



Discourse

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From the Chair

I write these remarks at the end of the academic year, acutely conscious of the fact that I am still in my office, while many of my estimable colleagues have de-camped to parts unknown, where they are working their magic in their own wonderful ways. It has, I think, been a very good year for the Department, despite the fact that the financial screws have been tightened a notch or two.

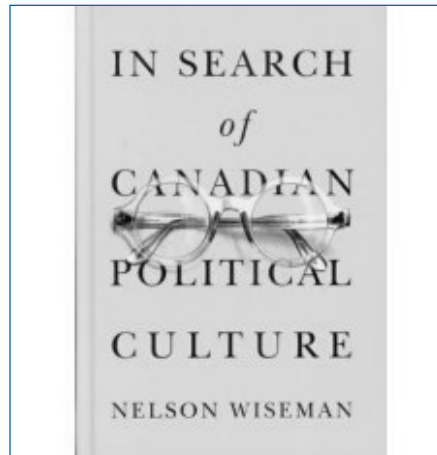
One of the best things about the year is that we have managed to recruit six talented new faculty who will be joining us in the autumn. **Christian Breunig** and **Wendy Wong** were hired a year ago, but are joining us this fall. Christian, a public policy specialist, received his doctorate from the University of Washington, and has spent his last year in Germany, on a post-doc at the Max Planck Institute in Cologne. Wendy comes to us from the University of California at San Diego, where she completed her Ph.D. in international relations. **Courtney Jung** is joining us as a full professor, coming from the New School in New York, where she has taught for many years. She is a student of comparative politics and political theory, and has worked both in South Africa and Latin America. **Richard Iton**, I am happy to say, is returning to what we think of as his proper home. Richard, as many of you will know,

studies black politics and popular culture in America. Several years back, Richard taught at UTM, but left for Northwestern in 2002. He is rejoining the Department with a cross appointment to the Centre for Diaspora and Transnational Studies. **Rauna Kuokkanen** will be taking up a joint appointment in Political

indeed to have attracted such a varied and talented group of faculty, and we look forward to the impact that they will have on the evolving shape of the Department. With 12 new appointments in the last three years, it is clear the Political Science at the University of Toronto is in a period of rapid renewal; it is a privilege for all of us to be participants in this creative upheaval.

It is not the case, however, that those of us who are already here have been resting on our laurels. At the recent Departmental lunch, we decided to display all of the books that faculty members have published over the last three years. The list comes to more than 20 titles, covering such topics as: the environment and climate change, social democracy, the passions, political culture, cabinet government, Canadian federalism, the evolution of political studies in Canada, sexual diversity, party politics, women in politics, foreign policy, the Cuban missile crisis, the war in Afghanistan, globalization, George Grant and internet censorship.

One of the Departmental authors enjoys the distinction of having his book featured on the front page of the UBC Press's academic book catalogue for the current year. UBC Press chose **Nelson Wiseman's** glasses as the cover for his book, *In Search of Canadian Political Culture*. They liked it so much they decided



Evidence of the department's 'glassy essence'

Science and Aboriginal Studies. She completed her doctorate at the University of British Columbia in 2004, and has spent the last several years living and working in Scandinavia. **Ruth Marshall** is a Canadian who comes to us from the directorship of the Institut Francais de Recherche en Afrique at the University of Ibadan in Nigeria. A student of African Pentecostalism, Ruth will be filling a new joint position in Religion and Political Science. We deem ourselves fortunate

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to put his glasses on the cover of their entire catalogue. Those of you who are familiar with Nelson's eyewear will know why they did it.

Since the last issue of Discourse, we have lost a dear and distinguished member of the Department. **Wilbur Grasham**, an emeritus professor and for many years a leading member of the Department, died in his 92nd year. Don Forbes offers an affecting appreciation of him in the pages that follow, evoking an earlier period in the life and times of Political Science

at U of T.

Another of our emeritus colleagues received a long overdue honorary degree from the University on June 19th. **J.E. (Ted) Hodgetts**, perhaps the country's most distinguished scholar of Canadian public administration, was born in 1917, and served the University of Toronto from the 1940s to the 1980s, with a break along the way for service at Queen's. We are delighted that the University chose to honour him in this way.

I hope you enjoy the contributions in the pages that follow: reports from

Kenya and Kosovo; an account of a little-known refugee problem in Israel; a look at the purchasing of jobs in the former Soviet Union and at what anti-Americanism means in Central Asia. These pieces speak to the wide diversity of interest and experience that one finds among our graduate students and faculty; it is hard to name a topic in government and politics without there being someone in our Department who knows quite a lot about it. Happy reading!

people

Wilbur Grasham (1916-2008)

Donald Forbes

Wilbur Grasham, who died January 16th in his 92nd year, was for many years a leading member of the Department and an outstanding representative of the old University of Toronto. I did not know him well, but I remember him fondly from the early 1980s when he was Director of Graduate Studies and I was responsible for the M.A. program, which meant that we worked together closely for three years. I saw that he was scrupulously fair with students and colleagues and unfailingly patient and good humoured when there were complaints about the difficult decisions that had to be made about admissions, awards, and appeals – all of which were left a generation ago to individual judgement rather than hidden behind the anonymity of committees.

