Is it *who* you know?
An Investigation of the Relationship between Small-Island Politics and Infrastructure Policy On Prince Edward Island

by

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ABSTRACT

As one of the ten Canadian Provinces, Prince Edward Island receives federal funding from Ottawa to uphold specific infrastructure policies and programs on the Island. Infrastructure policy-making is a by-product of political mechanisms of multi-level governance. Politicians are key people in the making of infrastructure. They are involved at different stages of policy making and implementation. *Islandness* and *smallness* suggest an inherent intimacy between politicians and their constituents. High election turnout, perceived limited resources within the setting of high population density (as opposed to other Canadian provinces), all expose a unique state of affairs. The local islander considers himself/herself close to the politician within a give-and-take situation. This in turn elevates the politician to a gatekeeper role, as guardian of the interests of the island-province and more specifically the community in the riding/constituency.

This thesis is based on research conducted in four municipalities across PEI. It studies the interactions between the three levels of government - municipal, provincial and federal - and the role played by the politicians within the path of mapping a roadmap of the *who*, *which* and *if* in infrastructure public policy.

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"When William the Conqueror ascended the throne of England in 1066 the country was divided into counties or shires, each of which was governed by a shire-reeve or sheriff, who was appointed by the King. In Norman times the authority of the sheriff was so extensive that he has been described as "a provincial viceroy." (Golding, 1970), p.9)

Historically, municipal governance was a medium through which kings or feudal lords managed their land and resources. It has evolved into a governing structure through which grassroots democracy is exercised and resources flow within different spheres of governance. Authority has been transposed from the hands of a "shire-reeve" to that of a municipality council, transitioning from a provincial viceroy to a legislative assembly, and within the federal structure, the Norman Conqueror was transmuted as the House of Commons. Superimposing the lines of authority on a tiny island such as PEI, how is multi-level governance exercised today when it comes to infrastructure policy?

Small places, especially islands, tend to conduct affairs – whether business, government-related or otherwise – using networks and linkages. Given the limitations of geographical constraints resulting in diseconomies of scale such as transportation limitations, resources on small islands are stretched in order to accommodate different utilities. The opportunity cost of foregoing the use of one resource to something else is

prohibitive. Due to the resource-constraint - human, financial material or technological - efforts are made to maximize the utility of such resources.

People put on different 'hats', i.e., perform different roles within a small society. People living within isolated, confined small locations tend to know each other. Connectedness to networks characterizes social relationships. (Bott, 1971) Society is a network in itself. (Boissevain, 1967) The beach is a barrier towards entry and exit and therefore this gives the opportunity for greater familiarization of the inhabitants. This concept, together with the multiplication of roles within a small-island society, produces a scenario whereby processes are inter-dependent.

Prince Edward Island (PEI) is a prime example of a small island that can be researched in order to examine the formulation and implementation of public policy within a small milieu. The island enjoys jurisdictional clout as a Canadian province within a confederation structure. This federal arrangement gives it a unique standing when compared to other islands within Canada which do not enjoy that status, an example of which being Cape Breton Island. The largest 'city' in PEI is Charlottetown enjoying a population of around 30,000 people. Besides Summerside, which is the second largest 'city', the rest of the island is characterized by seven 'towns' and a host of small, rural communities of less than 1,000 people. A small number of communities – as well as around 70% of total land area - are unincorporated and therefore do not fall within a municipal framework of governance. The provincial government acts on behalf of these unincorporated areas when an infrastructure project application is processed. This is different from other provinces in Canada where there is a clearer definition and

delineation between various municipalities and the power relations in terms of governance between municipal, provincial, and federal dimensions. The main question in this thesis queries the relationship between the three levels of government and political forces in producing and 'consuming' public policy.

Public policy is a keyword often heard on CPAC (Cable Public Affairs Channel). A quick look at a dictionary gives a simple meaning of the term, referring to public policy as "the principles, often unwritten, on which social laws are based." (Soanes & Stevenson, 2005) Thomas Dye goes as far as describing public policy as "anything a government chooses to do or not to do" (Dye, 1978, p.2). How social and public is policy-making?

The above factors have led the author to examine the role that politics play within the process of policy-making. The hypothesis of this thesis is that, in Prince Edward Island, political influence exclusively dominates the spheres of governance when it comes to public policy. Consequently, municipalities and civil society do not have a definite role within the formulation of public policy. Accordingly, they act through the federal, provincial, and/or municipal politician.

Every person carries their own personal baggage and this thesis is no exception. The author hails from Malta - a densely-populated archipelagic state with the second highest election turnout in the world. This has brought to her attention the decidedly politicized environment of small places. Prince Edward Island follows suit. 84% of the registered voters turn up at the polling booths (Chief Electoral Office of Prince Edward Island, 2007). Through personal conversation, one can deduce that most Islanders are

personally acquainted with their politicians. The politician's phone number is saved on

their cell phone; they know which church service he/she attends and where to find

him/her on Saturday. (Interview respondent) The following quotation is taken from

CBC PEI news website. The person in question lives on the Island. It evidences the

strong link between individuals and politicians.

> "I would call my MLA and ... they would call another government
>
> employee and they would give the names to the contractor, and I would
>
> get hired on," she said. (CBC News, Tuesday, September 18, 2007)

John Crossley (1993) states that, in PEI,

> "the key to much political behaviour in the province is the party system. Outside
>
> the Charlottetown area especially, the government party encourages citizens to
>
> blur the distinction between government and party. It does this by keeping the
>
> allocation of part-time government work in the hands of the Cabinet and MLAs
>
> and ensuring that most routine transfers of government money to community
>
> groups or individuals is done publicly by the Minister and MLA (if the MLA is
>
> on the government benches.) (p.96)

The research within the dissertation is consistent with a scenario where patron-client

relationships are abundant within a context of small-island politics in Atlantic Canada.

The research on this subject has somehow dwindled throughout the years. It was highly

documented in the sixties and seventies, with little or no academic work published

recently.

This research is an offshoot of an international research project looking at public policy in municipalities (Public Policy in Municipalities, 2005). The interview templates were given by the lead researcher of the program. Some changes have been done to the template in order to adapt it to infrastructure. The collected interviews give an overview on the perceived roles of the different levels of government, civil society, and the politicians. The collected data is compared between four different communities on PEI. The data projects characteristics found within small geographical contexts, i.e., peripherality, powerlessness, environmental and social fragility (Royle, 2007). The required comparative element lies between the four study sites and also among responses given by the people working within government compared to others who are involved in civil society. A municipal-provincial-federal interface will weigh different responses against each other.

The thesis is divided into six sections. Chapter One introduces the subject of the research and guides the reader through the document. Chapter Two defines the term *island* and positions the research on Prince Edward Island. The next chapter sets down a theoretical background linking the hypothesis and the data attached therewith in the thesis. Chapter Four sets out the research methodology undertaken within this research. Chapter Five provides factual information on the study sites where the research for this thesis has taken place. The four communities are Charlottetown, Summerside, Montague, and Kinkora. This chapter contains the raw data from municipal, provincial, and federal entities, collected from the study sites. The Conclusion binds the theoretical

setting in Chapter Three within the findings assembled in Chapter Five and provides

recommendations for good public policy practices.

CHAPTER 2:   THE *ISLAND*

Small-scale islands are sometimes looked upon as paradise, destinations for escape,

prisons, and laboratories of knowledge. Their definite locations enable them to generate

a paradigm of perceptions and expectations (Mizzi, 2007). Academic investigation asks

for categorization and definition of terminologies to structure a sound analysis of the

research (Pross, 1992). This chapter offers definitions such as smallness and islandness

and also gives a background how the research fits together. It presents also the theory

supporting the stated hypothesis in the introductory chapter, linking small-island politics

to public policy and infrastructure. For the purpose of this thesis, Prince Edward Island

will be referred to as PEI or the Island (capitalized Island). The term 'Islanders' denotes

vote-carrying residents on PEI. The words 'Social Forces' and 'Civil Society' are used

interchangeably to denote non-government organizations who have been or wanted to be

involved in infrastructure on the Island.

What is *small* and what constitutes an *island*?

Small and *Large* are relative terms. Comparative analysis is instrumental towards the

deconstruction and understanding of parameters. Kuznets (1963) used population as an

indicator, defining small as having a population of less than 10 million people. The

Commonwealth Advisory Group (1997) uses the definition of a small state as one

having a threshold of 1.5 million people or less. "The definition of a small island is a

matter of interpretation rather than fact." (Dommen & Hein, 1985) *It is smaller than*

what? "It is a comparative and not an absolute idea. Whatever scales of magnitude are

employed seem arbitrary and it is difficult to pick out on them where smallness begins or ends. Countries can be small in one sense and not in another." Wood in (1967, p.29)

What is an island? Royle (2007, p.1) gives a bare definition of an 'island' as "a piece of land surrounded by water." Baldacchino (2004) is more specific and defines an island as "a sharply precise physical entity whose geographical definition accentuates notions of location and identity." Would PEI qualify with that designation? A fixed-link was built in 1997 joining PEI and New Brunswick. Did PEI cease to be an island? Baldacchino cites Royle (2001, p. 8) asking whether PEI should have been renamed PEP, i.e., Prince Edward Peninsula. The inhabitants are still referred to as Islanders and it will take time to observe the effects of the fixed-link on the culture. Adults do remember experiencing a heightened sense of suspense to reach the ferry on time at Borden or Wood Islands and this served as a reminder that the Island was geographically disconnected from elsewhere.

Baldacchino (2007a, p.2) stresses that Islandness stretches beyond the paradigm of boundedness and connectedness. This thesis will look at the political links and connections that Islanders might take for granted. It takes more than concrete to link PEI to the rest of Canada. It needs virtual, social networks, which are perceived as influential to the outside world.

Like everything else in life, *smallness* has positive and negative traits. Smallness may be understood as a place inhabited by a homogenous ethnic culture and therefore result in a more cohesive society. Simon (1963) argues that "smaller-scale societies may have an advantage in developing their economies because greater social cohesion will breed

quicker acceptance of change." (p.14) The political economy is minute and therefore is

not perceived as a threat to neighbouring provinces, territories or countries. Request for

external financial assistance is easier to be granted since it represents a minimal fraction

of the donor's budget. The ascriptive features of a small society may induce a

multiplicity of roles and at the same time, specialization of skills. Small places,

especially if geographically isolated, tend to be more conservative and therefore retain a

stronger grip on social control. People living in relatively small territories are closer to

the politicians. This intimate political landscape can favour a sound exercise of

democratic processes promoting economic stability and growth. The author was in a

public conversation with an Islander and the latter stated that patronage works for

everyone. On the other side of the fence, the politician justifies this rapport.

> Patronage, whatever. But helping people is what I'm supposed to be trying to do.
>
> And if that's patronage, that's fine. Call it that…The biggest beneficiaries are
>
> those who end up finding employment, and I'm pleased that that's happening. If
>
> it gets me elected, or people like me better as a result of that effort, that's fine.
>
> For those I can't help, well I'll hope they still want to vote for me. (CBC News,
>
> 2007)

Why PEI? Why not?

Prince Edward Island falls within the metaphoric symbolism of being an island, a

relatively small one at that, for instance compared to Newfoundland (the only other

province in Canada which is an island). It is provincially recognized as a separate

jurisdiction within the Canadian federation, bearing a colonial name-sake and native one

for the tourists (Abegweit). It is positioned geographically in the Gulf of St Lawrence,

nestled not more than 20 kilometres to the north of the Canadian provinces of New

Brunswick and Nova Scotia. It has a total land area of 5684 square kilometres. These

geo-historical elements have been conducive to a unique governing system on the Island.

PEI is the smallest province in Canada, both in terms of population and land area. It is

the province with the highest population density (table 1). The capital city of the

province, Charlottetown, has a long history of municipal legislation dating as early as

1786 (Bulger, 2005, p.2). PEI is split into three counties, Prince County all the way east

to Kinkora, Queens County in the middle of the Island and Kings County, on the East

Side. The Island is divided into four federal ridings. The three counties and the capital

region are represented by four Members of Parliament (MP).
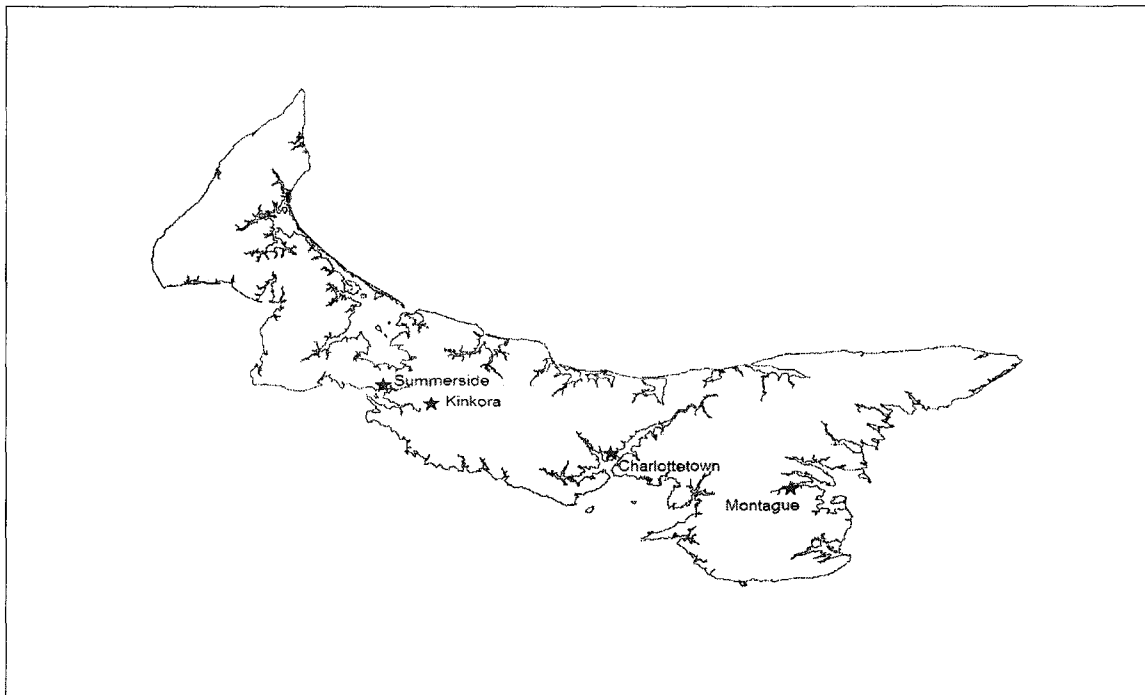
Figure 1: Map of the four study sites in PEI

Historical context of islandness in PEI

Epekwitk a Piktuk is one of the seven Mi'kmaq districts within the Mi'kmaq Grand

Council, the aboriginal governance structure pre-dating European arrival in the sixteenth

century. Prince Edward Island's name in Mi'kmaq is *Epekwitk* (anglicized as Abegweit)

symbolizing a feather floating on the horizon. The Mi'kmaq Creation Story positions

the people as being born out of the land and the sea within a context of a sea of islands

connected through canoeing. It was not until Europeans arrived in the region in the 15th

century that the concepts of islandness and isolation were introduced. The European

settlers brought in the notion of insularity and with it PEI became localized and

increasingly autonomous of its neighbouring ties. "Islands only came to be seen as

remote and backward towards the end of the eighteenth century. Insularity became

identified with isolation." (Gillis, 2005, p.97) The settlers brought with them a British

system of governance and incorporated it within the region. The Island was governed

under the colonial government of Nova Scotia until it became a separate province in

1769 (McAllister, 2004, p.78).

