman and Skogstad, 1990, p. 18). The structural influences of bloc voting and adversarial politics therefore encourage hostility among the ideologically concentrated parties. Provincial parties need to create strategic "alternatives" to the mainstream ideas and party in a province at any given moment, which affects the political culture in adverse ways. For example, a left-wing party may try to push political discourse to the left when threatened by a new right-wing party, or vice versa. Such structural features of Canadian provincial politics heavily influenced the party discourse and rhetoric that transmitted and influenced political culture among the Prairie Provinces. For example, the rhetoric of the 1940s campaigns involving Manning's Social Credit (Alberta) and Douglas's CCF (Saskatchewan) capitalized on these structural features to a large extent. Tommy Douglas's political success in Saskatchewan was key for Manning's movement of Albertan political culture to the right, using the CCF as a foil (Wesley, 2011, p. 68). The Albertan Social Credit ideology presented a free-enterprise and capitalistic society as the solution to the looming "socialist menace" just next door. Likewise, Tommy Douglas too engaged in a form of "provincial boosterism" that downplayed Alberta's laissez-faire and isolationist approach, and spoke of Saskatchewan's style of planning as being worthy of export to the rest of Canada (Wesley, 2011, p. 133).

The point is that these two leaders *pushed* their provincial cultures away from one another, and were able to do so through (and because of) structure. Their respective parties, the CCF and Socreds, monopolized their respective ideologies in their provinces through bloc voting. Further, the federal and antagonistic political structure *itself* allowed them both to compare their parties to one another, which served to stretch discourses further left and right, respectively. Alberta could not have pushed itself rightward through fear-mongering if it did not have a contrast off of which to push. In Manitoba, much of this same issue is at play. NDP Premier Schreyer relied heavily on rhetoric that emphasized the "out-datedness" of the Progressive Conservative party that had been in power for so long before him. This rhetoric of "moving forward" has persisted in Manitoba to present-day. In fact, premiers in Manitoban politics typically compare themselves to their predecessors, rather than their contemporaries (Wesley, 2011, p. 219). This reflects and transmits the culture of moderation and temperance found in Manitoba back at the population; not necessarily *better* than other provinces or ideologies but wanting to "move forward" all the same. Here, we still see the antagonistic political structure at play; these ideologically concentrated parties compare themselves to others and subsequently *push* discourse in their preferred direction. By comparing themselves to predecessors instead of contemporaries, Manitoban political parties have avoided the entropy of pushing discourse "too far" left or right, preserving a middle ground by instead pushing "forward". As all parties are encouraged to do this, voters essentially must pick some form of concentrated ideological agent in a highly fragmented and entropic political field, more so than Americans. As such, the culture is influenced along with parties that are structurally influenced to

behave in particular ways. While the claim here is by no means that structures *determine* behaviours of parties, it is rather that such parties have been formed by and have capitalized on these federal and antagonistic structures to shape provincial political cultures.

In these ways, the agency of political parties central to the thesis of Wesley's (2011) analysis is shaped by the federalist structure, and with it, the political culture among the prairies. However, provincial political parties also have available to them a structure that helps to further transmit political cultures over time. This comes primarily in the form of institutional features, such as policy planning committees and other cabinet committees that serve to buttress or decline what is called *state autonomy*. State autonomy is defined as "the degree of independence from societal groups possessed by state actors when they formulate policy objectives…the goals of an autonomous state…are internally generated and not simply reflective of societal interests or demands" (Coleman and Skogstad, 1990, p. 15). Through such features, increasingly centralized and autonomous provincial governments over the course of Canadian federalism have been able to create or dismantle such committees to insulate or de-insulate themselves from the public, more effectively creating policy which, in turn, can guide a region's political culture. This concept fits in well with Cairns' (1977) notion of provinces as acting in their own interests, establishing their own "visions" of the future. More or less insulation from the public, depending on the ideology of political parties' agency, can facilitate whatever "visions" for which such agency is aiming. As Skocpol (1985, p. 14) notes, state autonomy is not fixed; "it can come and go". What she calls the "structural potentials" of states can change. A key part of this is the size and partisanship of bureaucracy—neutrality and independence means more state autonomy (Skocpol, 1985; Coleman & Skogstad, 1990). Applying such a concept to the provincial level, I pose the argument below that at the provincial level across the prairies, centralized and powerful agents *use* institutional structure to manipulate their level of state autonomy. In turn, this has guided the provinces down different cultural paths.