"Grash", as he was known to his older colleagues (Wilbur to me), had first come to the University of Toronto in 1935 to study engineering. He was a brilliant student, especially in mathematics, and he opted for the most demanding program, Engineering Physics, from which

he graduated in 1939. He spent the wartime years in Newfoundland and Greenland in geophysical surveying



Wilbur Grasham at the 60th anniversary reunion of his graduating class in Engineering and Physics, Victoria College, 1989

connected with securing cryolite, a rare mineral needed in the production of aluminum. After the war he joined the National Research Council, where he was involved in research on radar. When I knew him in the 1980s, at the end of his teaching career in the Department, he liked to tell anecdotes about his early years as a scientist, particularly

his experiences in Greenland and the characters he had encountered there.

Wilbur had returned to Toronto in 1948 or 1949 to begin graduate studies in political economy. The Department, then headed by Harold Innis, embraced sociology and commerce as well as economics and political science. Mel Watkins remembers Wilbur as a helpful and entertaining TA in an introductory course on European economic history in 1949-1950. 'He understood the technology. He could show us how things like steam engines worked.' On the politics side of the Department, the dominant figure was Brough Macpherson, and Wilbur became his student and a lifelong friend. In the early 1950s he attended the London School of Economics, where he began a doctoral thesis, later abandoned, on school reform in Britain. In those years, however, a good M.A. was sufficient qualification for academic employment, and when he returned to Canada, he taught for a year at the University of Alberta and two or three years at Carleton before coming back to Toronto in 1959.

Wilbur's academic specialty was

public administration. He became a leading member of the Institute of Public Administration of Canada; he maintained close connections with the Ontario and federal civil services; and he edited various publications in the field, including a number of case studies collected from his 'Cases' graduate course. But he taught a much wider range of subjects.

Tone Careless, who was in the Honours program in the mid-1960s, praises Wilbur's ability to make unpopular courses (in statistics and economic history) engaging and enjoyable. Tone has warm memories of him as a genuinely humble man "who never blew his own horn or made you feel that it was a privilege to be in his presence, and he never hit you full-bore with his own political opinions. He didn't pontificate. He said he was basically an engineer." Like Paul Fox, Tone says, Wilbur was able to put insecure or discouraged students at their ease and to give them the confidence to carry on. "Meeting him in his office, he was skilled at turning the tables and making you feel that you were the expert."

I remember him as a friendly, easygoing man of diverse interests and a pleasantly practical orientation. I sympathized with his distaste for narrow professionalism and I was impressed by the variety of books in his office. They covered mathematics and statistics, which was a particular interest of mine, but also physics, history, economics, Canadian and British politics, political theory, public administration, and no doubt a variety of other topics. He handled his administrative tasks easily, which did not surprise me, given his academic specialty and his previous experience. In the early 1960s, when the joint Department was growing rapidly, he had served as Graduate Supervisor for both economics and political science. In 1965, he had become the first Associate Chair for

Political Science, under the overall chairmanship of Tom Easterbrook. Still, his relaxed good humour about the drudgery and deadlines was impressive.

In retrospect, I am startled by my insensitivity to his politics and my lack of interest in his reasons for switching from applied science to political science in the late 1940s. He had real experience on both sides of the divide between science and politics that has been one of the themes of my own studies. Yet so absorbed was I then by my own reading and our immediate responsibilities, I did not question him closely about his reasons for his change of direction. Perhaps it seemed to me then an obvious choice – the most natural thing in the world to prefer the softer, broader, more bookish science to one that was harder and more strictly scientific.

His daughter Cleone, who is a neighbour, recalls his explaining that he felt confined by the narrowness of his research work but she is intrigued by a possibility suggested by his departmental colleague Peter Russell, that his decision may have been influenced by the climate created by the Gouzenko affair. The applied science for which Wilbur had been trained in the 1930s, and whose political significance had been dramatically shown during the war, had become more politicized after the war. The defection of Igor Gouzenko in 1946 revealed not just the interest of our Soviet ally in quickly acquiring the atomic weapons that the United States had developed with assistance from British scientists and Canadian uranium processors, but also the willingness of various communist sympathizers in the scientific community to help them do so by passing important technical details to their secret agents. The political significance of applied science was suddenly clear for all to see, and panicky politicians began suspiciously scrutiniz-

ing the political leanings of their scientists. As an undergraduate, Wilbur had had communist friends and had collected some Marxist literature. He may have thought that the tolerance of the academy was preferable to boredom combined with the risk of persecution.