Historical background of federal-provincial-municipal relations in PEI

"Islanders never wanted Confederation" (Baglole, 1976, p.62) Suspicion was an

ingrained feature against the potential scheming of the Confederates to take over the

Island. This perception was somehow changed when the railway system built on PEI

proved to be too expensive and consequently confederation was deemed necessary to get

bailed out of the incremental debt accumulation (MacDonald, 2000). Afterwards,

federal-provincial relations proved to be a heated topic of debate on the Island. "The

importance of the relationship is perhaps best expressed in the fact that Islanders have always kept their provincial government in line with the one in Ottawa." (Baglole, 1976, p.64) This ensured that the locals could bring forward their requests/petitions to the highest political order and hopefully have them acted upon since the Member of Parliament would sit on the 'right' side of the House. At the time of the interviews, the federal government had just changed and therefore the provincial-federal political alignment was lost. This was confirmed by one of the social forces' respondent who stated that it is difficult to lobby through federal MPs who are in opposition in Ottawa.

PEI Economy

Islands are deemed concurrently vulnerable and resilient (Pirotta, Wettenhall, & Briguglio, 2001). Sub-national island jurisdictions, such as PEI, have umbilical links with their metropolitan centre which are important to provide consistent support, whether it is financial, or otherwise. PEI and Ottawa provide an example of political vulnerability and dependency. The Island depends on federal financial handouts. The economy is built on the foundations of strong government intervention, particularly on the transfer of federal equalization payments from Ottawa.

Agriculture and fishing are two sectors of the economy in decline, and consequently a subject of strong political lobbying. The Island is sometimes referred to as *spud isle*, referring to the potato-related intensive farming. PEI's GDP was estimated to be $4,332m in 2006 (Provincial Treasury - Prince Edward Island, 2007, p.8). GDP per capita is approximately $31,000.

Island connections

PEI is connected to the rest of Canada by air, by sea and land connections.

Charlottetown Airport is located on land owned by Transport Canada and operated,

under long-term lease, by not-for-profit Charlottetown Airport Authority Inc.

Summerside Airport is run by the private Slemon Park Corporation. It has no scheduled

commercial traffic. Northumberland Ferries Limited operates car ferry between Wood

Islands, PEI, and Caribou, Nova Scotia between May and December. Magdalene

Islands Car Ferry operates between Souris, PEI and Magdalene Islands, Quebec. Four

major shipping ports are operational on Prince Edward Island: Charlottetown,

Georgetown, Souris, and Summerside. The 12.9-kilometre Confederation Bridge

connects Borden-Carleton, PEI with Cape Jourimain, New Brunswick. Privately-

operated bus-line provides transportation off-island, as do various shuttles to nearby

Moncton, New Brunswick and Halifax, Nova Scotia. Limited city transit bus routes are

operational throughout Charlottetown between early morning and late evening. Island-

wide consultations have been undergoing to look into the possibility of public transit

across the rest of the Island.

PEI has the smallest federal electoral quota[1] in Canada. A Member of Parliament (MP)

needs 33,000 votes to be elected, a much smaller figure than other federal quotas in

Canada. The nearest electoral provincial quota is that of Saskatchewan, which is

approximately 69,000 (Elections Canada, 2006). The Island is made up of 75

incorporated municipalities and the unincorporated areas fall within the responsibility of

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[1] PEI, Labrador, and Western Arctic Riding in Nunavut are over represented in terms of number of MPs.

the provincial government. Incorporated municipalities account for only 28% of the

land in Prince Edward Island (Cousins, 1999). In the case of unincorporated localities,

the provincial government applies for infrastructure funding on the community's behalf.

The provincial government has adopted many of the functions normally carried out by

municipal governments. Only cities and the larger towns have carried out significant

municipal functions. (Crossley, 2005)

Table 1: Demographic data and land area in Atlantic Canada (Census 2006)

Area Name	Population 2006	Land area-sq. km, 2006	Pop. density-sq. km, 2006
New Brunswick	729,927	71,355	10.2
Newfoundland and Labrador	505,469	370,495	1.4
Nova Scotia	913,462	52,918	17.3
Prince Edward Island	135,851	5,684	23.9

"Everything is a backroom deal on this politically incestuous sandbar." (Online Blog)

High population density on this small island in the Canadian periphery has created a

heightened political atmosphere. The next chapter ties academic research on key

political characteristics of small, geographic units, whilst showing how PEI fits within

this scenario.

"Island communities tend to be different. But throughout the world they manifest

their differences in a handful of similar ways." (Quammen, 1996, p.120)

CHAPTER 3:   SMALL ISLAND POLITICS

It is difficult to generalize about small island politics. There are no set political

guidelines that epitomize any small island. This chapter is a literary overview on

research on this subject. (May & Tupouniua, 1980) describes how personal

relationships have far-reaching effects within the politics of small island microstates.

The first is the reinforcement of the tendency for traditional elites to exert a dominant

influence in electoral politics. The second is the absence of a formal political system

and the third factor is the development of particularly close relationships between

legislature and executive which might give rise to nepotism. "The political system in

smaller territories encourages and nurtures particularism, which is exactly the reverse of

the intention of the framers of their constitutions, who had rather hoped that this type of

constitutional order would encourage universalism." Singham (1967, p.138)

"Particularism" refers to the relationship of persons to each other in all their particularity

or uniqueness. This framework can be contrasted with a model stressing "universalism,"

in which the relationship of individuals is based on more or less fixed standards and

criteria (Benedict, 1967).

May & Tupouniua (1980) call attention to the fact that shortage of manpower results in

fewer people wearing many hats, with the possible danger of producing conflict of

interest. The tendency is for people to wear multiple hats or "functional diffusion," as

they refer to the phenomenon. It is consistent with shortage of skilled manpower on

small islands which brings together "the same individuals… into contact over and over

again in various activities... decisions and choices of individuals are influenced by their

relations in many contexts with other individuals." (p.428)   Relational and reciprocal

obligations are more present within a small island landscape than a larger context.

Elements of islandness and smallness interact together, creating a landscape that favours

political intimacy between voter and politician. (Baldacchino, 1997) triangulates three

'voice' notions within an illustrated framework to explain emigration. This concept can

be applied to this thesis research to explain Monopoly of Power, Political Intimacy, and

the Totality/Universality of policy-making within a small island context.

Simpson (2007) portrays the island jurisdiction as by run by a single, non-competing

elite who, in turn, has a large say in shaping public policy. "Leadership is all about not

getting too ahead of the crowd because if you go too much up the hill, the crowd will not

follow you. All the parties need to be brought together and this requires a lot of

communicating." (Interview respondent)

Is it a case of Patronage?

A small island, such as PEI, is an ideal environment conducive towards patron-client

relationships. Its size, the colonial history, geography, and religion are all factors that

sustain the growth of patronage. Lemieux offers different usages of the word:

> "Patronage na pas le même sens en français et en anglais (d'Amerique)... En
>
> français, le mot a généralement un sens noble: c'est l'appui bienveillant accordé
>
> par un haut parsonnage ou une organisation. Le sens américain est celui des

relations entre un patron et un client.   Au Canada française, c'est plutot le sens

américain qui s'est imposé, au grand malheur des linguistes officiels qui ont en

vain proposé le terme de <favoritisme> (Lemieux, 1977, p.3)[2]

Eisenstadt and Roniger (1980, p.51) associate patron-client relations with Marcel

Mauss' work on gifts and exchange, and with Levi-Strauss' piece on kinship. Gift-

giving is an exchange with special yet highly structured characteristics. Scott (1977,

p.124) was eloquent in defining the patron-client relationship between voters as,

"a special case of dyadic (two-person) ties involving a largely instrumental

friendship in which an individual of higher socioeconomic status (patron) uses

his own influence and resources to provide protection or benefits, or both, for a

person of lower status (client) who, for his part, reciprocates by offering general

support and assistance, including personal services, to the patron."

How does Patronage fit within small island contexts?

According to Hall (1977), the origin of term 'Patron' is "derived from the Spanish

patrón, meaning a person of power, status, authority, and influence." He ties patron-

clientage to isolated, rural communities characterized by poor communications and

where "avenues of upward social mobility for peasants are non-existent." Hall pointed

out that in Catholic countries such as in the Mediterranean and Latin America, "the

spread of popular Catholicism has helped to reinforce patron-clientage by preaching the

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[2] "Patronage does not have the same meaning in French as in American English. In French, the word has a noble meaning: it is associated with a high-ranking person within an organization. The American sense denotes the relations between a patron and a client. In French Canada, it is more the American meaning that is used, to the chagrin of linguists who have tried in vain to propose the word 'favouritism.'

natural helplessness of mankind and the need of protectors and benefactors, both human

and divine." As a matter of fact, in Maltese the same word *(qaddis)* is used for a

Catholic saint and the politician who intervenes on behalf of third parties.

How does this apply to PEI and Gozo?

Figure 2: Location of Malta and Gozo within European Map (Europe_Malta_Map)

Gozo is a sub-national island jurisdiction within the Maltese archipelago. It is an

electoral district in its totality and is considered as an island and a distinct region by the

European Union. The population is roughly 33,000 and the land area is 67 square

kilometres.

PEI and Gozo both have rural, agricultural backgrounds. Until 30 years ago, ahead of the advances in maritime and automotive technology, the island communities were physically and socially isolated. In PEI, the existent railway system at the time connected certain communities with others. Other than that, the muddy roads on PEI did not permit casual travel beyond a six mile radius. (MacDonald, 2000) This has resulted in a strong localized influence and a deep-seated need to be close to the politician who has influential ties with the outside world.

In his research work on human resourcefulness on Gozo, Azzopardi (2004) has identified powerlessness as one of the key characteristics of a small, isolated island. Similarly to the data (in Chapter 5) collected on PEI, one of his interview participants reported that:

> "When I have a problem, first I try to solve it on my own. If I do not manage I go to my brothers for help, and then to some close friend. If it is a problem with the authorities, I do like the rest of the Gozitans: I go to some Minister or to someone very close to one of them… It's useless to keep beating about the bush and try to solve the problem according to the procedures because they [people in authority] keep you in a state of suspense and anxiety and you never manage to arrive at what you want." (Azzopardi & Mann, 2004, p.41)

Azzopardi (2004) links empowerment with the ability to "build strong informal networks of friends close to power sources." *Who you know* becomes overwhelmingly more important than *what you know*. A political characteristic synonymous to PEI

(Buker, 2006) is the 'constellation' problem which draws upon power hierarchy and its inherent linkages. Government is not openly criticized but decisions are lobbied through private access points. The silent "attentive public" (Buker, 2006) is a ubiquitous element within PEI's political landscape. Warrington (1994, p.120) argues that "constituency MPs and party officials are nodes in extensive networks linking the administrative system with the local community to secure personal favours."

The island of Sicily, Italy has been documented as a mafia powerhouse as early as the 19th century. In no way, is this thesis associating politicians with mafia. The aim is to describe the power-related political relations in small island contexts. Blok has described how the mafia evolved out of a struggle between the "marginal peasant society" and the modern state. "The *mafioso* [mafia-man] can ... be considered as a variety of political middleman or power broker, since his *raison d'être* is predicated upon his capacity to acquire and maintain control over the paths linking the local infrastructure of the village to the superstructure of the larger society." (Blok, 1988, p.7)

"We do it differently here."

During the interviews, the author heard the above term a number of times. What is done differently? *Island politics*. It is different from what? May and Tupouniua (1980) calls it "the personalization of politics." Politicians on the Island are considered accessible, and people work around these circumstances. How does this influence

public policy on a small island such as PEI? What is the relationship between smallness

and governance?

Voter power

The politics on the Island reflect what happens in small, independent communities. The

political economy is highly individualized (Richards, 1982). Access to politicians is

face-to-face or through third parties who act as political intermediaries. Voter-turnout at

elections is high. Election-day is very important since it seals the contracted and

negotiated transaction between the voter and the politician within a highly individual

and politicized environment. It is important to turn up at the polling station to please the

candidate and the reward might be a patronage claim or the avoidance of party sanctions

in case of non-voting. (Hirczy, 1995)

> Party membership is high relative to population; parties cultivate involvement in
>
> most aspects of community life – in fact, in some respects they may be seen as
>
> contemporary 'total societies'. Party discipline, correspondingly firm, is seen in
>
> high voter turnouts. (Warrington, 1994, p.120)

Table 2: Federal General Elections, Atlantic Canada voter turnout

	2000	**1997**	**1993**	**1988**
Newfoundland	57.1	55.2	55.1	67.1
Prince Edward Island	72.7	72.8	73.2	84.9
Nova Scotia	62.9	69.4	64.7	74.8
New Brunswick	67.7	73.4	69.6	75.9

PEI has a provincial-election voter turnout of 84%, consistent with previous elections

(Elections PEI, 2007). Other islands provide evidence that smallness and islandness are

politically correlated resulting in high voting turnouts such as in Iceland which reached

84% during the 2007 presidential election, whereas in Cyprus the turnout was 89%.

(Carr)

Fletcher (1994, p.154) notes that "the homogeneity of the Nova Scotia population is

remarkable and lends stability to its political culture. PEI, with even less ethnic

diversity than Nova Scotia, does not encourage a political culture of questioning the

establishment. Rather than that, the status quo is highlighted as part of the Island

identity. "In the past the political bribe was a personalized one – commonly a bottle of

rum. Today it would more likely be a generalized commodity for a particular riding

(jurisdiction) – a road paved a school built, or a wharf fixed." (Fletcher, 1994, p.150)

Infrastructure funding

Whereas lobbying is of a personal and private nature, infrastructure is organizational and

communal. Infrastructure-building can be viewed a nation-building exercise that ties

communities within the spirit of confederation (Infrastructure Canada, 2007). It links

the public to public policy through the delivery of projects. Federalism is dangerous

when it is mistakenly used to overcome the disabilities of size. (May & Tupouniua,

1980) Infrastructure is necessary to connect people through physical and virtual spaces,

examples of which are the Trans-Canada Highway and internet-accessibility sites.

