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Editorial Assistant
Andrew Bilinsky

Past Editors
This journal was founded as *Australian-Canadian Studies: A Multidisciplinary Review* at La Trobe University in 1983.
Vol. 1–3: G. Ternowetsky, A. Borowski, T. Puckett and B. Langer
Vol. 4–9: M. Alexander and G. Whitlock
Vol. 10–14: G. Turcotte, B. Ziff and L. McNamara
Vol. 15: H. Cohen and W. Waring
Vol. 16–19/1: H. Cohen
Vol. 19/2–24/2: S. Mycak

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AUSTRALASIAN CANADIAN STUDIES

Australasian Canadian Studies (ACS)—previously Australian Canadian Studies—is a multidisciplinary journal of Canadian studies. It is the official journal of the Association for Canadian Studies in Australia and New Zealand (ACSANZ) and is published twice a year. ACS is a double blind refereed journal for the humanities and social sciences that welcomes Canadian and comparative Australian—New Zealand—Canadian analysis. The audience is worldwide.

For twenty-five years ACS has provided a forum for a diverse body of scholarship. Contributions across the full range of humanities and social sciences are sought, including: anthropology, architecture, communications, cultural studies, economics, education, ethnic studies, geography, history, information technology, legal studies, literature, media, musicology, political science, sociology, women’s studies, Quebec and other regional studies. Both disciplinary and interdisciplinary analyses are sought and a wide range of methodologies encouraged.

ACS publishes articles, essays, discussion papers and book reviews. The editor invites submissions on any topic in Canadian studies and the study of Canada, including comparisons between Canada and other countries. Manuscripts should conform to the Chicago Manual of Style, 15th edition. The manuscript title and author’s name and address should appear on a separate sheet. To preserve anonymity during the refereeing process, the author’s identity should not be exposed in the text.

Manuscripts, inquiries and books for review should be sent to:
Dr Sonia Mycak, Editor
Australasian Canadian Studies
School of Letters, Art and Media
University of Sydney
NSW 2006, AUSTRALIA
email: acs@usyd.edu.au
The Association for Canadian Studies in Australia and New Zealand

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Canadian High Commission, Canberra

ACSANZ is an interdisciplinary organisation which recognises and encourages interest in Canadian Studies and aims to promote greater understanding of Canada at all educational levels and in all disciplines.

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The Association for Canadian Studies in Australia and New Zealand (ACSANZ) is a multi-disciplinary organization which recognizes and encourages interest in Canadian Studies and aims to promote greater understanding of Canada.

ACSANZ has around 200 members, most of whom are academics and postgraduates engaged in research and/or teaching about Canada.

**what acsanz does**
- Promotes research and teaching in Canadian Studies in the social sciences and humanities in Australia and New Zealand
- Offers a range of grants and awards for academics and postgraduate to research and teach Canadian Studies in Australia and New Zealand (in conjunction with the Canadian High Commission in Canberra and the International Council for Canadian Studies)
- Publishes the biannual scholarly journal *Australasian Canadian Studies*
- Supports visiting speaking tours by prominent Canadian personalities
- Provides postgraduate travel awards to encourage scholarship in Canadian Studies among potential academics in Australia and New Zealand
- Holds biennial conferences and other colloquia to encourage interdisciplinary exchange of ideas in Canadian Studies in Australia and New Zealand
- Is a member of the International Council for Canadian Studies and collaborates with other Canadian Studies associations in Canada and abroad
- Participates in the Pacific-Asian Network in Canadian Studies (PANCS) and is the current chair of the Network (2006-2008)
- ACSANZ receives support from the Government of Canada, through the Canadian High Commission in Australia

**membership (2 years)**
- Four issues of ACSANZ’s scholarly journal *Australasian Canadian Studies*
- Four issues of ACSANZ Newsletter of events, news and reports
- Inclusion in ACSANZ’s electronic announcement list for all the latest reminders about conferences, publications and annual grant competitions
- Entitlement to apply for funding to invite prominent Canadians to Australia and/or New Zealand

www.acsanz.org.au
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### ARTICLES

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- **David J. Rovinsky**: Efficiency Considerations in the Canadian and Australian Goods and Services Taxes
- **Arthur J. Wolak**: Australia's 'Irish Factor' as a Source of Cultural Difference from Canada
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146 CONTRIBUTORS
The First 25 years of ACS

This issue marks the 25th year of this scholarly journal, first established as Australian-Canadian Studies: A Multidisciplinary Review in 1983. Many fine scholars have been involved in the making of it. The founding editors were Allan Borowski, Thom Puckett, Beryl Langer and the late Gordon Ternowetsky. Others continued the excellent work: Malcolm Alexander, Gillian Whitlock, Gerry Turcotte, Bruce Ziff, Luke McNamara, Wendy Waring, and Hart Cohen developed the scholarly breadth and depth of the journal, allowing me to assume the editorship of an endeavour well established and well respected within the academy. Over the years, countless many have participated as writers and readers. Whatever form their contribution took, all those who have been involved with the journal have also contributed to the making of Canadian studies in this Australasian region of the world.

As the journal of the Association for Canadian Studies in Australia and New Zealand, it is fitting that this issue—which signals a 25 year history—reflects on the establishment and development of the scholarly study of Canada. In their reflections, some of our authors look back and some look forward. Peter Crabb’s moving tribute to the late Connie Watkin tells of a woman dedicated to the promotion of Canada. The Public Affairs Officer at the Canadian Consulate in Sydney for sixteen years, she was instrumental in the founding of ACSANZ, becoming its first Life Member. Even those of us who never had the opportunity to meet Connie can sense the enthusiasm and commitment with which she laid the foundations for future generations to build upon.
From the past to the future, new directions and initiatives feature in Stewart Gill’s report on the recent establishment of the Pacific Asia Network of Canadian Studies. A development in which ACSANZ has been instrumental, this new network will develop a distinct regional identity amongst Canadianists in the Asia Pacific. To this end, regular events will be held for scholars to exchange their findings and their views, with a particular focus upon graduate students so as to encourage a new generation of Asia Pacific Canadianists.

While Stewart Gill’s account gives us an exciting look into the future of an organised, structured field of Canadian studies, the paper which follows it reminds us that the scholarly institution of Canadian studies relies on the individuals within it. Mary Jane Edwards’s piece is much more than the story of one academic’s enterprise—it is a statement on scholarly editing as a discipline, and the state of this discipline in Canada. Her first person narrative is a candid and revealing account of how the Centre for Editing Early Canadian Texts was established and how it worked. It tells of the highs and the lows, with an honest portrayal of the difficulties Mary Jane Edwards and her colleagues encountered. But most of all, it bespeaks achievement—and reflects upon a field of endeavour worthy of greater recognition. As she says, “One of the great unknown, or at least unappreciated, achievements of Canadian scholarship is the number of editing projects that have been, and are being, carried out in Canadian universities.”

The papers with which this issue of Australasian Canadian Studies opens, then, pay tribute to 25 years of scholarship on Canada. The scholarly articles make clear the importance of a regional focus in this object of study. Maureen Baker studies access to household money from the perspective of gender and parenthood and compares the situation in Australia, New Zealand and Canada. David Rovinsky writes on the introduction and efficacy of the Goods and Services Tax in Canada and Australia, concluding with suggestions for reform. Arthur Wolak explores certain cultural characteristics in Australia, which he argues are a consequence of early Irish immigration, contrasting these dynamics to those found in Canadian culture.
and society. Each of these papers show in-depth research from a perspective that is at once global and local. And while many of us have grown accustomed to identifying similarities between Canada and Australia and New Zealand, these scholars also show us important and fascinating points of difference.

As always, our book review section shows the multidisciplinary and diverse nature of Canadian studies. We appreciate the effort and expertise of all our book reviewers—Tanya Gogan, Karl Hele, Coral Ann Howells, Jane Selwood, Andrew Smith and Kay Whitehead. We include reviews by members of our editorial board and those who have previously contributed to the journal as the authors of articles.

The scholarly endeavour which is the Association for Canadian Studies in Australia and New Zealand and Australasian Canadian Studies would not have seen such a productive 25 years were it not for the collective effort of many scholars and supporters. This issue shows us some of these fine efforts but in doing so, acknowledges all who have been involved over these years.

Sonia Mycak
In Memory of Connie Watkin

This is an all too late recognition of the passing of the Association's first Life Member, Connie Watkin, who died unexpectedly and alone in her home in Sydney in August 2005.

Connie was a Canadian who had married an Australian, but after his passing, she decided to stay in Australia. She became the Public Affairs Officer at the Canadian Consulate in Sydney, where she worked for some sixteen years. No one did more to promote Canada; her contacts were many, in all walks of life, in all parts of our economy and society, especially in Sydney.

She made Canada very visible in Sydney. Notable examples were Canada Week in 1986, when, among other things, Canadian flags flew along the pedestrian areas around Circular Quay. She organised the highly successful visit of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police Band to Australia in 1988. She organised the visits to Australia of many eminent Canadians, especially writers, musicians and people in other areas of the arts. Her contributions in the cultural area were recognised well beyond the Canadian community. For well over a decade, through the 1970s and 1980s, she was the voice of Canada on Sydney radio stations; for many people, she was Canada.

Her contacts extended to Canadians involved in the business and commercial life of Australia, especially those in Sydney and eastern Australia, through the Canada-Australia Business Association.

Well acknowledged, without Connie's interest and endeavours, it is hard to believe that ACSANZ would have come into being (see reference). The Association and its members were one of Connie's
particular passions. Her advocacy and support played a major role in its establishment and continued growth. She was instrumental in the establishment of many awards and research programmes, notably the Faculty Enrichment Awards and the Faculty Research Awards. Some of the initiatives of her period at the Consulate no longer continue, such as the Canada-Australia Bicentennial Institutional Research Awards, the Canadian Visiting Fellowship at Macquarie University, the donations of Canadian books to many university libraries, and the Quebec Studies Centre at the University of New England. However, there is no doubt that the foundations she significantly helped to lay are largely responsible for the continuing activities and the more recent initiatives.

Her involvement in affairs Canadian continued after she left the Sydney Consulate, as she never really retired. Though she had made Sydney her home, she remained a Canadian at heart—she continued to miss the winter snow!

Canada has never had a better ambassador in this country, and, certainly through the period of her work at the Consulate, no one contributed more to the good name of Canada in Australia. It was a total commitment. She was nominated for the Order of Canada; had she received the award it would have been richly deserved. There were times when she had to fight very hard in the interests of cultural, information and academic matters vis-à-vis trade, industry and tourism, when some of her superiors could not see that such activities really did contribute to trade and tourism, and often provided a better return than dollars spent in some other areas! Such difficulties were sometimes hard to take for a person with so much passion and initiative.

She enriched the lives of many of her contemporaries, Canadians and Australians. All Canadianists in Australia and New Zealand, and especially those associated with ACSANZ, owe Connie Watkin a huge debt.

Peter Crabb
Based upon the examples of the European Network of Canadian Studies and the Latin American Network, and after discussions between the presidents of various Canadian Studies Associations in the region at the ICCS meeting in 2006, it was decided to form a regional network in the Asia Pacific region. On April 2, 2007, delegates from the region met in Hong Kong. It was decided to call the network the Pacific Asia Network of Canadian Studies (PANCS). The following objectives were identified.

Objectives
The purposes of PANCS are to develop the Asia Pacific dimension of Canadian Studies, to foster linkages between Asia Pacific Canadianists, to facilitate the cooperation between Asia Pacific and Canadian scholars; and to contribute to the development of a new generation of Asia Pacific Canadianists. To reach these goals the PANCS organises:

- regular meetings of presidents or representatives of Asia Pacific Canadian Studies Associations;
- joint events (conferences, seminars, lecture tours) between Asia Pacific Canadian Studies associations;
- annual Asia Pacific Student Seminars on Graduate Work in Canadian Studies;
- workgroups on new themes for Canadian Studies.
Furthermore the PANCS helps expand Canadian Studies into new geographical areas throughout the whole of Asia and the Pacific areas and into new, non-traditional fields. The PANCS network also tries to reinforce and widen fields such as human resource development, public administration, law, integration and identity, new technologies, development aid, economics and trade, indigenous studies, media studies, human rights, terrorism, the environment and the like. A particular priority will be to promote comparative studies.

PANCS will seek to facilitate the exchange of newsletters and publications and will occasionally publish papers given at PANCS conferences or seminars.

Organisation

The PANCS brings together the presidents or representatives of all Asia Pacific Canadian Studies Associations but its structure is open and flexible. Its agenda is based upon a consensus model, its personnel composition fluctuates according to the task at hand and its operations are carried out in close cooperation with the associations that want to participate in a specific operation. The chairman acts as a technical chair, convenes meetings, follows up decisions and makes grant requests for activities and projects. The chairman will rotate on the following basis:

- IACS (India): 2008–2010
- ACSC (China): 2010–2012
- KACS (Korea): 2014–2016
- IACS (Israel): 2016–2018
- ACST (Taiwan): 2019–2021

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- ACST (Taiwan): 2019–2021
The PANCS maintains close links with the International Council for Canadian Studies (ICCS) and in full coordination and cooperation with the ICCS and with DFAIT.

Hong Kong

On April 3, a Graduate Seminar was held with postgraduate students from member countries. Representing Australia and New Zealand were Robyn Morris, Judy Maxwell and Joshua Snider.

New Delhi

Based upon the success of the meeting in Hong Kong it was decided to hold further meetings in New Delhi from November 1–3 with the support of DFAIT. On November 1, the Canadian High Commission hosted a reception to welcome all delegates to PANCS. This was followed on November 2, with a meeting of the presidents of all the Associations who are members of PANCS chaired by Stewart Gill. Jean Labrie (Deputy Director, International Academic Programs, DFAIT) was in attendance to report on the Department’s changing approach to Canadian Studies and the introduction of the “Understanding Canada” programme. The afternoon was taken up with a visit to the Shastri Institute of Indo Canadian Studies (www.sici.org).

November 3, saw us all gather at the Jawaharl Nehru University (www.jnu.ac.in) for our second Graduate Seminar. The Seminar was opened by HE David Malone, the Canadian High Commissioner for India, who is a world class scholar of international relations. His outstanding reflections set the context for the remainder of the day. ACSANZ was very ably represented by Stephen Haigh who has recently completed his PhD at the University of Otago. Stephen gave a paper on “Canada and Pacific Asia: A New Framework for Identity and Allegiance?”. Stephen also took part in a panel discussion that closed the seminar on “The future of Canadian Studies: The Role of Youth.”
Brisbane 2008

The next meeting of PANCS will take place during the ACSANZ Biennial Conference (July 1–3, 2008) in Brisbane. Canada Day 2008 will be devoted to the next PANCS Graduate Students’ seminar which will once again see participants from India, Israel, Japan, China, Taiwan, South Korea as well as Australia and New Zealand. The ACSANZ Conference will feature keynote speaker, Professor Margaret MacMillan (Warden, St Antony's College, Oxford) who will address security issues in the Asia-Pacific region, and a volume containing a selection of papers from the PANCS Graduate seminars will be launched.

Stewart Gill
Chairman, PANCS
See http://www.acsanz.org.au/pancs/

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Stewart Gill
Chairman, PANCS
See http://www.acsanz.org.au/pancs/
PANCS representatives

Back row (left to right)

Professor Guo Jide, Shandong University, PR China, President, Association for Canadian Studies in China

Professor Andy Leung, National Ilan University, Taiwan, President, Association for Canadian Studies in Taiwan

Mr Daniel Ben-Natan, Israel Museum, President, Israel Association for Canadian Studies

Professor Yuki Shimomura, Kobe International University, Director, Japanese Association for Canadian Studies

Front row (left to right)

Mr Ghislain Chaput, Academic Affairs, Canadian High Commission, New Delhi

Mr Jean Labrie, Head, Canadian Studies Section, International Academic Relations, DFAIT Ottawa

Professor Stewart Gill, University of Queensland, Chairman, PANCS

Professor R. K. Dhawan, University of New Delhi, President, Indian Association for Canadian Studies

Professor Myung-bae Yeom, Chungnam National University, Korea, President, Korean Association for Canadian Studies
The Centre for Editing Early (English-) Canadian Texts (CEECT): A Memoir

The Centre for Editing Early (English–) Canadian Texts, or CEECT, still exists at Carleton University in Ottawa, Ontario. Its address is care of the Department of English; it has a small budget and a couple of accounts; and it has outstanding business, the most important of which is the one text that we have not completed. In December 2006, however, we moved out of the last of the four offices that we once had, and from January to April 2007 we sorted the material that had not already been either junked or sent to the University Library. I kept some of these papers, and I delivered others to my part-time computer assistant who works on the last text from home. The rest went to the University Archives to be either thrown away or catalogued according to their conventions. With this reorganisation now finished, this seems an appropriate time to respond to Sonia Mycak’s long-standing invitation to write something about CEECT. This memoir, thus, is the latest, and possibly the last, version of the work called CEECT.

CEECT

The main aim of CEECT, an editorial project initiated in 1979, was to produce scholarly editions of major works of early (pre–1880) English-Canadian prose. Between 1985 and 1997 it published through Carleton University Press eleven of these editions, one of which, Thomas Chandler Haliburton’s *The Clockmaker, Series One, Two, and Three* (1995), was actually comprised of three discrete works. It also produced newsletters, conference papers, and a variety of manuals.
that delineated the principles and procedures followed by CEECT in its preparation of these editions. I was chairman of the steering committee that planned the project; I became its director, general editor, and its principal investigator; I edited the first CEECT edition, that of Frances Brooke’s *The History of Emily Montagu*e (1769), published in 1985; and I am editing the last CEECT edition, William Kirby’s *Le chien d’or/The Golden Dog* (1877). I did not, however, instigate the project.

**CEECT’s Beginnings**

In 1979 the Humanities at Carleton, as at many Ontario and other Canadian universities, were in their usual dire financial straits. In these circumstances Ian Cameron, the chairman of the Department of English, decided that it needed a big project funded from outside sources and that this venture should focus on Canadian literature.

There were several reasons for the second decision. Carleton was located in the national capital and, therefore, had the resources of both the National Archives and the National Library, as well as those of the bilingual University of Ottawa, all a bus or a bicycle ride away down the Rideau Canal. The University had a well-established Institute of Canadian Studies, the first of its kind in Canada; the Department of History had begun offering a doctorate in Canadian history; and, while the University did not yet have a Press, it was sponsoring the Carleton Library series of reprints of historical and other non-fictional Canadian works. The Department of English itself was planning to offer a doctorate in Canadian literature that focussed on texts in English but that demanded a good knowledge of French and French-Canadian/Québécois literature. As a result the Department was gathering a cadre of faculty who were either trained in Canadian literature or who, like Robin Mathews and James Steele, the leaders of the fight in the late 1960s and early 1970s against the Americanisation of Canadian universities, were determined to teach it. The PhD in Canadian literature graduated two students but never really got off the ground. Most of those who adopted our national
Having decided that the Department needed a major Canadian project, Ian Cameron chose me to be its principal investigator. I had, in his opinion, the necessary qualifications. I had lived and worked in various parts of Canada and knew the country well. I was the right age—I had just turned forty. I was organised, energetic, cheerful, and ambitious to the extent that I wished to see my national literature studied and taught in rigorous scholarly ways. I had already contributed to this goal. I had been general editor of *The Evolution of Canadian Literature in English* (1973), a series of four anthologies that presented complete works of our literature published from its beginnings until 1970. I had edited the first volume that covered *Beginnings to 1867* and co-edited with Paul Denham (University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan) and George L. Parker (Royal Military College, Kingston, Ontario) the second that covered 1867–1914. And Paul and I were preparing a fifth, *Canadian Literature in the 70’s* (1980). I was regularly publishing articles, entries in literary dictionaries and encyclopedias, and reviews; I was giving papers at conferences; and I was busy at the other jobs that a tenured professor did at a respectable Canadian university in the late 1970s. I was a woman, a fact, the chairman further decided, might be an advantage for the project even if it posed a whole other set of hardships for the female in question. Most importantly, I had been studying Canadian literature in English and in French since the late 1950s, and I had written an MA thesis on modern English-Canadian poetry for Malcolm Ross at Queen’s University (Kingston, Ontario) and a PhD thesis in nineteenth-century fiction in English and in French set in Montreal for Gordon Roper at the University of Toronto.

At least these were some of the points that Ian Cameron made when in the late spring of 1979 he asked me to consider his idea, look at the kind of funding that might be available for such a project in Canadian literature, talk to other people in the Department and in various other positions, academic and administrative, in the University, and come
up with a proposal. Over the summer I meditated on these matters. By the fall I had decided that we should organise a project on eighteenth-century and nineteenth-century English-Canadian prose, that this project should prepare good editions of some of its important works, that it should be funded jointly by the University and by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRCC), our national granting agency in the Humanities and Social Sciences, through one of its Negotiated Grants, and that, in the meantime, the University should provide money to help me and an assistant to bring Ian’s idea to pass.

In the fall of 1979 Robert L. (Rob) McDougall, the senior professor of Canadian literature who had been the founding director of the Institute of Canadian Studies, Michael Gnaworski, another professor of Canadian literature who was overseeing the Carleton Library series, and Sydney F. (Syd) Wise, the senior professor of Canadian history who was then the director of the Institute, vetted the proposal for the University. When they approved it, the University provided a series of grants from the President, the Dean of Graduate Studies, the Dean of Arts, the Dean of Science, and the Dean of Social Sciences. Canvassing all the deans was the inspiration of the Dean of Arts, Naomi Griffiths, and only the Dean of Engineering turned me down—and peremptorily. A steering committee, comprised of Rob McDougall and Syd Wise as well as Jeremy Palin, Robert G. (Bob) Laird, and myself, was struck. Jeremy, the Special Collections Librarian, was there to represent the Library, which had promised to gather books and other materials for us; Bob, another English professor, actually joined the committee to represent Carl Amberg, the Dean of Graduate Studies, who wanted to be absolutely sure that we did not go too far astray. William E. (Dick) Fredeman at the University of British Columbia (Vancouver, British Columbia), however, had trained both men, Jeremy in bibliography and Bob in Victorian literature, so their expertise proved invaluable for these reasons also. In due course, a part-time project co-ordinator was hired. Willy-nilly, then, the project began. Of this group both Rob McDougall and Syd Wise have passed away, and Jeremy Palin has retired and moved to Victoria,
British Columbia. Only Bob Laird and I are still around to manage the vestiges of CEECT, but for many years these colleagues were my best allies, strongest supporters, and wisest advisors. Words cannot express, therefore, how much I owe to them all.