Another concept that will be employed in the subsequent analysis of each prairie province is *policy feedback*. This refers to "the impact that existing social policies have on subsequent policy-making. This influence may be intentional, or it may be unanticipated and unplanned" (Olsen, 2002, p. 160). Legislation or policy that is passed at an earlier time can have a significant effect on future action, constraining or stimulating behaviour of agents in the state. In the provincial context, this means that previous actions taken by Premiers or their planning committees can significantly impact the options available to subsequent governments. Policy feedback also has some significance in explaining how provincial structure has influenced cultures within the different prairie regions. The analysis that follows uses both state autonomy and policy feedback in examining the structural histories and political cultures of Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba, respectively.

Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba: Three Structures, Three Cultures

Throughout the history of Alberta's existence as a province, political parties have transmitted a political culture composed heavily of individualism, populism, and autonomy (Wesley, 2011, p. 56). The initial settler fragment culture that composed Alberta, primarily American, has lived on in this way. Premiers and the Albertan provincial government have used and manipulated the structure of their institution to *lower* state autonomy, making it more difficult to pass social policy and to transmit a political code of self-reliance to its citizens over the decades. As Brownsey (2005, p. 224) points out, the premiers of Alberta have typically preferred strong, centralized decision-

making in their offices. Premiers Manning and Klein, for example, completely dominated their cabinet; an option given to them by virtue of a provincial state structure that concentrates as much power in the hands of the premier as he or she wishes (McArthur, 2007). Manning's provincial campaigns ran primarily on "laissez-faire liberalism" and "plebiscitarian populism", while Klein focused on "bootstrap individualism" (Wesley, 2011, p. 57). Their centralized style of decision making capitalized on the malleable structure of provincial governments to transmit these codes throughout their political tenures. When Klein took control, for example, he reduced the number of standing committees in government from fifteen to three (Brownsey, 2005, p. 218). Policy committees have historically been underused in Alberta compared to the other Prairie Provinces. This has created difficulty in passing social policy under the centralized and minimalist structure created by Albertan Premiers; policies must be sponsored by a minister and pass through at least two other committees, then go through a final review and require public input (Brownsey, 2005, p. 221). Committees in this way are used not to insulate government from interest groups, as Saskatchewan has done, but rather, internally fragment the process through a system of checks, slowing policy down

The autonomy of the Albertan state in this way is *lowered*, and serves to translate the political culture of self-reliance and populism into policy. Through the request of public input, Albertans are allowed to interact with the government to mutually reproduce this culture via policy structures. In addition, the bureaucracy of Alberta has been less independent than in the other Prairie Provinces. When Klein was in power, for example, he and his chief of staff Rod Love "ensured [bureaucrats] viewed their role as political operatives and not as neutral members of the bureaucracy…the politicization of their role not only confused [some of] them but led to their dismissal" (Brownsey, 2005, p. 219). As a strong and independent bureaucracy is a keystone feature of an autonomous state, it was clear this was not part of the "vision" that Albertan Premiers did not have for their province. Even those Premiers who were less centralized than Manning and Klein, such as Peter Lougheed, found it difficult to create the structure for policy planning (Brownsey, 2005); the Albertan policy structure by then had been drenched with a populist and individualistic ethos. Policy feedback had helped to steady the political culture in the province. The Progressive Conservatives and Social Credit parties in Alberta infused the Albertan state structure with this individualist tint, which helped to transmit populism and individualism among Albertans. The lack of social policy and public spending relative to the other Prairie Provinces has translated (and still translates) the "codes" that Wesley speaks of into tangible ways of life for Albertans.