Infrastructure has been cited as the main municipal concern in PEI. 29% of respondents

in Bulger (2005) identified Infrastructure as the "big" issue followed closely by finances (24%).

Federal powers are outlined in Section 91 of the British North America Act, 1867. Federal affairs are governed by the bicameral parliament. The first, and most powerful, legislature, the House of Commons, features 308 seats, elected by popular vote. Four of these seats are contested on Prince Edward Island. The federal government tends to be dominated by the Cabinet, which is the executive branch of government led by the Prime Minister. Infrastructure is an overlapping jurisdiction that spans over different levels of governments in Canada. Generated federal rhetoric justifies infrastructure as being a nation-building exercise amongst others: "For Canada to generate jobs, growth and wealth, it must have a leading knowledge-based economy that creates new ideas and puts them to work for Canadians. To do this, it is essential to connect Canadians to each other. Achieving this objective will require new types of infrastructure." (Government of Canada – Privy Council Office) If this is the case, why do municipalities, in particular small ones, have to pay for Canada's growth (especially during the recent economic boom)?

The answer to the above question is given by a federal respondent during one of the interviews: "Canada's quality of life and economic competitiveness is supported by public infrastructure that is provided by all three orders of government and the private sector. The Government of Canada recognizes that no one order of government can address infrastructure challenges alone." (Interview respondent) This is in contrast to the content on the Island Provincial website where it is stated that: "Infrastructure is a

joint initiative between the Government of Canada and the Government of Prince
Edward Island." (PEI Communities, Cultural Affairs and Labour) How do the
municipalities fit with this statement?

Federal infrastructure programs have been created to funnel federal resources between
layers of government. In PEI, four federal programs have been identified. These are the
Municipal Rural Infrastructure Fund (MRIF), New Deal for Cities and Communities
(NDCC Gas Tax), Canada Strategic Infrastructure Fund (CSIF) and the Public Transit
Capital Trust. MRIF is considered a "federal-provincial/territorial cost-shared program,
which targets municipal and rural infrastructure." (Government of Canada &
Government of Prince Edward Island, 2005) Federal and provincial government pay
one third of the eligible costs of the approved projects respectively and the municipality
or NGO funds the rest of the bill. SIF is geared towards large infrastructure projects on
the Island; the two largest municipalities in PEI, Charlottetown and Summerside, have
used these funds to build waste water treatment plants and to partly fund the Wellness
Centre in Summerside (PEI Communities, Cultural Affairs and Labour). The Gas Tax
money is allocated to municipalities. These funds are used for specific projects
approved by the Canada-PEI Infrastructure Secretariat within the eligibility criteria set in
the Agreement signed by the three layers of Government in November 2005. It is
referred to as the Gas Tax money, since the federal government is giving back to the
province part of the tax collected from gas revenues.   The public transit capital fund is
a one-time fund that the Government of Canada has set up to help provinces and
territories concerning public transit projects. The fund has a short life expectancy and it
is not expected to go beyond 2008. Through this fund, public transit has been

established in Charlottetown and research has been undertaken in PEI to study the viability of a province-wide transit system, amongst others. (PEI Communities, Cultural Affairs and Labour)

The official website of the PEI Infrastructure Secretariat (PEI Communities, Cultural Affairs and Labour) delineates the process undertaken to apply for project funding within Infrastructure Programs. Therein, it is indicated that responsibility lies within the Joint Provincial-Federal Secretariat, administering the program. There is no reference given to either the politicians or the social forces. Whereas it is understood that the program is intended to work bottom up, the website also states that the municipalities are invited to submit applications for funding and it is up to the Management Committee to decide whether the project gets funded or not. Although the website suggests that the community knows what is best for the community, it is the function of the Management Committee to review funding for projects. The Management Committee is made up of representatives of the federal and provincial governments and a representative from the Federation of Prince Edward Island Municipalities (the latter as observing or voting member, depending on the specific program). This is in view of the fact that the federal and provincial governments pay each up to one third of the eligible costs, and the balance is paid by the applicant of the project.

How do municipalities and social groups fit in?

The focus of this research is on the three levels of government in Canada, the role of the politicians and the interaction with the social forces. Social groups can be powerful if they are able to lobby and negotiate with policy makers. Pross (1992) states that, with

the ascent of an administrative bureaucracy in Canada, the role of the pressure groups

has diluted the role of politicians. Has this happened in PEI? Have social groups

become agents in infrastructure policy making?

Pirotta (2001) writes that local councils (as municipalities are referred to in Malta) were

expected to address the issues of democratic governance and political polarization. Can

this be achieved in a tiny island state such as Malta where "powerful, informal

mechanisms of control... act to prevent local government from evolving in response to

local conditions"? (Pirotta, 2001, p.259)

McAllister (2004, p.76) argues that "the tiny island province had no great need for more

decentralized forms of government, although it did see the incorporation of the

province's capital, Charlottetown, in 1855, and Summerside in 1877." Kell goes further

and undervalues the role of the municipalities in the Maritimes. He states that

"municipalities are "creatures" of the province. It is true that they have no independent

status and can be created, amended or dissolved at the will of the provincial legislature."

(Antoft & Novack, 1998, p.63)

How are municipalities and social forces treated by other levels of government when it

comes to infrastructure funding? The following chapters will put the results of this

research into perspective and posit this data within the hypothesis of this thesis that, in

Prince Edward Island, political influence exclusively dominates the spheres of

governance when it comes to public policy. Consequently, municipalities and civil

society do not have a definite role within the formulation and implementation of public

policy. They act through the politician/s.

CHAPTER 4:   METHODS AND PROCEDURES

The focus of this thesis is serendipitous. The author became aware that funding was available for a research project to explore specific areas of public policy in municipalities (Public Policy in Municipalities, 2005). Infrastructure was the chosen area[3] of public policy for this research on Prince Edward Island. This was specific to community projects in this field, funded (partially or fully) by Infrastructure Canada. The author was hired as a graduate research assistant to collect the data for this research project. It was agreed with Dr Andrew Trivett, the project researcher at UPEI, that the data collected would form the backbone of the thesis research.

Involvement in the project started in July 2006. Data collection started in September 2006 through February 2007. The tide changed in May 2007 and a new provincial government in Prince Edward Island was voted in. Some of the municipalities also have seen changes within their administrative composition and councillors.

What is the research about?

For the purpose of this thesis, Infrastructure has been defined as "the physical and human capital that broadly facilitates production, consumption, and further investment." (Vining & Richards, 2001, p.2) The definition was important since it was included within the verbal instructions handed to the respondents at the start of the interviews.

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[3] The six policy fields are six policy fields - emergency planning, federal property, immigrant settlement, municipal image-building, infrastructure, and urban aboriginal policy. (Public Policy in Municipalities, 2005)

This classification is in line with Infrastructure Canada's definitions and priorities[4]. It includes public funding that goes towards the construction and maintenance of public assets to be used by the community, excluding health and education facilities. The latter were not included due to the fact that they are considered *de facto* provincial jurisdictions.

The research design had been submitted to and endorsed by the Research Ethics Board at the University of Western Ontario where the project originated. It was also presented to the Research Ethics Board at UPEI. This research guaranteed anonymity and confidentiality and this was inherently important on a small island such as PEI. People know each other by name or by occupation, and therefore it was of paramount importance to protect the identity of the interview participants, although sometimes this was quite difficult. For instance, throughout the research, people asked who was interviewed. This information was only shared between the author and Dr Trivett.

How was the research done?

The research theme of the project was Municipalities and Infrastructure with two interview templates. The author was not looking at anything in particular but rather to collect data and sees where it will lead the study. Within the first few interviews, the information was pointing towards the role of the politicians, given that in almost each interview, they were mentioned and their roles highlighted.

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[4] In its main website, Infrastructure Canada defines its priorities and Infrastructure as 'can mean many things to many people, but simply stated, investing in infrastructure means investing in "public assets that support public services."' (Infrastructure Canada, 2006c)

The data-collection consisted of a two-fold interview schedule, one aimed at the people in government-related positions, and the other directed towards people involved within civil society. In each of the four communities the municipality was contacted for an interview. Desk research was undertaken to locate the organizations which were involved or wished to be involved in infrastructure in their respective communities. Interviewees included municipal officials, politicians, service-delivery operators, citizens' groups, business organizations, and other individuals, amongst others.

The interview

By the time the interviews started, the author had not yet gathered enough self-confidence to drive on the Island and therefore depended on someone to drive her to the location. It was also felt necessary to have some sort of chaperon, especially when the interview was held in private homes. The driver waited outside the interviewing place and was not privy to the details of interviewees. As a matter of fact, the driver happened to be 'from away' and this decreased the possibility of undermining the anonymity of each interviewee.

The interview schedules were predetermined by the lead researchers at the University of Western Ontario. Dr Trivett and the author were able to change some of the wording to be specific to infrastructure but making sure that the focus of the questions remained congruent with the original interviewing schedules. Two sets of questions were provided to the research team: one directed at the multi-level governance structure, (be it municipal, provincial, or federal) and the other directed at the social forces. Politicians were lumped into the multi-level government schedule list since they were deemed to be

closer to the policy community than the NGOs. The open-ended interview process

allowed some patterns to emerge. (Interview questions in Appendix 3)

Research design

The communities had been chosen according to specific criteria which were established

by Dr Trivett before the author had joined the research team. The decisive factors for

choosing the specific locations were based on two conditions:

- two of the chosen communities had to be the main cities in the Province;
  (Charlottetown and Summerside);

- the other two communities were chosen on the basis of municipal jurisdictional
  status, size of population, funded-infrastructure projects and the absence of
  provincial non-contentious issues in the community (Montague and Kinkora).

Charlottetown and Summerside are the only two locations in PEI which have city-status

and this made it easier to include them in the research. The determination of the other

two communities rested between different locations across the Island. The first selection

criterion was that of a town whose population was greater than one thousand persons

and had received infrastructure money from Infrastructure Canada that was more than

$500,000. The choice rested between the townships of Cornwall, Georgetown,

Kensington, Montague, Souris, and Stratford. Based on these criteria, Montague was

chosen as the third community. The other selection involved a small municipality which

has less than one thousand people, and received less than $500k in funds for

infrastructure purposes. Following the evaluation of the communities in question, Kinkora was chosen.

Personal disclosure

Personal disclosure gives the opportunity to the reader to weigh the contents within the personal background of the author. Everyone is influenced by numerable factors which are endogenous and exogenous to the environment. The author's personal space is influenced by the fact that she was born on an island. "Islandness is a metaphysical sensation that derives from the heightened experience that accompanies physical isolation." (Conkling, 2007, p.2) Does this create a bias? Baldacchino (2007b, p.2) has pointed out that "island scholarship remains dominated by those observing from the outside-in." This is not the case in this thesis. The author is an islander studying another island. The author has been exposed to a highly politicized environment since childhood. In Malta, her father was a victim to local political factions and he was transferred from one place of work to another as a result of political decisions. This brought better comprehension of how volatile and strong politics can be, especially within a small island context.

Similar to PEI, it is challenging to live in an environment knowing "everyone by their religious and political affiliations" (Walls, 2007, p.25). In parts of Malta and especially on the tiny island of Gozo where the author is originally from, people speculate for which party and/or political candidate one voted for. Politics magnify everyday situations on Gozo and this is expressed during the daily news bulletins on the political

media stations. Growing up within this landscape has sharpened and focused the author's attention on politics. After a couple of research interviews, one could notice that the PEI scenario was similar to the Maltese one. Politicians were mentioned quite often during the interviews as opposed to organizations and the author was able to perceive this heightened importance of the politician in the community, backed by personal experience.

Examples of exogenous factors which the author has no control over are the following:

(a) The author arrived in Canada in 2005. Consequently, the knowledge on the local and national scene was limited. This was helpful in collecting data since participants felt comfortable when sharing information at the interview stage. As an international student, with limited or no networks on the Island, the possibility of the author giving them away was negligible. This does not exclude the fact that on numerous occasions the author was asked who else was interviewed and they were told that the research is bound by a confidentiality clause. At one point, an interviewee interjected during an interview, asking directly if the author was a journalism student at UPEI, to which she replied in the negative.

(b) Not being a voter has also given the opportunity to look unbiased in the eyes of the participants. They probably felt that the author was not siding with one party or another, having no local political background or baggage. As a matter of fact, in May 2007 the author was asked by a prominent Island politician to volunteer in the provincial general elections as an election scrutineer in Charlottetown. He had been informed that the

author was an Island Studies student focusing on politics and public policy and therefore wanted to give a first-hand experience at one of the polling stations on the Island. On that occasion, a list of voters was given and when a voter came to request a voting ballot, his or her name were read out loud and the party scrutineers struck them off the list. Every hour or so, party officials came over to pick up this voting list with the aim of calling up the people who have not yet turned up to vote. This gave an understanding how personal politics can be on the Island. The electoral officers knew and trusted the voters and almost all of them were given a voting ballot without presenting any identification papers.

Collecting and storing the data

Desk research was undertaken to gather information on each locality, together with specific data on the municipal set-up. A look at the official town plan (OTP) yielded details of present and potential projects in the communities. Information was gathered on who is who in the community and on the set-up of the municipality. A search was performed looking for the existence of social organizations which have received funding from Infrastructure Canada or else wished to receive funding. This part of the research process involved looking at newspaper articles, government media releases, Infrastructure Canada website, and internet search engines. This gave an overview of the community, who was involved, and what was being done or projects that were perceived as being needed to be done. At the time of the research, some of the town plans on the municipality's website go as far back as 1998. Online provincial community profiles were researched, in order to develop an indication of which social

groups are working within the community. Provincial press releases dating back to 2000 yielded information on infrastructure-related projects in the region. Organizations in the communities were researched in order to find out their potential involvement in infrastructure. Other than that, the search for information on potential interviewees was also based on word-of-mouth. Interview participants were asked who (or which organization) is involved in infrastructure in the community. From these leads, some people were approached, but others were deemed not relevant to the subject of the research and therefore not approached. A list was created indicating the people to be interviewed, their location and where and how they can be contacted.