**CEECT’s F(o)unding**

For almost the next two years, from September 1979 until July 1981, we planned the project that came to be known as CEECT. We defined what we should do. We did preliminary research on authors and their works. We learned about bibliography and textual studies. We prepared the SSHRCC application, which itself involved four thick volumes of material, two in the form of a letter of intent and two in the form of the official application, two site visits, and at least eight assessors. One of these was David L. Nordloh, who was the chairman of the Committee on Scholarly Editions organised by the Modern Language Association of America (MLA), and who became our toughest critic. I was convinced, in fact, when he left Ottawa after his official site visit in February 1981 that all was lost. But I was wrong: he had seen our weaknesses, but he had been intrigued by our strengths. And over the years he has never wavered in his support. In the end, instead of receiving a grant of close to a $1,000,000 to prepare twelve scholarly editions over five years, we were awarded a Major Editorial Grant of $460,000 to prepare four to six of these editions, the first of which was to be Frances Brooke’s *The History of Emily Montague*, the work that I had offered to edit and the work on which we were all to cut our teeth. We were also to hold a conference on editing and compile an editorial manual. We had not received all that we had asked for, but as the first editing project in nineteenth-century English-Canadian literature funded by SSHRCC, we had made history, and we were on our way.

Over the next five years our progress was steady. The CEECT edition of *The History of Emily Montague* was published in 1985. Our edition of Catharine Parr Traill’s *Canadian Crusoes* (1852), prepared by Rupert M. Schieder (Trinity College, University of Toronto), and our edition
of James De Mille’s *A Strange Manuscript Found in a Copper Cylinder* (1888), prepared by Malcolm Parks (Dalhousie University, Halifax, Nova Scotia), both appeared in 1986. We held our conference on editorial principles and procedures in May 1983, and we published CEECT’s *Handbook for Editors* in 1985—its well-distributed and not badly polished first draft had been the focus of the May 1983 conference. By 1985 we had also issued *Reports and Proceedings* (1982), the record of a seminar that David Nordloh had conducted for the CEECT editors in October 1981, and *Public Workshop on Editorial Principles and Procedures 1983* (1983), the papers that several leading Canadian textual scholars had presented at the conference. In addition we were putting out an annual newsletter that we were mailing to over four hundred people around the world.

In the spring of 1985, then, we went boldly into a second SSHRCC competition, this time, the category of Negotiated Grants being defunct, for a Major Research Grant to prepare over the next five years the other six scholarly editions that we had proposed in the first application. The following spring we received the news that we had been awarded $608,555 for the editing of four to six of these works. Although this amounted to more than we had been granted in 1981, this sum included the publishing subsidy for each book; the Major Editorial Grant had an arrangement whereby the publisher negotiated directly with SSHRCC for this money. Our annual grant, thus, had been cut. It had also come with several strings attached, including the conditions that we could not hire more than one full-time research assistant with the SSHRCC money and that we had to undergo a review of the project in 1988–1989. We were not going to turn down the money, of course.

Nevertheless, we were not reassured when we read the reports of the five assessors. Three were enthusiastic about the project; one was mildly unfavourable; and one was strongly negative. This assessor was the one who apparently carried the most weight with the SSHRCC committee that read the reports and allocated the funding. He complained not only about the length of time that we were taking
to produce the editions but also about the bumper stickers that we had created to advertise our books. To have a contest to find a suitable slogan for each edition had been the brainchild of Gordon Elliott (Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, British Columbia). A firm supporter and an astute advisor to CEECT, he had added this note of fun to the 1983 conference, provided the prize for the winner for each work, and helped fund the production of the bumper stickers themselves. He had also had a tee-shirt made for me that featured the first slogan for each of the six editions that we were then editing; I treasure it today. Foolishly, I realise now, I had sent in a copy of “Edit Emily” and “Emily Edited” as well as “Rescue Crusoes” and “Crusoes Rescued” with the application, and this act of levity had been taken by the fifth assessor as an example of my basic unfitness—and possibly the basic unfitness of all women—to lead a serious enterprise.

But this assessor, as it turned out, had been hostile to CEECT from its beginnings. And three years later, when we underwent the review, he wrote a scathing report about the draft introduction of our edition of Rosanna Leprohon’s Antoinette De Mirecourt Or Secret Marrying and Secret Sorrowing: A Canadian Tale (1864). Alas, in the spring of 1989 this report was instrumental in having our grant terminated, without appeal except on procedural grounds, for lack of progress, even though by then CEECT was publishing an edition a year. SSHRCC, however, had neither taken into account my habit of asking for everything in writing, nor Syd Wise’s training as a military strategist. That summer Syd, who was by then the Dean of Graduate Studies at Carleton, and I plotted our campaign to appeal SSHRCC’s decision on procedural grounds. Months and a threatened lawsuit against me and the University later, we had achieved another victory when we had the termination reversed and our money restored. But by then all the twisting and turning that grantsmanship entails was becoming, for me at least, a less than savoury process, and, thus, perhaps unwisely we gave up asking SSHRCC for five-year grants. We continued, nevertheless, to raise money throughout the 1990s from various sources, including Canadian foundations, and to produce our editions. By the time Catharine Parr Traill’s The Backwoods of Canada (1836),
edited by Michael A. Peterman (Trent University, Peterborough, Ontario), was published in 1997, however, the project was much diminished. As for its principal investigator, she had moved on to other endeavours, including becoming, somewhat reluctantly, the editor of *English Studies in Canada* from 1998 to 2002, and, altogether belatedly, the editor of the last text planned in the CEECT series, William Kirby’s *Le chien d’or/The Golden Dog*.

**CEECT’s Scholarly Editing**

Big projects require money, and raising money requires much time and effort in the form of such activities as keeping accounts, negotiating terms, and writing semi-annual and annual reports. Over the years Bob Laird and I became particularly good at these endeavours, but neither the original members of the steering committee nor those who joined us when this committee became the CEECT Editorial Board ever lost sight of the fact that these undertakings were only a means to the end, and that this end was to produce good editions of early English-Canadian works in order to improve both the teaching of this literature and the scholarship about it. When we began the project, however, just how we were going to reach these critical goals was a series of questions to which there were several possible answers.

In the late 1950s, when I began to take an interest in the literature of my native land, actually in the poems of Edwin John Pratt for a paper that I was contemplating in my fourth-year seminar in Modern Poetry and Drama at Trinity College, University of Toronto, Canadian literature was not commonly taught. One reason for this was that, apart from living authors like Pratt whose poems had been recently edited by Northrop Frye, his colleague at Victoria College, University of Toronto, there were few texts available for students. Frye’s Pratt, for example, was a hardcover, relatively expensive production that was on sale at the University Book Store because, I suspect, it represented the creative and editorial skills of two Toronto professors.
This situation was changing, however. Reginald Eyre Watters’s *A Checklist of Canadian Literature and Background Materials 1628–1950* appeared in 1959, and Carl F. Klinck’s *Literary History of Canada: Canadian Literature in English* in 1965. The first of these landmark works provided the enumerative bibliography that was needed to list what might constitute a Canadian literature; the second attempted to tell its story from various historical perspectives. There was Norah Story’s compilation of *The Oxford Companion to Canadian History and Literature* (1967); a retired archivist, in 1963–1964 she had audited the first graduate course in Canadian Literature at the University of Toronto taught by Gordon Roper, my professor in that fourth-year Modern Drama and Poetry seminar. Both George Parker, who was to edit CEECT’s *Clockmakers*, and I were students in that course, and I remember our delight—and surprise—when we learned that our short reports on such writers as Thomas Chandler Haliburton and Rosanna Leprohon were forming the basis of entries in Story’s book. There were some discrete editions like that of Pratt. And there were series of reprints of Canadian texts, the most notable of which was McClelland and Stewart’s New Canadian Library. The problem with this series, for which Malcolm Ross was the general editor, was that, especially when it published texts of early Canadian works, it reprinted editions that were based on unauthorised texts. Although there was no international copyright law that covered the United States until after the first edition of each of our works had appeared, so-called ‘pirated’ American editions were a prime source. The series also shortened these texts for economic and other reasons. Still, Watters, Klinck, Roper, Ross, and Story, as well as Desmond Pacey, the author of *Creative Writing in Canada: A Short History of English-Canadian Literature* (1952), opened the doors that my generation of researchers and scholars stepped through. By the 1970s, then, it was time for some of us at least to do the “hard scholarly labour,” including “the editing of texts,” that Pacey had demanded in an article published two years before his death in 1975 (Pacey).

Over the years, especially when the formation of literary canons became a subject of interest, people asked why we chose the works...
we did. The answers are many. Because my specialty was early English-Canadian prose, from the beginning I focussed on that. We debated, however, whether we should edit the works of one author and, therefore, follow the model developed by the MLA’s Center for Editions of American Authors (CEAA). Although we adopted a variation of the CEAA acronym for CEECT, we rejected the one-author option. Thomas Chandler Haliburton and Susanna Moodie were possibilities that we considered, but since each was primarily known for only two or three works, we decided that we should concentrate on works by other authors as well. While we were debating what these others should be, we also requested professors from across the country who were teaching English-Canadian literature to provide us with their lists of works that should be edited. In the end our lists were remarkably similar. They included, for example, Frances Brooke’s *The History of Emily Montague* (1769), the so-called first Canadian novel, and Julia Catherine Beckwith Hart’s *St. Ursula’s Convent* (1824), the first novel written by a Canadian and published in what is now Canada. Altogether we generated a list of eighteen works that we designated as candidates for possible scholarly editions; of these we chose the fourteen that form the CEECT series. 4

In our selection we may have simply been reinforcing the canon of early English-Canadian prose works that had existed since the 1920s when, as a result of the nationalism that followed the First World War, many of them had been reprinted. Several of the professors whom we consulted, born in the early years of the twentieth century, had read these works as young men and women in their 1920s versions and remembered them as major contributions to Canadian culture. We were certainly trying to create authorial editions of works like John Richardson’s *Wacousta* (1832) that had appeared both in the 1920s and in the New Canadian Library in a form derived from an unauthorised American reprint. And, in producing six editions of the work or works of Frances Brooke, Julia Catherine Beckwith Hart, Rosanna Leprohon, Susanna Moodie, and Catharine Parr Traill, we were apparently, although I was not particularly conscious of it at the
time, trying to balance the canon of early English-Canadian prose from the point of view of gender.

But our focus was not only on the content of the project but also on its form. We spent a good deal of time, therefore, asking questions that had to do with the kind of editions that we should create, their methods of production and publication, and their potential readership. There were, of course, no easy answers, and even after we were well on our way, we returned to these questions. Rereading minutes of CEECT Editorial Board meetings, for example, I was surprised at the intensity of the discussions about the ideal weight of the acid-free paper on which our editions were printed that occurred between Jeremy Palin, one of whose main interests was book design, and Michael Gnarowski, who became the general editor of Carleton University Press and, thus, CEECT’s publisher. Jeremy, for example, was pleased with the appearance of *The History of Emily Montague*, but he was not entirely satisfied with the weight—60 pounds—of the paper. Could we try 50 or 55 pounds for the next edition? And so the debate on this and other points of production continued.

Initially we looked around for articles about, and models of, scholarly editions. Some were close to hand. There were, for example, the series of publications that came out of the annual editorial conferences held at the University of Toronto. Of these, *Editing Nineteenth-Century Texts* (1967) and *Editing Canadian Texts* (1975) were especially relevant, the first because it contained John M. (Jack) Robson’s article on “Principles and Methods in the Collected Edition of John Stuart Mill,” including the editor’s thoughts on “copy-text and its treatment” (Robson); later Jack, for whom I had taught at Victoria College during my doctoral studies, also helped us with collation procedures.

One of the great unknown, or at least unappreciated, achievements of Canadian scholarship is the number of editing projects that have been, and are being, carried out in Canadian universities. We benefitted from several. Our *Handbook for Editors* was partly modelled on the *Handbook for Editors* (1980) compiled by A. F. (Sandy) Johnston and S. B. Maclean for the Records of Early English Drama
(REED) project at Victoria College; Sandy was one of the three consultants—Douglas G. Lochhead (Mount Allison University, Sackville, New Brunswick) and Gordon Elliott were the others—who had helped us plan the project in the spring of 1980. J.A.W. (Jock) Gunn (Queen’s), who had done most of the explanatory notes for the first two volumes of the edition of the letters of Benjamin Disraeli located at Queen’s, was especially helpful on this subject, and Richard (Dick) Rempel and his colleagues at McMaster University (Hamilton, Ontario) spent a good deal of time demonstrating how to code a text for computer collation and typesetting. When I realised that the SSHRCC mandate that we had to hire post-doctoral fellows for research assistants was not a wise directive, the always practical Fransess G. Halpenny, who was editing the multi-volume Dictionary of Canadian Biography (DCB), pushed me down another path. Meeting me on a cold winter’s day in this project’s office in Quebec City where I had gone to check out material on Frances Brooke and her novel and where Fransess was consulting with her DCB colleagues at Laval, she sat me down to tell me that CEECT should hire people with MAs who would view the project as an opportunity rather than as a brief detour on the way to becoming a tenured professor.

We looked as well at some of the Oxford editions of nineteenth-century English fiction, but we were most influenced by the literature about editing coming out of the United States and the editions, particularly of American authors, that the MLA’s Center for Scholarly Editions, the successor to its Center for Editions of American Authors, was promoting. The steering committee and later the CEECT Editorial Board spent several mornings, for example, analysing copies of texts from The Centenary Edition of the Works of Nathaniel Hawthorne (1962 ff.) and from A Selected Edition of W. D. Howells (1968 ff.) for their content and form. We also studied the “Guiding Questions” prepared by the MLA’s Committee on Scholarly Editions in 1977. I spent most of the winter of 1979–1980 reading through and making notes on the books and articles on various aspects of bibliography and textual studies listed in “The Center for Scholarly Editions: An Introductory Statement” published in the
PMLA in 1977. As a result, we became cognisant of, if not experts in, the theories and practices of Anglo-American editing whose gurus at the time were W. W. Greg, Fredson Bowers, and G. Thomas Tanselle. We began to talk fluently, if sometimes mistakenly, about such concepts as “authorial intention,” “copy-text,” and “ideal copy.” And we decided that our critically edited text should be “clear,” but that it should be surrounded with an apparatus that supported and explained how we had created this text. Each edition, thus, had an “Editor’s Introduction” with a section on “The Text” and concluding apparatus that listed, among other data, “Emendations in Copy-text,” “Line-end Hyphenated Compounds in Copy-text,” and “Line-end Hyphenated Compounds in CEECT Edition.”

But there was more. As I read more widely in this literature, several other points emerged. Many of the articles that described the theories and practices of Anglo-American editing so definitively were actually based on the preparation of one edition of a work by one author or, at best, on the preparation of an edition of each of several works of one author. Counting each of the three Clockmaker as a discrete text, we, however, were dealing with fourteen works by ten different authors published between 1769 and 1888. One of these works, furthermore, was first printed in the British North American province of Upper Canada, two in the British North American province of Lower Canada/Canada East, two in the British North American province of Nova Scotia, two in the United States, and the other seven in the United Kingdom. Because its principles and procedures could be applied with far more flexibility than its later critics like Jerome J. McGann ever admitted, we continued to edit in the Anglo-American tradition. Nevertheless, our “definitive” edition soon transformed itself into “a reliable text” (Edwards 1985, “Editor’s Introduction,” liv) of an important work that we hoped would endure until new material turned up, lost material was found, or different, and perhaps better, ways of editing became possible.

The second turn we took was not consciously associated with our developing notion of relevance in editing, although it certainly
reinforced it. Early on in our discussions, Syd Wise, who was an experienced documentary editor, argued that the text of each of our editions should be contextualised so that its cultural significances were elucidated. Thus, even though most of the American editions that we had studied did not provide such historical and literary contexts, we decided to include in our scholarly edition an historical introduction and explanatory notes that identified such items as literary quotations, events, people, places, words or phrases in foreign languages, except French because “French in Canada is not a foreign language” (Edwards 1985, Handbook, 51), and specialised and erudite diction. Of the many roads that we could have taken, the one that we chose proved complex, long, and tortuous. Nevertheless, we travelled on.

We soon realised, however, that if we were to arrive at our destination, we were going to have to do a great deal of research on each author and the circumstances of the creation, composition, publication, distribution, reception, and reading of each of his or her works. We were going to have to develop various systems to keep ourselves informed and organised both about the data that we found and the steps that we took to prepare each scholarly edition. And we were going to have to construct an infrastructure to manage these data and systems. The project, thus, became actually, not just nominally, centered at Carleton. The general editor and her staff, who numbered over the years, along with a full- or part-time secretary, close to one hundred undergraduate and graduate students and recent MAs from several disciplines in the Humanities and from Computer Science, always liaised closely with each editor. Nevertheless, all of us at the Centre underwent many steep learning curves—about each author, about bibliography and textual studies, about the discipline now dubbed the history of the book, and about leading and managing. One of the first instruments of research that a graduate student assistant and I invented was a checklist that we called a “Research Path” and that was designed to generate an enumerative bibliography of primary material by, secondary sources about, and archival documents relevant to each author. In a similar systematic way we set out to gather information about the publisher of each potentially authorial
version of each work that we were editing. During the course of the project we also acquired copies of the works that we were editing and microfilms and photocopies of copies of potentially authorised versions of our works made from books that many Rare Books and Special Collections librarians in Canada and the United States were persuaded to lend us. We used these photocopies to collate visually, orally/aurally, and by light-tabling different versions of each text, to double-enter each text on a computer, to edit the text, and to proofread our edited text at several stages in its preparation. Microfilming and photocopying, however, not only produce new versions of the work but distort in various ways the version from which they are made. We, therefore, always proofread our critically edited text as many times as possible and always for the last, or almost the last, time against an actual copy of its copy-text or, in the case of an eclectic edition, its copy-texts. In the course of carrying out these tasks, the research assistants also compiled for their colleagues and successors a series of manuals that outlined procedures to follow at each step of the way. The one that went through the most transformations was what we called the Computer Operator’s Manual when we compiled it in 1985 and revised it in 1988 and the User’s Manual when it was updated in 1992.

**CEECT’s Computing**

It was Bob Laird who first suggested to the CEECT steering committee that we should use computers in our editing. Our initial response, as I remember it, was a stunned silence. At that point, for example, my most important wish in terms of machines was to have a self-correcting IBM Selectric typewriter like the one I knew was in the office of the President of Carleton and like the one described by Peter L. Shillingsburg in his comments about editing “in the late 1970s” in Resisting Texts: Authority and Submission in Construction of Meaning (1997, 11). But as Bob talked, gradually we became convinced that, despite its being the dark ages of computing in the Humanities, it might just be a good idea to investigate the possibilities version of each work that we were editing. During the course of the project we also acquired copies of the works that we were editing and microfilms and photocopies of copies of potentially authorised versions of our works made from books that many Rare Books and Special Collections librarians in Canada and the United States were persuaded to lend us. We used these photocopies to collate visually, orally/aurally, and by light-tabling different versions of each text, to double-enter each text on a computer, to edit the text, and to proofread our edited text at several stages in its preparation. Microfilming and photocopying, however, not only produce new versions of the work but distort in various ways the version from which they are made. We, therefore, always proofread our critically edited text as many times as possible and always for the last, or almost the last, time against an actual copy of its copy-text or, in the case of an eclectic edition, its copy-texts. In the course of carrying out these tasks, the research assistants also compiled for their colleagues and successors a series of manuals that outlined procedures to follow at each step of the way. The one that went through the most transformations was what we called the Computer Operator’s Manual when we compiled it in 1985 and revised it in 1988 and the User’s Manual when it was updated in 1992.
of the invention that Rob McDougall came to call “our Lady of Bits and Bytes” (McDougall, 274). In the years that followed we went from using Wang computers that communicated with the University’s Honeywell CP–6 mainframe computer through several generations of personal computers and laptops. We—or at least our computer assistants supervised by D. Roland Thomas and then by John A. Stewart, members of Carleton’s Computing and Communications Services who joined the CEECT Editorial Board—wrote more than seventy programmes in at least three languages—the most obviously useful of which we named PROOF, DUMBO, and TIMOTHY before we adopted such “international” software as Microsoft WORD and TEX. We developed a set of codes to describe such characteristics of each version of each work that we entered on the computer as the end-of-line hyphenation, the paragraphs, and the punctuation. We produced our editions for the publisher on several types of tapes, disks, and CDs. And we used the Internet when it became available to search library catalogues and to compile other data from the Worldwide Web, developments that were particularly helpful to me when I was researching and composing the over five hundred explanatory notes for the CEECT edition of William Kirby’s Le chien d’orf/The Golden Dog. In other words, we did take part fully in the new “Computer Age.” And while we benefitted from its many advantages, we also suffered from its pitfalls, including the escalation of costs and the rapidity of obsolescence. We learned, most importantly I think, that, to quote Thomas Tanselle’s “Foreword” in *Electronic Textual Editing* (2006), the MLA’s most recent print publication on scholarly editing, the “computer is a tool, and tools are facilitators; they may create strong breaks with the past in the methods for doing things, but they are at the service of an overriding continuity, for they do not change the issues that we have to cope with” (Tanselle, 3).
One of the reasons why we took to computers was that they enabled us to have better control over the accuracy of our texts. When we entered potentially authoritative texts on the computer, our codes included those designed for a typesetter as well as for the editor. When we created both the critically edited text and the textual and contextual apparatus that surrounded it, we added extra codes to facilitate their typesetting. We never considered, however, electronic editions; our project came too soon for that. Our aim was always to produce what some have called a “Bio Optic Organized Knowledge Device,” or, in other words, a book, which is still perhaps the most durable and portable, and probably the most democratic, medium of all.

The kind of book, its price, and its potential readers were another set of considerations that required debate and negotiation. We imagined, for example, that Jack McClelland, the president of McClelland and Stewart, might insert our texts in their entirety into the New Canadian Library. And he was interested, although he demurred at the notion of including all the apparatus. When it came time to deal, however, he had another game to play, that of his survival as a publisher, and CEECT was not one of his cards. In the end, it was the newly-established Carleton University Press and Michael Gnarowski, its general editor, who guided our publications. His goal was to produce one hundred casebound and roughly one thousand paperback copies of each of our editions. The paperbacks, to be sold at as reasonable a price as possible, were to compete with series like the New Canadian Library. Both the casebound and the paperback copies were to have the text and all the apparatus to remind our potential readership of undergraduates, graduates, and members of the educated public that it was holding in its hands a critically edited, reliable version of an important early English-Canadian work that explained how its text had been created and suggested how it might be contextualised.
We made other changes besides that of the weight of the acid-free paper as we went along. But in general Michael Gnarowski’s astuteness as a bookman served our series well. The editions were widely reviewed in newspapers and periodicals in Canada as well as in Australia, in the United Kingdom, and in the United States. One of the most comprehensive assessments was Kathleen Scherf’s “Review Essay: The Centre for Editing Early Canadian Texts: Textual Bibliography in Canada, or, Roughing It in the Bush” in the American Review of Canadian Studies. Reviewing the first eight editions, she described CEECT as “a landmark project in Canadian literary history” that “has helped to bring our national literature and its attendant scholarship to maturity” (Scherf). The response of the reviewers was generally favourable. Their thoughtfulness, in fact, encouraged us to reconsider several issues, one of them how to name women writers. The sales, furthermore, usually met and even exceeded Michael’s initial targets. Susanna Moodie’s Roughing It in the Bush, for example, edited by Carl Ballstadt (McMaster) and published first in 1988, was reprinted in 1990 and 1995 by Carleton University Press and, after its demise, in 1999 by McGill–Queen’s University Press. By 1995, 271 casebound and 2,547 paperback copies of this foundation work in Canadian history and literature had been purchased. Many of its consumers were students from university courses in Canadian history and literature; some, however, were the educated general readers of whom my mother and my aunt, both former schoolteachers in Ontario, were enthusiastic examples.