Saskatchewan, despite being what Marchildon (2005) calls Alberta's "Siamese twin", has had an historically opposite political culture to its Westward neighbour. To a large extent, the translation of its codes of "collectivism" and "dirigisme" into structure were performed by Tommy Douglas (Wesley, 2011). Saskatchewan has historically taken the lead among the provinces in terms of social planning and developing policy committee structure, *increasing* state autonomy. As Rasmussen and Marchildon (2005, p. 188) note, the CCF under Douglas pioneered large amount of interconnected boards and committees, including the Economic Advisory and Planning Board, Government Finance Office, and Treasury Board committees—a "classic administrative troika" that would persist for another fifty years after creation. Such a planning structure facilitated what George Cadbury called the "marriage of the politician and the technician" (Rasmussen & Marchildon, 2005, p. 189)—clearly, a collaborative effort in the creation of social policy. This stands in stark contrast to Alberta's systems of checks and internal fragmentation. Many other committees, treasuries, and planning boards spawned from this "troika", and persisted through other Premierships. Ross Thatcher, Douglas's successor, disliked committees and had a leadership

style closer to that of Manning or Klein (Rasmussen & Marchildon, 2005, p. 192). Nonetheless, it was difficult for him to dismantle the complex set of committees, and when Blakeney's NDP took over in 1971, things once again became "business as usual" with respect to policy planning, and even more structured than under Douglas's CCF. Thus, even when voters opted for a party with a different ideology, the state structure in Saskatchewan still maintained its overarching trajectory of a policy-planning orientation. The structure was reflecting a culture of collectivism and dirigisme back at Saskatchewanians through tangible social policy.

Saskatchewan is a good historical example of what Coleman and Skogstad (1990, p. 29) refer to as a *state-directed* policy network. These include "highly autonomous, coordinated state agencies" with minimal influence from the outside. Committees and the "administrative troika" established over Saskatchewan's history provide insulation from external influences, creating its more autonomous network. Policy feedback also has played a large role in sustaining Saskatchewan's autonomous and dirigisme-oriented structure. The *Civil Service Act* passed by Douglas's CCF had three lasting, constraining features. First, it "limited the ability of the Douglas and subsequent governments in Saskatchewan to stack the public service with partisan individuals"; second, it increased government dependence on senior bureaucrats; third, it gave civil servants a constructive role in the creation of policy (Rasmussen & Marchildon, 2005, p. 186). This Act helped to ensure that the planning tradition was firmly embedded within the Saskatchewanian state, and crystallized Douglas's promises of security and economic/social policy (Wesley, 2011) in structure. It did so, primarily, by enhancing state autonomy, insulating it from external sources that may try to de-stabilize the collectivist ethos its social planning structure implies. Public input and opposition have less access points to critique and slow down social policy, ensuring it is churned out more smoothly than in Alberta. Moreover, Saskatchewan's bureaucracy was made a more permanent, independent structure than its Albertan counterpart, which was highly partisan. A strong bureaucracy that knows its role well, as Coleman and Skogstad (1990) note, is necessary for state autonomy. We can see here that the agency of political parties that transmit a collectivist code have done so through the structure (via increasing insulation from outside sources, such as patronage politics), and have implemented a "vision" of the future in this way.

Manitoba, for its part, has been culturally located somewhere between its two companions to the West. Not far off individualist or collectivist, Manitoba has been described as possessing a culture of modesty and temperance (Wesley, 2011). Looking at the variation of its planning structures, historically, this notion lines up. Grace (2005) discusses the swelling and inflating of Manitoba's planning structure over several decades (also see Wiseman, 1996b). Duff Roblin, for his part, laid a foundation for an enhanced planning structure in Manitoba. However, he did not build to the extent that Douglas did in Saskatchewan. Walter Weir and Ed Schreyer capitalized on these somewhat, slightly expanding central planning units. Sterling Lyon dismantled many of these committees and planning processes, which were then re-instated by his successor Howard Pawley. State autonomy here can be seen to increase and decrease at the behest of various Premiers, paralleling the cultural tightrope that Manitoba walks between Saskatchewan and Alberta. The political "codes" that premiers have reflected back at Manitobans has been one of, generally speaking, "non-partisanship" or "progress before party"; that ideological motives should be placed aside for moving Manitoba "forward" (Wesley, 2011). Doer's ideology and campaign rhetoric, was one that was "middle-of-the-road", which compared him to predecessors rather than contemporaries. This particular rhetoric fit well with Manitoba's cultural trajectory, one that praised social progressivism coupled with fiscal conservatism (Wesley, 2011). It was translated into a provincial structure that saw some slight change under Doer, but no major shifts, keeping

cabinet and committee sizes mostly unchanged (Grace, 2005, p. 179). Central agency support remained the same under Doer, and the Policy Management Secretariat (PMS) served and still serves as a form of fiscal "check" on policies.