Wilbur's career as a political scientist spanned years of dramatic change in the academic world and in our discipline. When he was a graduate student, the University of Toronto was still essentially an undergraduate school for students living in Toronto. In the whole decade of the 1950s, it awarded only about half as many doctorates in political science as we now produce in a year. In 1950, public administration was still the most scientific branch of political science, since multivariate statistical analysis (the hard core of the behavioural movement) and rational choice theory were still in their infancy. A graduate student could enter with an engineering degree, and a professor could be promoted with an M.A. The discipline was part of a combined department that split into its then remaining elements – economics, politics, and commerce – only a year before Wilbur retired in 1983. Maclean's and other publishing empires had not yet discovered that money can be made by averaging library holdings, faculty degrees and publications, alumni recollections, class sizes, residence beds, gender ratios, student clubs and cafeterias, athletic facilities, and psychiatric services for the guidance of those seeking the best possible university experience. The underlying rivalry with other post-secondary institutions, never absent, had not previously been brought into such clear focus, and its implications for academic life had not yet been worked out in detail. The university could still appear to provide a secure shelter from the demands of the larger society for conformity to its values and purposes. Wilbur, "a bit of an

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eccentric,” as Meyer Brownstone put it, watched the drift away from the older kind of university and his own specialty with rare equanimity.

All testify to his wry sense of humour, illustrated by an incident recalled by a colleague. Sometime

around 1980, when Arthur Kruger was Dean, a new rule was propounded to deal with the growing question of sexual harassment. Henceforth the relations between faculty and students were to be “arms length plus an inch.” This decanal decree was presented to a meeting of the full

Department – one of those ritual affairs followed by a cocktail party that annually brought together enough faculty in dark suits to staff a small university – and it evoked Wilbur’s spontaneous comment, “there goes our last fringe benefit!”

fieldwork notes

In the Garden of Our Words: Writing Kenya

Wambui Mwangi



As a young girl growing up in Nairobi, I resented having to read Ngugi wa Thiong’o in school. I did not mind reading the books, I minded having to read the books: a distinction all readers will understand. Nationalism and principle are all very well, I thought, but it is a tad wearisome to have to keep contemplating the evil capitalist wabenzi and the endearingly outmatched but heroic Kenyan peasant, constantly, page after dutiful page. These were characters who collectively formed a throng in wa Thiong’o’s books—he wrote them by their multitudes. Crowds of them, beautifully presented in one guise or another, spouting suitably impenetrable (because it was literature) yet clearly understandable (because it was propaganda) parables

at each other, littering the pages with their sly but worthy demonstrations of the evils of class inequality and the faults in Kenya’s post-colonial complacency.

Did these characters never stop to smell the flowers, or even step on them? Petals of blood were all very well, but what about the real ones used for romance and guilt-abatement, the ones which lovers lay on? Had these characters no time in their lives for frivolous thoughts, satisfying sex, preferences in hair oil, or even stains in their underwear? Were they all so unremittingly dedicated to ponderous issues that even their noon-day dreaming had social significance?

It is many years later now, in 2008, in Kenya, and all over this country, the wetly red-handed, machetewielding, matchbox-sporting fruits of the seeds that the evil wabenzi, who loll self-importantly about in the pages of wa Thiong’o’s books, have been sowing all these years have finally ripened and are falling to the ground. As they fall, they make loud crackling noises, like the sound of dry twigs burning, or a small child’s doll on fire. When they hit the soggy earth beneath them, they burst open and release more of their seeds, which immediately send out new greenly eager shoots and gnarled grasping roots clawing for purchase. They are feeding on blood, these plants. We are having quite a season of harvest, here in Kenya, and we can expect more bumper crops in

the future as a result of our relentless gardening: our carefully composed tending, and richly composted tilling, of hatred, ignorance, poverty and fear.

I have been a student most of my life: a school of any description is my natural environment. I know all about learning, I thought, I’ve been engaged in it, one way or another, for over thirty years.

On Thursday the 3rd of January 2008, at exactly 17:17 hours, according to my Toronto-speaking computer clock, my real education finally started. Binyavanga Wainaina wrote to some people what was really quite a confused and chaotic email message, full of imperative demands for pieces for publications in Europe and in Nairobi, with urgent deadlines and bewildering protocols. There were calls for bios and strictures and time tables for what could go on blogs and what could not: it was as if a forest of strangely aggressive but wordy trees had suddenly sprung up around me. This was the first email I received from the Concerned Kenyan Writers Collective, and I will treasure it for the rest of my life. Binyavanga Wainaina asked us to write, and I didn’t even know half of who “us” was. I still do not; I have never met most of these people, or spoken to them, still.