**CEECT’s Skirmishes**

From the time that Ian Cameron envisaged a Canadian project for the Department of English, CEECT travelled far. There were skirmishes to survive, however, some of them serious enough to make me wonder occasionally why we bothered. We faced a constant battle for money. In the 1970s SSHRCC generously supported many editing projects, but its goals—quick results—ran counter to the realities of the rate of production of most of these enterprises, and many remain
unfinished. This fact, plus the granting council’s inability to fund these projects so that they could carry out their mandates in the most efficient and, ironically, fastest way, its constant changes of policy and structure, and, in the last few years, its emphasis on research driven by issues of public policy like aging and health care rather than independent inquiry have all worked against government funding of editing in Canada. Because we were able to raise money elsewhere, CEECT did complete thirteen of the original works that it set out to do, and the fourteenth shall also be done.

But if SSHRCC was an uncertain source for CEECT, so was in one way at least the University. Running into financial difficulties in the mid 1990s, it applied impossible accounting methods to the University Press. One result was that Michael Gnarowski retired. Another was that John Flood, the new general editor, faced additionally with having to pay commercial rents for the Press’s premises, never really had a chance to continue the enterprise as a break-even, let alone a profitable, business. Thus, it was closed in 1997. The Carleton Library series, CEECT, and Carleton itself all lost in this new world of numbers and numbing economic, rather than intellectual, criteria.

Scholarly editions themselves, like the bibliographical and textual studies out of which they came, never were sources of fascination for most students of English. When as a doctoral student I took two obligatory courses in these subjects, I was, as far as I could tell, one of the few in the class who actually enjoyed collating and commenting on the three early versions of *Hamlet*. I know that I was one of the first to complete the exercise, to which even our professor seemed indifferent. But if these studies suffered even then from neglect, in the last thirty years they have struggled further in the face of the turning from the New Criticism by which they were so much influenced and the turning to such critical concerns as Cultural and Media Studies, Feminism, and Marxism, as well as the challenges raised by the much vaunted death of the author, changing notions of textuality, and the emphasis on reader response. They have become, thus, not
only unfashionable but also for many students of literature almost irrelevant and even “quaint,” to use Peter L. Shillingsburg’s chilling word about “the great weighty scholarly editions of the mid-twentieth century undertaken with the blessings of the Modern Language Association of America and the Center for Editions of American Authors and the financial backing of the National Endowment for the Humanities” (Shillingsburg 2006, 17–18). Certainly the kinds of bibliographical and textual studies analysed and expounded by the Greg, Bowers, and Tanselle tradition of Anglo-American editing, and to an extent represented by CEECT, had no obvious role to play when the Department of English at Carleton planned and inaugurated its new PhD in the “Production of Literature.” But printed scholarly editions are now also being challenged by the many projects devoted to electronic textual editing, some of which at least seem both to devalue and to misunderstand the critical role of the editor as the creator of a reliable version of a work.

Jealousy and pettiness have always been present on the site of textual editing as in other disciplines in the Humanities. I first noticed them when I read through the articles and books listed in “The Center for Scholarly Editions: An Introductory Statement” (1977). And certainly CEECT received its share in the various assessments and reviews of which it was the main subject and in the Department that it called home. Most, like the day when a CEECT research assistant, himself a recent graduate of the MA programme in English, witnessed one of my colleagues literally jumping for joy when he thought that CEECT had lost its funding, were pathetically amusing. Some were nasty but harmless; others, however, hit hard as their leaven of malice bubbled and overflowed.

CEECT’s Victories

Still, I sorted the CEECT papers, watched them being reorganised by the Carleton University Archives, and worked, and continue to work, on the last CEECT edition with more satisfaction than sadness. We had raised a good deal of money, almost $1,200,000 from...
outside sources, not including the publishing subsidies that Carleton University Press received for the first six CEECT editions. We had brought prestige to the Department of English, the Faculty of Arts, and the University. We had trained many Carleton undergraduate and graduate students from various disciplines, including Computer Studies, in the techniques of research, bibliography and textual studies, and the writing of articles, manuals, and reports. We had given them a chance to hone their executive, interpersonal, and organisational skills. And we had allowed them to develop their computer skills and, thus, helped prepare them for the technological revolution.

Most importantly, we had published thirteen scholarly editions, with the fourteenth to come. We had improved the standards of English-Canadian texts and the scholarship on them, not least by challenging other series like the New Canadian Library to base their texts on more complete and authoritative versions. By contextualising our critically edited texts in various historical ways, we had opened new doors to early Canadian culture. We had left an archive that preserved various documents relevant to the project and its principles and procedures. And we had influenced other editing projects in Canada, the United States, and Australia by providing a model that, because of the diversity of our authors, their works, and their modes of composition, printing, and publication, demonstrated the adaptability of theories and practices of Anglo-American editing. As for me, I might or might not have become “one of Canada’s foremost editors in terms of critical, scholarly editing.” But I had travelled a great deal both figuratively and literally, I had learned a lot, and I had exchanged ideas about the principles and procedures of editing texts with many colleagues, among them Paul Eggert, the general editor of two series of editions of Australian works.

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Conclusion

On 26 May 2007 I presented in the role of a master teacher a version of this paper at the Annual Symposium on Textual Studies organised by Peter L. Shillingsburg at the Centre for Textual Scholarship at De Montfort University (Leicester, England). I entitled this version “Why Bother?: ‘Traditional’ Scholarly Editing in the Age of Computers; or ‘Jim’.” And I began the hour-long lecture by reading Hilaire Belloc’s poem “Jim” from his Cautionary Tales for Children. My aim was not only to wake everybody up—it was almost lunch time when I began—but also to delight and instruct my fellow textual scholars by regaling them with the story of Jim, the young boy who had let go Nurse’s hand when he was visiting a zoo and been killed by a lion named Ponto:

When Nurse informed his Parents, they
Were more Concerned than I can say:—
His Mother, as She dried her eyes,
Said, “Well—it gives me no surprise,
He would not do as he was told!”
His Father, who was self-controlled,
Bade all the children round attend
To James’s miserable end,
And always keep a-hold of Nurse
For fear of finding something worse (Belloc 1908).

In the CEECT project we played the roles of Jim, Ponto, and Nurse. But we were mostly Jim. As Canadians, scholars, and especially I as a woman, we broke rules and ran ahead of the pack. We, therefore, faced the lions already discussed as well as those of the authors and their works whom we were trying to tame. But we always had Nurse. She came in many shapes: administrators at the University who never wavered in their support of CEECT; colleagues in Canada and abroad.
who were sympathetic with what we were trying to do, even though their own interests lay elsewhere; writings about scholarly editing, which, if sometimes unedifying, were nevertheless always stimulating; editorial projects, including experiments in electronic texts, that went deliberately about their difficult tasks; and other editors, including those whom I have named in this memoir, whose wit humanised and justified a form of criticism that, however misunderstood, has to be one of the most imaginative and creative scholarly undertakings of all. And that at least is why I bothered.

**Works Cited**


Notes

1 See, for example, Mathews and Steele.

2 James De Mille died in 1880. A Strange Manuscript Found in a Copper Cylinder was, thus, a posthumous publication. According to Malcolm Parks, it “had been written in the mid– to late 1860s” (Parks 1986, xx).

3 When the novel, edited by John C. Stockdale (Laval University, Quebec City, Quebec), was published in the CEECT series in 1989, its introduction had undergone careful revision. The assessor’s report, however, appeared as a review of the CEECT edition in the Papers of the Bibliographical Society of Canada in 1991. See Alec Lucas.

4 The other six that we specified in the 1980 application for a Negotiated Grant were James De Mille’s The Dodge Club (1869), Thomas Chandler Haliburton’s The Old Judge (1849), Rosanna Leprohon’s Armand Durand (1869) and “The Manor House of De Villerai” (1859), and Susanna Moodie’s Flora Lyndsay (1854) and Life in the Clearings (1853).

5 For the latest print version of these two MLA documents, see “Guidelines for Editors of Scholarly Editions” (Burnard, O’Keeffe, and Unsworth, 23–46).

6 Whether to have a clear text and where to place the apparatus were subjects that were hotly debated at the 1983 conference. Our original intention was to place the explanatory notes but not the emendations on the pages of the critically edited text. We were persuaded, however, that that privileged the editor and the contexts over the author and the text. We, thus, abandoned that idea. One suggestion that came up at the conference and received some support was to place all the apparatus, including the introduction, after the critically edited text. That we thought misrepresented the definitiveness of our critically edited text by not warning the reader from the beginning that in the preparation of each CEECT edition we had interpreted often incomplete data. Since none of us liked the idea of “Barbed Wire” pages (Mumford), the best solution seemed to be clear pages but
introductory apparatus that explained how the text had been created
and concluding apparatus that provided specific data relevant to the
creation of the critically edited text.

7See, for example, McGann.

8When we were editing Catharine Parr Traill’s *The Backwoods of
Canada*, we became aware that a copy of the work had been annotated
by the author and that this copy had been used when McClelland
and Stewart reprinted *Backwoods* in 1929. Our search for this copy,
which was not successful, can be traced in the CEECT newsletters,
4–1995*.

9“A Place in the Sun,” from which this quotation is cited, was first
presented at the CEECT conference in 1983.

10See Peter L. Shillingsburg’s comments about the potential
democratic access (i.e., affordable to most people) of what he calls
electronic knowledge sites” in *From Gutenberg to Google* (2006, 104).
My ‘reservations’ about the democracy of cyberspace were expressed
in “The Centre for Editing Early Canadian Texts (CEECT) and
Cyberspace” (Edwards 1999).

11For a discussion of “Canadian English-language book publishing
from the Second World War to the present” in general and
Jack McClelland and McClelland and Stewart in particular, see

12See, for example, Whitlock.

13See Centre for Editing Early Canadian Texts, Descriptive Finding

14This was part of the assessment of a grant to continue my editing
for which I applied to SSHRCC in 2001. I was awarded the grant but
did not receive any money because my application did not rank high
enough. One reason perhaps was that this same assessor commented
that a scholarly edition was not “an actual book.”
In *The Unfinished Canadian: The People We Are*, Andrew Cohen argues that “Winning—or winning… big—simply isn’t the Canadian Way” (1), a characteristic he describes as “The Tall Poppy Syndrome” (2007, 196), which he also links to Australia. Some of the criticisms of CEECT may have derived from this oft-cited feature of Canadian society.
Gender, Parenthood and Access to Household Money: Comparing Australia, New Zealand and Canada

Introduction

Since the 1970s, the formation of intimate relationships and patterns of earning have changed substantially among heterosexual couples in Australia, New Zealand and Canada. More couples now cohabit before marriage, delay legal marriage, produce fewer children, separate and re-partner (Baker 2007). At the same time, women now earn a greater share of household money and work for pay throughout their lives, yet they still earn less than men, even when they work fulltime (OECD 2006).

Explanations for women’s lower contributions to household income focus on their lower waged jobs, the priority mothers give to caring work, and the fact that men often partner with younger women with lower earnings (Baker 2001). Gendered earnings remain so discrepant that cross-national research has found that sole mothers relying on state income support are still more likely to improve their economic status through marriage than paid work (Hunsley). In fact, this may be true for other women as well because when they find male partners, these men usually have similar social backgrounds and educational attainment but better earning potential. When women’s earnings are combined with their male partners’, these two-income households are better able to accumulate financial assets.

This paper discusses the ways that gender and parental status continue to influence access to household money during cohabitation and
marriage, and after separation. The paper focuses on Australia, Canada and New Zealand, which have been categorised as ‘liberal’ welfare states because their systems of social provision assume that individuals and families are generally responsible for income security, and that the state should assist only when households are in dire need (Esping-Andersen 1990). These countries also share a similar cultural, legal and social policy background, as well as similar patterns of home ownership, but demonstrate noticeable differences in maternal employment.

This paper shows that women’s access to household money has increased over the decades with their stronger commitment to paid work, especially in Canada, and with more concern about gender equity in intimate relationships and family law. Yet income disparities between high- and low-income households are also increasing, household debt is rising, separation rates remain high, and separated mothers usually retain the daily care of their children. These factors tend to perpetuate gendered inequalities in earnings and asset accumulation in all three countries.

Gendered Earnings and Family Poverty

Since the 1960s, women’s employment rates have increased, while men’s have declined slightly with prolonged education and earlier retirement (OECD 2005). Now, men and women with neither spouse nor children have similar full-time employment rates, especially in Canada, but the presence of spouse and children push men and women in opposite directions, particularly in Australia and New Zealand. Mothers tend to make more concessions than fathers to integrate earning and caring, and unpaid domestic work remains one of the main sites for ‘doing gender’ (Bittman and Pixley; Beaujot; OECD 2002; Baker 2006).

Cohabiting women have higher employment rates than married women, which partly relates to the fact that cohabiters tend to be younger, more are childless and they are ‘less conventional’
Maureen Baker

people (Beaujot, 152; Wu; Dempsey and De Vaus, 1). For example, Australian research has found that cohabiting women are more likely than married women to expect household chores to be shared with their spouse, and are more likely to work for pay, even when they have young children (Baxter, Hewitt and Western).

Despite increases in female employment, gendered patterns are still apparent for several reasons. Firstly, the labour force in all three countries remains segregated, with men and women still performing somewhat different jobs (OECD 2002), although Brooks, Jarman and Blackburn found that labour market segregation has declined in the past two decades in Canada. Nevertheless, in the three countries, males are still more likely to work at high-level managerial, professional and technical positions, as well as skilled and other manual labour jobs while women remain clustered mainly in service, administrative and semi-professional positions (OECD 2002).

Secondly, men tend to work longer hours for pay while women are far more likely to work part-time, as Table 1 indicates. Of the three countries, Australia had the highest rates of part-time women workers at 41.7%, compared to 35.3% in New Zealand and 26.9% in Canada in 2005. In comparison, only 10–16% of employed men work part-time in these countries (OECD 2007, 53). As a result of higher rates of part-time and temporary work, women employees also experience reduced access to employment benefits such as annual leave and pension plans as well as lower earnings (Johnson, Lero and Rooney).

Statistics often focus on gender differences in employment patterns but it is important to note that parenthood and age of children interact with gender. Mothers with preschool children are far less likely to be employed than fathers or mothers with older children. Among mothers with children under three, 43.2% of New Zealanders and 58.7% of Canadians were employed in 2001 compared to over 90% of fathers in both countries’ (OECD 2007, 57). The more children in the household, the less likely mothers are to be employed full-time, but fathers with many children tend to work full-time or overtime. Among employed women with two or more children, 63.1%
Table 1. Percentage of Part-time Employment among Employees, 2000–2005.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>27.3</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>41.7</td>
<td>40.8</td>
<td>63.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Zealand</td>
<td>21.7</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>35.3</td>
<td>20.6</td>
<td>32.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>18.3</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>26.9</td>
<td>17.0</td>
<td>21.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OECD Average</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>26.5</td>
<td>18.7</td>
<td>36.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 1 Source: OECD 2002, 78; OECD 2007, 53.*
worked part-time in Australia, 32.4% in New Zealand and 21.4% in Canada, compared to 5.5% or less of fathers, also shown in Table 1 (OECD 2002, 78). These cross-national differences result from variations in labour markets and social programmes, access to childcare and attitudes about ‘good mothering’ (Baker and Tippin).

Thirdly, employment patterns show a gender gap in hourly earnings, partly reflecting the different kinds of jobs done by men and women. However, this gap persists for full-time employees as well as all wage and salary workers, despite laws against sex discrimination. For example, women’s hourly wages for full-time employees were 91% of men’s in Australia, 86% in New Zealand and 82% in Canada in 2000–2001 (OECD 2002, 97). Since 1980, the gender wage gap has declined in most OECD countries, including Australia and Canada (OECD 2007, 73). However, Daly and Rake concluded on the basis of their comparative research in Europe, the United Kingdom and the United States that the jobs that men do tend to be granted higher value regardless of their skill level, educational requirements, difficulty, or the risk involved.

Women's lower employment rates, shorter working hours and lower pay influence their financial contributions to their households. Although women do a disproportionate share of childcare and unpaid domestic work, Daly and Rake found that wives contributed from 25% to 41% of household income in the OECD countries they studied. However, the percentage varied by women’s employment rates and income source. In Canada, where maternal employment rates are higher than the other two countries but the gender pay gap is also larger, ‘second earners’ in two-earner families (usually wives) contributed an additional 35% to household income if they had children at home and 43% if they did not (VIF, 88). This indicates the impact of caring work on Canadian women’s earnings. In all three countries, female partners do more childcare and routine housework than male partners (Baker 2001). No matter how many hours of paid work an Australian wife does, her husband's contribution to unpaid work an Australian wife does, her husband's contribution to unpaid
domestic work remains relatively constant (Baxter and Bittman; Baxter). If women are married to men who earn adequate wages, wives’ lower earnings may be less consequential to the financial well-being of the household, although there is some evidence that lower earnings impact on power relations between spouses and family decision-making (Dempsey; Potuchek; Beajot; Baker 2007). The financial consequences of lower maternal incomes are particularly apparent when mothers raise children without a male partner in the household, especially if she is not employed. The poverty rate\(^4\) for single-parent households (mostly led by mothers) was 38.4% in Australia, 42.1% in Canada and 47.5% in New Zealand but this increased to 58.7%, 89.7% and 87.6% if the parent was not employed, as Table 2 indicates. These latter figures show that if single parents rely on state income support, the vast majority live in ‘poverty,’ and that income support rates are the lowest in Canada and the highest in Australia (OECD 2005: 57).

Table 2. Poverty rates for Single Parent Households by Work Status of Parent in Canada, Australia and New Zealand.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Total Single Parent Households</th>
<th>Single Parent, No Worker</th>
<th>Single Parent, One Worker</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>38.4</td>
<td>58.7</td>
<td>11.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>42.1</td>
<td>89.7</td>
<td>27.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Zealand</td>
<td>47.5</td>
<td>87.6</td>
<td>21.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OECD (24 countries)</td>
<td>32.5</td>
<td>58.0</td>
<td>20.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2 Source: OECD 2005, 7.
Maternal employment rates were always influenced by the family’s financial need, children’s ages, gender ideologies, opportunities to work part-time, and the availability and affordability of childcare services but employment conditions are changing for both men and women in these countries. The gap between high- and low-income families is growing, attributed to more couples separating, neo-liberal restructuring, and market conditions that pay some workers high wages while encouraging low minimum wages and temporary or part-time jobs (OECD 2005). Consequently, couples with two full-time incomes, higher education and no children tend to have the highest incomes, whilst lone-mother households, large ‘visible minority’ families and those relying on state benefits tend to experience low income and higher levels of household debt (OECD 2005).

Debt, Credit and Family Assets

Two incomes are increasingly necessary to pay household expenses. From 1980 to 2002, the after-tax incomes of most Canadians increased, largely because more households acquired two earners (VIF, 91). However, personal savings are at record low levels and debt is rising relative to income. In Australia and New Zealand, household incomes have also been maintained through the rising employment rates of wives but levels of household debt have steadily increased since 1990, reaching more than double the level of disposable household income (Reserve Bank of Australia, Reserve Bank of NZ). The rise in household debt has been attributed to higher material aspirations, lower inflation rates, financial deregulation, higher house prices and greater access to credit.

Widespread access to credit is a post–1970s phenomenon so it is not surprising that it varies by age as well as employment status and gender. Within couples, men are more likely than women to acquire access to credit with their higher earnings but wives employed full-time are more likely than homemakers to use credit cards and electronic money transactions (Pahl 2001). Unemployed and retired people are less likely to use credit cards but among the retired, men
are more likely to use them, reflecting gender differences in income and confidence with new technologies, and a tradition of male dominance in marital finances among this age group.

Home ownership is the major way that families accumulate wealth but over the past 30 years rates have declined in Canada and New Zealand to about 68% of households (NZHRC n.d.; VIF, 117). However, they have remained relatively stable in Australia at about 70%, although the ratio of mortgage debt to average incomes has certainly increased (Reserve Bank of Australia). Home ownership rates vary by age, gender, marital status and income. Australian data show that they rise with age and relationship formation, and are higher for married than cohabiting or separated people (Baxter and McDonald). Canadian data shows that among the richest fifth of households, 91% own their own home compared to 37% of the poorest households (VIF, 117). Elderly couples have the highest rate of home ownership at 88%, and rates are the lowest for the unattached elderly (who are mainly women) at 44% and lone-mother families at 48%. This shows that women without male breadwinners or retired earners remain disadvantaged in the housing market.

Affordable housing is a growing problem for families living in urban conditions, especially those with more than three children, new immigrants and mother-led families. In Canada, low income families are most likely to live in rental accommodation and most of these pay market rents. Welfare advocates have argued that reliance on the private housing market means that many low-income families are forced to live in unhealthy, overcrowded and unsafe accommodation, which can encourage the development of respiratory ailments, the spread of infectious diseases, and encourage depression and anti-social behaviour (Jackson and Roberts). At the same time, a growing number of households are living in luxury.

Wealth is often developed and transmitted through families who protect their resources with careful investments and strategic marriages (Gilding). Wealthy families and businessmen protect their assets through business partnerships with trusted relatives, transfer
assets to their wives and children, and use holding and investment companies and ‘family trusts’ to minimise taxation (Gilding). In addition to their own earnings, many wealthy women are supported by their husbands’ income and/or marriage settlements from parents. The concept of the ‘trophy wife’ further suggests that the ‘marriage market’ enables rich men to marry much younger and beautiful women. These wives enhance their husband’s status through their youthful and fashionable appearance, often engaging in ‘conspicuous consumption’ and leisure activities (Veblen). Professionally successful women are less likely to marry younger attractive men because earning capacity and professional success are still more valued in a husband than a wife (Baker 2007).