Here, we see elements of both Albertan and Saskatchewanian structure. Checks like that of the PMS still serve to strike a balance between social progressivism and fiscal conservatism, while retaining enough state autonomy (i.e., not completely fragmenting the system) to pass policy. Using a polity-centred analysis, we see that the Manitoban sub-state has not historically been as fragmented as Alberta's state, nor as insulated and autonomous as Saskatchewan's. It is the structural response to a culture and ideology that finds itself halfway between the other two provinces, wanting the social security of Saskatchewan with the fiscal conservatism of Alberta. Structure is not separate from culture here, but works in tandem to maintain a middle cultural ground between Alberta and Saskatchewan. Settler cultures of modesty have been reflected through political parties practicing the same breed of rhetoric (self-comparisons to predecessors, not contemporaries) and a structure that retains enough autonomy to keep policy in play, without becoming a Saskatchewan-style form of planning ("locked in" to creating policy) or Alberta's clunky and fragmented sub-state. This is seen both over a number of Premiers, as evidenced by the buoying of Manitoba's cabinet structures, and within tenures of Premiers like Duff Roblin and Gary Doer, both of whom balanced on the ideological and structural tightrope. This renders the Manitoban structure more *flexible* than the other two; whereas it has been historically difficult to pass policy in Alberta, and easier in Saskatchewan, the tangible policy realities for Manitobans stems from somewhere in between those two realms. State structure must be kept flexible precisely to avoid the aforementioned, potential runaway influences on either side that occurred in Saskatchewan and Alberta, taking ideology further to either side than Manitobans would like to see. The fact that the structure has been kept flexible in this way is a testament to how it has reflected themes of modesty and temperance back at the population.

Conclusion

I have attempted to show here how each prairie province has, in a context of their increasing and historical appropriation of autonomy and power, has created and fulfilled its own "vision" of the future (Cairns, 1977). Although settler patterns help to explain to some extent the establishment of various cultures among the Canadian prairies, it is the structure that developed around these that has nurtured and transmitted varying cultures through time, translated by the agency of political parties who are influenced by, and use, these structures. Political parties across the prairies, ideologically distilled and volatile due to Canada's parliamentary and adversarial system, have capitalized on the historical processes of federal decentralization and provincial centralization of powers to guide their provinces in culturally separate directions. Structure thus becomes a primary variable in explaining what Wesley (2011) calls the "prairie paradox". By re-introducing structure into cultural accounts in this way, we might help to rectify the shortcomings of separate structural and cultural socio-political theories. Gans (2012) notes that that main commonality between structural and cultural accounts is the quest to find power in their respective theoretical infrastructures; if we can find ways to articulate them to one another, we might be able to fill explanatory lacunas we find in both. One question posed by an analysis I offer in this paper is how structural potentials change the power available to political parties at any given time—and how this can affect how citizens view the political process in their province.

This analysis is predicated on a polity-centred approach, which considers the state as having some autonomy from social pressures and the ability to gather its own resources, and as constraining and providing opportunity for political entrepreneurs (Olsen, 2002, p. 142). Observing how this structure has the ability to constrain and channel political agents in passing batons of conservative, social-democratic, and moderate political cultures across populations is valuable. Given its ability to shed light on old and (perhaps) tired phenomena, the polity-centred approach should be taken more seriously by political scientists, sociologists, and other scholars interested in political cultures. The new roles of the Quebec state during the Quiet Revolution, for example, could have had just as much impact on Quebecois political culture as vice versa. As the roles of education and healthcare passed from Church to State, the new, liberal culture of Quebec was bound up with processes of this transfer and newfound state autonomy (Dickinson & Young, 2008). What it meant to be a citizen of Quebec was highly influenced by state activity, and could have had adverse effects on the political culture of that province (Jenson and Phillips, 2001). An analysis of Quebec's structural character, much like I have done here for the Prairie provinces, could give an alternative perspective concerning some of the historical behaviours in that province. The historical *structural character* of each province, in sum, is crucial for understanding political attitudes and behaviour in that province. It encompasses, to some extent, the agency of political parties and the various strategies they use for elections. Future research could also possibly investigate the extent to which this structural influence impacts election campaigns in other jurisdictions. Likewise, the structural character of any state or sub-state, as a political entity with an ability to gain a certain degree of autonomy from social groups, is important in discussing the behaviour of agents within its arena.