Binyavanga exhorted us to watch our word count, get our bylines straight, lengthen and then shorten the scope of our texts, mind our grammar

(were we not in possession of manuals on style?) And then he, quite without irony, asked us to ...'say what was in our hearts.' That is a quote. It seemed to him that we should say what was in our hearts when our hearts were on fire, when our hearts were bubbling and burning with grief and with desolation: he thought that we should nevertheless sit down at our desks and offer our weeping souls to an uncaring muse as a sacrifice, as a bribe to allow our thoughts to take form. So we did. We dragged our pens through the ink of this country's undoing, and wrote, pausing to cry, to feed children, to wander around our homes in a daze, and to listen for police bullets outside, or for the sounds of machetes being sharpened, and then we sat down again to peer into the red mists of our grief and anger and to note down their monstrous forms and their laughing demons. We looked at what our eyes did not want to see nor our minds wish to comprehend, so that we could identify the flavour of its threat and the texture of its destruction; we held the taste of dead babies in our mouths, so that we could describe them, with love.

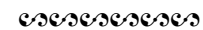
Kenyan writers did what it is they had been born to do, plundering their own personal losses and looting their families' lives for languages, for images, for characters and for conversations; writing through fury and sadness

and madness and fear. Blog posts, editorials, poems, opinion pieces, sms texts, sub-heads, and even fiction: if a thing exists in short textual form, the Concerned Kenyan Writers have probably produced one of whatever it is by now. The other writers probably thought that they were writing for their country, they probably thought that their words were intended for 'out there'.

They did not realise that all their outpouring was teaching me, that I was inhaling it in greedy life-giving gulps and grabs, that I looked at my computer screen every morning before I looked out of the window, because I liked the view better onscreen. I have a wonderful garden here in Nairobi, yet, it is still unable to compete. These fellow Kenyan writers have been feeding me, sustaining me, shaming and humbling me and making me laugh out loud for over a month, now: for forty-four days and some change.

Every day, a new lesson, a new reason for respect. Every day, a new insight, a new human connection made. Every day, a sentence of such beauty that it stops me in my tracks; perfectly formed clauses, words which shimmer and dance, metaphors that glitter from within. I have been learning, every day, since the 3rd of January, 2008, that Kenya has produced writers whose voices, in their cacophony, their chorus, and

their defiant contradictions have swelled to a symphony of resistance. From Muthoni Garland's unwavering sense of character and moral authority to Simiyu Barasa's bracing wit, from Stephen Partington's acerbic yet strangely tender poems to Yvonne Owuor's soaring prose, from Andia Kisia's trenchant intelligence to Jackie Lebo's practical sensitivity and Shalini Gidoomal's beautifully calibrated sense of both language and justice: over 30 Kenyan writers have produced almost one hundred pieces of excellent, technically masterful, emotionally breathtaking work. After Daudi Were finished gathering us firmly into a google group and sorting out all our computer problems, he then wrote one of the best pieces himself. (...) The pen is mightier than the sword, but a computer is much better. We write, so that the Kenyan soul may live.



*Wambui Mwangi is a scholar and a writer of fiction and creative non-fiction. She lives in Nairobi and Toronto, teaches political science at the University of Toronto and has recently suffered an outbreak of poetry. She is the Director of GenerationKenya (www.generationkenya.co.ke) and blogs occasionally at *Diary of a Mad Kenyan Woman*. <http://madkenyanwoman.blogspot.com>. Wambui Mwangi is a member of Concerned Kenyan Writers. The text reproduced here is an abbreviated version of an editorial piece originally published in the West African literary journal *Farafina*.*

The plight of non-Palestinian refugees in Israel

Charmaine Stanley

Israel is a state born of a refugee crisis. Jews attempting to flee the Nazi genocide were often unwelcome even in Allied countries. A high ranking Canadian immigration official, when asked how many Jewish refugees Canada would accept, famously replied that 'none was too many.' In the aftermath of the Holocaust, the question remained where to settle the survivors. Many flocked to

mandate Palestine and, following the first Arab-Israeli war in 1947-1948, the state of Israel established itself as a safe haven for world Jewry. It also absorbed Jews from neighbouring Arab countries who had fled or been expelled during the war, and would later welcome Jews from Ethiopia and the former Soviet Union.

The state of Israel also gave birth to a new refugee crisis. During the war, 700,000 Palestinians fled Israeli military attacks and atrocities or were expelled. Sixty years later,

these refugees remain scattered among camps in the Occupied Territories, neighbouring Middle Eastern countries and nations across the globe. While the Israeli Law of Return continues to permit Jews from anywhere in the world to enter Israel and receive citizenship, Palestinian refugees continue to struggle for the recognition of their Right of Return to their original homes and villages.