Net worth usually increases with age but also varies by gender. In Canadian households where a male is the main earner, net worth reaches a peak between the ages of 55 and 64 years but it declines after separation for both men and women, and is especially low for households with a woman as the main income recipient (VIF, 122). Male partners typically earn higher incomes and accumulate more savings and larger retirement funds than female partners (Singh). However, many husbands transfer cash and assets to their wife and children to enhance their lifestyles and avoid paying taxes. Marriage partners now jointly own most ‘family assets’ compared to thirty years ago when the family home and car were often in the husband’s name only. As wives typically outlive their husbands, more widows than widowers inherit assets from deceased partners, but this does not mean that women have equal access to ‘family money’ during marriage or when partners separate.

Access to Household Money

Within marriage, the organisation of money is not always discussed or consciously decided but rather is influenced by culture, gender ideologies and relative earnings (Pahl 2005). Fleming (1997) concluded that Maori and Pacific Island couples in New Zealand often live within a wider family group where the use

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of earnings can be dictated by extended family obligations and the provider role is less likely to be associated with power or authority. For ‘Pakeha’ or New Zealand ‘European’ couples, control over money is related to the relative amount earned and the belief that the husband should be the main provider. Money allocation patterns also differ in stepfamilies compared to first marriages, as wives may have little control over the portion of her husband’s earnings destined for non-resident children (Fleming 1999).

Employed couples both define their personal earnings as ‘family money’ but husbands more often express this view (Pahl 1995). More wives believe that they can make personal decisions about spending their earned income but often use it for household items or clothing. Nevertheless, most couples pool their resources although money could be managed jointly, by the wife or husband. Increased female employment is associated with greater pooling of earnings that are managed jointly and higher relative earnings give wives more decision-making power in household spending (Pahl 1995).

Few dual-earner couples keep their earnings entirely in separate accounts, although this pattern is becoming more prevalent. In the 1990s, about 3% of British couples kept all of their earnings separate but more recent research suggests that over 25% manage most money separately but combine some for regular household expenses such as mortgage payments and electricity bills (Pahl 2005). British and New Zealand research notes that independent money management is particularly characteristic of younger couples, those without children, couples where the woman works full-time and cohabiting couples (Elizabeth; Pahl 2001).

Spending patterns within marriage also differ by gender. Canadian and British research suggests that wives/mothers tend to buy food for the household, clothing for themselves and their children, and childcare and school expenses. Men/fathers tend to spend more on meals out, motor vehicles, home repairs, alcohol and gambling. Spending on other items was more evenly distributed (Phipps and Burton; Ermisch; Pahl 2005). Women can often raise their living standards by sharing
a residence with an employed man and pooling their earnings. However, if they keep their money separate and she continues to be responsible for spending in the above areas, the financial outcome might not be equitable if she earns less than her partner (Elizabeth). Consequently, some heterosexual couples contribute a percentage of their earnings rather than an equal amount into their joint account.

Women in low-income families, especially on social assistance, tend to have more control over household spending than wives in high-income families (Fleming 1997; Christopher). Women's income is essential for the survival of low-income households but not always necessary in higher-income ones. In addition, governments often pay income support directly to the mother or to both partners equally, giving women more financial control because she is more likely to spend the money on basic household items and children's needs. As women's income rises relative to their male partner, research suggests that they gain decision-making power and more often reject male management of household resources (Pahl 2005).

Separation, Child Support and Family Assets

In all three countries, separation and divorce rates have increased since the 1970s and more couples are cohabiting before and after legal marriage (Baker 2007). Considerable research shows that cohabiters have higher rates of separation than legally married couples, suggesting that relationship instability is likely to increase in the future (Wu; Dempsey and De Vaus; Le Bourdais and Lapierre-Adamczyk).

Marital partners are expected to share income and assets accrued during marriage. In the event of separation or divorce, they are required to divide their ‘family assets’ equally unless for some reason this would be deemed unfair (Baker 2001). Former partners are permitted to retain any personal inheritance and business assets although disputes sometimes arise over what belongs to the business and what are joint assets. After marriage, both men and women
are expected to become self-sufficient through their earnings, and former wives are no longer awarded life-long spousal support or ‘maintenance,’ as they were before the 1970s in the common-law countries. However, former wives may be granted temporary support based on need although this is not very common. For example, spousal support was ordered in only 10% of divorce cases in Canada in 2004 (VIF, 37).

All three countries now expect fathers to support their children regardless of marital status or living arrangements. Canadian research indicates that fathers were ordered to pay child support in 93% of cases, with a median awarded payment of $435 per month in 2004 but not all money was paid (VIF, 37). Enforcing support is clearly a problem (Boyd) especially in Canada where the provinces control child custody and support, and use different enforcement systems. Some researchers also suggest that federal support guidelines are inequitable because they are based on the non-resident parent’s income rather than both income and assets. Canadian support guidelines also fail to consider the resident parent’s socioeconomic situation or the children’s financial needs (Wu and Schimmele).

In New Zealand, more non-resident parents (usually fathers) now pay child support since enforcement was tightened in the 1990s, taken out of the courts and administered through the tax department (as in Australia). However, many fathers pay the minimum of $10 per week or fail to pay (Baker 2001). Failure to pay child support is associated with paternal perceptions of access difficulties to the child (Amato). The Australian ‘Caring for Children After Separation’ Project found that 79% of children live with their mothers after separation (Qu). About 51% of non-resident parents maintain regular face-to-face contact with their children after separation but 30% have little or no contact and do not pay child support (Smyth). This suggests that many mother-led households in the three countries are dependent on women’s employment earnings and/or state income support.

Despite the emphasis on rational decision-making in financial transactions, discussions of family money often involve strong
emotions. Singh differentiated between ‘marriage money,’ which is domestic and co-operative and typically held in a joint account, and ‘market money’ which is impersonal and subject to contract. The difference between the two is particularly important if couples divorce or use their family home as collateral for a husband’s business loan. When the divorce settlement is finalised or the bank demands repayment, the financial arrangements that had represented trust and love suddenly become impersonal and contractual (Pahl 2001). Lawton uses the concept of ‘sexually-transmitted debt’ to discuss the ways that financial co-operation within marriage can end in serious problems if trust is broken or the relationship sours (7).

At the time of separation or divorce, former partners are expected to divide their property but a growing percentage of couples own few assets and have considerable debt. Men’s higher earnings allow them to accumulate more savings, although more men are now supporting children in two or more households. For separated women, buying housing on half the family assets may not be feasible even for those with average earnings. Few women acquire adequate retirement savings due to their lifetime employment patterns. Although divorcing wives can apply to divide the Canada Pension Plan credits of their former husband (Baker 2006), the amount is often negligible and leaves both men and women with inadequate retirement pensions in old age (although Canada still has a small universal old age pension). Of the three countries, New Zealand has the most generous universal old age pension, which particularly benefits older women who were not attached to the labour market (Else and St. John).
Conclusions

In many family households, men continue to be the primary earners. Most women are now employed, regardless of their marital or parental status, but female partners tend to earn less and contribute less to the household income but still perform more unpaid domestic work. Since the 1970s, women have gained the legal right to half of their family assets in the event of separation in recognition of their unpaid caring work. Nevertheless, as household debt rises, dividing assets may not improve net financial worth if earnings remain low throughout life. Relying on earned income is particularly difficult for separated mothers with the daily responsibility for children, as well as for older women who were homemakers in their younger years. This situation is not new but predates family law reform in the 1970s and 1980s.

Labour markets, however, have changed substantially in all three countries. Global labour markets have provided more part-time and temporary jobs, which reduce job security although many mothers with young children appreciate the opportunity to work part-time (Baker 2006). More international competition encourages governments to de-regulate portions of the labour market, contributing to lower rates of unionisation and pay. 'Flexible' labour markets often require longer working hours and higher levels of productivity but pay lower wages and fewer employment benefits, and sometimes require employees to relocate. Since the 1990s, all three governments have also restricted eligibility to state income support, implying that nothing should prevent beneficiaries from finding and keeping work (Baker 2006). Welfare-to-work programmes tend to view employment as the answer to family poverty but this is only true when job markets are booming, wages match living costs, workers acquire internationally-recognised qualifications, employees do not have to consider their spouse's job when seeking promotion, and when public child care is available and affordable.

Although governments now encourage more parents to become economically self-sufficient, mothers with young children have fewer
incentives to seek full-time employment or promotion when they retain domestic and caring responsibilities. Separated mothers cannot always accept job assignments that require shifting to another location because they must consider the father’s access rights to the children, as well as their children’s education and social networks. Lower employment earnings during childrearing also increase mothers’ chances of poverty in old age or in the event of marital separation, which is increasing with more cohabitation. Although governments encourage all citizens to see a lifetime of paid employment as normal, more mothers than fathers find this goal unattainable, especially in Australia where maternal employment rates are lowest and the cultural importance of mothering at home remains strong (Baker and Tippin).

Gendered work patterns continue to keep women’s income and assets lower than men’s, but younger women with full-time jobs have more access to household money than their mothers’ generation, and have consequently gained decision-making power about where the couple should live and what they should buy. Furthermore, women continue to enjoy more opportunities than men to improve their financial circumstances through cohabitation and marriage, especially now that family laws require equal division of family assets for long-term cohabiters. Although more couples now cohabit, these relationships are even less secure than legal marriage.

As household debt levels rise in all three countries, there is often little to share after separation. Women without a male breadwinner in the household continue to be financially disadvantaged, especially if they are caring for young children or have been homemakers in the past. This suggests that three decades of rising female employment rates, new laws about employment equity, and major reforms to family law have been unable to compensate for gendered earnings in Australia, Canada and New Zealand.
Works Cited


Notes

1As former colonies, these countries use the English language and variations of English common law, except the Canadian province of Quebec which uses the French language and civil law. In addition, their systems of social provision have been largely influenced by the United Kingdom.

2The figure was not provided for Australia.

3No figure is provided for New Zealand in this table.

4In this OECD document, poverty rates are defined as the percentage of households with incomes less than 50% of the national median, after taxes and government benefits, adjusted for family size.
Every tax ought to be so contrived as both to take out and keep out of the pockets of the people as little as possible, over and above what it brings into the public treasury of the state (Smith 1776).

The most significant tax innovation of the second half of the twentieth century was the widespread adoption of the value added tax. First levied in France in 1948, the Value Added Tax (VAT) is now used as a tool of consumption taxation in over 200 jurisdictions worldwide (Deloitte, Touche and Tohmatsu), including every member of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries except the United States (Scott). This study will focus on the two most recent cases of adoption of VAT within the OECD, Canada in 1991 and Australia in 2000. In both instances, the introduction of VAT (known as Goods and Services Tax, or GST, in both countries) was part of a reform of indirect taxation that sought to replace distortionary taxes on manufacturing. For both Canada and Australia, the purpose of GST was less to raise new revenue than to raise the same revenue in a way that minimised deadweight losses. In Canada, the government's intention was to rationalise its sales tax regime, while Australia used the GST to shift its tax mix slightly from direct to indirect taxation.

In this study, we will examine the Canadian and Australian Goods and Services Taxes from the standpoint of efficiency. In the course of this, we will review theoretical approaches to the efficiency of taxation, using in particular the concept of the social marginal cost.
of public funds (MCF) to evaluate the efficiency of taxation and to measure the deadweight losses arising from taxation. There is a general consensus among public finance economists that consumption taxes generate smaller deadweight losses than other forms of taxation (Baylor and Beausejour). Similarly, among rival forms of consumption tax, the value added tax is accepted to be the least distorting (Smart, 1).

We will consider the ways in which GST has improved the efficiency of the Canadian and Australian tax systems, considering these systems at the federal level as well as the combined systems of federal and state/provincial governments. Both taxes are reasonably successful at the twin goals of generating public revenue and reducing deadweight losses relative to the taxes that preceded them. Nevertheless, both regimes have areas of inefficiency that could be usefully addressed in future tax reforms that are already the announced policy of the Canadian and Australian governments. In the Canadian case, provincial retail sales taxes need to be integrated with the federal GST. In Australia, problems with the distribution of GST revenues to the state governments remain, and overall, the tax appears to have been introduced at a suboptimal rate.

Measuring the welfare losses from taxation

The public perceives taxation as a simple transfer of financial resources from the private sector to governments. Economists, in contrast, view taxes as having two separate costs to taxpayers. The first cost is of the funds passed to the government. This cost is not a loss to the overall economy, as it recirculates as public expenditure. The second cost is more nefarious, as it is a loss arising from the distortion of economic decisions. Every tax, in one way or another, changes relative prices within the economy, and this changes the incentive structure and economic decisions that evolve from relative prices. If we begin with the conventional economic assumption that in a free market with no outside intervention resources will be used in the most efficient way possible, any intervention such as a tax will...
move the economy away from the point of highest efficiency. As a result, the size of the overall economic pie will be smaller. Every form of tax gives rise to some kind of deadweight loss. (It also gives rise to administration and compliance costs, which economists treat as separate from welfare losses.) The normative requirement for “optimal taxation” posits that governments should raise revenue in a way that minimises social costs (or deadweight losses) (Gentry).

An increasingly used tool among economists measuring the social cost of taxation is the social marginal cost of public funds, or MCF (Usher; Dahlby 1998). The MCF is expressed as a decimal value indicating the net cost to the private sector of providing one additional dollar in tax revenue to the state. Since this cost is always more than the dollar in tax itself, this ratio always exceeds 1. The amount by which the ratio exceeds 1 may be interpreted as the deadweight loss (DWL) engendered by the tax. Therefore,

\[ \text{MCF} = 1 + \text{DWL} \]

The MCF is calculated on the basis of a complex formula that incorporates the elasticities of supply and demand of the item or activity that is taxed, as well as the income and substitution effects caused by the extraction of a tax dollar. Dahlby (1998) argues that in the case of most taxes, especially the consumption taxes that interest us here, the most important parameter in calculating the MCF is the elasticity of labour supply. A value added tax exempts capital from taxation, thereby encouraging its formation and promoting higher rates of savings and investment. Its incidence falls on labour and indirectly lowers real wages from \((w/P)\) to \(w/((1+t)*P)\), leading workers to reevaluate their work/leisure tradeoff. For value added taxes, Dahlby posits that

\[ \text{MCF} = f \begin{pmatrix} \text{average tax rate}, \text{marginal tax rate}, \text{elasticity of} \\ \text{labour supply [substitution effects]}, \text{marginal propensity} \\ \text{to consume [income effects]} \end{pmatrix} \]

The optimal tax is the tax with the lowest MCF.
Baylor and Beausejour, in a computable general equilibrium analysis of the Canadian federal tax system, calculated the welfare losses for several types of tax used in Canada, and arrived at the following: The most severe deadweight losses come from taxes on capital investment, with losses even larger than the tax revenue generated. Taxes upon individuals cause lower welfare losses, with the personal income tax the most costly and consumption taxes the least, with a welfare loss of 0.1 and thus an MCF of around 1.1. Calculations of the MCF of personal income taxes in various English-speaking countries coalesce between 1.2 and 1.5, while the MCF of a broad-based value added tax with a single rate and no exemptions has been calculated to be as low as 1.07 (Hamilton and Whalley, 567). Hamilton and Whalley also calculated the MCF for the manufacturer’s sales tax that was repealed upon the GST’s introduction to be 1.34.

Why do countries pursue tax reform? In the end, they seek to increase their rate of real GDP growth. Tax reform can increase growth for two distinct reasons. First, most countries change their tax systems in order to increase government revenue. In less developed countries, governments often have difficulty extracting revenue from individuals and businesses who are not acculturated to complying with tax laws. Many developing countries have introduced VAT less for its welfare effects than for its ability to raise large amounts of revenue while reducing the opportunities for evasion. Countries such as this need revenue to finance investments in infrastructure, education, and health as prerequisites for sustained growth. This has not been the case for Canada or Australia, whose highly developed fiscal systems with systematic enforcement of tax laws yield substantial revenue. Rather, Canada and Australia pursued revenue-neutral changes in the tax mix in order to reduce deadweight losses. The MCFs of taxes used in an economy ultimately impact upon the rate of real GDP growth. Hamilton and Whalley concluded that the substitution of value added tax for a less efficient tax can raise the annual growth rate of real GDP by 0.2 percentage points per year.
Figure 1. Source: Baylor and Beausejour (2004)
The goals of tax reform in Canada and Australia

In the period leading to the introduction of goods and services taxes, tax reform had been a prominent issue in both Canada and Australia. In Canada, in 1966 the Royal Commission on Taxation identified the manufacturer's sales tax as a candidate for replacement with a value added tax (Canada 1966). In Australia, abolition of the wholesale sales tax in favor of VAT had been an issue since the 1970s. In both countries, policymakers were aware of the inadequacies of sales taxes at the manufacturing level, and also had concerns that the respective tax systems were too dependent on income taxes that carried high deadweight losses and that could be avoided by highly mobile capital and by professional workers.

The manufacturers'/wholesale sales taxes commonly used in former British colonies were especially distorting. As we have seen, they were estimated to cause deadweight losses equivalent to 34% of the tax revenue they raised. There were multiple sources of these deadweight losses. First of all, up to half of the tax base consisted of business inputs. As there was no credit system for taxes paid on inputs, as there is under VAT, there was considerable cascading of the tax as goods passed through multiple stages of manufacturing. Since these taxes were levied at different stages during the manufacturing process, the tax component of the final retail price of goods could be remarkably different from one good to the next. While Canada levied a single 13.5% rate of tax, Australia discriminated among goods by using six different rates depending upon the product, ranging from 12% to 45% for luxury goods, including computers and automobiles.

The Canadian MST and the Australian WST had narrow bases that covered less than 20% of GDP. There were thus high substitution effects in consumption away from taxed goods. The Australian tax had multiple rates, and in both systems, rates were high. Services were untaxed, even though their share in the economy grew, thus eroding the base of these goods-based taxes over time. Exports were taxed, making them less competitive in world markets, while MST and WST were not levied on imported products that competed against taxed goods.

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domestic production. Since the taxes were not charged at the retail level, they were buried in final consumer prices, with the tax already paid and an expense to be recouped through higher prices. Canadians and Australians had no way of knowing how much tax was embedded in the price of an item. In fact, it is likely that many residents of both countries never even knew that the taxes existed (and thus assumed GST constituted an uncompensated tax increase).

The policy goals behind GST introduction

In both Canada and Australia, governments presented the GST as a rationalisation of indirect taxation, emphasising the repeal of existing sales taxes. The rhetoric of Brian Mulroney’s government prior to the 1991 tax change stressed the revenue neutrality of the switch from the manufacturer’s sales tax, and there were no changes to income tax when the GST was implemented. In Australia, in contrast, the government of John Howard openly said that an aim of the GST was to shift the tax mix away from income toward consumption. The 1998 white paper that preceded the legislation creating the GST, Not a New Tax—A New Tax System, said that

The current system of income taxation directly levied on individuals is ineffective. It provides a crumbling base from which to derive the necessary revenue to fund essential government services.... The tax reform plan to which the Government is committed will not raise additional revenue. The Budget is already in surplus. It will raise the same revenue in a fairer, simpler, and more open way (Costello, 6–8).

Political rhetoric can be misleading, and the claim of revenue neutrality could be a useful tool to convince citizens who found the notion of tax efficiency too abstract that the switch to GST was just a technical change. The most direct way to evaluate this is to compare the tax collections of the Canadian and Australian federal governments before and after the introduction of GST.

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Figure 2
Evolution of Canadian Federal Tax Mix

Figure 2. Source: International Monetary Fund, Government Finance Statistics Manual, various.
In Canada, prior to 1991, federal consumption tax (the manufacturer’s sales tax plus excise taxes on items such as gasoline and tobacco) revenues were about 3.5% of GDP. This figure does not include provincial tax collections, including provincial retail sales taxes, which exist separately from the federal GST. Upon the replacement of the MST with the GST, the figure did not change, and even fell slightly later in the 1990s. Therefore, the government’s claim of revenue neutrality vis-a-vis the former system was valid. The reason collections did not rise was that the GST rate was only 7%, a low VAT rate by international standards, and indeed, below the 10% rate at which Alan Tait (1988) argues that VAT becomes viable. The rate was set at a low level for two reasons. Initially, the Mulroney government sought a 15% GST that would replace the MST and the provincial sales taxes. When the provinces refused to fold their taxes into a federal levy, the federal government proceeded with its own 9% tax. However, during parliamentary debate of the legislation implementing the GST, critics of the tax successfully fought to lower the rate to 7%, a rate barely adequate to replace MST revenue. (The 7% rate held until the Harper Government reduced it to 6% in July 2006 and 5% in January 2008.)

In Australia, the Howard Government had to make its own compromises to see its GST enacted into law. In its case, the Senate forced it to zero-rate basic groceries. With this, the tax was passed into law during 1999 and implemented in July 2000, together with reductions in marginal rates of income tax. Data bear out the government’s argument that there was a tax switch involved, as federal income tax collections fell by about 2% of GDP during the first year of the new system, while consumption taxes rose by a like amount.

The Australian tax switch was more complicated than Canada’s. Several changes were made to excise taxes, with some taxes removed upon the GST’s introduction, and other new ones introduced on items like alcohol and automobiles, which had been taxed at the luxury rate under the old system. In addition, the state governments,
Figure 3. Source: International Monetary Fund, Government Finance Statistics Manual, various.
unlike their Canadian counterparts, participated in the GST system, receiving all of the net revenue of the tax as part of a new federal transfer scheme. As a condition of the new revenue, the states agreed to abolish taxes on financial and real estate transactions. (Unlike the Canadian provinces, Australian states lack the constitutional authority to levy broad-based income or sales taxes, and largely rely on federal transfers, property taxes and other minor taxes and fees of their own for revenue.)

Problems with GST

While tax reform has met many of its goals, including greater efficiency (meaning lower MCF values) and a rebalancing of the tax mix in the Australian case, the two taxes have nonetheless encountered problems in their early years, and both the Canadian and Australian governments are contemplating further rounds of tax reform. In this section we will examine the most glaring problems with VAT as it now exists in Canada and Australia, and consider areas in which reforms would improve the efficiency of value added taxation in the two countries. In both cases, the problems of the taxes are located less within the sales taxes themselves, and more with the way they link into the broader tax system.

Canada and Australia are both federal states, with sovereignty divided between national and regional levels of government. Both levels in a federation have the power to levy taxes, and in many cases, each level collects taxes without regard to the actions of the other level. This makes the setting of tax policy problematic in general, and particularly complicates consumption taxation. Typically, the federal level of government enjoys more autonomy in the setting of tax policy. The constitutions of some federal states restrict the ability of state-level governments to tax.