A letter to be sent to potential interviewees was drafted (copy of letter in Appendix). It was printed on a UPEI letterhead and signed by Dr Trivett, explaining preliminary details about the research. Out-of-province potential respondents were faxed the letter in order to hasten the process. Follow-up calls and emails ensured reception of correspondence. They were asked if they were interested to participate in the research. Questions were answered about the project and more details were shared about the interviewing process. With this information in mind, a list of potential participants was drawn up together with alternates if no reply was received. Contacts were encouraged to ask questions about the project if the information they were looking for was not present in the letter which was sent prior to the phone call. When the contacts were verbally invited to an interview, an agreement was reached on the time, date, and place of the interview. These three variables were flexible and determined by the potential interviewee. Dr Trivett and/or myself provided debriefing if potential interviewees called his office for further clarification. The letter that was sent to potential

interviewees including his email address and phone number as the contact points in case they wanted more information on the research being undertaken. People were given the choice of location and time of interview, especially to guarantee their privacy and confidentiality. PEI is a tiny province and the degree of separation between one person and another is smaller relative to other places. It had been decided that interviewees might feel more at ease to share their experiences if they were not directly quoted or indications given to whom they might be. This is especially relevant if their employment or social relations might be jeopardized by the disclosure of specific information.

How did we determine which interview template to use?

The research was based on a series of qualitative, open ended interviews with 27 people in Prince Edward Island and Ottawa. Two interview templates were made available to the research team. Template A was intended towards the people within government and Template B was meant for social groups. Template A interviewees included politicians and municipal, provincial, and federal bureaucrats. The questions in the two templates are different. Template A addressed questions pertaining to the roles and interaction of multi-level governance; whereas Template B is meant towards people involved in social organizations in the community and its questions focused on the roles played by social forces and infrastructure in the community. There were times when it was difficult to determine whether an individual was involved in multi-level governance or else was part of the social forces. At the analysis stage of the thesis, the interviewees within Template

A were referred to as *Multi-Level Government Interviewees* and those within Template

B as *the Social Forces*.

<u>During the interview</u>

The author travelled to where interviewees felt they were comfortable enough to meet.

The research journey reached different localities, ranging from Montague, PEI to

Ottawa, Ontario. On one occasion, the interviewee asked why the author's car had New

Brunswick number plates. This gives an understanding of the importance of specific

details that might be otherwise considered petty. On a small island such as PEI, it is

imperative to know certain things about certain people in order to position, strategize,

and feel comfortable at the same time. On a small island, if something happens, one

cannot relocate far enough without leaving the island and therefore it is important to

accumulate knowledge as much as possible. Island folklorist, David Weale, has come

up with Island sayings typifying the relationships on the Island: "When you say too

much, there is no corner you can hide" and "It is the God-given right of every Islander to

know the business and the whereabouts of every other Islander" (Weale, 2003).

The interview was expected to last an hour or less. This information was shared with the

potential interviewees on the phone. In some cases, interviewing time was only 25

minutes and in other instances, it lasted almost two hours. Questions were open-ended

and therefore the interviewee was at ease to contribute as much or as little as he/she

wanted.

As soon as the author met the interview participant, they were thanked for accepting the invitation. In most cases, the author had already told the interviewee on the phone that she was a graduate research assistant with Dr Andrew Trivett, collecting the data for this research. She added that she was an international student at UPEI, reading for a Master of Arts degree in Island Studies. Once again, the purpose of the research was highlighted to the participant and this information was also reinforced by handing them two media articles pertaining to the research (copy of the articles in the Appendix). Ethics guidelines were explained to the participants, stressing that they could stop the interview at any time and that they had the choice to refuse to answer particular questions without having to give an explanation. Anonymity and confidentiality were guaranteed. They were asked if they were comfortable if the interviews were recorded in order to transcribe them, notifying that the tapes would be destroyed at the end of research process. The REB consent form was handed to the participants and its contents were explained. They were given the chance to have a copy, and in instances where photo-copiers were not available (due to choice of interview location), two consent forms were signed, and the participant kept one of the copies. One participant refused to sign the consent form and therefore details of the interview cannot be used. One participant signed the consent form but declined to have the interview tape-recorded. In that case, detailed notes were taken at the time of the interview. None of the interviewees were paid for their involvement.

Difficulties encountered during the collection of data

It took six months to set up an appointment for an interview with an individual from Kinkora. Several emails, faxes, letters, and phone calls were exchanged. At last perseverance paid off and the author managed to get a positive reply from the municipality. The participant agreed to meet later on in the evening for an interview. It was not easy to find participants in Kinkora. One other participant kept the research on hold for two months. During this time, the researcher was unsure whether this person was interested in the research, and after this time elapsed, the author did not press this person any longer for an interview.

Multiplicity of roles is highly evident. The author asked a UPEI professor who is originally from Kinkora why it was so difficult to interview people from there (4 respondents) in contrast to other communities such as Montague (7 respondents). It has been shared that they might have been afraid that infrastructure is linked to the value of property in their community and consequently research on infrastructure projects might result in increased property taxes. The author managed only to interview four people related to infrastructure in this community. One of the interviewees shared with author the relief felt when the interviewee saw her in person at the time of the interview. Given the author's foreign accent on the phone (when she was setting up the interview appointment), the interviewee was suspicious that the interviewer might be a foreign phone-scammer trying access personal information. In order to "soothe" the interviewee's fears from those suspicions, the author shared the names of some of her

own contacts on the Island and whom this person might know as well; that gesture created a sense of shared friendliness throughout the interview.

The author did not find it difficult to contact most of the participants. However, one case stands out. In this particular case, the author had to fly to arrive to the interview destination, making travel arrangements weeks in advance. When she showed up at the place of interview and was waiting in the lobby area, she overheard two people taking about her research in a not-so positive way. They stated that it was waste of time and that the research purpose was not understood. The author soon realized that they were talking about her research, without them realizing that she was the interviewer. It beckoned on the author that they might have been expecting an Island-looking person and therefore did not feel threatened to disclose their personal views on the research in front of a stranger in the lobby. At that point, the author introduced herself and the look on their faces demonstrated their surprise and shock at what they had divulged. The information collected during the interview turned out to be futile because two of the interview participants refused to sign the ethics' consent form.

Other than that, most of the time, the author was comfortably welcomed. This was especially interesting to observe, especially in men. (All but two interviewees were men). At the start of the meeting, they were visibly tense, crouching forward. By the end of the interview, they were leaning backwards on their seat, visibly relaxed. Most of the participants' at the end of the interview gave an indication that they had expected the worse from the interview. As soon as they were told that interview is done, their response was: "that's all?" What were they anticipating after all?

CHAPTER 5:   THE DATA

The interview participants were told that the research was focused on infrastructure projects in the community which were fairly recent. When asked how recent, it was described as projects going as far back as 2000. They were also told that the research was not going to take into consideration contentious projects but rather day-to-day business in infrastructure. The aim was to create a research template that would be comparative across the four communities in the study. Ahead of the interviews, research was done on the type of projects funded in the community. However, this information was not shared with the participants in order not to bias them in favour of one project over another.

Interview data

The following are the observations that have been gathered through the interviews. The information given during the interviews was compiled within a database framework and categorized. These groupings were formulated after all interviews were finished. The *Multi-Level Government Interviewees* (Fineman & Gabriel, 1996, p.123) are people who are close to the government, examples of which are politicians, bureaucrats, and municipal officials. The *Social Forces'* data includes information gathered from the people involved in civil society. This format is the same for all four communities. The interviewed members of the civil society included people who have or wished to have a say in infrastructure.

Multi-Level Government Template vs. Social Forces' Template

The Multi-Level Government Interviewees are participants who somehow form part of

the governing structure specific to the definition used given to Infrastructure in this

research. They are municipal/provincial/federal officials, provincial and federal

politicians, committee members appointed by a particular level of government, people

who have or wish to have influence within the governance sphere. *A priori*, they are

expected to side with the government policy, and are assumed to be well-informed on

the policy process. They are "in the loop." The people in this category are part of the

network of power, ascribed authority, whether it is constitutional, provincial, or

otherwise. They are the ones who might determine who get funding or even know when

money starts trickling down the system. Andrea Simpson refers to them as "the political

elite." (2007, p.3) "Fiefdoms" and business empires are built and sustained by

networks. Territories are contested and victories are won at the expense of competitors.

(Fineman & Gabriel, 1996) Tony Thorndike (1991, p.110) portrays the political culture

of islands as "essentially inward-looking and insular, where the surrounding sea is a

barrier rather than a highway." On the other hand, Social Forces are the recipients

(potential or otherwise) of infrastructure funds. They are the ones that have less agency

around funding within the political system. Civil Society is not considered within the

policy community loop. Its linkage to the loop is through lobbying and/or networking.

Study community #1:   CHARLOTTETOWN

"This is a small town in a small island."

Charlottetown is the provincial capital and largest city in PEI. It is a peninsula jutting

out on the south shore of the Island, bounded by the Hillsborough River on one side and

the North River on the other. The City has a long history of incorporation, in direct

contrast to other communities on PEI. After all, the City is referred to as the Birthplace

of Confederation. The municipality is made up of the Mayor and 10 city councillors and

employs over 180 permanent employees. (City of Charlottetown)
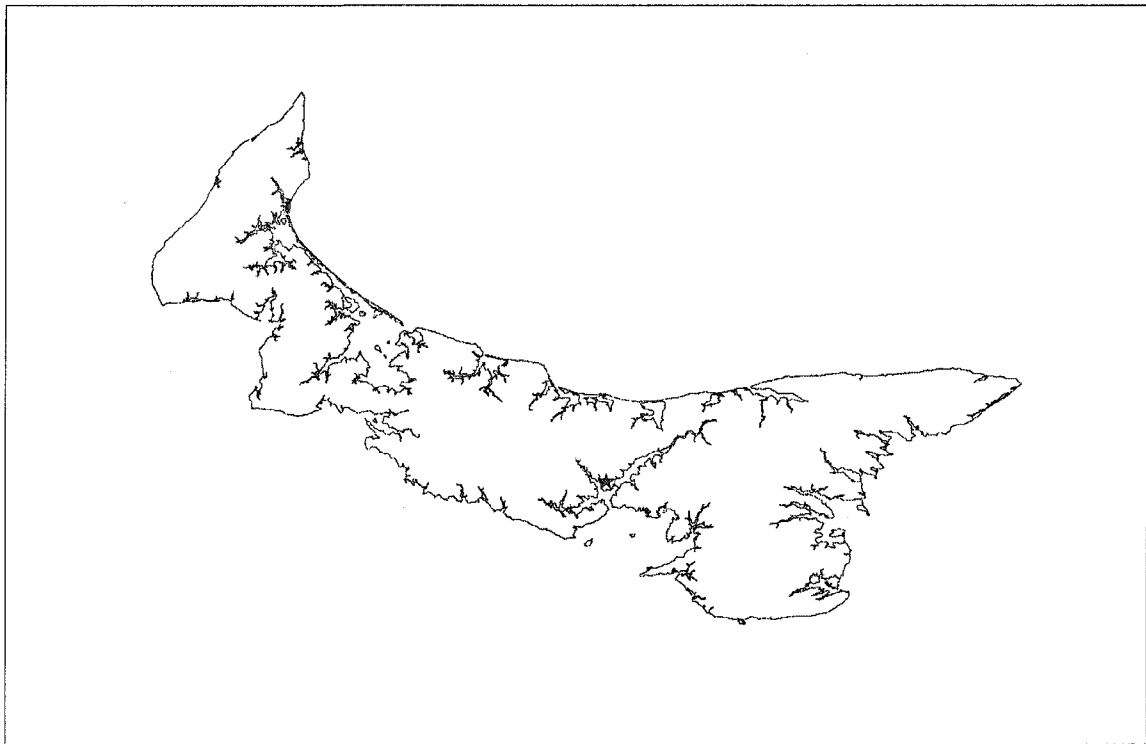
Figure 3: Location of Charlottetown in PEI

Charlottetown is represented in its entirety by a single Member of Parliament (MP) in the House of Commons and five Members of the Legislative Assembly (MLAs). PEI is represented by four MPs and 27 MLAs in the Provincial Assembly. Charlottetown is the only municipality on the Island with an overlapping jurisdictional governance structure. The City's mayor and its MP cover the same municipal boundary.

The city's geographical location, perched on the Northumberland Strait, has been conducive to it becoming a focal administrative site. The main provincial departments and some of the federal departments are located within the hub of Charlottetown. The City hosts the main commercial airport on the Island. The University of Prince Edward Island and Holland College are the only tertiary institutions on PEI and both their main campuses are located in Charlottetown. Intercity transit has been recently facilitated by federal infrastructure grants through the setting up of a private-public model initiative. Bus service across the City has been introduced to the public after an absence of more than twenty years. Transit funding also went towards the purchase of vehicles for para-mobility purposes. "A transit system in Charlottetown is an initiative that has been talked about for many years and with the support of the Federal and Provincial Governments, this transit system has now become a reality" (Infrastructure Canada, 2006b). It was funded through the Canada-Prince Edward Island Transit Agreement and the Public Transit Capital Fund. The City of Charlottetown received over $1.6 million to purchase five buses, 14 bus shelters, and signage. Other projects include the expansion of the Charlottetown Harbour to accommodate larger cruise ships (ACOA, 2007c), the upgrade of the water treatment plant in the locality (Infrastructure Canada,

2006a) and the construction of the controversial "Peter Pan intersection" (Premier's

Office - Prince Edward Island, 2007).

The research in Charlottetown included 6 interview participants consisting of three

Multi-Level Government Interviewees and three *Social Forces interviewees.* The

General questions give a brief overview of the locality (as perceived by the

interviewees). The rest of the interview responses are in Appendix 1.

Charlottetown Data

Table 3 (below) provides the interview responses on types of projects and other

background infrastructure information in the community.

Table 3: Charlottetown - General information on Infrastructure

Questions	Responses	
	Multi-Level Government	*Social Forces*
Which infrastructure projects have been done in the community during the last 5 years?	The public transit system, sewer projects, traffic intersections, and IT development.	Public transit-related projects.
What are the stages of a project?	Project is approved by municipality council and then funding is applied for. The municipality would have already submitted its wish list to the PEI Infrastructure Management Committee. If it fits within eligibility criteria and priority schedule set by the infrastructure program, the project moves ahead. The municipality knows in advance how much funding it will get. It finances the whole project and then bills two thirds of the eligible costs to the provincial and federal governments. Politicians are involved at different stages of the project.	Projects start bottom up; however policy is presented as *fait accompli*. One NGO came up with a project plan and presented it to the municipality for approval.
Any projects that the community wishes or wished to do?	People's choice of projects would not go to water and sewer projects. The municipal politician gives direction towards these types of projects since they would not be otherwise undertaken.	Public transit across the province.
What is the important issue in the community?	Public transit.	Public transport.
How literate are the communities with regards to infrastructure programs?	No response.	One NGO was not aware until it was contacted and informed about the availability of funds. Another NGO has made it a point to be knowledgeable on specific infrastructure program.