These events gave rise to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, which

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dominates international headlines and also happens to be the case study for my doctoral dissertation. Between January-May 2008, I have been based in Israel/Palestine conducting field research on the impact of new media on civil society in a context of conflict and occupation. In this issue of *Discourse*, however, I would like to address a refugee issue that receives relatively little attention outside Israel: an influx of refugees and other migrants from Sudan, Eritrea, Côte d'Ivoire and elsewhere across the Egyptian border. What began in 2005 as a trickle has now become a flood. Anywhere between dozens and hundreds arrive in a given week. Since the beginning of this year, 2,400 migrants have crossed into Israel.

Having worked at the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in Cairo in 2002-2003, the plight of refugees, particularly those in Egypt, remains close to my heart. An enormous number of refugees reside in an Egyptian capital already struggling with overcrowding and poverty. Moreover, although Egypt is a signatory to the 1951 Refugee Convention, refugees in Egypt lack rights to work and education. Two years after I left, a three month sit-in staged by over 2,000 Sudanese refugees in a park close to the UNHCR offices was met with force by Egyptian police. Almost 30 were shot dead, and many more were detained.

It is consequently unsurprising to learn that many refugees are attempting to cross the Sinai border into Egypt's more liberal and prosperous neighbour to the north. Yet conditions here are less than ideal. Male migrants have been detained, alongside security prisoners, at Ketziot Prison, while women and children have been housed in a separate

facility. The prison is nearly filled to capacity. When some migrants were released to work at *moshavim* (agricultural cooperatives), news reports surfaced last fall of inhuman housing conditions, low wages and exploitation. Others have been released and have flocked to Tel Aviv, some with work permits, others with letters guaranteeing that their employers will not be prosecuted for hiring them, and still others lacking any right to work at

Egyptian President that deportees will not be mistreated or deported to Sudan – a country where their flight to Israel would potentially be punishable by life imprisonment or the death penalty – this has not been confirmed by the Egyptian government.

A third approach entails preventing migrants from crossing the Sinai border in the first place. This has included pressure on the Egyptian authorities who,



Jerusalem Old City

all or work for unfairly low wages.

Another policy has been deportation. This has been controversial, particularly after nearly 50 migrants, including children, were deported to Egypt last year within 24 hours of their arrival in Israel and without a hearing (a 'hot deportation'). The migrants, mainly from Sudan, were detained and remain unaccounted for. At least some are believed to have been returned to Sudan. It is unknown how many had a valid claim to asylum. Although Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Olmert has repeatedly **cited** assurances by the

in draconian fashion, have been detaining and shooting those attempting to cross. More recently, Olmert has instructed Israeli security forces to use "reasonable force" when necessary to prevent migrants from crossing. Meanwhile, there has been talk of constructing a fence along the Sinai border. Not only is it unclear that a fence would be effective given the ingenuity and sheer desperation of the average refugee, but such practices fail to distinguish between economic migrants and those with a genuine claim to refugee status.

Over a month ago, the Israeli

government announced plans to divide the migrant population into three groups. Darfur refugees – viewed as sharing a history of genocide with the Jewish people, they have attracted special sympathy – are to be granted asylum. Economic migrants are to be returned to Egypt. Sudanese from outside Darfur and refugees from other African countries are also to be returned to Egypt on the basis that, as they have passed through Egyptian territory, it is that country in which they are entitled to claim asylum, not Israel. At time of writing, this policy has not yet been implemented. Moreover, while the government claims that an agreement has been reached with Egypt to return Sudanese refugees, the Egyptian government has stated that it will not accept non-Egyptians who have crossed into Israel.

Meanwhile, Tel Aviv continues to be overwhelmed by the refugee influx, while receiving strikingly little support from the Israeli

government. Although the city has worked to provide the migrants with basic necessities, many continue to sleep in squats, parks or overcrowded shelters – often underground bomb shelters – in which conditions can be deplorable. Perhaps the Israeli government fears that a policy of generosity would only encourage increased migration. Or perhaps the problem is the lack of any coherent refugee policy at all. This seemed to be the case in February when, in contravention of international law, 250 Africans who had already applied for refugee status were arrested in raids in Tel Aviv. They were subsequently released. In general, Olmert's approach has been reactive and ad hoc: media criticism and a litany of complaints from the Tel Aviv municipality have been met with a punitive approach, empty promises and little long-term planning.

The migrants consequently rely on one another and, especially, the efforts of Israeli charities and individuals. Sudanese refugees

rounded up by police and taken to a residential facility near the Egyptian border were invited into the homes of local residents to take showers and offered telephones to call concerned relatives in Sudan. I met a man in Tel Aviv who had purchased food for refugees living in an empty building in his neighbourhood, while neighbours had cooked and provided other assistance. Many migrants have also been housed in kibbutzim or private homes. Yet such private generosity, while truly inspiring, is not enough. Israel has the right to control its immigration policy, and simply cannot afford to provide for every migrant seeking a better life here. On the other hand, realistically, many are simply here to stay, and more will continue to arrive. It is time for Olmert to recognise that he cannot merely turn back this human tide but must adopt a coherent, long-term strategy that balances Israel's rights and capabilities with its humanitarian obligations.