Political culture and federalism will perhaps always be something of a chicken-and-egg problem. Nonetheless, what I have attempted here is one viable explanation as to how political cultures have held up over the course of Canada's development as a nation. While this analysis focused on the Prairie Provinces for the purposes of brevity, and because of the similarity among these provinces, this analysis can feasibly hold for other provinces outside the prairies, and perhaps other states and/or sub-states altogether. A structural analysis such as this are attempts to situate political entrepreneurs as agents of change within their contexts, and as such, what constraints and opportunities their structures provide them. More generally, such an analysis might be applied to other provinces, sub-states, or possibly the international scene, and future research may be able to find fruitful conclusions by "bringing the state (or sub-state) back in".

About the Author

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BOOK REVIEWS / CRITIQUES DE LIVRES

Ian Marsh, John Cochrane, and Gaynor Melville. (2004). *Criminal Justice: An Introduction to Philosophies, Theories and Practice*. London: Routledge. Pp. 248. ISBN 978-0415333009

Criminal Justice: An Introduction to Philosophies, Theories and Practice helps students to develop a deeper understanding of the context and current functions of the criminal justice system (CJS). The first part of the book provides a comprehensive and clear analysis of the main philosophical aims and sociological theories of punishment, historical context of punishment and justice, and the evolving perspective of victimology. The second part focuses on the key players in the current CJS, such as the police, courts, and judiciary. There are reflective questions that occur throughout the text, which allow students to critically respond to information presented in the text. The book is very detailed and its intensive revision of the CJS is highly useful. The book conveys knowledge about the CJS in seven differentiated chapters, which are easily manageable and locatable. It also discusses information about the vital issues of the CJS and its legal responsibilities; the legalised, political, and social context in which they operate. Also, the book highlights issues surrounding the criminal law and discusses how different types ofcrime and deviance are portrayed. The text examines how the non-legal aspects of criminal justice impacts the aims and objectives of the CJS and influences certain policies.

The key issues include the operation of the police; the necessity of probation/probation officers; the role of prisons; the magistrates/crown prosecution courts, and the service of the crown prosecution. These elements of the CJS are important to discuss as they impact the construction of criminal appeals and the responsibility of the home office. Furthermore, the police, probation and magistrates directly affect changes of the criminal case review commission, which affects the co-operation of the parole board. Meanwhile, the CJS attempts to break through this barrier and tries to prevent delinquent behaviour from occurring.

There is one particular recurring aspect that is unclear in this book; that is, the unspecified definition of the 'criminal justice system'. Although the authors do make clear the roles of solicitors, barristers, and judges etc, it is ambiguous as to whether or not the definition of the 'criminal justice system' includes the penal system, legislation, jury pool, and prisons conceptualised under such a heading. It was hoped that the whole definition of the CJS would be easily understandable and clear; therefore, for future reference, definitions should be clearer and concise.

Fundamentally, the first chapter suggests three main components: deterrence, retribution, and rehabilitation. These concepts often contradict and overlap with one another, but they interlink with why punishment should be active in comparison to chapter two, which focuses on theories of punishment (based around Durkheim, Marxist, Weber and Foucault's point of view). In contrast, chapter three presents evidence of the history side of prisons and crime, and again involves theoretical approaches as mentioned above—it tries to correlate this with history. While chapter four conveys information surrounding victimology, which explains who is most likely to be the victim and offender, the chapter also illustrates theories and pays great attention to domestic violence. Further, it compares and contrasts conventional crimes with corporate crimes. Chapter five details police and policing and gives a brief outline of the main social groups that comprised the early police force. Chapter six focuses on the courts, sentencing, and judiciary. Similarly to chapter five, social groups are introduced in this section and are used to discuss the 'chivalry thesis' (that is, claims that women will be treated more leniently for committing certain

crimes) and how social groups affect sentencing. Finally, chapter seven consists of the prisons and imprisonment aspects, which shows that the prison population is increasing, and conveys different types of sentencing.