Further, there are unique economic constraints on state governments. As we have noted already, one of the major determinants of the distortionary character of a tax, and hence its MCF, is in the ability
of taxpayers to substitute away from a taxed commodity or behaviour. There is much more freedom of movement within a federation than among countries, and one can shop across an internal boundary to avoid a local sales tax or move across it to avoid an income tax. Dahlby explains that this increased possibility of substitution means that state taxes distort economic behaviour to a larger degree than federal taxes, and results in higher MCFs for state level taxes (2005, 4). He concludes that it is often more efficient for state revenue to be raised through federal taxes, with their lower MCFs, and transferred to the lower level of government.

There are also particular welfare losses that arise when two levels of government attempt to tax the same base simultaneously, known as concurrent taxation. By taxing something, there is less of it. Therefore, when there are two separate taxes upon the same thing, each government's tax, through substitution effects, reduces the base upon which the other's tax is levied. Keen has studied this phenomenon in detail, and has demonstrated that an additional deadweight loss is incurred when concurrent taxation takes place (12). Russell Sobel depicted it graphically in Figure 4. In the second graph, block D represents a deadweight loss that would be government revenue were there only one tax on the transaction. In particular, neither government is able to impose an optimal tax or collect maximum revenue in a context of concurrent taxation. In other words, the combined loss is multiplicative rather than additive.

Australia has avoided a vertical tax externality by concentrating sales tax at the federal level, as do most federal states that levy value added tax. However, there is growing political resistance to the GST revenue distribution system among some of the Australian state governments, who are threatening to withdraw from the system and lobby for the right to impose state value added taxes. In Australia, GST revenue is ultimately destined for state treasuries, but the Australian Taxation Office collects the tax nationwide, while a federal body, the Commonwealth Grants Commission, distributes net revenues to the state governments (the federal government reimburses itself the
Figure 1a. Tax Revenue and Excess Burden: One Taxing Government
Figure 1b. Tax Revenue and Excess Burden: Two Taxing Governments

Figure 4. Source: Sobel 1997.
administrative costs of collecting the tax). Federal officials often refer to the GST as a state tax in order to deflect voter resentment over the introduction of the tax, leading the state governments to call for legal entitlement to GST collected within their borders. In contrast, the Grants Commission distributes the revenue on a per capita basis, meaning that there is some redistribution among the states. This is leading to resistance from the states with the largest per capita GST collections, New South Wales and Victoria. New South Wales Treasurer Michael Egan complained in 2004 that his state raises $1383 (Australian) per person in GST annually but only receives $1117 per capita in revenue ("Infrastructure" 2003). The then-Victorian premier, Steve Bracks, echoed the argument, saying in June 2005 that Victorians pay $9.6 billion per year in GST but receive $7.8 billion in revenue (Victoria 2005). In particular, Bracks singled out the states of Queensland and Western Australia (both of whom have cyclical natural resource-based economies) as receiving more than they contribute.

Australia faces two issues that need to be addressed in future tax reform. The first, as identified by Treasurer Peter Costello in 2006, is that the Australian tax mix, despite the GST, remained heavily skewed to income taxes, with, at the time, top marginal income tax rate of 48.5%, applying at an annual income level equivalent to US$60,000 (Warburton and Hendy 2006, xix). (For the 2007–2008 tax year, the top rate will be 45%, applying to income in excess of US$135,000.) Conversely, the GST rate remains at 10%, below the OECD average for VAT (17.6%) and at the minimum limit for the tax to be administratively worth levying (Tait 1988, 39). Therefore, the logical reform is a reduction in marginal income tax rates offset by an increase in GST.

Implementing such a change would not be so simple, as Canberra receives income tax revenues while GST revenue flows through to the states. A deeper shift toward indirect taxes implies that the federal government would receive the extra GST revenue, something that could not happen without the unanimous agreement of the state and the GST revenue flow.
governments. Similarly, the states would need to agree to lift the GST rate beyond 10%, which is unlikely, even in the present situation where the federal and all state governments are Labor.

Canada suffers from a different problem. The Canadian provinces imposed retail sales taxes during the 1960s, inspired by similar taxes at the state level in the United States. Spurred on by the unpopularity of the federal GST, they rebuffed Ottawa’s efforts to fold their sales taxes into a national system similar to what Australia eventually implemented. As a result, Canadians found themselves paying two separate sales taxes on the same purchases, encountering a large negative vertical tax externality. Each province levies its tax at a different rate and on different items, and provinces are unable to tax interprovincial transactions, such as Internet commerce. About 40% of provincial sales tax revenue comes from the taxation of business inputs, leading to considerable cascading (Smart, 5). The federal government has spent 15 years seeking harmonisation, with limited success. Quebec replaced its retail sales tax with a provincial value added tax levied on the same base as the GST, and the provinces of New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland abolished their sales taxes in exchange for an 8-point federally-collected increment on top of the 5% GST. Five other provinces continue to collect separate retail sales taxes, and Alberta levies no sales tax (and insists that the GST is unconstitutional).

The immaturity of the politics behind the GST also inhibits reform of the system. Carolyn Ryan wrote, only half in jest, that “not since the British government attempted to tax tea, leading to the American Revolution, has a tax measure had a greater effect on a country’s political history.” Every government, federal and provincial, that has been politically tinged by the tax has been defeated when seeking re-election. Brian Mulroney’s Progressive Conservative Party was wiped from the political map in the 1993 federal election, losing all but two of the seats it held in Parliament, and has since merged with another party. Administrations also fell from power in each province that combined its sales tax with the GST, and another (in Saskatchewan)
Figure 5. Source: Websites of Provincial Finance Ministries
cancelled the harmonisation that its defeated predecessor had announced. In the 2006 federal election campaign, Conservative Party leader Stephen Harper’s promise to cut the GST rate to 5% seemed to be a contributing factor to the party’s minority victory.

The prospect of certain defeat dissuades other provincial governments from blending their sales taxes with the GST, despite the efficiency gains that would result. There are nonetheless proposals among economists for creating a single value added tax system. Bev Dahlby writes that the “dual VAT” system currently used in Quebec, where the province levies its own value added tax on the same base as the GST, is a useful model for other provinces to follow, as it minimises vertical tax externalities while preserving the ability of the provinces to set their own tax rates and receive the revenue collected within their borders, avoiding the Australian problem (2005, 17). Even Alberta’s resolve to disassociate itself from the GST may be weakening. The Canada West Foundation, a Calgary think tank politically close to the Alberta government, has endorsed the abolition of the provincial income tax and its replacement with a provincial value added tax linked to the GST (McKenzie). Still another proposal, one that would be politically attractive to those who still hope the GST will be abolished, would be to eliminate the tax altogether, and do away with federal fiscal transfers to the provinces, as GST revenue and transfer payments were both C$28 billion in 2003 (Frontier Centre for Public Policy).

Conclusion

The Australian Goods and Services Tax has by and large been a successful tax from an economic standpoint, despite some political problems. Though, like its Canadian counterpart, it zero-rates groceries, the GST is less distortionary than the former wholesale sales tax, and has made it possible to change the tax mix away from taxes on income and capital that carry high deadweight losses. Future efficiency gains are possible if income taxes continue to fall while revenue is recouped through consumption taxes.
The problems with the Canadian sales tax system are largely political, with the hysterical political reaction to the GST severely limiting the latitude of governments to reform the system to make it more efficient. Tait has written that the ideal value added tax is one that addresses both economic and political concerns, and that the best VAT in practice is generally the one with the fewest distortions that "will suit the preferences of politicians" (2003). The Canadian tax reform experiment is incomplete. The GST represents an efficiency improvement over the manufacturer's sales tax, but the separate federal and provincial consumption tax systems give rise to significant vertical negative tax externalities. The direction for reform that would reduce the deadweight losses in the system involves harmonisation of the sales tax systems, possibly on the lines of the dual VAT model used in Quebec. If such a combination were acceptable to Canadians, it would set a useful example for federal systems in developing countries. Both India and Brazil are presently struggling with sales tax reform, with federal governments interested in levying VAT nationally. In both cases, resistance from state governments that already levy their own sales taxes has been the stumbling block.

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David J. Rovinsky


Australia’s ‘Irish Factor’ as a Source of Cultural Difference from Canada

The contribution of an Irish sensibility to Australian irreverence, rebelliousness, and egalitarianism—or desire for flatter hierarchies—is evident in such Australian practices as ‘knocking,’ ‘cutting down tall poppies,’ and the social phenomenon of ‘mateship.’ These Australian cultural features distinguish Australia from Canada and point to a historically significant ‘Irish factor’ that Canada does not share. In contrast, while the Scots also represented a sizeable immigrant community in Australia and Canada, there does not appear to have been an equivalent ‘Scottish factor’ despite their cultural significance. For economic and ethno-cultural reasons the Scots in both countries tended to align with the British establishment far more than did the Irish, whose numbers in Australia were particularly large. As Hofstede’s cultural dimensions are useful indicators of national variation (2001, 29), this article explores power distance and individualism–collectivism to attribute Australia and Canada’s salient cultural characteristics to particular regions of Anglo-Celtic origin.

Power distance and ethno-cultural distinctions

According to Savicki’s recent study of English-speaking cultures, important differences exist on Hofstede’s cultural work value dimensions of power distance and individualism–collectivism, but not on uncertainty avoidance or masculinity–femininity measures (160–161). While Hofstede’s dimensions of culture compared dozens of nations, including Australia, Canada, Ireland, the United States of America, and the United Kingdom, Savicki segregated Scotland...
from England, and English Canada from French Canada, which helps ascribe Australia’s and Canada’s salient cultural characteristics to the regions of Anglo-Celtic origin.

The British who came to Australia and Canada—and their descendents who assumed powerful roles in each society—arrived with a cultural background immersed in the rigidly formal English class system. Although not overtly replicated in Australia or Canada, notions of class were sufficiently familiar to the dominant British Protestant population of English Canada to encourage tolerance of social hierarchy. Thus, contrary to the “melting pot” of the contemporary United States where different ethnic cultures are expected to subordinate their identities to a singular “American” culture (Kivisto, 46–50), Canadians have been encouraged since the 1960s to retain their multicultural identities as part of a “Canadian” identity cultivated by a founding population largely sympathetic to British cultural tradition as distinct from American (Kivisto, 90–91). Like Canada, Australia since the 1970s has also transformed from a settler country to a multicultural nation (Kivisto, 101, 109–112). However, as the Irish comprised a large percentage of Australia’s colonial and later migrant population (Madgewick, 234), the Australian national character was disproportionately influenced by them.

In *The Irish in Australia*, historian Patrick O’Farrell asserts that the very presence of a “substantial and insubordinate Irish minority deflated and confused the English majority” (11). According to O’Farrell, “Their refusal to act out a deferential role discomfited the elite, eroded their superior certainties, provided a constant liberalising creative irritant, and gave notice that the old-world social order could not be reproduced in Australia” (11). Irish Catholics therefore presented a great challenge to Australia’s established Protestant/Anglican colonial society because of the Irish culture’s different religious traditions, values, and natural antagonism towards England.
The significance of this Irish-Catholic force in nineteenth century
Australian culture prompted O'Farrell to conclude that the powerful
Irish minority represented the “key dynamic factor” in Australia:

Whereas the smaller minorities—Germans, Italians—
tended to be content with tolerance within a dominant
British system, the Irish rejected or questioned the
system, or at least demanded that it be adjusted to
meet their requirements, with the effect of creating a
new, modified system, a unique Australian blend and
compromise which fitted the character of a mixed and
interacting group of people, on the basis of equity (10–
11).

According to Donald Akenson's review of the composition of
Australia’s Irish population, the Irish—from the mid-nineteenth
century onwards—were indeed Australia’s second largest ethnic group
(1988, 61). As for how the Australian Irish broke down between
Catholics and Protestants, he concludes from the available data that,
first, “Irish Catholics were a very significant group in the general
population and, second, that among the overall Irish ethnic group
the Protestants were a very noticeable minority” (Akenson 1988,
62). Akenson estimates that, by 1891, Irish Catholics comprised
18.6% of the total population of Australia relative to 7.1% Irish
Protestant. This compared to 48.8% English, 14.0 Scottish, and
1.5% Welsh (1988, 62). Hence Catholicism provided the Irish with
a different identity, a sense of second-class citizenship in a land ruled
by a powerful British Protestant elite. In contrast, English-speaking
Canada, largely a product of the British Protestant tradition, lacked
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John Porter’s classic study of Canadian power structures, The Vertical
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composition as the Anglophone Canadian elites—that is, English, Scottish, and Irish Protestants—effectively ruled over a society where Irish Catholics comprised a significant proportion of the influential working class population (47–53). Hence the significant Irish-Catholic impact on Australia has long been emphasised over that of other Celts. As Malcolm Prentis asserts,

Russel Ward wrote the Scots out of the working class, yet the general image of Scottish success should not blind us to the fact that Scots were in fact found in all parts of the social spectrum. Perhaps the difference was that most Scots did not necessarily regard a lowly position as permanent, and did not see themselves as class-bound (275).

Indeed, the cohesive nature of the Irish Catholic community among the working class strengthened their collective impact. In Canada there were fewer Irish Catholics (as a percentage of the Canadian population) over whom to dominate (Mackay, 12–15). In fact, according to Akenson, “it is true that there were proportionately fewer Catholics than Protestants among the Irish in Canada—in the case of Ontario, roughly one-third of the Irish cohort was Catholic” (1986, 5). Moreover, Akenson suggests, “the Irish who migrated to Canada were, in some vague way, too Protestant” (1988, 100). Hofstede’s relative measures of power distance support these influences.

Hofstede defines power distance as “the extent to which the less powerful members of institutions”—such basic elements of society as the family, school, and the community—“and organizations within a country expect and accept that power is distributed unequally” (1994, 28). In other words, this cultural dimension is concerned with the issue of human inequality, which occurs in diverse areas such as wealth, prestige, and power. According to Hofstede, the significance of the power distance measure is that “different societies put different weights on status consistency among these areas” (2001, 79). Since inequality in power within organisations is a common and practical means by which work productivity and accountability are achieved,
inequality of this type is typically found in relationships between managers and subordinates.

Societies with relatively low power distance—such as Ireland and Australia that rank 28 and 36, respectively—are characterised by decentralised authority and decision making responsibility, consultative or participative management style, flat organisational structures, small proportion of supervisory staff, lack of acceptance and questioning of authority, greater consciousness of rights, and tendency toward egalitarianism (Hofstede 2001, 87, 107–108). In contrast, higher power distance cultures like Canada, with a power index score of 39, are generally marked by centralised decision structures, greater concentration of authority, more supervisors, managers who rely on formal rules, and tall organisational pyramids featuring hierarchies that highlight inequality between those higher up and those lower down (Hofstede 2001, 87, 107–108).

Although religion does not account for all differences in power distance, the shared identity and values that are built up and retained by religious communities appear to provide an important source for relative tolerance of power distance. Hofstede suggests that the earlier Roman Empire may have been more decisive than the later Church because Catholic non-Latin Ireland scores similar to largely Protestant non-Latin Britain compared to Latin-based Catholic nations (2001, 114). However, since scores are not identical between Ireland and Britain, differences appear strongly linked to culture and dominant religious affiliation.

Hofstede asserts that “once a religion has been established in a country, it will reinforce the values that led to its adoption” (2001, 114). This statement is reasonable for both Australia and Canada where British Protestant rule, and the values associated with it, were imposed from the top down. Yet in Australia where Irish Catholics were widely dispersed, it also appears reasonable that their communities would reinforce their shared values. “Catholicism, with the supreme authority of the pope and the intermediate authority of the priest,” Hofstede argues, is a better fit than Protestantism with its
greater tolerance of power distance (2001, 114). Although logical, the assertion appears contrary to the Australian experience.

Hofstede's generalisation that Catholicism in and of itself suggests greater compliance with high tolerance of power distance may not apply when unique cultural circumstances are considered. Irish Catholics in Australia, despite their Catholicism, were opposed to social hierarchy endemic in British colonial rule. However, among European countries with Catholic majorities, Ireland and Poland are the only ones that lack a Latin past, and both nations, Hofstede asserts, “used their Catholicism as a source of identity to protect them against powerful non-Catholic occupants” (2001, 114). Indeed, this source of identity proved powerful. For the Poles, their strong Catholicism helped bring down communism in the late twentieth century since they shared more in common with members of their own culture than with the former USSR and its contrary values. The Soviet opposition to religion could not suffuse Poland's culturally cohesive religious tradition.

Similarly, though on a less dramatic scale, the Irish Catholics of Australia did not share an identical culture with the British. Irish Catholicism was a strong reason. According to Lovejoy's *The Great Chain of Being*, European religious and social tradition fostered deference by lower links to those deemed higher. Everyone knew their place and did not question their position. After the Reformation, the reigning English monarch could expect deference since the pope was no longer a viable rival along the links of the Great Chain. Catholics, however, tended to defer to papal authority before the reigning monarch in matters of religion. Irish Catholics could, therefore, feel justified in showing less deference to British rule because they were not in defiance of their view of legitimate hierarchy. Since the English were obsessed with order, and the Great Chain accomplished order by ensuring that every person and object had its place within the hierarchy, the Irish were, therefore, a constant thorn in the sides of British rulers who feared the breakdown of social order.
Irish objection to the lack of self-determined authority and independent political power in Ireland remained a strong force among the Irish Catholics of Australia. While tolerance of power distance exists within the Church and Catholic community, this does not equate with having a tolerance of power distance in society in general. While Australia’s relatively lower power distance is arguably more Irish than English, Canada’s comparatively higher power distance evokes its English cultural heritage where disparity among classes—in social circles and work environments—was the accepted norm.

Social class and the relative tolerance of power distance

The Canadian elite, comprised of individuals of predominantly British Protestant parentage, effectively ruled over a substantial working class of similar ethnicity, who were implicitly respectful of differences in rank because of their familial understanding of the British cultural practice. The result was the cultivation of a social atmosphere that gave elites even greater power. This broad acceptance of social hierarchy is an important yet subtle factor that distinguishes Canadian from Australian society. While Australia’s elite was similarly dominated by a powerful group of British Protestants, the significant Irish working class was not as receptive to the largely Protestant elite’s authority.

While a respect for class distinction and privilege was transmitted to Canada—though without England’s upper class preoccupation with nomenclature—acceptance of formal hereditary distinctions and British honours were not. Although Canada inherited a respect for deference associated with English social hierarchy and stratification—in other words, people knew their place in society and accepted it—this acceptance was not absolute when it came to Canadians and royal peerages. Indeed, Canada enacted legislation in 1919 that precludes Canadian citizens from accepting titles, or even being knighted by the Queen. In the 1950s, this provision was cited to veto the award of the Garter to Vincent Massey—Canada’s first native-born Governor General, an Anglophile whose disappointment was
lessened after receiving the Royal Victorian Chain, which provides no accompanying title—and used again in the 1990s to deny a British peerage for media baron Conrad Black (Cannadine, 145).

Acceptance of title represented a challenge to Canada’s sovereignty as Canadian citizenship—symbolic of political and cultural independence—is held in higher esteem. The alternative would imply that Canada remains a colony of the British crown, an important distinction given Canada’s proximity to the United States and the desire to avoid any implication of Canada being less independent, less sovereign than the United States. Nonetheless, the British Protestant elite remains enamoured with ties to England as a means of retaining a sense of cultural superiority and maintenance of a grand tradition that goes back to the early colonial era.

While Massey could only mask his disappointment given his privileged political position in Canadian society, Conrad Black, among whose global collection of newspapers once included Canada’s National Post and London’s Daily Telegraph, was not held back by any patriotic or political obligations. An extreme example of the monarchy-supporting Canadian elite’s fondness for British tradition, Black’s desire for title, rank and privilege led him to renounce his Canadian citizenship in 2001 to become a British citizen, accept a peerage as Lord Black of Crossharbour, and take his seat in the House of Lords.  

Black’s fondness for British tradition was cultivated early. Educated at the elite, Anglo-Protestant Upper Canada College, which, like most of Canada’s institutions, emulated English progenitors, Black’s British cultural indoctrination included reverence for British tradition and education which helped foster his infatuation with Europe and social hierarchy. Raised in Toronto, an environment Black described in his autobiography, A Life in Progress, as “dour, dreary earnest and envy of low-church Protestant Ontario,” his brewery executive father, took young Conrad and his brother to London “in a fine monarchist gesture” to see the 1953 coronation of Queen Elizabeth II, an experience that helped shape his outlook (6–8).
Black's awe for England and British tradition reflects Porter's view that elite membership in Canada—largely the domain of British Protestants—has proven highly conducive to the acquisition of wealth and power (Porter, 98–103). Private schools, universities, and other locations of cultural interaction provided common exposure to an instrumental and normative socialisation process (Porter, 304). The ethno-religious heritage of the Canadian elite served as a form of class distinction that Canadians have not typically opposed. Such subtle notions of class have been tolerated in Canada where steep vertical social hierarchy is a significant cultural element linked to Canada's British tradition. Hence, Australia's lack of tolerance for genuine or perceived social inequality reflects a major difference from Canada that exists precisely because of Australia's significant Irish-Catholic presence.

In Australia, Irish Catholics and radical labour had a preference for St. Patrick's Day and, following the First World War, Anzac Day. They were far less impressed by the British hierarchical festival of Empire Day (Cannadine, 145). However, in the nineteenth century, there had been other less subtle displays of anti-British sentiment by rebellious Irish Catholics. For instance, during the Australian visit of the Duke of Edinburgh in 1868, an Irishman tried to assassinate him. Although violence was rare, there were instances that reflected considerable animosity across the Catholic–Protestant divide (Hogan, 65–67). Well into the middle of the twentieth century, St. Patrick's Day and the anniversary of the Battle of the Boyne, notes Australian historian Michael Hogan, served “as occasions for at least symbolic saberrattling by each side,” and Catholic churches and schools fostered a “sense of Irishness and isolation in a Protestant society which helped to maintain divisions” (69). Legitimate fear among Catholics and Protestants was at the root of social disharmony.

The importation of the contentious Irish political question into Australian society, combined with institutions such as the Orange Order helping to perpetuate sectarian and ethnic disharmony, ensured that a growing Australian Irish-Catholic community would
maintain anti-British sentiments. This outlook spread to others whose Australian nationalism precluded a desire for British political connections. Thus, the result was that Australians have been less enamoured than Canadians with their nation’s British ties. “Even Queen Elizabeth II’s tour of Australia in 1953/4,” notes British historian David Cannadine, “was sceptically greeted by radicals who thought it was all an upper-class racket, and by Catholic-Irish-Australians who found Menzies’s snobbish sycophancy nauseating” (146). Although not every Australian would share these sentiments, they expressed the mood of many, whether Irish Catholics or those influenced by them.