Kosovo Through its People

Kasia Wichrowska and
Tatyana Zeljkovic

As part of the group of ten political science students from the University of Toronto who visited Kosovo during Reading Week with Balkan specialist Robert Austin, we had a chance to witness history. Kosovo declared independence, and we were there. We came to Prishtina, the capital of Kosovo, to conduct field research on the role of the European Union in Kosovo's development, but left with much more. The following are our impressions of a few of the locals we met.

On the day of independence, we had the honour of meeting with the family of the late president Ibrahim

Rugova. Dedicating his life to the Albanian cause, President Rugova's passive-resistance approach earned him great international respect and he has often been referred to as the Balkan Gandhi. Although such an approach would later prove unsuccessful, his high reputation among Kosovars has never diminished. On the day of independence, his face could be seen throughout Prishtina on signs and posters which read "Thank You President". Unfortunately, the late President passed away of lung cancer in January 2006, and was not able to witness the culmination of his hard work.

Like all great men, he was not without his quirks. He is famously known for offering visitors to

Kosovo a rock from his personal collection, literally giving them a piece of Kosovo. Being shown his famous rock collection by his widow, we couldn't help but think that these rocks were not simply pieces of Kosovo, but rather symbolized its potential. It is believed that Kosovo is rich with minerals; however, as with most issues in Kosovo, further development is often tainted with ethnic tensions and these sources remain untapped. If developed properly, these natural resources could greatly impact the future prosperity of the area and help realize the vision of the late President.

One of the highlights of our trip was meeting Kosovo's current head of state, President Fatmir



Professor Robert Austin's class with the family of Kosovo's late president Ibrahim Rugova

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Sejdiu. President Sejdiu welcomed us into his office for what was only supposed to be fifteen minutes, but due to his easy-going nature, we stayed much longer. The room was very comfortable and was made even warmer with the President's personality. He was a man who clearly enjoyed being around youth, having taught at a university before political obligations took over. Sitting in the room, we observed what was to become Kosovo's own "Oval Office," the venue for important meetings between international leaders. At the head of the room, next to the President's seat, was a small table with a large mineral rock from Rugova's collection. Right above the rock was a photograph of the late president with the late pope, John Paul II. We realized that as more and more countries recognize Kosovo, this room was going to be buzzing with increasing political activity.

Close to the end of our stay in Kosovo, we had the opportunity to meet with Kosovo's best known analyst and civil society activist, Veton Surroi. As founder of the Kosovo Albanian daily newspaper

Koha Ditore and leader of the Reformist Party ORA, there were few questions that he was incapable of answering. Sitting in the restaurant at our hotel, Veton Surroi was the epitome of a wise man sharing his knowledge and experiences with his pupils. Rather than responding to our inquiries with dry facts and figures, his use of personal anecdotes helped paint a stark and honest picture of the realities of both the political and social life of Kosovo.

Unfortunately, his status within Kosovo has not exempted him from becoming a casualty of the political game. During the last elections, his party, ORA, did not manage to win the 5% threshold of popular vote needed to obtain a seat in parliament. Ironically, it was his party which had proposed to change the proportion of votes from 3 to 5%. Still, Surroi has accepted this as necessary if Kosovo is to be a democracy – or at least a system in transition to become one. The legacy of the United Nations Mission in Kosovo, UNMIK, is one in which security trumped development, resulting in a political system that is disorganized and lacks accountability. In order for the new

republic to acquire its own optimal level, it will need to be able to make and learn from its mistakes without interference from international actors. As explained to us by Veton Surroi, Kosovo will not be able to solve its problems without the capacity to make its own decisions, even if the consequences are not always favourable.

Our stay in Kosovo would not have been as special without the generous hospitality of the staff at Hotel Ora, and in particular of Agim, the owner. We understood immediately why Professor Austin was so fond of Agim and his establishment. The staff was extremely friendly and helpful. Agim has welcomed such figures as Bill Clinton and the EU's High Representative for the Common Foreign and Security Policy, Javier Solana, whose pictures Agim proudly displays in the lobby of his hotel. Agim achieved it all through hard work and honesty. To us he represents the archetypical entrepreneur, and to his credit, he is living the "American Dream" in Kosovo. While individuals like Veton Surroi and Fatmir Sejdiu are Kosovo's leaders, people like Agim comprise the foundation that will determine whether independence will succeed or not.

In Agim's hotel we befriended one of the concierges, Afrim, who was around our age. We enjoyed spending time with him and found that we could relate on many levels. Unlike us, however, Afrim had to sacrifice his education for work to help support his family. Through our friendship with Afrim, we personally came to realize that it is for the benefit of people like Afrim, a bright, young individual, that an independent Kosovo ought to become a better place.