Above all, each chapter includes a 'further reading section' and various review questions. The book outlines a chronology of key dates and has an assortment of websites and a glossary of helpful terms. In order to illustrate these points, the book contributes some of its awareness on meticulous criminal cases, such as The Strange Ways Riot and The Background to the Woolf Report, as well as many others like the 'Bloody Mary' to 'Moral Panics and Folk Devils'. However, the book describes such cases with valuable summaries of their circumstances.

The authors believe the CJS has undergone a radical transformation and postulate the need for a restorative justice approach to deal with the most pressed issues within the system. . The initial assumption of this development is not only to reform the CJS, but also to implement and improve the efficiency of people's daily lives and the legal system; coinciding with the way we do justice in our society. Equally, it conveys rationality in the sense that it 'opens our eyes' and enables society to empathize with the whole CJS and the threads that underpin it.

Summarising the book as a whole, it concomitantly consists of information about the CJS being the fundamentals of a flourishing and cultured society. It develops points about the service of the police and the necessity of the legal system. It also points out that the CJS is not futile; rather it is a vital agency that allows society to continue its cycle. Conversely, people's culture is threatened by crime and deviance, and this book clarifies that change is an essential component that will guard society; accomplished by legislations and agencies. Importantly, the book theorises that society cannot do anything about crime/deviance and the system. Chapters 1, 3, 4, 5 and 6 in particular help our understanding of the CJS, because we can compare and contrast how the process was 'back in the day' to contemporary society, so changes can be observed and understood.

Significantly, the book contributes to an understanding of criminology and the CJS by outlining the progress the CJS has made and focussing on means of deterrence and preventing recidivism In addition , the book indispensably states that all types of crime should be tackled, especially minor crimes because more time and effort can be put into dealing with repeat offenders and violent crime. Nonetheless, from this book, it seems crime is declining and more offences are being brought to justice.

Although some of the chapters conducted are ambivalent, especially those containing historical references, the authors have structured the chapters clearly and logically. However, the historic chapters felt repetitive and were rather forceful in expressing the main points. Nevertheless, on the whole, the book is a gripping and controversial read, and the reviewer recommends students to at least examine the fundamental argument of the book. Due to its history-oriented content, this book would undoubtedly be favoured by a university history studies programme or showcased in the history section of most libraries. At the same time, libraries that support programs, such as law, media and perhaps journalism ought to acknowledge this book, since it touches on areas within law and media.

To provide a richer and deeper understanding on some of the issues that the book leaves out, I recommend that readers of this book peruse *Prison Readings: A Critical Introduction to Prisons and Imprisonment* by Jewkes and Johnston (2006), as this book provides a detailed description and evaluation of the historical progress regarding the CJS, which Marsh *et al* lacks. Readers should also consider *Victims, crime and society* by Davies *et al* (2007), which covers more about how victims are treated within the CJS. Marsh *et al* lacks great detail about how

victimology is construed within the CJS, but Davies *et al* gives a very detailed and sufficient account of crime victims and the CJS collectively.

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Robert Chrismas (2013). *Canadian Policing in the 21st Century: A Frontline Officer on Challenges and Changes*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press. Pp. 322: ISBN 9780773542747.

Robert Chrismas' *Canadian Policing in the 21st Century: A Frontline Officer on Challenges and Changes* offers a rare perspective of policing in Canada. As a frontline officer with 28 years of experience with the Winnipeg Police Service and a doctoral candidate in peace and conflict studies, Chrismas' book offers information that is not only valuable to researchers, but interesting to those outside the academic community as well. It covers a wide range of policing-related topics including the history of law enforcement in Canada, how the roles and experiences of police officers have changed over the years, current successes and continued challenges within Canadian policing as well as suggestions for potential improvements for the future. The book is enriched by stories of Chrismas' own experiences as a police officer. These personal anecdotes help to not only reinforce his arguments but provide the reader with a unique look into the various challenges faced by front-line officers, such as dealing with an individual attempting to commit 'suicide-by-cop'. Chrismas' experience and dedication to improving the effectiveness of policing in Canada is explicitly evident throughout the book, which is broken up into eleven chapters.