Indeed, Canada’s tolerance of greater power distance relative to Australia appears indicative of English cultural acceptance which has persisted despite the development of a more culturally varied contemporary society. In contrast, Australia’s lesser tolerance of power distance compared to Canada and the United States seems to reflect Australians’ lesser acceptance of hierarchy, or the blatant power difference that often accompanies social inequality, particularly in work environments. Australia’s Irish factor helps account for this cultural difference.

Hofstede classifies Ireland as very low on power distance (2001, 87), and Feather observes that the Australian inclination to “cut down tall poppies” is consistent with Australia’s low power distance culture. Hence, the Australian disdain for high individual achievement seems largely attributable to the Irish since Australia, like Ireland per Hofstede, is a low power distance culture, and Australia received an enormous influx of Irish immigrants in its formative period during the nineteenth century. Just as the Irish did not want to be dominated by the British but treated as an equal power, Australians do not favour those who seek attention or adulation for their accomplishments, particularly in the workplace.
Few examples are more revealing of Australia’s cultural difference from North America as Telecom Australia and Westpac Banking Corporation. In the early 1990s, they imported two American executives to transform, lead, and reverse the companies’ downward spiral. Frank Blount became Chief Executive Officer of Telecom Australia (known as Telstra since the mid-1990s); Bob Joss became Chief Executive Officer of Westpac, Australia’s oldest bank and among the largest Australian banking corporations. In contrast with North American management cultures, Blount and Joss found in their respective Australian corporations a reluctance to take on leadership roles. When Blount arrived to Telstra he found “an unwillingness to put up the hand to take on challenging tasks. There was a fear of risk of failure” (Blount, Joss and Mair, 162). Joss expressed a similar sentiment at Westpac:

We used to have these relief managers who would go from branch to branch and fill in for managers who were away on vacation or leave even though they didn’t know anything about the customers…. When I asked why the assistant managers in each of the branches didn’t fill in, why they didn’t jump at the chance to show us what they were made of, I was told that that would be taking advantage of them (Blount, Joss and Mair, 163).

Rather than reflecting a fear of failure, the reticence to take on leadership roles exposed a key Australian cultural trait. Blount and Joss came from America where individual distinction is a culturally-accepted and widely desired goal to which many managers aspire (England, 40–41). As a result, these American-born and -bred executives failed to recognise—at least initially—that what they interpreted as avoidance of leadership or fear of failure was an expression of the Australian cultural reluctance to stand out from the crowd and assert individual authority. Individual distinction appears less prized in the workplace despite a strong individualist side to Australian society. While cultural instincts of Australian workers

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Cultural difference at work

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reveal evidence of Australian egalitarianism, a desire for equality among colleagues was not the sole reason for this behaviour.

Experience prevents many Australians from seeking out individual distinction, especially at work. Although achievement is consistent with the strong Australian propensity for individualism, the process of socialisation in the Australian environment teaches that individual distinction also means risking social humiliation by being, in the inimitable words of the oft-heard Australian expression, ‘cut down like tall poppies.’ Because of this culturally conditioned fear, Telstra and Westpac were wise to bring in leaders from a culture far removed from Australia, a culture where aspirations toward achievement were not considered culturally undesirable. Indeed, Blount and Joss, executives whose experiences were obtained primarily within an American setting, were not encumbered by Australia’s prevailing cultural norm.

A conditioned fear response seems plausible since individualism is strong in Australian culture. In a study of Australian and Canadian work supervisors’ recollections of their attributional and evaluative responses to high and low levels of subordinate performance, Ashkanasy found that Australians endorse more “internal attributions” for subordinate performance than Canadians, and that they focus more on “individual characteristics” in evaluating performance (1997). However, while an individualist trait would include a desire for social distinction and a powerful position, the egalitarian impulse favouring group cooperation likely results in a culturally conditioned fear of being cut down. Consequently, although Australians are capable of demonstrating similar leadership abilities—after all, since the 1960s many modern business schools emerged in Australia where the principles of management are taught—it would have proven difficult for those steeped in Australian culture to go against the grain and take on the challenge required to effectively transform each organisation. Australia’s prevailing cultural norm that discourages individuals from wanting to rise to the top and achieve individual distinction simply proved too strong. Compared to Canada,
Despite many similarities among members of the “Anglo Cluster” of nations with common British colonial roots, Australia is not a mirror image of America. Relative to the United States and Canada, Australia is lower in power distance. According to Hofstede, in countries where small power distance is the norm, “there is limited dependence of subordinates on bosses, and a preference for consultation, that is, interdependence between boss and subordinate.” As Hofstede’s research suggests, subordinates will approach and contradict their superiors because the “emotional distance” between them is relatively small (1994, 27). As a result, it appears that for the successful implementation of organisational change in an Australian setting, a leadership approach that is less hierarchical and dictatorial encourages acceptance by subordinates, and provides an atmosphere in which managerial workers feel less reluctance to take on a leadership role for fear of being cut down to size. This is the kind of organisational environment that Telstra and Westpac successfully implemented. Australian employees do not want autocratic or paternalistic bosses. Hence, American-style high achievement and competence orientation represent a stark contrast from Australia’s moralistic and humanistic orientation’s preference for social equality and lower value on individual achievement, competition, risk, and success (England, 40–41).

At Telstra and Westpac the ‘tall poppy’ effect was circumvented by the application of basic psychological principles to encourage behavioural modification. Conditioning and feedback to reward desired behaviour and extinguish undesired behaviour were emphasised. As a result, managers were inspired to take greater initiative in seeking out higher levels of responsibility (Blount, Joss and Mair, 165). Although behaviour can change given appropriate and effective conditioning, cultural norms still exist on the outside and, therefore, likely persist at some level within the organisation. While people can readily change their behaviour, reason the
CEOs, “individuals can rarely change their personality traits or characteristics” (Blount, Joss and Mair, 168).

According to Blount, “Australians broadly view leadership as something rather uncomfortable, the job for the masochist, the insanely ambitious, the workaholic, or the outsider” (Blount, Joss and Mair, 183). Such reticence to stand out is understandable given the prevailing tendency to be cut down to size. Hence, the lack of aspiration to leadership that Blount and Joss witnessed was hardly incompatible with Australian cultural norms. It reflected them. While the “tall poppy syndrome” may account for this behaviour, which dictates that those who stand up for prominent roles in Australian society face the distinct possibility of being cut down by their compatriots—a feature of unfettered egalitarianism—there is also another point of view expressed by Blount: “perhaps the solitary, self-reliant heroes of Australian myth and fiction—like Ned Kelly or even Mad Max—represent a distrust of tribes and teams and their leaders” (Blount, Joss and Mair, 177). Egalitarianism and individualism need not be mutually exclusive.

Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner suggest that evaluations of obligation—that is, whether universalism (concerned with societal rules) or particularism (focused on personal relationships) take precedence—are an important dimension of culture (29–38). Considering that egalitarianism appears stronger in Australia than in Canada or the United States, and universalism—especially among workers—is weaker in Australia, the particularistic and egalitarian value of “mateship” is considered by many Australians as contradictory to the value of “achievement” so highly regarded in America’s strongly individualist culture, and, to a lesser degree, in Canada (Lipset, 252). Individualism, though common among the Anglo cluster of nations, is expressed differently in Australia, Canada, and the United States.
Individualism–Collectivism and Anglo-Celtic distinctions

In cultural psychology, individualism reflects a social pattern comprised of individuals motivated primarily by their own needs, preferences, and rights, who give priority to personal rather than to group goals. Collectivism, by contrast, refers to a social pattern wherein people who are closely linked to one another consider themselves as parts of a whole, whether represented by a family, a tribe, a nation, or a network of coworkers. They are motivated in large part by the norms of, and duties imposed by, the collective entity, whose goals they are willing to give priority over their own personal goals (Triandis, 2). Put simply, individualistic cultures stress “personal action and responsibility” while collectivist cultures stress “interpersonal relatedness and group action” (Savicki, 39).

In other words, for individuals in individualist cultures, their self-identity and personal goals are considered independent of the larger social group, whereas in collectivist cultures self-concept and personal goals are inseparable from the larger social group. This difference points to “ingroups” as a source of distinction. While individualistic societies are distinguished by loose ties among individuals who focus on the core family, collectivist societies are distinguished by strong ties among individuals who focus on larger extended families and ingroups. According to Triandis, “Ingroups are usually characterized by similarities among the members, and individuals have a sense of ‘common fate’ with members of the ingroup” (9). Since each culture has its own significant ingroups, emphasis varies among family, friends, political parties, social classes, religious groups, or tribal, ethnic, linguistic or territorial collectives (Triandis, 9). Cultural differences are most apparent when people from a strongly individualist culture, such as the United States, interact with people from a solidly collectivist culture, like Japan (Triandis, 12–13). However, among such cultures as Australia and Canada, closer together along the spectrum, differences are less obvious but still discernable.

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According to Triandis, cultures that are more homogeneous with less division of labour are more likely to be collectivist, and cultures that
are more heterogeneous, or those which share strong historical ties to the United Kingdom, such as Australia, Canada, and the United States, tend to be individualist. However, within societies where individualistic orientations dominate, ethnically-based minority groups may be more collectivist than the dominant culture. Members of the Asian and Latino subcultures in the United States rate higher on the collectivist dimension than the majority culture (Triandis and others, 1984). French Canadians rate higher on collectivism than English Canadians who rate higher on individualism (Savicki, 44). Likewise, Hofstede’s research indicates the Republic of Ireland scores significantly lower on the individualism dimension than Australia, Canada, the United States, and Great Britain (1994, 53). Hence, the impact of Irish Catholics in Australia, comprising a large percentage of the working class, may indeed have modulated the effects of individualism by their ingroup collectivism’s focus on community concerns, which, in turn, grew outward to reflect such collectivist interests as social egalitarianism.

How did the Irish have this effect? First, as noted, Irish Catholics were significantly represented among the Australian urban work force since the nineteenth century. Second, as Hofstede showed, Ireland scores lower on individualism compared to Great Britain, the United States, or Canada. In other words, while Australia scores second highest after the United States on individualism, the nature of this individualism differs since Australian egalitarianism, seemingly rooted in an Irish-Catholic collectivist cultural tradition, appears to have exerted a strong influence. Although Australia, Canada, and the United States are considered to be strong examples of individualist nations (Hofstede, 53), there is significant dissimilarity among them because of the diverse influences immigrants had on each culture. This complexity is reflected in what Triandis labels horizontal and vertical aspects of the individualism–collectivism social pattern (44–52).
Horizontal and vertical dimensions of individualism–collectivism

Adding hierarchy, Triandis subdivided individualism and collectivism into two different types based on how much inequality is accepted. The vertical dimension accepts inequality and considers rank and stratification as beneficial. In contrast, the horizontal dimension emphasises that individuals should be similar on most attributes and considers status differences less desirable. Hence, there are four possible dimensions: horizontal individualism, vertical individualism, horizontal collectivism, and vertical collectivism (Triandis and Gelfand). Triandis’s broader view of individualism–collectivism offers an intriguing lens to observe Australian-Canadian differences.

Triandis asserts that Australia favours horizontal individualism and the United States vertical individualism (46). For Australia, horizontal individualism prizes self-reliance with a diminished desire for high status, as reflected in a disdain of individuals who stick out from the crowd. For America, vertical individualism celebrates significant individual achievement. In contrast, horizontal collectivism emphasises social cohesion, egalitarianism, and agreement with ingroup, whereas vertical collectivism emphasises a sense of supporting the ingroup and sacrifices made on its behalf (Triandis, 44–46). Given the distinctive social patterns of cultural dimensions, is it possible to identify a particular culture’s disproportionate influence? Savicki’s study suggests cultural trends.

Employing Triandis’s categories, Savicki asserts that England falls in the vertical collectivism quadrant, English Canada in the vertical individualism quadrant, Australia in the horizontal collectivism quadrant, and the United States and Scotland together in the horizontal individualism quadrant (160–161). Although there appears to be a conflict between Savicki’s claim that Australia is marked by horizontal collectivism and Triandis’s view that Australia reflects horizontal individualism, the difference relates to Anglo nations.
included in his comparison rather than an absolute difference in relation to a greater diversity of cultures.

Though broadly considered individualistic cultures, those Savicki included in his study are identified as individualist or collectivist, horizontal or vertical, based on a much narrower range of scores than would have resulted had collectivist Asian and South American cultures been included. While theorists may argue with Savicki’s labels, his results are useful because they show differences within Canada and the United Kingdom, differences that suggest British influences on English Canada and Australia. Savicki observes, “When restricting one’s consideration of cultural differences to the cultures in the current sample, the differences described in Triandis’s categories can be helpful in capturing important contrasts and comparisons” (50). Indeed, Savicki’s results are consistent with Triandis’s identification of Australia’s horizontal aspect, which emphasises equality, and English Canada’s vertical aspect, which emphasises hierarchy.

Patterns in Savicki’s data suggest that Australia shares its relatively low power distance with Scotland and its lower individualism (which Savicki labels as “collectivism” relative to the other cultures in his study) with England (161). Likewise, English Canada’s relatively higher power distance appears to be close to, but not quite as high, as England, but shows a level of individualism closer to Scotland. Given that the formal class system is an English tradition that is practically absent from Scottish culture, it is a reasonable conclusion that English Canada would have derived its greater acceptance of class differences from the English, while Australia was less inclined to accept notions of social hierarchy due to its significant Irish population. Similarly, English Canada’s cultural acceptance of individualism could be attributed to the influence of Scottish industriousness and the Scottish Protestant Work Ethic. If individualism is closely tied to the Protestant work ethic, then the strand of collectivism in Australian culture could relate to the Catholicism of the Irish community.
Although Savicki’s data suggests that English Canada clearly benefitted from diverse influences attributed to England and Scotland, Australia may not be so clear-cut given the significant Irish impact on the culture. Rather than Scots being the key influence for the observed trend of lower power distance in Australia, it is just as likely to have been a result of the Irish. While Savicki did not include Irish data in his study, results from other studies, such as Hofstede described earlier, support Ireland’s dimensions.

According to a recent GLOBE study by Keating and Martin, Irish society is more collectivist than even Hofstede suggested. Irish collectivism points to a strong feeling of belonging to a parish and of interdependence at the community level, and is reflected in a high level of indigenous Irish sports being team-based, and statistics indicating trade union density at 53% and membership in the Catholic Church at 92% (Keating and Martin). Hence, collectivism and the historic rebelliousness of the Irish can be reconciled with the seemingly antithetical placidity in Ireland that emerged following 1922’s achievement of the Irish Free State.

This euphoric moment was of immense psychological importance for both the Irish in Ireland and abroad. After being a subjected people for so long, their collective focus necessarily shifted from active rebellion to nation building, requiring skills of conciliation and diplomacy. During the balance of the twentieth century, however, active rebellion did not cease as the turmoil in Northern Ireland proved. In contrast with the Irish Republic, Northern Ireland emerged as a place of considerable agitation as the traditional Irish antagonism between Protestant and Catholic became increasingly violent. For the larger numbers of Irish in an independent Ireland, some degree of rebelliousness was understandably placated by other important features of an emerging sovereign nation. Irish historian Thomas E. Hachey describes the reasons for this shift of focus:

Against the backdrop of political uncertainty, life in the Irish Free State was anything but the utopia some revolutionary idealists might have expected. The country
was without any important natural resources, or at least none that were known or could be easily retrieved during the 1920s. Partition had deprived the Free State of the only industrially developed portion of the island, and the Civil War had squandered funds that might otherwise have been used to help build the economy. ... Free State politicians, however, soon realized the necessity of making theories conform to reality, given the reciprocal responsibilities and trade concessions that Dominion status implied (178).

With the achievement of independence, therefore, rebelliousness was joined by a strong sense of purpose and responsibility. This new situation enhanced the Irish collective impulse that had served to build Irish-Catholic solidarity over the centuries, a sentiment that continued among the Irish of Australia. Like other newly independent states that emerged in continental Europe following the First World War, Ireland now had to prove that it had not won its self-determination in vain. Thus, in the Republic of Ireland a sense of relative placidity grew alongside the characteristic rebelliousness that had been a distinctive Irish trait for centuries, but it did not eradicate rebellion as demonstrated by subsequent decades of tragic violence in Northern Ireland. Therefore, contrary to Australia's relative collectivism/individualism, which points to Ireland as a strong influence given Australia's large and influential population of Irish, Canada's individualism appears to stem from its significantly British—strongly Scottish-nuanced—heritage.

In English Canada, the Scots held a cultural position as strong as the Irish Catholics of Australia, but blended in due to an affinity for Canada's British ties. Indeed, among the Loyalists who came to Canada after the American Revolution—whose allegiance to Britain was, therefore, maintained north of the border—were many Highlanders. There was good reason for this. Between 1768 and 1775, 60% of the Scottish emigrants to the American colonies were Highlanders, and, between 1776 and 1815, Highlanders
continued emigrating from Scotland in significant numbers, only
their destination changed from the United States to Canada and the
Maritime colonies (McLean 1991, 79). According to Prentis, until
the 1880s, the higher proportion of Scots migrating to Canada over
the United States can be “attributed to the chain-reaction effect
stemming from a long tradition of Scots emigration there from
the eighteenth century” (28). Hence, while Presbyterians had become,
by 1851, the second largest Protestant denomination in Canada
(Reid, 124–125), a small but strong community of Scottish Catholics
thrived, particularly among the Highlanders. Nonetheless, there
did not appear to be fervent sectarianism between them and the
British Protestants. The Highland Catholics accepted the prevailing
political situation because of self-interest and from deference to
those in authority. There was little, if any, evidence showing they
thought along radical lines (MacLean, 98). According to MacLean,
Catholic Highland influence was epitomised by Reverend Alexander
Macdonell, the first Roman Catholic bishop of Upper Canada
[Ontario]—not just for Scots but all Catholics in the territory—whose
shrewd cultivation of civil and ecclesiastical power advanced the
welfare of his religious followers through aligning their interests with
British culture (MacLean, 96). In these efforts, Macdonell was helped
by Scotland-born priest, William Peter MacDonald, who Macdonell
had personally invited to immigrate to Canada. In the late 1820s
MacDonald became vicar-general in Kingston, and a couple of years
later began, together with Macdonell, a Catholic newspaper (The
Catholic) in order to ward off attacks against the Church (Gill, 438,
442).

Macdonell assumed a similar role for Scottish Catholics of Canada
as Australia’s Father Therry and Cardinal Moran did for the Irish
Catholics of Australia, but with an important difference. In the
absence of a deep cultural cleavage between Catholic and Protestant,
the Scots in Canada acted more out of collective interest. Thus, just
like the Scottish Presbyterian Lowlanders, Macdonell sought to align
the Scottish Catholics with the British rulers in Canada. Macdonell
was a fierce patriot and Conservative, who defended Catholicism
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like the Scottish Presbyterian Lowlanders, Macdonell sought to align
the Scottish Catholics with the British rulers in Canada. Macdonell
was a fierce patriot and Conservative, who defended Catholicism
and British interests with equal determination during an era when Catholics had not yet been given access to full citizenship in the British Empire (Walker, 96).

After becoming bishop in 1819, Macdonell was made a legislative councilor in 1831 and effectively combined these roles to help the Catholic cause. With a population large enough to compel government response, Macdonell succeeded in obtaining aid for Catholic schools and teachers in return for providing the government of the time consistent political support (Walker, 97). Bishop Macdonell’s loyalty to established authority was evident when he encouraged his followers to support Lieutenant-Governor Bond Head instead of the Reformers of the era, for which he received praise by the Orange Order despite his longstanding differences with its members (Walker, 98). Macdonell’s pro-British leanings could have also been intensified by his alleged anti-Irish views that may have been cultivated in Scotland where Scottish Catholicism had become dominated by Irish Catholics in the early nineteenth century, and as a result of his stint as a military chaplain during the 1798 quashing of the Irish Rebellion. “Scottish priests in Canada merely reflected the views of their brothers in Scotland with regard to the Irish,” suggests Stewart Gill, and “Macdonell carried with him to Canada ideas of the Irish that were prejudicial to a harmonious relationship with them (445–446).

While Scottish Catholic and Protestant religious differences were replaced by a common sense of Scottish ancestry and tradition, the Scots became accepted members of the Canadian elite. The Scots were less rebellious towards British Protestant rule compared to the Irish Catholics of Australia. This innate rebelliousness is perhaps among the reasons the emigrating Irish had an overwhelming preference for the independent and revolutionary United States. As Prentis observes, “First, the Irish were poorer and passage to North America fitted their meagre pockets best. Secondly, they had no love of the Crown and Canada was still British” (28). Indeed, Akenson asserts, “it is almost certainly true that, over the entire history of
Irish migration to the United States, more individual Catholics than Protestants arrived” (2000, 117). Although Scottish Catholic tradition remains stronger in Nova Scotia than in other parts of Canada, their loyalty to the state and its institutions and leaders, combined with their view of the importance of maintaining their religious traditions, folk culture, and attachment to their native Scotland, were reinforced and perpetuated over the generations (Waker, 102). Scottish patterns of settlement were well established throughout Canada. However, Scottish Catholics remained a minority since the Highlanders, not all of whom were Catholic, were increasingly dominated by Lowlanders whose influence in medicine, law, journalism, education, politics, and the ministry helped assert their Protestantism in Canada (Devine, 191). Protestants represented a significant community among Scottish Canadians and were not confined to the Presbyterianism for which they are best known. The Scottish Protestant tradition, with Scots from various Protestant denominations besides Presbyterian, significantly influenced the development of Canada (Reid, 131). A considerable number of Scots who came to Canada as Presbyterians, for one reason or another, joined other denominations including Anglican, Baptist, and Methodist. According to Reid, “some of the most vigorous supporters of the Anglican Establishment came from this group,” such as Anglican Bishop John Strachan who joined the Church of England upon arrival to Canada when no Presbyterian congregation had called him to serve (128). In 1839 he became bishop of Toronto, ruling the Anglican Church of Upper Canada.

Indeed, in Canada there appeared to be no contradiction between Scottish identity and British loyalty. As Gillian Leitch observes, “the distinct identity of the Scot was integrated into the more general one of a loyal Briton,” a process evidenced by the formation of Saint Andrew’s Societies that, similar to the formation of other national societies like Saint Patrick’s, Saint George’s and German Societies, asserted its identity in Canadian society, helping forge a persistent Scottish-British identity that was accepted across Canada. Even in
Montreal, suggests Leitch, “It is clear that those who did not support the British [Tory] Party did not join the Saint Andrew’s, Saint George’s, Saint Patrick’s, or German Societies but chose instead to be members of the [French] Société Saint-Jean Baptiste or the [Irish] Hibernian Benevolent Society” (211–214).