It is often said that the best education is obtained through travel. Despite all of the preparatory readings and research we had done

before the trip, nothing could have prepared us for what we experienced once on the ground. Meeting such prestigious members of Kosovo society as President Fatmir Sejdiu and Veton Surroi helped introduce us to the inner workings of its

political system. The Rugova family gave us a sense of its history, as well as a glimmer of its future possibilities. Most importantly, our everyday encounters with the citizens of Kosovo through the likes of Agim and his loyal staff helped us

understand why the study and the success of Kosovo are so important. Before we arrived, Kosovo was merely a dot in the Balkans. Now, it is a blend of all of the characters who represent the faces of Kosovo society.

Faculty Book List

Author	Co-Author(s)/Eds	Name of Book
Bernstein, Steven (ed)	Louis Pauly (ed)	Global Liberalism and Political Order: Toward a New Grand Compromise?
Bernstein, Steven (eds)	Duff, Andrew J. Green (eds)	A Globally Integrated Climate Policy for Canada
Braun, Aurel (ed)		NATO- Russia Relations in the Twenty-First Century
Clarkson, Stephen		The Big Red Machine: How the Liberal Party Dominates Canadian Politics
Deibert, Ronald (ed)	John Palfrey, Rafal Rohozinski, Jonathan Zittrain (eds)	Access Denied: The Practise and Policy of Global Internet Filtering
Forbes, Hugh Donald		George Grant: A Guide to his Thought
Hoffmann, Matthew		Ozone Depletion and Climate Change: Constructing a Global Response
Hoffmann, Matthew (ed)	Alice Ba (Ed)	Contending Perspectives on Global Governance: Coherence and Contestation in World Order
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Author	Co-Author(s)/Eds	Name of Book
Welch, David		Painful Choices: A Theory of Foreign Policy Change
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White, Graham		Cabinets and First Ministers
White, Linda	Jacquetta A. Newman	Women, Politics and Public Policy: The Political Struggles of Canadian Women
White, Linda - Co-editor	Richard Simeon, Robert Vipond, Jennifer Wallner (co-editors)	The Comparative Turn in Canadian Politics
Wiseman, Nelson		In Search of Canadian Political Culture
Wolfe, David (ed)	Hugh Grant (ed)	Staples and Beyond: Selected Writings of Mel Watkins

focus on research

Job Buying in the Former Soviet Union:

What's more important—Who you know or the size of your bribe?

Lucan Way

An *important but unexamined* form of corruption in the former Soviet Union is the purchase of jobs. An examination of job buying not only throws light on a widespread method of employment distribution, but also suggests the need to rethink the character of corrupt administration. While much of the literature on corruption in the post-Communist world focuses on the personalistic, clan-like, neo-traditional, or even feudal character of non-legal rational administration, my research shows that many of these exchanges are often rooted more in impersonal forms of exchange than in personal ties, familial loyalty or networks.

To examine this phenomenon, I have conducted in-depth interviews and public opinion surveys in Azerbaijan (in 2002), Georgia (in 2003), and Moldova (in 2005). These surveys focused on very different sample populations and

are therefore not comparable--in Azerbaijan parents of school aged children throughout the entire country; in Georgia adults in two major cities; and in Moldova adults throughout the country. Yet, they each provide confirmation that the exchange of money for jobs is an extremely widespread phenomenon in the former Soviet Union. In Azerbaijan, 63% of respondents listed cash/bribes as either the first or second most important factor in getting a good job. In Georgia, 72% listed cash/bribes as first or second most important. In Moldova only 2% listed cash or bribes as the first or second most important factor. However, 29% answered that they had at one time felt that they could obtain a job for money and 26% said that they felt they were deprived of a job because no money was provided. Money appears to be used to buy an extremely broad range of jobs – from high level ministerial positions to low level teaching positions. As one professor

in Azerbaijan told me, “And if you mean that one should pay money to be employed, I will give you a counter question. Do you know many solid establishments, where one can get employment without [paying] anything? Personally I don't know of one”

In-depth interviews with school teachers in Azerbaijan conducted in 2002 (for a study of corruption in education) provide a view into how job buying happens in practice. It is noted that the purchase of jobs sometimes coexists within a meritocratic system of hiring. Thus, one high school teacher reported,

“Last year, I came to a school and saw an announcement of a job opening. ... I conducted a class The Commission sat and listened to me. And then they came to me and said “... we will take you. But it will be necessary to thank the director. You are a good teacher and we will give you a discount – \$500. But in general the cost is \$1,000.” (Baku teacher focus group).”

Many discussions of corruption emphasize the importance of personal connections. Given its illicit character, corrupt exchanges often involve greater interpersonal contact and trust than legal transactions. Yet the relative importance of personal ties varies widely – from highly diffuse, quasi-familial exchanges in which bonds of loyalty dominate over all else, to cases of petty corruption in which personal ties are quickly established to serve concrete instrumental ends.