The author went into the communities relying on maps and researched information on the community. She shared a lack of knowledge on the provincial and federal political system with the respondents and they were quick to draw a clear picture of the political scene on the Island. One anecdote shared during one of the interviews is that one of the mayors of a particular community is closely related to the MLA and the Minister's brother sits on the same municipality's council. An interesting quote that was shared is

the following: "This is a small town in a small island." It was noted that there is very good relationship between the MLA and municipal councillors.

The government sources reported that federal, provincial, and municipal politicians are involved in shaping infrastructure policy. Some are involved at the initial stages, that of gathering information about the needs of the community. Others are engaged in the formulation of the policy, more specifically at the provincial and federal levels (the latter only happens if the political party which they represent is in power).

In Charlottetown, the perceived predominant social groups in the community are the business community, the agriculture lobbying groups and the provincial road-builders. The social forces' view on who is involved in infrastructure policy making is different than the one given by government sources. According to the interviewed NGOs, the federal government is the one that has the money to fund projects. ACOA is the arm of the local federal branch that processes applications. Social forces stated that they are not involved within the initial stages of the infrastructure policy-making process, but rather at the implementation stages. One NGO reported that social forces have the potential to be involved in the process of recognising the needs of the community. One NGO mentioned that improved public dialogue is necessary to bring in the grassroots involved in how public money is used.

One of the projects mentioned was public transit in Charlottetown. During one of the interviews, it was disclosed that the municipality decided to start the public transit system in Charlottetown and the municipality became one of the partners within the project. Grants were also provided to an NGO to provide para-mobility transportation

around Charlottetown, the surrounding areas and between Charlottetown and out-of-province locations. The federal government had already presented the transit-related policy as a *fait accompli* to the stakeholders. One of the social forces reported that there was initial rivalry between those in favour of the public transit and cab companies in Charlottetown. Partisan politics were not evident except in the case of public transit where the provincial opposition party made an electoral promise if it would be elected to power at the forthcoming general election.

When it comes to the realization of projects, the municipality puts in a wish list to the Management Committee. The Federation of PEI Municipalities is perceived as having some say in the implementation of infrastructure policy by having one non-voting member within the PEI Infrastructure Management Committee. The levels of government purport that public policy is determined both by the federal government and the province. The participants were asked if the municipality is apolitical, specifically if the municipality council in the community is political party-based. A case in point was highlighted when the federal minister came over to PEI during this period. One participant noted that the party influence could be observed from the number of new projects revealed by the Minister on this occasion. At the time of the interview, the federal government was congruent with the provincial political party in power. One respondent pointed out that the federal MPs, who are in opposition, are not involved in provincial infrastructure processes since the federal liberal party lost the government in 2006.

Politicians have a lot of contact with the different levels of government especially when their political party is in power. Lobbying by the politician is perceived by the respondents to be an important role of the politician. They lobby to get funding for the constituency/riding or else to make a project eligible within the criteria. One NGO mentioned that lobbying is personal because people know each other through their personal sphere and organization through the office networks. Another NGO noted that lobbying is exhibited through increased flexibility in policy-making. There is a direct communication link between the Islander and the Premier or Minister, something that may not be possible in other provinces. How does geographical smallness affect policy-making? The smallness and islandness nature of PEI makes it possible that the islander thinks that he/she can access the three levels of government with just a phone call. Politicians, whether municipal, provincial, or federal, are always at hand, and are easily accessible. This might explain why an NGO gets to know about the funding and within three days applies for funding and successfully gets it. Politicians are perceived to be close at hand and willing to help if issues arise. They are the mediators if concerns are unresolved and their doors are open if an organization wants to get in contact.

The contact between the NGO and the politicians is with the members of the government and bureaucrats rather than with the Opposition, although the latter seems to have been receptive to the lobbying work which the organization has undertaken. During one of the interviews, the author was told that the municipality is never turned down when it applies for funding since it knows in advance how much financial assistance is available. One government source stated that the federal government brings in most resources to the policy process. The author has been told that competition between

municipalities is present on the Island. One source noted that communities are too small

to start a project and they do not have the revenue sources to put up one third of the

costs. Some municipalities are too small on PEI and are therefore unable to acquire the

necessary resources to put together a project proposal.

Study Community #2:   SUMMERSIDE

"Small city, big opportunities"

Summerside, Summerfield, Summerville – three localities in PEI, yet one of them is the

second largest city on the Island. Summerside is located in Prince County perched on

the southwestern side of the Island, sixty kilometres northwest of Charlottetown.

Recently it has embarked on a branding exercise with such tagline as "small city, big

opportunities," highlighting its important municipal role as the *metropolis* in the region

(City of Summerside, 2007).

Summerside has a long history of jurisdictional and municipal governance. It was

incorporated first as a town in 1877 and in 1995 it was amalgamated with close-by

localities. Legend has it that the origins of its name date back to the time when cars

were not in existence on the Island. Travelling from one place to another was a long

journey. One version to the story is that a visitor travelled from Charlottetown to that

locality and was surprised to find that, whereas in Charlottetown it was cold and dark,

the other place was bright and summer-looking and the name stuck to it. The place used

to be previously called Green's Shore (Government of Prince Edward Island, Canada).

The name-derivation of the location is linked to Daniel Green, a Loyalist granted land on

the south side of Prince Edward Island. His son called his house (also an inn)

Summerside House, and so people gave that name to the settlement.

The city has a population of 14,500 according to the 2006 Census. It suffered a 1.1%

decrease in population since the 2001 census, as opposed to a 0.4% population increase

in PEI. Summerside has a population density of 511 persons per square kilometre

(Statistics Canada, 2007). It lies within a 15 minute drive away from the Confederation

Bridge, the fixed link to mainland Canada. The City of Summerside has direct access to

the Island's two major highways: Route 1A (The Trans-Canada Highway) and Route 2.

Buses leave and arrive daily with connections to the rail system on the mainland.
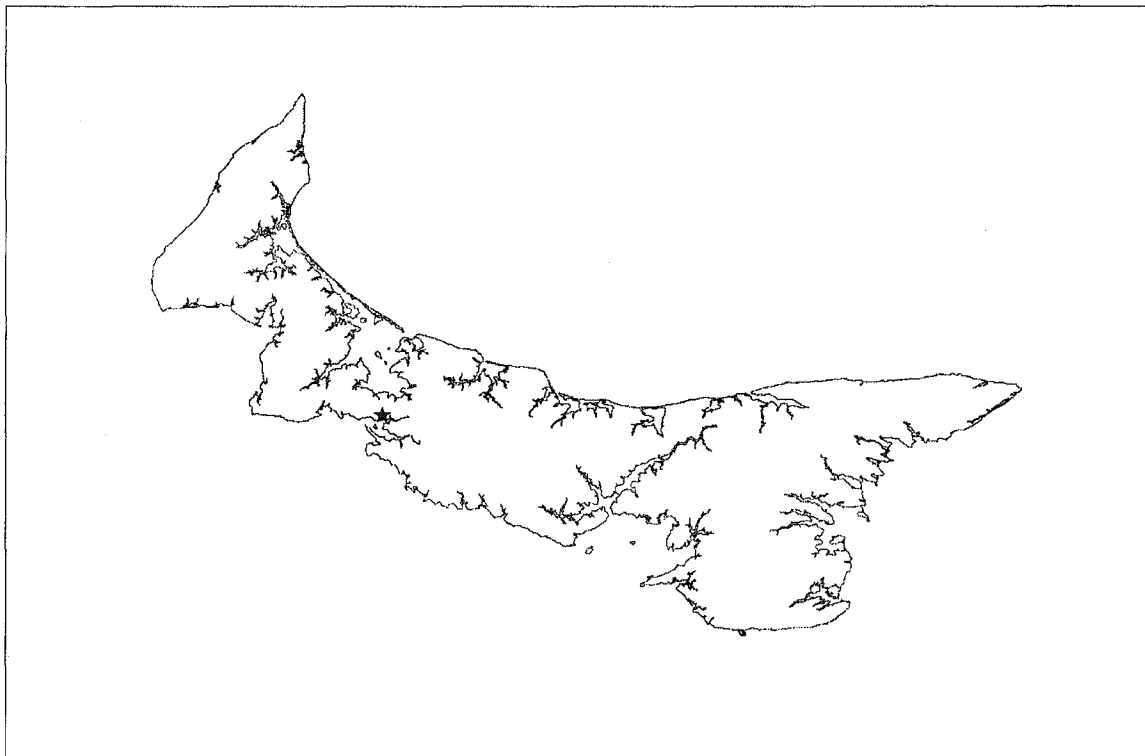
Figure 4: Location of Summerside in PEI

The city presently houses 964 businesses. The geophysical closeness to the mainland

has been a springboard for the opening of Slemon Industrial Park which lies on the

outskirts of Summerside. The proximity to the 'outside world' has been conducive to

market the place as a location which unlocks the Island's perceived geographical isolation. Summerside housed an air force base until its closure in 1995. Indirect jobs were threatened by the demise of this 'industry'. The city hall lobbied hard to diversify the local economy and the result was Slemon Industrial Park, focusing on the aerospace industry and a federal Inland Revenue department.

The City lies within the Egmont federal riding which covers the west part of the Island up to the North Cape. Two MLAs represent Summerside in the Provincial Assembly. The City of Summerside is represented by eight councillors, each representing a ward in the locality, and a mayor overseeing the City Council. Full time administrative staff works at the city hall providing a range of services from policy-direction advice to service delivery operators. The city has a specific department dealing with municipal services charged with "maintaining the city's infrastructure." (City of Summerside, Prince Edward Island, 2007)

The municipality has a history of generating electric power dating back to 1896. This facility was also present in other PEI localities until they all closed down except the one in Summerside. Maritime Electric operates the other two electrical generating stations on the Island. The City of Summerside maintains 10,480 kW of generating capacity for standby purposes and purchases virtually all of its electricity from Maritime Electric. The City is proposing to move a step forward than any other municipality on PEI and has made plans to generate its own clean green energy. Presently it is proposing to erect several wind turbines and construct the infrastructure necessary for the transmission of the generated electricity to the City of Summerside's substation. The wind farm will be located at the extreme northern municipal boundary of the city next to Malpeque Bay.

Other infrastructure projects include the West End Development Project (ACOA, 2007d)

and the construction of the Wellness Centre (ACOA, 2007a).

Summerside Data

In Summerside, five participants were interviewed; three were *Multi-Level Government*

Interviewees and two were *Social Forces Interviewees*. The table below (Table 7)

contains interview data giving a general outline on infrastructure in Summerside during

the last five years.

Table 4: Summerside - General questions on Infrastructure

Questions	Responses	
	Multi-Level Government	*Social Forces*
Which infrastructure projects have been done in the community during the last 5 years?	The respondents referred to different projects. These were the removal of seaweed from the West End of Summerside, the water-sewer project, the wellness centre and the wind-generation project.	Two of the respondents pointed out the boardwalk construction and the Wellness Centre in Summerside. The third NGO is not directly related to infrastructure and therefore did not benefit directly from infrastructure money.
What are the stages of a project?	Only one response. Accordingly, it was explained that after the need for a project is identified, it is forwarded for approval by Council. An application is then made to the Management Committee. There is negotiation with the provincial and federal government to get funding.	Only one reply. The participant was involved at the conceptualization stage of the project. A proposal was created and presented to City Council and it was well-received. This participant was also involved in the planning stage. When the project was approved for funding, the participant was asked to help with fundraising.
Any projects that the community wishes or wished to do?	The municipality wants to build a third electrical cable to the mainland. Summerside has its own power plant. Municipality has to convince province to come on board with project. Province has its own objectives on projects. The transit project is another project wanted by the community.	No response.
What is the important issue in the community?	Only one response. This was the boardwalk in Summerside.	Three different answers were given. They were the economic-development related infrastructure, the Wellness facility, and environmental-related issues.
How literate are the communities with regards to infrastructure programs?	Only one response. The municipality knows it will get money for project but how it is worked out from the support side, would be done at the federal-provincial interface in Charlottetown.	No response.

One government source referred to fairly extensive contact between the federal government and provincial politicians. There is overlapping jurisdiction between the federal, provincial, and municipal governments and this result in negotiations between the parties. Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency (ACOA) represents the federal business partner in PEI.

The need for a project is presented to the City Council. Application is made to Council and, if it is approved, it goes towards negotiation to access provincial and/or federal funding. The government sources stated that the politicians' role is that of shaping the initial response in assessing whether there is a need and where the need is. In the end, a political decision has to be made to endorse that project and fund it. The politician has a balancing role between the municipality and the bureaucrats' direction. It was shared that the MP for the locality used to be Minister for ACOA during the previous federal government and therefore this helped the community become aware of infrastructure funds.

One government source noted that, although provincial governments are different politically than the federal government, there is a little bit of tension there due to who gets the credit for doing what. Another government source referred to the fact that in PEI there is no federal MP on the government side at the moment and therefore the municipality feels that it has limited direct input going to certain people at the federal level.

One government source noted that there is a lot of lobbying done at community level to encourage the province to support certain projects, especially since funding amounts are

pre-determined before they get to the municipal level. There is lobbying with the MLA on a regular basis depending on what the issues are. The community touches base with the people that are involved with provincial and federal negotiations. Ministers are also engaged to talk about the community's needs.

The sewage treatment plant is a collaboration project between three communities albeit competition for Canada Strategic Infrastructure Fund (CSIF) money between the communities on the Island. There is a competitive process and collaboration is perceived as minimal. A government source noted that the community does not always get to choose where the money is spent. In one case, the province determined that funding was going to specific projects rather than the ones the community aimed for. The two higher levels of government determine the direction of the infrastructure program, what is going to be funded and what will be eligible.