Despite the significant impact of the Scots on Canada, there was no “Scottish factor” that equates with the Australian “Irish factor.” While the Irish represented a distinctive, non-compliant element that helped influence the national Australian culture, the Scots of Canada fostered acceptance of the prevailing British culture. Hence, Scottish membership in the Canadian elite was more closely connected to their deference and connection to British Protestant rule than class differences. In Montreal, for example, “Many of the same men who held power in business and government also held high office in the Saint Andrew’s Society,” a situation, Leitch argues, that indicates how “the society reflected not only their identity as Scots but their aspirations to power in Lower Canada [Quebec]” (213). The Saint Andrew’s Society, founded to express dual Scottish identity and British loyalty, was the result of “a group of conservative, or Tory, men who resorted to unifying along common lines of ethnic heritage,” and who “remained strongly linked to British political institutions with its support of the British Party during the Rebellions” of 1837–38. As Leitch observes, “The Saint Andrew’s Society aligned the Scottish identity of its members under the umbrella of loyalty” (224). As the case of Montreal demonstrates, “being Scottish meant not only identifying with the heroes of the land, its poets, and its culture and celebrating Saint Andrew’s Day but also identifying with the British institutions in British North America, the Crown, and the government” (Leitch, 224).

As Bishop Macdonell and Father MacDonald’s influence on the Catholic Church in Canada demonstrates, “Macdonell, portrayed as the archetype Scottish priest, was by the 1830s trying to maintain control on the basis of Scottish ethnicity with the appointment of priests like MacDonald, when the majority of Catholic adherents

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were Irish” (Gill, 452). Relying on ethno-religious data from census records, Akenson has shown that, during the nineteenth century, an overwhelming two-thirds of the Irish of Ontario—contemporary Canada’s largest province—were Protestant. The greater preponderance of Irish Protestants in Canada suggests the Catholics’ general preference to migrate to the United States (Elliott, 102–106), leaving a significant population of Irish more likely to share English Canada’s pro-British sentiments as opposed to the large Irish Catholic population of Australia. Concerning the Irish Protestants, Akenson notes, “Neither their hunger for land nor their commercial assertiveness was apt to cause the Irish Protestants difficulty in British North America. Indeed, these were adaptive traits for migrants to a new world and would seem to lead them directly and efficiently to economic success” (1994, 119).

While the Scottish period in Upper Canada’s Roman Catholic Church was short lived, it was, nonetheless, “at the very base of the heritage of Catholicism in Canada” (Gill, 452). As Marianne McLean observes, “The Highlanders who emigrated to [Ontario’s] Glengarry County were a remarkably homogeneous group who came to Canada by choice” (1994, 74). Yet the Protestant element among the Scots was arguably even more significant. As Jenni Calder observes, “a Canadian Presbyterian church emerged on an equal footing with the Anglicans, Catholics and Methodists, but it was Scottish enough to keep alive the divisions that characterised Presbyterianism in Scotland” (115).

Thus, according to Reid, “Whether the Scots came as farmers, fishermen, labourers, merchants or professional men they all seem to have had very much the same point of view” (131). The primary reason for this unanimity was religious, however, for “Scottish Protestants did not accept any rigid class structure,” Reid asserts, “but stressed the importance of every man developing his God-given gifts to the best of his ability in this life. Class divisions, therefore, were to be ignored” (131). However, the significant presence of the Lowland Scots in Canada could explain why Canadians, though respectful
and deferential to British tradition and cultural values, frowned upon formal titles of the British peerage system. As an acquired Canadian cultural characteristic, therefore, this may account for why Conrad Black derived little sympathy from Canadians in his quest for a British peerage. Despite the Scottish Protestant disinterest in hierarchy, Scottish deference to British rule in Canada enabled English toleration of distinctions in rank and privilege to become part of the accepted Canadian tradition.

Conclusion

Whereas Australian culture evolved in fierce opposition to the inequality inherent in the European notion of class distinction, a strong sense of social hierarchy was transmitted to Canada from England where, if not as overtly as in England, it thrived. This is not to say that social stratification does not exist in Australia. Rather, Australians have proven to be more vocal in their abhorrence of the idea of hierarchy and the pretentiousness it evokes. Those who seek achievement for its own sake—either out of a desire for personal accolade or the desire of higher status—are generally disappointed since Australian society tends to greet “tall poppies” with unequivocal disdain, bringing big heads down to size via a less vertically oriented culture. As Russel Ward, Patrick O’Farrell, and other historians suggest, a significant Irish working-class ethos appears to have contributed to this Australian cultural pattern, aspects of which help account for the growth in republican views in a society that frowns on steep social stratification, notions of class distinction, and the perceived subservience it implies.

Considering power distance and individualism–collectivism, influences become more apparent. Anglo-Celtic migrants not only helped establish the cultural direction of Australia and Canada, they implicitly defined for subsequent immigrants and their descendents what characteristics an Australian and Canadian should possess. However, their collective impact was not uniform. It is possible to see a differential influence among Anglo-Celtic groups in shaping
these diverse and distinct new cultures. The impact of historical patterns of migration appears to support the observation that English Canada owes its high power distance largely to the English and its individualism to the industrial Lowland Scot, while Australia's lower power distance relative to Canada, and collectivism per Savicki—or horizontal individualism per Triandis—can be seen in its Irish heritage.

The cultural dimensions of power distance and individualism–collectivism suggest that the Irish factor was particularly important for Australia compared to Canada where British influences have proven more powerful shapers of cultural values, norms, and attitudes. Many of the cultural features of Australia—prevalence of wit, humour, informality, rebelliousness, hedonism and social egalitarianism—evoke characteristics of the Irish, whereas descriptions of Canadians—deference, modesty, and compromise—are more typically British in origin. The powerful differentiating effect Anglo-Celtic immigrant groups had on the development of Australian and Canadian culture is evident in their respective national characters.

Works Cited


Notes

1It is interesting to note for comparison that the Irish population, as a proportion of the total population, was less in both the United States and New Zealand compared to Australia. Akenson notes that “The Irish-born reached their demographic apogee in the United States in 1860 when they comprised 5.12% of the total population, whereas in 1867, their top year in New Zealand, they were proportionately more than twice as many: 12.8%” (Akenson 1989, 29).

2The Nickle Resolution, passed by the Canadian House of Commons in 1919, established the policy of not granting knighthoods and peerages to Canadians, and set the precedent for later policies forbidding Canadians from accepting or holding titles of honour from foreign countries.

3A recent application of the Nickle Resolution occurred when Canada’s Prime Minister Jean Chretien invoked the measure to...
prevent Canadian publishing mogul Conrad Black from becoming a British life peer. Black appealed to the courts, which upheld the government’s interpretation of the Resolution. This prompted Black to renounce his Canadian citizenship to become Lord Black of Crossharbour on October 31, 2001.

4 Australia scores below Canada and the United States on Hofstede’s power distance index, revealing a lower tolerance for social hierarchy. Ireland scores even lower than Australia (Hofstede 2001, 87).

5 A strong argument for an “Anglo Cluster” of nations sharing similar values is made in Ashkanasy, Trevor-Roberts, and Earnshaw.

6 Ireland scored 70 on Hofstede’s Individualism Index compared to 91 for the United States, 89 for Great Britain, and 80 for Canada (Hofstede 2001, 215).
As the editors acknowledge in *Gendered Pasts*, “It is now commonplace to state that gender (like race and sexuality) is ‘socially constructed’” (2). While this concept is not new for academics exploring the changing meanings of masculinity and femininity, this collection allows the non-specialist reader to better understand gender as a social construct within the context of nineteenth and twentieth-century Canada. Originally conceived by the members of a socialist-feminist reading group, the collection was first published in 1999 by Oxford University Press and reprinted more recently by the University of Toronto Press. The volume’s editors, Kathryn McPherson, Cecilia Morgan, and Nancy M. Forestell, are well-established scholars specialising in women’s and gender history. Their contributions to the volume, as well as the work of nine additional scholars, serve to enrich the diversity of Canadian historiography while instructing a new generation of students.

Particularly valuable for the uninitiated, the introduction provides a brief historiographical review of women’s and gender history. Here McPherson, Morgan, and Forestell trace the evolution of these fields, including the conflict and cooperation that have resulted from their growth as separate but related studies. Emphasising that women’s history has not fallen by the wayside, the editors remind readers that the work of feminist historians teaches us to never lose sight of
society’s uneven power relationships. This is true not only for the relationships between men and women, but for the relationships between people who differ by class, ethnicity, race, and sexual orientation. In fact, the most important lesson to be learned from this collection is that gender may be relevant in all realms of the past, but the construction of identities was not confined to gender alone.

Arranged in chronological order, the eleven essays that follow provide insight into the construction and changing nature of identities as well as how individuals negotiate those shifting meanings. Two themes, in particular, predominate in this collection—the gendered nature of regulating behaviour and the gendered significance of work.

Reflecting an interest in moral regulation and sexuality in recent years, six essays deal with these related subjects. Mary Anne Poutanen demonstrates that legal authorities in Montreal during the early nineteenth century targeted popular-class women who used the city streets for both work and leisure, creating an increasingly masculine urban space by mid-century. For a similar era, Lynn Marks argues that evangelical churches in Upper Canada regulated a wider variety of sexual and leisure activities than the state, especially the behaviour of men whose drinking and sexual escapades were often ignored by legal authorities. The work of Karen Dubinsky and Adam Givertz focuses on sex crimes committed by men in Ontario and British Columbia from 1880 to 1929 to understand how accused men explained their activities and how society viewed their transgressions. While the accused men displayed a wide spectrum of responses, society divided these men between those who had behaved like ‘monsters’ and those who had kept within the bounds of ‘normal’ male behaviour. Margaret Hillyard Little’s essay on the state regulation of single mothers in Ontario argues that the administration of the provincial Mothers’ Allowance Act helped construct the definition of motherhood in the interwar years. Eric Setliff’s study reveals that gay men who formed vibrant communities across North America following the Second World War were often targets for mockery but they were rarely condemned in tabloids such as Toronto’s Hush Free Press. The article
by Kathryn McPherson illustrates how the workplace identities of nurses were defined throughout the twentieth century by societal expectations regarding respectable femininity, regulations devised by medical authorities, and to some extent opinions held by nurses themselves. These six articles reveal that moral regulation and the response it engendered constructed definitions of respectability for men and women in a multitude of contexts.

For several decades feminist and labour historians have studied the meanings of work. *Gendered Pasts* represents this interest with three essays. John Lutz turns the reader's attention to an Aboriginal group in Victoria, British Columbia from 1843 to 1970 to demonstrate that colonialism was a complex gendered phenomenon. Diverging from common assumptions regarding colonialism and gender, his article reveals that some Lekwammen women gained economic power as a result of contact. Nancy M. Forestell's contribution explores the working-class femininity of miners' wives in Northern Ontario from 1920 to 1950. Her study shows how the labour patterns of husbands shaped the working lives of wives. Franca Iacovetta's essay uses insights from gender theory to analyse two construction strikes in Toronto during the early 1960s involving Italian immigrants. She argues that these male workers justified their demands for better treatment by using an immigrant discourse that emphasised their status as honourable family men who knew the importance of hard work, nation-building, and self-sacrifice. All three articles remind readers that both paid and unpaid work helped shape the gendered identities of various men and women.

Finally, two articles do not fit into the categories of moral regulation and work. Cecilia Morgan's contribution analyses the political discourse of the colonial press during the Upper Canadian Rebellion of the 1830s. Whereas conservative and reform politicians used competing notions of masculinity to validate their political opinions, they each used female symbolism to condemn their opponents. Women may have been absent from formal political structures, but gendered language was embedded in the political discourse of the day.
The essay by Suzanne Morton concentrates on letters from across North America written by individuals from different backgrounds who wished to adopt children orphaned as a result of the 1917 Halifax Explosion. These letters not only shed light on what it meant to be a good mother or father, but also on the gendered expectations for girls and boys. Although these two articles seem to stand alone, they relate well to others in the volume by providing further insight to gendered discourse over the last two centuries.

The strength of *Gendered Pasts* lies in the diversity of its contributions and its ease of use in the classroom. Although the volume lacks an article devoted to New France and relies heavily on Ontario material, its editors have attempted to make the collection as representative as possible. The chapters cover pre and post-Confederation Canada and at least five provinces across the country. Studied subjects include men and women of Aboriginal and Non-Native descent, Canadians and recent newcomers, heterosexuals and homosexuals, as well as working and middle-class inhabitants. Additionally, contributions to the volume come from male and female scholars using a variety of sources and methodologies. Several factors also make this volume perfect for use within the classroom. Instructors and their students will appreciate the collection’s introduction and subheadings provided within each chapter. Discussion questions are absent but their omission allows instructors to develop their own curriculum and students to think for themselves. In short, *Gendered Pasts* is an excellent collection of readings most useful for the non-specialist reader wanting an introduction to the related fields of feminist and gender history.

Maggie MacKellar’s *Core of My Heart, My Country* is a narrative-driven exploration of how women in Australia and Canada established a physical connection to the land in an effort to meet the challenges of the frontier, new landscapes, and the creation of a sense of place. Her examination is also a contestation of dominant myths of a masculine frontier where women are confined by the domestic sphere, often too afraid to venture beyond the garden gate. Instead MacKellar’s work illustrates that this myth does not resemble the reality of women when encountering foreign landscapes.

The title *Core of My Heart, My Country* is well chosen. It sums up the monograph’s thesis, that women establish a sense of place, a sense of home, through their physical connection to the land. As a female descendant of settlers in Australia, an outdoor adventurer, and through strong women in her past, MacKeller’s monograph is imbued with her own visceral and personal experiences with the land. The direct inspiration to undertake this book came from her experiences on the Alaskan landscape where, through the disorientation of existing in a landscape, the sun never seemed to set. It was in this milieu that she realised that as time passed she was establishing a physical connection to the land that enabled her to more fully appreciate and love this foreign landscape. By establishing a mental and physical connection to the Alaskan landscape, MacKeller drew inspiration to explore the written world of women who had
experienced similar dislocations and relocations in foreign lands. This connection, established in the preface, gives *Core of My Heart* an emotional component that is often lacking in discussions of women on the land. As such, this is not a standard historical text whereby diaries and events are simply analysed to illustrate a particular thesis. Instead, her narrative style, occasionally a tad dramatic, directly engages the reader while bringing forth her arguments. This style brings out women's experiences and contests national masculine-driven historical myths while guiding the reader along a path that is both enjoyable and educational.

The material for the monograph is drawn from the writing of women, in the form of personal diaries, letters, and memoirs, from the early nineteenth and twentieth centuries to explore how women through their physical being established a home in new lands. By juxtaposing women in Australia and Canada within the same chapter, *Core of My Heart* shows that while landscapes may be different women experienced and wrote about the land in similar ways. Initially the foreign land may be seen as hostile and foreign, but once a connection is established, be it through gardening, exploring beyond the garden gate, working on a botany collection, enjoying horse riding, or being cast into the role of sole guardian of the homestead/station, the women in the book are drawn to landscape through the physicality of their being.

One disturbing element throughout the monograph, that MacKeller acknowledges but not very successfully, is the fact that these women are part of the colonial process. These ‘frontier’ women established a physical connection to the land to make it home while displacing indigenous people from their land. MacKeller's heroines, despite the occasional contact with native women, participate in naming the landscape thereby claiming it for themselves (222). Thus despite the dissonance with the traditional nationalist histories of Canada and Australia, the women discussed in the *Core of My Heart* are still part of the narrative of conquest. This is never more evident than when Elyne Mitchell in her children's books makes use of the trope of the
vanishing native and the passing of traditional knowledge to the newcomers' children, turning them into the new inheritors of the land (265–266). Nonetheless, the purpose of MacKellar’s work is to examine how the land was colonised.

Unfortunately, there are a few errors within the text. On page 87 MacKellar uses the term “tom-tom” as part of the dramatic narrative to describe Susan Allison’s visceral encounter with a healing ceremony in interior British Columbia (87). While adding to the feel of the encounter, ‘tom-tom’ is considered a fairly offensive and degrading term when referring to aboriginal drums and drumming. When discussing the only indigenous woman in the book, Marie Rose Smith, MacKellar notes that the Metis fought the British in 1885 (107). This Rebellion in Western Canada was against Canadian colonialism, racism, and its desire to be a jewel in the British Empire. Nevertheless, these small errors do not detract from the overall value of *Core of My Heart*.

*Core of My Heart* provides a wonderful look into how women adjusted and excelled in foreign landscapes. By challenging the dominant masculine-driven narrative and uncovering forgotten women’s experiences and writings, MacKellar has given us an access point to the relationship between history, environment, women, their physicality, and how ‘home is where the heart is.’ Its narrative style and analysis are accessible to the lay reader and academic alike. This study calls not only for a closer examination of women’s experiences, but also a reexamination of male narratives of foreign landscapes through their efforts to establish a sense of home. MacKellar has made a very useful and interesting contribution to the study of how women recast themselves in foreign landscapes.
This opinion of the Canadian writer Sinclair Ross was expressed by William French who was sent by Toronto's *Globe and Mail* to interview Ross, then living in retirement in Malaga in the early 1970s. As Ross's biographer thirty years later, David Stouck shares the same sense of an enigmatic personality, a perception which is visually emphasised by the photo of Ross on the Canadian dust jacket, a jigsaw puzzle with several pieces missing. Ross's novel *As For Me and My House* (1941) set on the prairies in the 1930s era of severe drought and the Great Depression is one of the classics of Canadian literature and his short stories of prairie life in the same period have appeared repeatedly in anthologies, though the man himself has remained elusive. It is this situation which Stock's excellent biography sets out to redress. Indeed, it does “take a bit of work” as he tells the story of a writer's life via extensive documentation through letters, conversations with Ross's friends and his brother, and most importantly with Ross himself whom Stouck got to know well in the latter years of Ross's long life when he was living in Vancouver. Stouck's personal interest in his subject makes for very engaging storytelling, and no less impressive is the balance he maintains between the life story and critical assessment of Ross's fiction.

This biography follows a traditional pattern with its chronological structure covering Ross’s life from 1908 to 1996 in sixteen chapters,
each devoted to about five years—with one notable exception, the chapter exclusively focused on *As For Me and My House*, Ross’s main claim to fame. Yet underneath this orderly arrangement spreads a more tangled narrative of Ross’s private life with his ambiguous sexuality, his frustrated efforts to make his name as a prairie artist in the 1930s and 40s (he tried painting, music, and then fiction), and his pervasive sense of failure. Only late in life did Ross really gain the public recognition he had so ardently desired, culminating in the prestigious award of the Order of Canada in 1992 (by which time he was eighty-four and suffering from Parkinson’s Disease). As Stouck comments, “Receiving the national award made Jim [James Sinclair Ross] think back on his life more favourably; it provided a surprising and rewarding sense of conclusion to a career that had otherwise been denied shape” (285).

There is something very Canadian about Ross’s life story and his stories, for they are narratives of survival—“grim survival” as Atwood famously characterised Canada’s key symbol back in 1972. Contentious as her paradigm may be, Ross fits it perfectly, which is perhaps why his slim body of work has been taken as emblematic of a particular strand in Canada’s national narrative, with its combination of aspiration, failure and endurance, fuelled both positively and negatively by a harsh Protestant ethic. Nowhere is this strand more clearly on display than in writings about the Canadian West; we may think of F.P. Grove, Margaret Laurence, Rudy Wiebe, for example, but it was Ross’s modernist fictions which defined the historical ethos of prairie life in the 1930s, giving realism the resonance of myth. It is to this environment that Ross returned in 1974 with *Sawbones Memorial*, and indeed he never left it in imagination. Only one of his stories (“Jug and Bottle”) is set outside the prairies, as Stouck informs us, and though Ross had not been back to Saskatchewan for forty years, that home place was where he chose to be buried.

Stouck’s narrative presents Ross as the archetypal Canadian artist of the 1930s and 40s—not quite A.M. Klein’s drowned artist in his “Portrait of the Poet as Landscape” (1948) for Ross belonged to the
Coral Ann Howells
drought-stricken prairies—but as someone who through circumstance never really had ‘a leg up’ on the ladder of literary success. Born on a remote homestead in northern Saskatchewan, Ross spent a lonely and introverted childhood, for his parents separated when he was seven and his mother took her youngest son with her when she went off to earn her living as a housekeeper on various isolated farms. In this nomadic existence Ross, who was small and slight and clever, was always an outsider and his most intense attachment was to his dominating mother, in a relationship not unlike that of Lawrence’s Paul Morel in Sons and Lovers. Like Paul, he also aspired to be an artist, and like Paul he had to leave school to take a clerical job, not in a factory in Nottingham but in the Royal Bank of Canada in a small prairie town. Ross remained with the Royal Bank for forty-three years, moving from one small town to another always with his mother, then to Winnipeg, and after the war to Montreal without her.

Throughout his time with the Bank Ross pursued his artistic aspirations, first as a pianist where he played in local concerts and also at the United Church, afterwards as a painter, and later as a writer, though his first story was rejected by all the American and Canadian magazines to which he sent it. Despite these disappointments and his mother’s irritation at his lack of success (“Why don’t you write something cheerful that people will read?” 107) he continued to write sketches about the small western towns and their inhabitants which he knew so well. Finally, after moving to Winnipeg, he had his first success in 1934 when one of his stories won a prize in a London literary magazine.

For Ross, this marked the beginning of his most productive period which continued till the early 1940s. Stouck offers detailed analyses of his best stories, all written at this time (for example, “The Lamp at Noon” and “The Painted Door”) and also a fascinating account of the genesis of As For Me and My House, which was in draft by 1939. He identifies anecdotal correspondences between Ross’s life and his fiction in this story of an unhappily married couple in the allegorically named prairie town of Horizon, though as he notes, it is really the drought-stricken prairies—but as someone who through circumstance never really had ‘a leg up’ on the ladder of literary success. Born on a remote homestead in northern Saskatchewan, Ross spent a lonely and introverted childhood, for his parents separated when he was seven and his mother took her youngest son with her when she went off to earn her living as a housekeeper on various isolated farms. In this nomadic existence Ross, who was small and slight and clever, was always an outsider and his most intense attachment was to his dominating mother, in a relationship not unlike that of Lawrence’s Paul Morel in Sons and Lovers. Like Paul, he also aspired to be an artist, and like Paul he had to leave school to take a clerical job, not in a factory in Nottingham but in the Royal Bank of Canada in a small prairie town. Ross remained with the Royal Bank for forty-three years, moving from one small town to another always with his mother, then to Winnipeg, and after the war to Montreal without her.