Job buying in Azerbaijan, on the other hand, is often dominated by weak personal ties. In contrast to familial hires and many patronage systems prevalent in both the developed and developing world, job buying often (although not always) operates on market-like terms involving explicitly defined monetary sums and relatively impersonal transactions. To the extent that the purchase of jobs requires informal connections, the connections required tend to be relatively shallow or weak. That is, the sale of jobs often does not demand connections through patronage, familial, deep friendship, or organizational ties. Thus, nearly twice as many respondents in Azerbaijan reported that bribes were important as those who claimed that connections were central.

Purchasing is sufficiently transparent that respondents were often able to cite different price ranges, depending on the quality of and demand for different jobs. Teaching jobs in city centers where



Money talk

teachers receive higher informal payments from parents are more expensive than jobs in rural areas where parents have less money. A school director from Baku claimed that the price of a primary school job ranges in his area from \$500 in peripheral areas to \$1,000 in central areas. One respondent in a rural area reported,

“[My wife] graduated from the [science] department at XXX University. We applied several times to the district department of education with a request for a job.

However, we were always refused. As a result, I had to give money to the district department. ..., they first demanded from me 1 million manats (US\$ 212). But we did not have the money. As a result, I gave 500,000 manats (US\$ 106). Today, money decides everything. (Interview of parent in western Azerbaijan, May 2002).”

Similarly, a school director in Baku reported, “Jobs are more expensive in centrally located schools where the parents are likely to be wealthier and thus provide more informal payments.” Interviews suggest that the price of a job roughly equals four months of effective pay, including informal payments available at particular jobs.

Thus, this study highlights the need to be more careful about disaggregating the different logics present in non-legal rational organizations. Corruption can be dominated by either highly personalistic or impersonal logics. The weakness of formal bureaucratic rules does not by itself suggest that personal ties or connections dominate exchange. Further research is required to explore in which parts of the labour market job buying is most prevalent and what are the causes of its emergence and persistence.

News and Announcements

Awards

The University of Toronto Students' Union and the Association of Part-time Undergraduate Students have announced that Ms. Pamela Shime will be the recipient of the U.T.S.U./APUS Undergraduate Teaching Award for teaching excellence in 2007/08.

David Welch won the Outstanding Teaching Award for

2006-2007 and received the award on Wednesday, May 7th in the Debates Room at Hart House.

Ron Deibert's Psiphon, an Internet censorship-evading software project developed by the University of Toronto's Citizen Lab has been deemed “the world's most original, significant and exemplary Net and Digital Initiative” by a panel of French and international government, media and business experts. Psiphon was chosen first among 100 technology projects

from around the world that were nominated for the Netexplorateur of the Year Grand Prix award. Ron received the award in February at the French Senate in Paris. Earlier, Psiphon (<http://psiphon.civisec.org/>) was named one of the Six Ideas to Change the World by Esquire Magazine in its December “Best and Brightest of 2007” issue, and one of the 50 companies to watch for in 2007 by Fast Company Magazine.

Ran Hirschl has recently been appointed a Global Faculty member

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at NYU's Hauser Global Law School. The Global Law Faculty Program invites leading law professors from around the world who teach regularly at NYU while retaining their affiliation with their home institutions.


Harald Bathelt has been awarded a prestigious Connaught Fellowship. This award will provide Harald with teaching release for one semester. He is the latest in a long line of Political Scientists who have won this award.

David Wolfe and Meric Gertler have won the Carolyn Tuohy Impact on Public Policy Award. They were presented their award on Wednesday, April 16th at the Great Hall at Hart House. David Wolfe has also been named the 2008-09 CIBC Scholar-in-Residence Chair.

One of our emeritus colleagues, J.E. Ted Hodgetts, a distinguished scholar of Canadian government and public administration received an Honorary Degree on Thursday, June 19th.

Janice Stein and her co-author, Eugene Lang won the Shaughnessy Cohen Prize for Political Writing for their book *The Unexpected War: Canada in Kandahar*. The book was also on the 2007/2008 Short List of the Donner Prize for the best book on Canadian public policy.

Ethel Tungohan, one of our PhD students, has won the 2008 Jill Vickers Prize of the Canadian Political Science Association. The award is for the best paper presented, in English or French, at the 2008



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conference of the Canadian Political Science Association on the topic of gender and politics.

Appointments

Six new faculty members will be joining the Department as of 1 July 2008.

Christian Breunig (Public Policy), Richard Iton (American politics and culture) Courtney Jung (Comparative Politics and Political Theory), Rauna Kuokkanen (joint

position in Political Science and Aboriginal Studies), Ruth Marshall (joint position in Political Science and Religion), and Wendy Wong (International Relations).

Departures

Tad Homer-Dixon is leaving the University of Toronto to take up a position at the University of Waterloo. We are very sorry to be losing Tad, but wish him great success in his new endeavours.

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