Social forces mention that some of the interest groups have dominated the policy process. One NGO noted that key officials within government are the project reference points. The social forces referred to the economic development organizations, such as tourism groups and environmental groups, as being predominant social groups in the community. According to the social groups, the important issues in the community are economic-development related infrastructure, an example of which is the Wellness Centre. The social groups that are vocal might have a tug of war when it comes to having their say. The project has a conceptualization stage which proceeds into proposal to the Municipality's council for approval. Both social groups noted that the social groups are either at the receiving end of the project or else the ones that pass on first-hand data from the community to the government. It has been noted that social forces

have had a strong voice in pushing policy in one direction or another although more consultation might result in better policy. Dialogue with the social forces results in projects which are needed by the community. It was stated during the interviews that there is greater success through participation and involvement since the community feels that it has ownership on the policy in question. The author has been told that direct participation in social groups results in better communication with the higher echelons of government. The social forces noted that politicians support more projects when they enjoy community backing.

The social forces noted that lobbying is done to get popular support for ideas/projects. Businesses, politicians, and social groups are lobbied. Lobbying is done based on individual connections with people who one feels can be engaged for serious discussions about certain concerns. The role of the politician is that of a key player in whether projects get to be done or not. Information is gathered from the municipal grassroots but it is ultimately the politician who will be the deciding factor.

Study Community #3:   MONTAGUE – The Beautiful

The above is the epithet that the town goes by. Right in east Kings County, Montague

provides administrative facilities to the surrounding smaller communities; coincidentally

it also acts as the closest business centre to the Wood Islands ferry. Montague provides

commercial and administrative services to the small communities of Kings County.

Montague is located on Route 4, which is part of the Points East Coastal drive, covering

411 kilometres (Government of Prince Edward Island, Canada, 2007). The town is

located close to the earliest European Settlement on the Island, dating around 1732.

(Three Rivers Roma Inc, 2007)
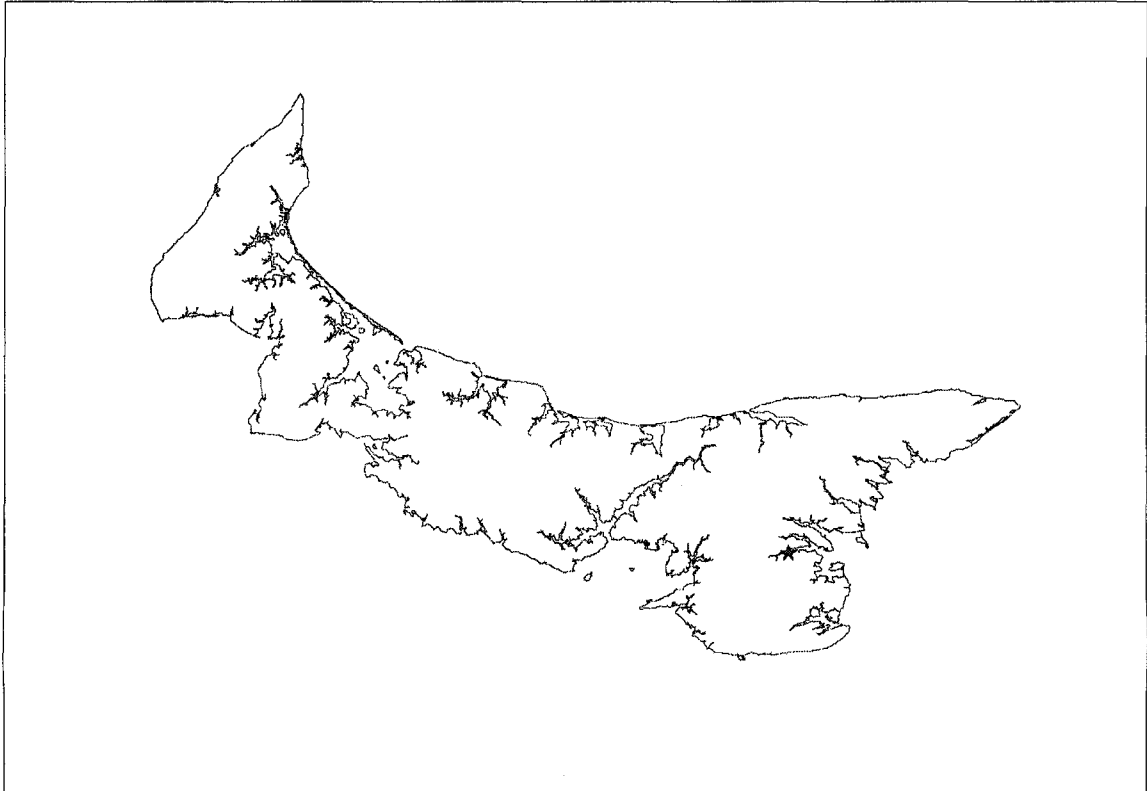
Figure 5: Location of Montague in PEI

The town owes its name sake to Samuel Holland who named the locality in honour of George Brudenell, count of Cardigan and Duke of Montagu (Hamilton, 1996). Until incorporation, the town was known as Montague Bridge (The Canadian Encyclopedia Historica, 2007). The 'new' bridge in Montague was constructed in 1954. It replaced previous ones made of trimmed off trees and another one of steel finished in 1913 (Johnston, 1963). The bridge forms part of the town's coats of arms. It represents "the idea of permanence and the ongoing importance of the crossing with the gold referring to commence and wealth via transportation." The town lies on the Montague River, which runs 6 kilometres upstream from Cardigan, providing access to the Northumberland Strait and the Atlantic Ocean. The Montague River bisects the town into two. The bridge, connecting the eastern and western parts of Montague, has been a recent recipient of infrastructure funding. (The bridge was never mentioned as a funded project by the respondents in town although the author knew about it from out-of-province resources). The town will also be hosting the Canada Games in 2009 and will be upgrading some of the sports facilities in the community. Total federal input in infrastructure programs is in the $500,000 range.

The town council is made up of a mayor and six councillors. It has a population of 1,802 (Statistics Canada, 2007). It covers a land area of 3 square kilometres and a population density of 592 per square kilometre. There are 283 businesses listed in the community. The Town was incorporated in 1917. Montague is part of the federal district of Cardigan.

In 2001, Montague utilized green municipal infrastructure funding and the waste water treatment plant was expanded and a chlorination system was installed. The Montague Curling Club was expected to receive funding for the expansion of its premises (Government of Prince Edward Island, Canada, 2001). In 2005, Montague's Wellness Centre was awarded over $3m through the Municipal Rural Infrastructure Fund (MRIF) program (Government of Prince Edward Island, Canada, 2006). It also applied to extend its water services. The works included the addition of approximately 2,450 metres of water distribution mains and 74 service laterals through a $943,000 project (Government of Prince Edward Island, Canada, 2005). Montague had its own power plant located in the community (Johnston, 1963), similar to the one in Summerside and other communities on the Island.

Montague Data

Montague has provided the highest number of respondents in this research. Seven people were interviewed, five as *Multi-Level Government Interviewees* and two as *Social Forces.* The table below (Table 11) contains the responses towards general questions asked in Montague.

Table 5: Montague - General information on Infrastructure

Questions	Responses	
	Multi-Level Government	*Social Forces*
Which infrastructure projects have been done in the community during the last 5 years?	Both respondents referred to the water and sewer projects done in the community. There was mention of the soccer complex and the construction of the new Wellness Centre in Montague.	The five respondents mentioned different projects. These were watershed management projects, the Canada Games projects in Montague, clearance of an oil well tank site, regional information technology centre, funding for the continuation of the operation of the Wood Islands ferry and the Points East Coastal Drive, the latter including tourism related road-signage.
What are the stages of a project?	One reply is available. The municipality established priorities on what it would like to do and based on these priorities, it submits applications. It does not always work out that it obtains approval on basis of priorities since sometimes funding goes to other projects which are of lesser priority to the municipality. It had no difficulty putting in application. It knew what they wanted and it matched. Once approval was received, design was arranged and it was standard.	The stages of a project depend on certain factors. One respondent shared that a community would go to the engineering firm and state that they want to build a water system. The engineering firm helps in the planning process and applies for infrastructure funds and if approved, would construct it. Another respondent stated that when funding for the Wood Island ferry looked likely to be cut off, the NGO which this person represents became part of a lobby group so that funding would not be cut. The local politician's credibility and personal power was used as lobbying in Ottawa to persuade the Department of Transportation about the value of the Wood Island ferry to the eastern part of PEI. A third respondent wrote a white paper on policy and presented it to government. The latter bought into the idea and then the project was initiated. A fourth respondent mentioned that when a plan comes from the Town Council's sub-committee, it is put forward to town council for approval and moves from there.
Any projects that the community wishes or wished to do?	Municipality would have preferred to cover the entire town when it comes to sewerage but rather has to go in stages.	No response.
What is the important issue in the community?	For one respondent, infrastructure is necessary for businesses' success. For the other respondent, the main concern in the community is the water and septic system plus other secondary priorities (which were not specified).	One answer was the continuation of the link between Kings County (PEI) and mainland Nova Scotia. The second reply was increasing the number of tourists to the area, and the third respondent referred to the support towards businesses.
How literate are the communities with regards to infrastructure programs?	One respondent replied that communities refer to politicians for help with the infrastructure program. The other respondent noted that the municipality knows upfront what the application requires.	One respondent mentioned that communities depend on the engineering firm to apply for infrastructure funding. Another respondent stated that the NGO is not knowledgeable on policies pertaining to the federal Department of Transportation, the latter being responsible for funding towards the Wood Island ferry. A third respondent noted that the community is literate about the infrastructure program since it wants to make sure that application for funding fits in with the program.

The government sources mentioned the water and sewer system together with the Wellness Centre and the soccer complex as some of the recent infrastructure projects in the community. Businesses' success and the water and septic systems are priorities in the community. The ferry link between the Kings County and mainland Nova Scotia is an important issue in Montague for the interviewed social forces.

The municipality has established infrastructure priorities and, on their basis submits applications to the infrastructure program. It does not always work out that it obtains approval on the basis of priorities since sometimes funding goes to other projects which are of lesser priority to the municipality (similar to the situation in Charlottetown and Summerside.) Application is put in such a way to match what the funding agency wants. Once approval is reached, the design of the project is arranged.

Communities refer to politicians for help with infrastructure programs. The municipality also knows upfront what the policy application requires. It is the politician's job to make sure that a project gets approved through the different levels of approval and gets funding. The politician asks the people in the riding about the needs of the community. Politicians' role is that of putting in suggestions to policy. The federal politician is expected to lobby and get the project approved and funded, using networks in Ottawa. Both government sources responded that the infrastructure program is divided evenly between the federal and provincial governments and they hold the strings. The politician and the provincial infrastructure office are the reference points for the municipality respectively.

Economic development groups are some of the predominant social groups in the community with particular emphasis going to the business community. Social forces can be involved in the community if they contact the politician, lobbying for support. The social forces are either involved at the initial planning stage whereby individuals or a group bring forward a project which they wish to see happening and/or involved at the execution of the decision which has been made elsewhere. In one interview, the respondent stated that the municipality would approach an engineering firm and ask for assistance to start a project. The engineering firm helps in the planning process, even applying for infrastructure funds and if project is approved, the project is initiated and the tender is given to this engineering firm.

Infrastructure decisions are passed down to the community to be executed and implemented rather than being involved in the planning stage. The latter might have saved money since it may avoid changes within the implementation framework of the policy/project later on in the day. Politics are important in locating what and where things get done in the community. Politicians are the gatekeepers who can link the local with the outside funds/policies/projects.

Lobbying is central to what is done. It is conducive to project planning and funding. Knowing the politician personally is perceived as an important tool to tap necessary resources. Who you know and how good you know that person is paramount in order to reach goals. One of the respondents was clear that "people are selected according to their liaisons, connections." The importance of knowing personally the politician was highlighted by the fact that after one of the interviews, the participant contacted the

assistant of a local politician to inform him about the research and ask whether he might be interested into participating. This initiative was appreciated by the author since it had previously proved futile to contact this individual. Lobbying is key to achieving goals, and smallness facilitates greater accessibility to lobbying. The Premier which is the highest echelon of politics in the province could be contacted at the local grocer store or on Sunday in church. This is how personal it can get in order to contact, convince and carry forward projects with political backing.

Local political power is a huge determinant which gives the leverage into making or breaking projects. If politicians are not on board the project, it is very difficult to accomplish ideas. An interesting observation is the role played between Development Corporations and Municipalities. The first one seems to have better access to infrastructure funds whereas the municipalities might be tied down by competition with other municipalities and other restrictions.

Politicians are active in taking stands on infrastructure issues especially if it involves partisan politics, i.e., liberals in politics attacking conservatives in power and vice versa. It was suggested that every social group should be identified and involved in the process and bring them on board so as not to backfire at the end.

The conservative-liberal dichotomy on provincial and federal levels is highlighted in the data. It has been mentioned in the media on several occasions that the Islanders try to elect an MP that reflects the same party in government in Ottawa. This is not the case

since 2006. The influence of the business community on the development of the town is paramount. The role of the municipality is influential at the local and provincial level but minimal at the federal one.

Policy making is done within a hierarchical structure. The community which stands at the bottom of the hierarchy is not conversant with the actual specificities of the policy. If the local people are not knowledgeable on the policy, who is? The role of the MP is into lobbying for a particular infrastructure initiative and using his/her steam and networks in order to succeed in whatever was being sought. Awareness of policies is not highly visible and organizations lobby to get their message across, relying on the politician.

Most of the participants did not refer at all to any of the Infrastructure Canada policies by name, such as MRIF, CSIF, or the Gas Tax. This is consistent with the idea that the people involved in this field may not ever be aware of the details of project-funding. The focus is on the politician to get the approval for projects and then the funding.

Study Community #4:   KINKORA

The village of Kinkora is located in Prince County, in the central part of Prince Edward

Island (Federation of PEI Municipalities - Human Resources Development Canada,

1998). Kinkora is a community which was initially settled by Irish immigrants in the

1830s. (Farmer, 1991, p.1) In 2006, Kinkora had a population of 326, an increase of 11

people from the census in 2001. The land area is less than four square kilometres.