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The novel made very little impact in a North America shadowed by World War II and sales were disappointingly poor. Ironically, the one enthusiastic Canadian review by Robertson Davies which praised it as a book “of first-rate importance” Ross did not see till 1991. Stouck weaves an intricate counterpoint between the private life of an obscure Canadian writer whose later novel manuscripts were regularly rejected by publishers and the rising fortunes of that early novel over the next fifty years. Ross joined the army and served in London, returning to the Royal Bank’s headquarters in Montreal after the war, when he stayed till he retired in 1968. Always a loner, Ross then travelled around Europe, living in Athens, Barcelona, and Malaga. He returned to Canada at the age of seventy-four suffering from Parkinson’s Disease, and though by that time his first novel and his short stories had become famous, Ross never assumed the public role of a famous Canadian writer.

As For Me and My House was one of the first four novels published in the New Canadian Library series in 1958 and since then it has been a staple on most high school English curricula in Canada. However, it was only in the 1970s in the heyday of Canadian cultural nationalism that his work began to receive extensive critical attention. By 1978 that novel was named in the first three of a newly formed Canadian literary canon and translated into French, and since then Canadian academic interest in all Ross’s fiction has continued to increase.

Stouck’s edited fiftieth anniversary collection, Sinclair Ross’s As For Me and My House: A Decade of Criticism (1991) traces the shifts of story of a failed artist, told not from the Reverend Bentley’s point of view but from his wife’s in her diary, a mode which Ross described as “something like cross-writing”(98). Surely ‘cross-dressing’ is lurking close behind in Ross’s mind here? Canada’s first modernist novel was published in the United States in 1941, but Ross was so unknown that the New York Herald Tribune reviewer thought the author was a woman. As Stouck remarks, “From the outset, ambiguities of gender would mark the text as confusing and unsettling in terms of both characters and authorship” (106).
emphasis in approaches to his most famous novel, and his important new biography adds substantially to our knowledge of a very significant figure in what has until recently been a neglected period of English Canadian writing.

Kristjana Gunnars views the expatriate Canadian writer Mavis Gallant as a “fictionist of the transitory” (viii),¹ a writer about the 1950s and 1960s, a portraitist of nomadic characters “caught in cross-conflicted conditions” (ix) on both sides of the Atlantic. According to Gunnars, the divergent responses Gallant’s writing elicits reflects the “unfixity” or “nomadicism” (x) of the Gallant oeuvre itself. As she notes, Gallant’s work has garnered a steady and growing critical interest and scholarship in both Canada and Europe particularly for “the part it plays in a larger picture of a world in flux” (ix). Indeed, the publication of this collection in Rodopi’s Cross/Culture series, “Readings in the Post/Colonial Literatures in English,” confirms a placement of Mavis Gallant as a post-colonial writer. However, the interest of the essays in *Transient Questions* lies in their demonstration of critical diversity regarding treatment of Mavis Gallant as a post-World War II writer whose work anticipates late-twentieth century post-modernism.

Despite the intention of Gunnars and the series’ editors to produce a cross-Atlantic collection that would examine Gallant’s writing within both European and Canadian critical perspectives, of the nine contributors only two are European (Simone Vautier and Per Winther) and seven are Canadian (Gerald Lynch, Di Brandt, John Lent, Peter Stevens, Maria Noelle Ng, Nicole Côté, and Neil Besner). Although a contribution by Danielle Schaub is mentioned...

¹ This reference (viii) is not visible in the image.
Both Neil Besner and Per Winther offer readings of Gallant’s “The Moslem Wife.” While Besner’s essay focusses on another close “misreading” (163) of this often-anthologised story, Per Winther’s meticulous narratological analysis of epiphany and closure in several Gallant stories includes this story of exile and return. In Winther’s view, Gallant’s narrative strategy leads to the epiphanic moment which is, in Netta’s insight, the “unexpected flash” (158) that leads to her emancipated choice to accept the return of Jack after the war. Besner, on the other hand, sees that although Netta’s experience of occupation during the war “radically transforms her understanding of history, of memory, and of love” (164), her epiphanic moment is only a momentary self-illumination that immediately flickers out. On Besner’s view, by her acceptance of Jack’s return, Netta’s character reverts to the status of confinement with which the story opens.

However, perhaps yet another “misreading” of “The Moslem Wife” would see Netta’s character as a figure in an altered context of history and psychology. Although her independent survival of enemy occupation during the second world war in the south of France may seem to lead Netta to reject the wayward Jack, her flash of insight may be construed as an illumination of self-identity leading her instead to accept him. Jack is the literal exile seeking return. His acceptance by Netta is a fulfillment of the dream of all exiles: home regained. However, Netta also puts into effect her own return. The pre-war context of the relationship of Netta and Jack, the family hotel, is now an altered venue. With this insight, Netta regains what was lost in the interior spaces of her pre-war colonial childhood—autonomy, and with it the ability to choose. On this view, they both, Jack physically and Netta psychologically, achieve the exile’s dream of return. Given the enigmatic closing of “The Moslem Wife,” perhaps Netta’s veiled
persona may not be seen as “emancipated.” However, Netta does choose the public and sunlit public space of the plaza for her reunion with Jack, a context which is antithetical to the shuttered interiors of their pre-war marriage.

Besner's claim that “The Moslem Wife” is about Netta Asher’s interior life anticipates Maria Ng's examination of three stories by Gallant for their engagement with interior spaces—particularly the hotel—encountered by women. The hotel, both literally and metaphorically, is, as Ng points out, a transient space where the occupant is not at home. Ng's treatment of “The Moslem Wife,” “By the Sea,” and “Jeux d’Eté” foregrounds the interior spaces negotiated by the women characters in these narratives. For Ng, interior space in Gallant figures the “indeterminate identity of women in the context of class, gender role and national belonging” (93). The female hotel dweller is marked for scrutiny as her male counterpart is not, particularly in social and cultural contexts which traditionally position women in an interior space—house/home, for example. But as “home” is problematised throughout Gallant's writing, so too are the inner and outer spatial environments of her women characters.

Peter Stevens writes about first-person narration in Gallant’s writing, privileging the Linnet Muir cycle as the most salient example of a close association between narrative and personal points of view in the author’s stories and essays. Regarding possible influences on Gallant’s writing, an area to which little critical attention has been paid, Stevens suggests that both Joseph Conrad and Mavis Gallant are authors concerned with exile and whose linguistic interest focuses on the displaced and the effect of the political on the personal. Furthermore, Stevens claims that Gallant, like Sylvia Townsend Warner, leans towards the personal essay and cites the Linnet Muir stories as a possible link to Warner’s influence.

John Lent’s essay parallels the shift from modern to post-modern poetics evident in James Joyce’s The Dubliners to a similar shift in Gallant’s In Transit. In so doing, Lent explores the move of post-modernism away from modernism’s epiphanic lead to a resolution
in narrative closure. His discussion depends heavily on references to Joycean techniques to illustrate his views on Gallant’s narrative design as especially represented by the In Transit stories as a significant move away from the diachronic focus of modernism to the synchronic focus of post-modernism.

As Robert Kroetsch has reminded readers of the Canadian short story, “[Simone] Vauthier is pre-eminently the critic who gives us an account of the European reader’s response to Gallant’s fiction” (Vauthier ix). In the present collection, Vauthier’s essay performs an analysis of Gallant’s “The Wedding Ring” via the narratalogical apparatus of critics such as Mieke Bal, Gerard Genette and Paul Ricour, offering a strategy for reading the recalcitrant “tension resulting from the elegant clarity and tantalizing opacity” (175) of Gallant’s stories. Vauthier’s essay claims that narrative recalcitrance is a source of the disconnection recognised by Gallant readers, occurring in the loss of the familiar. Yet, by working through the unfamilial in both situation and style, recalcitrance in Gallant’s writing achieves a grasp of loss that both repudiates and embraces it. As critical studies of Gallant’s work already have observed, such paradox often centres on both the familial and the exilic, and is the source of the hallmark irony that persists as a central concern of Gallant readers.

The mother is a common figure in Gallant’s fiction, and, as Linnet Muir claims in “In Youth Is Pleasure,” a “serious element of danger” (Home Truths 218). The remembered mother of “The Wedding Ring,” according to Vauthier, is “the vixen” whose lovelessness, duplicity and dismissiveness the narrator re-experiences. Similarly, Di Brandt’s analysis of the family as the “primary political site” delineated in “The Pegnitz Junction” situates Christine as the mother figure who both receives and transmits historical and political directives through her narrated consciousness. Indeed, Christine’s character is a field of inquiry into the transmission of fascism through the social psychology of the family. “The Pegnitz Junction” raises the question of what lingers of the reverberations of World War II in the social psychological entanglements of European familial culture.
Whereas much analysis of the familial in Gallant's fiction focusses on the mother, Gerald Lynch's essay on the Linnet Muir cycle privileges the father figure as a site of “death by homesickness.” In the “excursus-recursus” (1) pattern of Canadian short story cycles, Lynch treats the Linnet Muir cycle as a female Künstlerroman concerning the development of the female writer with regard to “Linnet's relation to her father, the role of home in her life, and her conception of herself as an apprenticing writer” (8). These matters, according to Lynch's analysis, converge in the “condition of permanent exile” (16) in the remittance men characters of her father and Frank Cairns. Indeed, exile becomes for both the “narrated Linnet” and the “reminiscent Linnet” (15 n 25) the definitive metaphor of Gallant's writing.

Nicole Côté draws on Northrop Frye's continuum of modes with irony at one extreme and myth at the opposite to show the co-existence of irony and dream—the ironic and the oneiric modes—as components of Gallant's fiction. These modes merge in Gallant's “poetics of exile” (111). Côté's essay proceeds to carry this delineation of Gallant's poetics into an analysis of the parent-child relationships in “The Rejection” and “The Sunday After Christmas.” Both stories embed oneiric narratives to “reconstruct [objective] reality through subjective means” (127). Moreover, in her analysis of “The Sunday after Christmas,” Côté extends further insight into the poetics of exile at the centre of Gallant's writing by referring to Julia Kristeva's theory of abjection where the experience of abjection is one of exclusion, which is the central psychical and physical exilic experience of the loss of “where,” that is, of the subject's own/home space (126). Also provocative for readers of Gallant is Côté's use of the term “gallantian characters” to refer to those characters in the author's lexicon who are “literally imprisoned in repetition” by their ways of “perceiving, interpreting, and acting” (115) and thus persist in a condition of exile.

Nicole Côté is co-editor with Peter Sabor of an earlier contribution to Gallant studies, Varieties of Exile (2002), a collection of papers given at a Gallant colloquium in Paris in 1999. The collection includes a transcription of the “Table ronde sur la traduction des œuvres de...”
Mavis Gallant (75) held at the Canadian Cultural Centre in Paris and attended by Mavis Gallant herself. A decade earlier, Hallvard Dahlie chose the title Varieties of Exile for his 1986 study of exile in Canadian literature; it includes a chapter on Gallant’s writing. The title is that of a story in the Linnet Muir cycle which was published in Gallant’s Home Truths (1981). Indeed, both the title and the story stand as precursors to the varieties of exile that have become main concerns of critical focus in Gallant studies.

With its mesh of disconnection—problematic mothers, absent fathers, dysfunctional families, dislocated expatriates, and transience—that is, psychological, physical and historical—Gallant’s writing has attracted increasing critical and theoretical response for the past three decades. This cross-Atlantic collection makes a diverse contribution to critical reception of Gallant’s writing as eminent in both modern and post-modern contexts of literature, marking her as a significant transitional figure in the genre of the short story in the latter half of the twentieth-century.

Works Cited


Notes

1 Unless otherwise cited, all page references are to Gunnars, Kristjana, ed. 2004.

2 In “Varieties of Exile,” part of the Linnet Muir story sequence in *Home Truths*, Gallant’s narrator Linnet Muir uses the historical and psychological “dictionaries” of Lenin and Freud as tools in deciphering what “she could not understand” by turning it into fiction, her “way of untangling knots” (*Home Truths* 261).
Jennifer Smith. *Federalism.*


This book is part of the Canadian Democratic Audit series. In many established democracies, scholars are investigating ways of making political institutions more inclusive, participatory and responsive. The Canadian project is therefore part of an international community of scholars as well as a response to specific Canadian concerns about the “democratic deficit” and democratic elitism.

The Canadian Democratic Audit consists of ten volumes, each one dealing with a particular theme (such as the courts or communications technology). As her part of this project, Jennifer Smith, a professor of political science at Dalhousie University, has tackled the question of whether Canada’s federal nature makes Canada more or less democratic. One of the great strengths of this book is that it is informed by a deep knowledge of history. It begins with an examination of the anti-democratic attitudes of the colonial politicians who created Canadian federalism in the 1860s and the subsequent evolution of Canada’s multilayered system of government. This background information makes this work especially suitable for overseas readers seeking to place the author’s arguments in an historical context. Smith also illustrates her points with many contemporary examples (such as the politics of Canada’s adherence to Kyoto) that give readers a taste of many of the major issues in Canadian politics at the time of writing. Exploring a key concept in Canadian political studies, “executive federalism,” Smith shows that while the frequent summit meetings of first ministers may be functional, they are not inclusive. This work is very sensitive to identity politics: Smith shows that while Canada’s province-based
system of federalism serves to include some groups (for example, francophones) in the political process, it excludes other groups and interests (for example, aboriginals and cities). She suggests that the move towards greater recognition of these interests will modify Canadian federalism. Smith also examines the impact of federalism on issues of accountability and electoral competition, showing that Canada’s electoral system makes politics less competitive than it otherwise might be.

This work has limitations as well as strengths. In the introduction, Smith’s makes her commitment to representative democracy clear, briefly discussing the chimera of e-voting before moving on to her central theme, which is reinvigorating representative democracy. Smith’s dismissive attitude to direct democracy is a manifestation of a more fundamental problem with this study, namely the lack of a substantial comparative element. The question of whether federalism makes politics more or less responsive to public opinion is a question that almost screams for a comparative approach that would take the experiences of analogous unitary states into account. Smith’s topic is, legitimately, about the relationship between federalism and democracy in Canada rather than in general terms, but she should have given greater consideration to the experiences of other established federal polities, some of which make frequent use of paper ballot referenda.

A brief comparison with roughly comparable unitary states (for example, New Zealand or Britain) would have allowed Professor Smith to probe whether federalism or other factors (for example, cultural differences or different electoral systems) are responsible for differing degrees of participation, inclusion, and responsiveness. Of course, formulating such a yardstick would have required an explicit working definition of democracy of precisely the sort the author does not provide (although she does criticise Lord Acton’s definition of democracy). Empirically-minded readers who dislike too much theorising will probably agree with Smith’s refusal to engage in the debate over
the definition of democracy, but the author’s subsequent refusal to include more than a smattering of contemporary comparative material suggests why such a definition is needed. A crystal-clear definition of democracy also would have allowed Smith to identify the period in which Canada actually became a democracy. Greater collaboration between the Canadian project and the other national democracy audits (such as the British Democratic Audit) on the issue of federalism (or devolution in British-speak) might have produced a less parochial work more useful to both international and Canadian readers. As it is, it is uncertain whether this work will prove to be of more than ephemeral interest.


In *A Lot to Learn: Girls, Women and Education in the Twentieth Century*, Helen Jefferson Lenskyj states “my task as a feminist is to interpret my mother’s story, my own story, and other historical and contemporary primary sources in the light of sociological analyses of women’s history and education, community activism and feminist pedagogy” (4). The book is divided into two parts, the first being an account of her mother’s early life and then her childhood and schooling in Sydney, Australia. In Chapter one Lenskyj begins with her grandparents’ lineage in Molong, New South Wales, before describing her mother’s life prior to marriage. I particularly enjoyed Lenskyj’s discussion of her mother’s careful choice of memorabilia and reminiscences from which Lenskyj then fashioned her mother’s story. Lenskyj provides an insightful portrayal of this working class girl’s childhood and schooling in the early twentieth century, and shows the vital contribution that children’s labor made to their family economy during this era.

Chapters two and three focus on Lenskyj’s childhood and schooling at the prestigious Kambala, a private girls’ school in Sydney, a far cry from her mother’s childhood. These chapters pinpoint the class and gender differences embedded in Australian private schools of the 1950s, along with the tensions between private and public schooling. As Lenskyj also points out, schooling at Kambala was about “socialising generations of girls into [middle class] heterosexual
womanhood" (82). These chapters mostly confirm the findings of previous studies of mid-twentieth century secondary schooling in Australia. They also provide a generally unsympathetic portrayal of women teachers. Some investigation of the complex meanings of work for single women and an understanding of the marriage bars that operated in the first half of the twentieth century, along with the influence of sexology and psychology might have led to a different reading of the women who taught Lenskyj, including the lifelong partners Nell and Jo. It might also have enabled Lenskyj to enliven the discussion of her mother's paid work prior to marriage and her attitudes towards that institution.

The second part of *A Lot to Learn* begins in Toronto, Canada, in the 1970s when Lenskyj first became involved in school community activism. Facilitated by her Anglo middle class social position, Lenskyj describes her participation in local school politics as a member of the Frankland Community Council. The tensions between parental (by which we mostly mean mothers') participation and teacher professionalism are writ large in chapter four. This chapter is a timely reminder of another era where radical could be constructed positively in both Canada and Australia.

Chapters five and six traverse the 1990s and are revised editions of previously published academic work. As such they are less "autobiographical" than earlier chapters. In chapter five Lenskyj discusses curriculum change regarding the teaching of sexuality in schools from the vantage point of a curriculum writer. In the final chapter she focuses on the complexities of negotiating discursive space in Women's Studies at the University of Toronto, paying particular attention to distance education studies.

*A Lot to Learn* is well written and takes account of important Australian and Canadian research. Although it seems to be written for a Canadian audience, it is likely to appeal to both readerships. For example, the tensions surrounding sexuality education in Toronto schools are replicated in Australia in the 1990s and continue into
contemporary times. Books like this one thus make an important contribution to Australian/Canadian research.
Contributors

Maureen Baker is Professor of Sociology at the University of Auckland in New Zealand. She received her doctorate in Sociology from the University of Alberta in 1975. Since then, she has taught in Canada, Australia and New Zealand. From 1984 to 1990, she was a senior researcher for Canada’s Parliament, specialising in policy issues relating to families, and from 1990 to 1997 taught at McGill University before migrating to New Zealand in 1998. Professor Baker is the author or editor of numerous books and articles on family trends, cross-national family policies, and comparative restructuring.

Peter Crabb, PhD, was the founder and first President of ACSANZ and a member of the first ICCS Executive Committee. As a geographer, he spent over 35 years teaching and undertaking research in the field of natural resource and environmental management, with particular interests in Australia and Canada. Now retired and living in Nowra, on the South Coast of New South Wales, he continues to undertake research and writing with the Lady Denman Heritage Complex in nearby Huskisson, on beautiful Jervis Bay.

Mary Jane Edwards is Distinguished Research Professor and Director of the Centre for Editing Early Canadian Texts (CEECT) at Carleton University, Ottawa, Ontario. As well as being the editor of the first and last texts in the CEECT series of scholarly editions of major works of early English-Canadian prose, and the general editor of the other ten, she has lectured and published on nineteenth-century Canadian literature, the history of the Canadian book, and scholarly editing. One of her ongoing interests is the study of the colonial book trade in the British North American and Australian colonies in the nineteenth century.

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Stewart Gill is a graduate from the Universities of Edinburgh, Toronto and Guelph—the latter two on a Commonwealth Scholarship. Since 1985 he has been in Australia. He is presently the Principal of Emmanuel College at the University of Queensland and an Adjunct Professor in the School of History, Philosophy, Religion and Classics. He has published articles and books in Australian, Canadian and Scottish History. Stewart is President of ACSANZ and Chairman of the PANCS.

Tanya Gogan, PhD, is an Assistant Professor in the Department of History at the University of Western Ontario, in London, Ontario, Canada. She specialises in Canadian social and business history.

Karl Hele is Director of First Nation Studies and a member of the Department of Anthropology at the University of Western Ontario. He is also a member of Garden River First Nation, located near Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario.

Coral Ann Howells, a graduate of the University of Queensland, is Professor Emerita of English and Canadian Literature at the University of Reading, UK. Her books include Love, Mystery and Misery: Feeling in Gothic Fiction and Contemporary Canadian Women's Fiction: Refiguring Identities. She is editor of the new Cambridge Companion to Margaret Atwood and co-editor (with Eva-Marie Kroller) of the forthcoming Cambridge History of Canadian Literature.

David Rovinsky holds a PhD in international relations and Canadian Studies from the Nitze School of Advanced International Studies of The Johns Hopkins University, and studied economics at the U.S. Department of State’s Foreign Service Institute. He has taught in the Departments of Political Science at Siena College and Bloomsburg University, and has published a number of papers and book reviews...
on Canadian politics and intellectual history. He is presently an independent scholar based in Manila, Philippines.

Jane Sellwood taught Canadian Studies at Hokkai Gakuen University in Sapporo, Japan for several years. Now returned to Canada, she lectures for the Department of English at the University of Victoria, British Columbia. Her current research interest is exile in Canadian and expatriate literature.

Andrew Smith completed his PhD at the University of Western Ontario in 2005 and then did a postdoctoral fellowship at the Institute of Historical Research at the University of London. In 2007 he joined the history department at Laurentian University in Sudbury, Ontario as an assistant professor. His research interests include political, economic, business, and constitutional history. His PhD thesis, which will be published by McGill-Queen's University Press in 2008, dealt with the role of British investors in Canadian Confederation.

Kay Whitehead is the Associate Dean (Research) in the School of Education at Flinders University, Adelaide. Her historical research focuses on 19th and early 20th century women educators, post-suffrage feminism and transnational discourses of education.

Arthur J. Wolak is a freelance journalist and co-founder of Arelco Promotional Group, Inc., an advertising specialties firm in Vancouver, Canada. His articles have appeared in the Vancouver Sun, Canadian Manager, and other outlets. Arthur is also Copy Editor of the International Journal of Organizational Analysis, a scholarly journal published in the UK. His BA in psychology is from the University of British Columbia; his MA in history is from California State University, Dominguez Hills; his MBA is from the University of British Columbia; his MA in history is from California State University, Dominguez Hills; his MBA is from the University
of Colorado at Colorado Springs. He is currently completing his PhD in Management from Macquarie University in Australia. His doctoral thesis is a comparative analysis of Australian and Canadian managerial culture.
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The Association’s 2008 Biennial Conference will have the overarching theme of “Canada in the Asia-Pacific” and will feature academic scholarship in a range of disciplines, relevant to Canadian Studies in an Asia Pacific context.

It is expected that the conference will facilitate dialogue on Canadian perspectives on regional issues and profile Canadian strengths in the region. The conference organisers plan to invite specific Canadian scholars with expertise in regional issues to present the conference’s keynote addresses and participate in dialogues with their Australian and regional counterparts.
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Please submit abstracts to Dr Stewart Gill, Convenor 2008 ACSANZ Conference, Emmanuel College, University of Queensland, Sir William MacGregor Drive, St Lucia, Qld, 4067 AUSTRALIA

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