The beginning of the book outlines Chrismas' background as a police officer and sets the stage for his discussion of policing in the 21st century. In the first chapter he provides a brief summary of the history of policing in Canada followed by a description of the current situation. This ensures that all readers have a frame of reference when it comes to current policing and a basic understanding of the structure of law enforcement in Canada. From this point, the chapters are broken up into various police-related topics.

In chapter 2, Chrismas discusses financial aspects of the justice system. He highlights the challenges associated with different costs and resource-allocation within police departments and offers recommendations to minimize many of these issues. In addition, he discusses the movement toward privatization of security in Canada and resulting benefits and challenges associated with this trend.

Within chapters 3, 4, 5 and 6 Chrismas highlights multiple aspects of policing that have changed over the years. First, in chapter 3 he discusses the greater expectations faced by police officers as a result of higher standards and stricter rules as well as an increase in overall caseloads. In addition, in Chapter 4 he emphasizes that while improvements in technology have resulted in more effective equipment for law enforcement, these same advances have simultaneously allowed criminals and their crimes to become more sophisticated. He then goes on to discuss in Chapter 5 how these changes have resulted in differences between experienced officers and those who are new to the force and emphasizes the importance of finding common ground and developing good communication to prevent "intergenerational issues" (p. 100). Finally, in Chapter 6, Chrismas discusses the increasing number of post-secondary degrees and other credentials held by new recruits. At the same time, he highlights the value of real life experience and the importance of having these individuals train with and be mentored by seasoned officers.

Chapters 7 and 8 focus on topics related to policing and Aboriginals as well other minority groups in Canada. First, Chrismas emphasizes the importance of having all members of the public view the police as fair and trustworthy, regardless of race or ethnicity. Thus, he reiterates the importance of developing cultural sensitivity as well as hiring officers from multiple backgrounds. In Chapter 8, he further discusses this with respect to other races and women. He

argues that police forces need to continue to work to improve relations with all groups. In addition, he highlights the past and present challenges faced by female officers as well as the improvements that have been, and should be made to increase equality and enhance their overall experience.

In Chapter 9, Chrismas outlines differences and shifts in accountability across levels of governance. He highlights challenges associated with funding across these different groups when it comes to large-scale crises like natural disasters and the terrorist attacks of 9/11. Thus, he emphasizes the importance of communication and cooperation from all levels of government, as well as private and public sector agencies when it comes to dealing with these issues.

In Chapters 10 and 11, Chrismas discusses the importance of transparency and accountability on the part of police to generate and maintain public trust. At the same time, he highlights that the expectation placed on officers to maintain their professionalism can be challenging as they are often faced with situations that are highly dangerous and stressful. He argues that despite hesitation toward certain changes, such as video-taped interviews, these alterations are beneficial as they serve to increase transparency and public confidence in the police.

Finally, Chrismas emphasizes the importance of collaboration between law enforcement and the community with respect to reducing crime. He quotes Peel's 7th principle: "the police are the people and the people are the police" (p.247) and states that everyone has a responsibility to ensure public safety. He concludes by arguing that the changes discussed throughout the book have simply altered the battleground and weapons used to fight against evil, but have not eliminated it. Thus, continued reflection is needed to learn from the past and ensure improvements in the future.

Canadian Policing in the 21st Century: A Frontline Officer on Challenges and Changes is an enjoyable and informative read for individuals interested in learning about policing in Canada. It is well-written and avoids the use of heavy jargon, allowing it to be appreciated by a broad audience. In addition, the list of abbreviations offered at the beginning of the book serve as a valuable reference tool. From a criminological perspective, it lacks a theoretical aspect; however, this likely contributes to the book's appeal to a wider audience. In addition, the book's well-sourced information as well as Chrismas' personal stories would certainly serve as valuable information within scholarly projects and could easily be used in conjunction with theoretical work. Thus, not only has Chrismas developed an excellent academic resource, he has provided the public with an understanding and appreciation of what police officers experience while working on the frontlines.

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