Status changed to Locality when Kinkora became part of the Community of Kinkora in

1983. The late seventies saw the development of an outdoor hockey rink, the building of

a new fire hall and community centre complex. The provincial government database

lists 29 businesses operating in Kinkora.
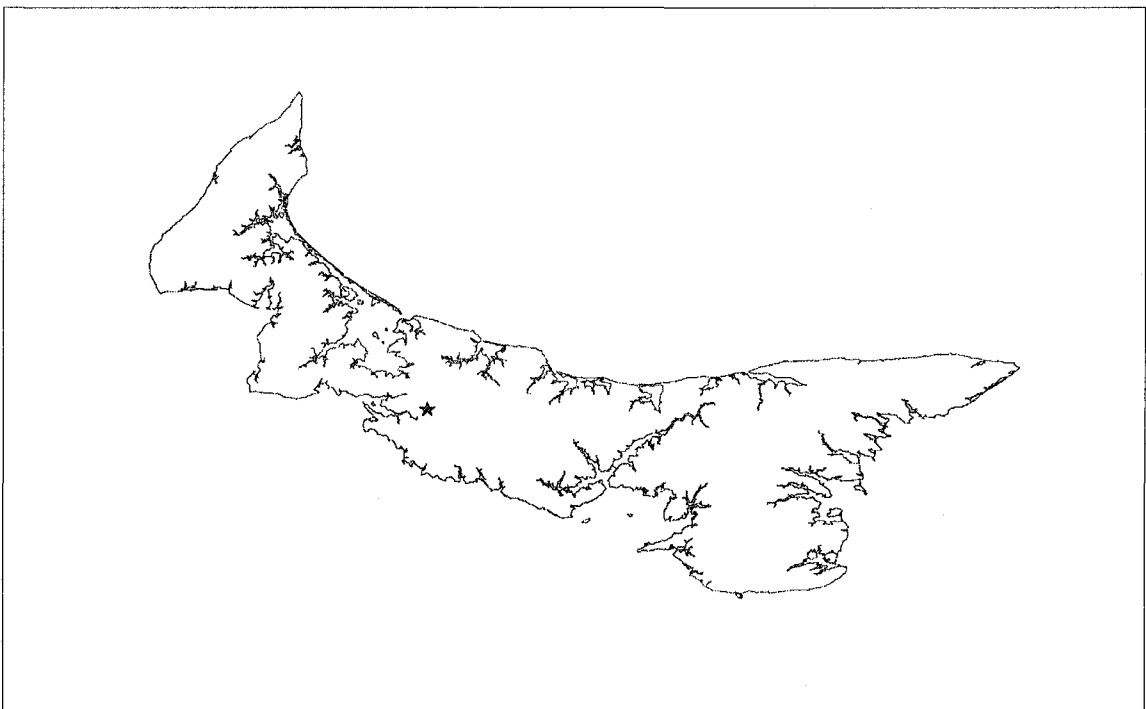
Figure 6: Location of Kinkora in PEI

The municipality of Kinkora is made up of a Chairperson and four councillors. The locality holds a meeting once a month and the administrative office is open on a part-time basis with restricted hours. The community lies within the Malpeque federal riding and is represented by an MLA whose constituency spans over from Borden to Kinkora. Its municipal building is situated within the community centre which also includes the regional fire department. This farming community employs a part-time Chief Administrative Officer who looks after its executive municipal affairs. The community has made some use of infrastructure programs such as the main sewer replacement (ACOA, 2007b). Total federal input within infrastructure programs is less than $500,000.

Kinkora Data

Four interviewees participated in the research; two respondents were *Multi-Level Government Interviewees* and two were *Social Forces.* The table below (Table 15) contains general information on infrastructure policy in Kinkora.

Table 6: Kinkora - General information on Infrastructure

Questions	Responses	
	Multi-Level Government	*Social Forces*
Which infrastructure projects have been done in the community during the last 5 years?	Both respondents made reference to the sewer systems in the community. One respondent mentioned the sludge project and the recreation field.	Both respondents referred to the sewer projects. One respondent mentioned the new wing to the fire hall.
What are the stages of a project?	The politician works with community, gets the project together, then it would go to Management Committee to be approved or disapproved. Another respondent was more specific about the stages of a project. It was explained that Kinkora got to know that there was some money left from the infrastructure agreement. Decision was taken on what project they wanted to do and got application in. There was a time delay. Canada-PEI Infrastructure Secretariat was not sure how much money was left available for funding. There were no problems after that.	One respondent stated that at the Annual General Meeting of the Municipality, a priority list is drawn up and the mayor indicates to the residents what he/she would like for the community and how to get funding for it. Approval is sought from the residents. And then application is made for infrastructure grants. The second respondent used a particular project as the background for the answers. The Council undertook a study to see what upgrade was needed and then applied for infrastructure funds.
Any projects that the community wishes or wished to do?	One respondent referred to the installation of a geo-thermal plant/wind turbine to make council building energy sustainable. The project is to be funded by gas tax money. A second respondent referred to a fire hall building and the water and sewerage projects.	One respondent stated that some people wanted to build a fire hall and others wanted to add on to the fire hall. Different groups wanted different things. Financial consideration was the deciding factor. A new wing was added as opposed to building a new fire hall. The municipality is now looking at wind energy project.
What is the important issue in the community?	Only one reply. The base problem in the community was the leaking sewer lines.	No response.
How literate are the communities with regards to infrastructure programs?	Only one reply. Arising questions are addressed to the Infrastructure Secretariat and response time is deemed appropriate.	Only one reply. The respondent is knowledgeable on infrastructure due to other commitments elsewhere.

The municipality does not have large expectations with regards to infrastructure projects. The province acts the middleman between the parties involved. They determine which projects go ahead every year. It is responsible to disperse the federal money to the communities. This level of government serves also as the reference point

for the municipalities. Questions about the infrastructure program are addressed to the Infrastructure Secretariat based in Charlottetown. The response is deemed as very good.

The government sources mentioned the works on the sewer system and the recreation field as projects which have been done in the community during the last five years. Kinkora is looking at installing a geo-thermal plant/wind turbine to make the council building energy sustainable together with water and sewer projects. The fire hall volunteers were pointed out as predominant groups in the social community.

The interview participants drew an interesting picture of the stages of a project. The community got to know that there was some money left from the federal-provincial infrastructure agreement. The municipality decided on the project which they wanted to do and submitted an application. There was a time delay but in the end they got the funding. The Member of the Parliament helps the community to get a project together.

One of the municipality officials meets the local MLA on a weekly basis and brings local issues to the table. There is contact between the MP and the MLA on projects which fall within the same riding/constituency. MP sits also with the community council and listens to what they need or want with regards to infrastructure.

A government source responded that there is very little partisan politics played within infrastructure programs. Within the provincial level, things are done for political reasons however this does not happen that much within federal level. "The closer one is to the ground level (local governance), the stronger politics come into play and political pressure from community and elected members." (Interview respondent)

One government source stated that the MLA is lobbied to resolve a pending municipal issue. Another source mentioned that lobbying is done in order to get infrastructure program beyond water and sewage. For PEI, the lobbying objective was to allocate funding that would not be based on per capita funding. Lobbying is organizational with key people put in place within federal agencies.

There is some discretion to adapt projects/programs. The way it was designed, it had to be discretions by agreement. The government source believes that the federal government brings in the largest amount of money. Federal government sets the policies since they are at the head of the nation and they are coming with the largest sum money so definitely they are perceived as having a major role within the process.

The government source reported that contact is with provincial officials in Charlottetown from the Canada-PEI Infrastructure Secretariat. Meetings are organized if the communities have questions. The government sources responded that the municipality has been treated really well while another source replied that there are differences between small and larger communities' needs and their ability to fund projects.

The government source referred to having more money as an improvement that could be made whilst another source referred to the lengthy time it takes for the money to be taken out. The process dealing with government is usually too long. Another suggested improvement was to have MPs (especially if they are in opposition) more involved in the process.

The municipality applies for available funds and refunds rather than being involved in decision making. It comes up with projects that are necessary in the community. At the Annual General Meeting of the Municipality, a priority list is drawn up and the mayor indicates to the residents what he/she would like for the community and how to get funding for it. Approval is sought through the residents. Afterwards an application for infrastructure grants is made.

The NGO replied that if there is anyone dominating the policy process, it is definitely not the NGO or the social forces. The predominant social group in the community is the fire department and other small groups. The social groups are only involved at the Annual General Meeting. There is communication between the municipality and business with regards to conflict of ideas and this is done in the form of letters. The social groups are involved when the NGO/individuals are presented with the proposal at the AGM. The social forces in the community are only involved when the project proposal is put forward through some sort of media announcement. The only input is through the Annual General Meeting and the majority vote rules. One NGO noted that votes by residents give legitimacy during AGM.

Two of the participants in Kinkora seemed to avoid sounding contentious about infrastructure issues but rather glorified the past and the present infrastructure policy. This may be indicative of the geographic smallness of the island whereby everyone knows each other and people may not be comfortable to speak ill of someone who can be traced in the community.

According to the interviews, Kinkora is well served within the realm of Infrastructure. The smallness of Kinkora may determine its 'humility' in asking for prioritization of projects. One of the respondents stated they were quite happy to receive what was left out of MRIF at the end of the accounting year to finish one of the sewer projects.

The Government/Social-Forces Comparison

The structure for the Interview templates has been presented by the lead researchers to Dr Trivett for this research project. The raw data collected has been categorized within a comparative framework for each community. People wear different hats depending on the existing social situation. It is being assumed that interviewees might be considered part of the governing structure at the time of the Interview or vice versa and might be viewed as Social Forces under different circumstances or vice versa. It is being assumed that the information and its analysis are not clear-cut. Grey areas of definitions exist and groups and networks are porous.

A Multi-Level Governance interview template was conducive to elucidate what happens when the community is too small to afford technical expertise and wants to access funding. In one instance, the municipality contacts an engineering firm to draw up a project according to the federal infrastructure program. It is understood that, if the project is accepted for funding, the engineering firm will be given the go-ahead to proceed with its implementation.

The four communities have emphasized different issues pertinent to infrastructure. The Social Forces in Charlottetown were focused on public transit. However, this might have been due to the clear availability of infrastructure funding and the selection of interviewees. Both groups in Montague focused on business and economic development in the community as pivotal features when discussing infrastructure.

Whereas the Multi-Level Government Interviewees use the institutionalized framework (such as the Federal/Provincial Infrastructure Secretariat) to gather information on the Infrastructure Program, the Social Forces tap into their networks to get into the loop. For instance, in Charlottetown, one social organization was contacted to apply for funding, and within three days, the project proposal was drawn up and ready for approval.

Both groups have given similar feedback on the role played by the provincial government in infrastructure. It partially funds the projects in conjunction with the federal government and the municipalities. The Multi-Level Government Interviewees stated that the provincial government is a negotiating mediator between the federal government and the municipalities. Both groups agree that the federal government is the lead agent in infrastructure-related policymaking. In the interviews, ACOA features as the bureaucracy representing the federal government. The municipalities are not directly involved in infrastructure policy-making. Their role is limited to approving and funding the project, depending on the agreement signed by the provincial and federal governments.

The business community features as the predominant social group according to both groups of interviewees. Kinkora was the only community that mentioned the fire-hall volunteers as having an important role in the community when it comes to infrastructure. One would ask how important is the infrastructure tied to the fire hall to a small community. What relevance does it have to a disappearing rural population in Canada?

It is pointed out that the interview templates were different for the two groups. The Multi-Level Governance template focused on the role of the politicians whereas the Social Forces' template is geared towards the understanding of the civil society's role in infrastructure. This might have been a flaw in the design of the research since one interview template produces an outlook of the social forces and their involvement. It was left up to the interviewees to decide whether they want to expand on the subject and include the politician and the social forces in the respective discussion. Therefore, no specific questions on the role of the social forces were directed to the Multi-Level Government Interviewees.

The social organizations have been vocal stating that they are involved either at the data-gathering stage or at the implementation stage of the policy/program or when they become aware that money is available to fund their project. The role of NGOs is limited to fundraising and creating awareness of the needs in the community. In Montague, one of the respondents correlated the size of the organization's role with the communication with the MLA or MP in the community. "If they want a big role, one can go and speak to any MLA or MP."

Both participating groups show limited technical knowledge on the infrastructure program. The municipalities look outside their community for information and the social organizations stated that information on the federal infrastructure program is mostly haphazard, co-incidental in nature and that the knowledge base is accessible through networks.

From the information collected during the interviews, PEI does not look like a hotbed of municipal collaboration. Elements of partnership between communities are limited and specific to particular instances and programs. One explanation put forward was the limited funds allocated to PEI and the consequential competition to acquire these resources.

Both groups highlight the role of the politician in infrastructure. The four municipalities have placed the politician within different stages of the process. The politician is involved in formulating the policy, deciding which projects are to be lobbied for, in one case putting pressure towards the realization of projects that were not on the municipality's priority list. It makes no difference between Charlottetown and Kinkora when it comes to the role of the politician. He/she is in regular contact with the constituency, asking about the needs of the community. One social organization positioned the politician as the medium within the infrastructure policy/program. They are contacted for support and lobbying for the project. The politician is a gatekeeper when it comes to taking a project a step further up towards its realization.

Both groups suggest that politics pervade public and private life. Networks exist and they cannot be ignored; therefore, political considerations infiltrate decisions. The level of political involvement is high in PEI at all levels of government. In Montague, it has been stated that, "politics dictate a lot where things get done. On a municipal level, politics influences MLAs."

The two largest municipalities in the research, Charlottetown and Summerside, have mentioned two different instances of partisan politics: between the federal and provincial government and based on political parties. The first one refers to who cuts the ribbon when the project is finalized. Infrastructure gives the visibility to the politicians. The second example of partisan politics was described when there is the same or different political party in government in Ottawa and provincially in Charlottetown. If the same party is in government (even if the federal and provincial political parties are supposed to be independent of each other), there is a perceived notion that the federal government is more willing to help the Island. In addition, the Island tries to elect MPs that reflect the colour of political party in Ottawa in order to get a listening ear. One NGO in Montague stated that in PEI it is difficult to lobby the Conservative government in Ottawa whilst the federal politicians in PEI are all Liberal.

The two groups confirm the existence of political lobbying. The Multi-Level Government Interviewees state that lobbying is conducive towards the acquisition of support for a cause. Politicians are lobbied in order to gather steam around initiatives. The politician is in constant contact, linking the community with the powerhouses outside the municipality. The politician is a key factor in all four communities.

Smallness plays a role to lobbying due to the higher accessibility. Political support for projects is sought towards the community's initiatives. Lobbying for support is both personal and organizational, depending on which network channels are being utilized to transmit the 'call for help'. Networking is imperative when it comes to lobbying. It can be done through personal networks or else through organizational grapevines. Who you know is paramount in placing the person within a hierarchy of importance within the community.

Municipal – Provincial – Federal Interfaces

This section provides a multi-level comparative element based on the data gathered during the interviews. The data below is separate and not included elsewhere in the thesis. The four respondents providing the data below are assumed to be knowledgeable on the subject of municipalities and infrastructure-funding, given the nature of their job. Given that anonymity is being guaranteed, the responses are framed in such a way as to mask the identity of the interviewees. The aim of the section is to provide a close-up view of perceptions from the people who are strongly involved in infrastructure on the Island. They have all been asked the same questions using the same interview template and they have been interviewed separately. The information is not community-specific but rather general, pertaining to infrastructure in PEI.

One of the respondents requested to view the questions in advance and sent in the responses by email rather than verbally. Another respondent agreed to be interviewed but did not wish to be recorded and notes were taken during the interview. One other

interview could not be included within this body of data because two of the interviewees

(there were four people present during this single interview) declined to sign the

Research Ethics Board's consent form.

Table 7 contains the raw data collected from the four respondents and computed within

categories of information. The analysis of the data follows each table.

Table 7: General Questions on Infrastructure

Questions	Respondents		
	Municipal govt (1 respondent)	Provincial govt (1 respondent)	Federal govt (2 respondents)
Which infrastructure projects have been done in the community during the last 5 years?	No mention.	Under MRIF, there will be a number of projects under the Canada Games. The harbour-front renovation is another project.	CSIF takes care of major projects, examples of which in Charlottetown are the Waterfront project and the Sewer Management Project. In Summerside, it would be the Wellness Centre and the Sewer Management Project.
What are the stages of a project?	The initiative for the project usually comes at the municipal level, sometimes at the provincial level. Municipalities apply for funding. The federal government tries to address municipal needs whilst taking into consideration federal priorities.	The municipalities initiate 99% of the projects. Municipalities approach the Federal-Provincial Infrastructure Secretariat with the projects, which they would like to apply for funding. The Secretariat picks the ones that best suit the program based on the criteria. The Green Committee, from the department of environment, do an assessment on submitted project applications that are then presented to the Management Committee.	CSIF Projects have typically been selected in consultation with each province or territory. Under the CSIF, projects have been identified for investment through a process that usually starts with discussion between federal and provincial/territorial (and sometimes local) officials and ministers (and mayors). Mayors and local officials are involved in large-scale projects in their communities, and to which their city is contributing funding. Project selection for MRIF is typically guided by joint federal-provincial/territorial Management Committees. As well, a role for municipal associations is defined in some provinces and territories. The role of municipal associations has been determined by the provinces and set out in the agreements signed with each jurisdiction. The process by which the federal government re-imburses the municipality works, is the following: (a)the municipality gets approval for the project through Council; (b) province gives municipality; © municipality submits claim for payment during project to PEI Infrastructure Secretariat and (d) province makes claim to federal government.
Any projects that the community wishes or wished to do?	No information	No information	No information
What is the important issue in the community?	No information	No information	No information
How literate are the communities about infrastructure programs?	No mention.	The Chief Administrative Officer (CAO) in the community is the one who deals with the day to day carrying out of the projects.	No mention

Analysis for Table 7: The respondents have provided similar answers to each other when asked about the stages of a project. Attention is drawn to what the provincial respondent had to say about the decision on which projects move forward for funding approval. It is the decision of the Provincial-Federal Infrastructure Secretariat that gets to choose the successfully projects. There is no municipal involvement at this stage.

Table 8: Federal-Provincial involvement in Infrastructure in PEI

	Respondents		
Questions	Municipal govt (1 respondent)	Provincial govt (1 respondent)	Federal govt (2 respondents)
How is the province engaged in infrastructure?	Municipalities are provincial responsibilities. It is up to the province whether the municipality will be involved in certain infrastructure-related issues. The province wants to take the decisions exclusively on the approval of projects.	The province's position is that the federal government has to deal with the province rather than deal directly with municipalities. The province generally administers all infrastructure programs and it receives an administration fee for some of the programs. Some of the municipalities fare better than others. The bigger ones, Charlottetown and Summerside, can look after themselves. The province represents all the small municipalities and all the unincorporated areas.	In most instances, the provinces and territories are the federal government's main interlocutor - for example, under the CSIF, projects are typically selected in consultation with each province and territory in order to ensure that projects funded reflect a province's or territory's specific infrastructure needs. The province delivers MRIF and joint-delivers CSIF. The province co-ordinates the different programs, making sure that the municipalities get what is available from the Government of Canada.

How is the federal government engaged in infrastructure?	The federal and provincial government formed a Joint Secretariat, which is staffed by provincial and federal employees.	Three people from federal government and three people from provincial government staff the Federal Provincial Joint Infrastructure Secretariat. There is a lot of contact with the federal government and it is in daily contact with the municipalities. The federal government initiates the infrastructure program, giving the province an idea of what it is like and ask for some input before it starts, and then it is submitted to the Treasury Board. Once Treasury Board approves the program, the province gets to see the draft of the agreement, containing information on criteria, types of projects, funding and the province can negotiate a little bit with the federal government. The federal government has the majority of the say in what types of programs there are.	At a bureaucratic level, federal employees are in regular contact with provincial employees with responsibilities for infrastructure funding programs or relating to municipal affairs to collaborate on areas of mutual interest. In the process leading to the creation of any infrastructure program, Infrastructure Canada conducts consultations with all provinces and territories to gather their views on how to best address their infrastructure needs. The federal government then considers these views when elaborating program parameters. One respondent drew an organization chart of how the federal and provincial employees work together on the Island in the field of Infrastructure. ACOA is only responsible for the delivery and coordination of the resources.
Who are the bureaucrats?	If there is a question, this respondent calls ACOA or the Infrastructure Secretariat.	No mention	Infrastructure Canada has contact with municipal associations on a regular basis. Given provincial and territorial jurisdictional responsibility for municipalities, there is also contact with municipal officials on specific projects that may be funded jointly through federal-provincial/territorial infrastructure programs. There is contact between ACOA and the Chief Administrative Officer once or twice a month.
Anyone dominating within the process? If yes, why?	The federal government brings in the most resources. The provincial government contributes to a substantial amount of money as well. They can dominate it to a significant degree; one has the money to offer, stipulations are going to be put on that.	The federal government brings in the most resources. They dominate because they initiate the programs.	CSIF and MRIF both emphasize partnership. In the case of CSIF, funding may be provided through any combination of municipal, provincial and territorial governments, as well as the private sector. There is equal sharing of costs. Each level brings in one third of the money. With regards to people, both the federal and the provincial governments bring in equal amounts of resources. Municipalities are refunded one third of the eligible costs.

Analysis Table 8: This table gives an outlook on the respondents' perceptions of

governmental involvement. Three similar answers have been given with regards to the

provincial engagement in infrastructure in PEI. The municipal-respondent stated that it

is up to the provincial government whether to include the municipalities in certain

issues. There is also a demand from the provincial government for exclusive decisions.

The provincial-respondent acknowledges that the provincial government wants a direct

one-to-one relationship with the federal government on the subject. The federal-

respondent concurs that projects are selected by the provincial and federal governments,

ruling out direct municipal involvement.

The provincial and federal respondents gave a detailed description on how the

infrastructure program becomes policy. Once again, no reference is given to municipal

involvement on this issue. One of the federal respondents stated that Infrastructure

Canada has regular contact with municipal associations and the other federal respondent

noted that ACOA in Charlottetown holds regular communications with the municipal

Chief Administrative Officers.

Analysis of Table 9: Whereas the municipal respondent wishes to have equal voice in

decision-making, the provincial respondent limits municipal engagement as being the

one that starts the project. The federal respondent looks at municipalities as provincial

jurisdictions and therefore works within this framework. The municipal respondent has

highlighted the lack of technical expertise within small municipalities, correlating with

information collected elsewhere in this research. The provincial respondent stated that,

when a group of individuals in a municipality is interested in applying for infrastructure

funding, they usually go to the local MLA's office to get information. This information

links the local politician, interest groups and infrastructure. The politician is an

intermediary between the group of individuals and the bureaucracy. Different versions

have been given with regards to collaboration. The municipal respondent cites limited

collaboration between municipalities, even putting the blame on politicians (and

electoral promises?) The provincial respondent referred to Atlantic collaboration in

infrastructure technical know-how. The federal respondent contradicts the municipal

respondent and points towards a great deal of collaboration and good communication

between the three levels of government.

Table 10: Political forces surrounding Infrastructure in PEI

Questions	Respondents		
	Municipal government (1 respondent)	Provincial government (1 respondent)	Federal government (2 respondents)
What is/are the role/s of politicians in the community?	"Politics being politics, they obviously want to get recognition for what is done. So that is one of the reasons that infrastructure in my opinion tend to be something they like to fund because you take pictures and we get the money. It is good because they can get recognition for the money they are spending." We do feel that there are some politics involved behind the scenes in infrastructure but unfortunately that is the reality in PEI but I do not know how you can prevent that.	There is considerable contact between the government officials and the politicians. The MLA is usually the first line of contact between the social groups and the Provincial/Federal Office. The politicians influence at the federal and provincial level. They negotiate with Infrastructure Canada. "It is a political thing. You have to have politicians."	Provinces and territories are very important partners and they are dealt with regularly at both an official and a political level. Federal politicians interact with their provincial/territorial political counterparts. Infrastructure policy is approved by Parliament and the politicians' role is therein throughout the process. On a provincial basis, the MLA's influence in legislature is inputted within the assembly's session.
Is the municipality apolitical?	No mention.	No mention.	No mention.
Are partisan politics evident?	No mention.	No mention.	Respondent commented that this research in PEI is based on federal politicians whose party is not in government; respondent was concerned that this may skew the data.
What kind of lobbying is done?	This organization has meetings with MPs as well as other government officials. In times of need for lobbying, meetings were held also with Premier, the Provincial Minister responsible for the issue, ACOA, the federal Minister responsible for the infrastructure program and the Prime Minister's advisory.	No mention.	No mention.

Is lobbying personal or organizational?	"Generally it [politics] is good but if it serves or they perceive it to be contrary to their political best interests, even if it is the right thing to do, it is going to be very difficult to make it happen. So whether it is constructive or not, depends on the political implications to a fair degree. So we can create a perception that it is good thing to do for the general public and that would translate to votes, it is very likely to make it happen. If they perceive that it is going to divert them from an election, then it is probably not going to happen. If it is neutral, then they would generally do the right thing."	No mention.	No mention.
How much lee-way is there to adapt projects/programs to place?	No mention.	There was some provincial input upfront and then the province gets the opportunity to try to do some changes after the programs have been announced in order to make them fit PEI. Under CSIF, the original infrastructure fund, the minimum size project was $25 million. There would not be one project in PEI which would fit those criteria. The provincial government argued that this should be reduced to $10 million.	Within the infrastructure program, the policy is set, so one has to stick to it.

Analysis Table 10: The Politician is looking for recognition and possibly re-election and infrastructure is visible and tangible enough for the electorate in the politician's constituency to connect it directly with his or her efforts. In PEI, this is facilitated by geographical smallness and intricate and efficient channels of communication. The provincial respondent confirms and elaborates on the role of the politician within infrastructure. He/she is the first line of contact between the social groups or individuals and the Joint Infrastructure Secretariat. Their level of influence is not to be discounted

and according to this person "you have to have politicians." The federal respondent

limits the role of the politicians as being legislative within the House of Commons or

Legislative Assembly respectively. One federal respondent was concerned that, since

the federal MPs on the Island are in opposition at the time of the interviews, the data

might be skewed. What determines whether a politician lobbies for a particular project?

The municipal respondent was erudite on the issue, stating that,

> Generally it [politics] is good but if it serves or they perceive it to be contrary to
>
> their political best interests, even if it is the right thing to do, it is going to be very
>
> difficult to make it happen. So whether it is constructive or not, depends on the
>
> political implications to a fair degree. So if we can create a perception that it is a
>
> good thing to do for the general public and that would translate to votes, it is very
>
> likely to make it happen. If they perceive that it is going to divert them from an
>
> election, then it is probably not going to happen. If it is neutral, then they would
>
> generally do the right thing.

According to this feedback, the politician is the gatekeeper deciding whether a project

moves forward or not. "The political machinery of a small-scale setting may veto, even

tacitly, many initiatives that clash with its own prerogatives." Lowenthal (1987, p. 43)

Political interests come to the forefront before the determination of a project validity for

a community.

CONCLUSION: IS IT *WHO* YOU KNOW?

> Why do you think Islanders are so interested in politics anyway? It's patronage
>
> boy, patronage. It's what makes us so democratic (Weale, 2003)

Islandness is "an intervening variable that does not determine but contours and

conditions, physical and social events in distinct, and distinctly relevant, ways."

(Baldacchino, 2007b, p.15) Within a geographical context such as PEI, one asks if the

role of the politician can ever be acknowledged within the infrastructure bureaucratic

corridors on the Island and beyond. Presently, the benefits accrue to those who have

links to the politicians and other networks. Through the grapevine, one gets to know

that funds are available, when they will be available, who to contact if one needs

assistance. If a local group with no networks, perhaps coming 'from away'[5], wishes to

apply for infrastructure funding within this politically interconnected society, how does

it fare? If one is out of this loop, is it possible to benefit from infrastructure funding? In

theory, the answer is in the affirmative.

Discussion: How social and public is infrastructure policy?

The data has shown that, in all four communities, the role of the politician is conducive

towards a highly politicized landscape which, in the case of PEI, excludes other social

forces from having a direct say in policy making. The politician decides on the behalf of

the community what is "really" important and, based on this direction, the community

goes along with what has been decided on their behalf. Given that PEI is still governed

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[5] 'From away' is an Island-term used to describe people born and/or coming from outside the Island. If one is born on the Island, the person is granted by default the title of 'Islander'.

by a two-party political system, this creates a unified government and opposition and leaves little space for dissenting voices outside these two political subsets in the legislature. Civil society's role in infrastructure policy is limited to the parameters set by others. In the case of infrastructure, social forces can apply for funding of projects but at no stage are they involved in the decision making process. It is not directly included into the formulation of the policy as such but then again, the municipalities are not involved either.

It is far easier for an interest group to influence decisions rather than policies. (Pross, 1992) Social groups mention that they are aware of the funding during the implementation stage of the policy. Does this process allow social groups to plan ahead or does it produce impromptu projects that can be scrambled up within a few days in order to fit within application deadlines and specifications? The politician becomes the gatekeeper, the one who is easily accessible to talk to. The politician will lobby on the individual's or organization's behalf to other provincial/federal politicians, and uses the networks to acquire more information on the policy, perhaps even be able to bring forward some leeway to adapt it to the circumstances. What happens if the NGO does not have a politician which it can go to for support?

The politician might have connections which the NGO does not have. Lobbying is more effective through the politician rather than through the social group. Why does this happen? The politician and the Islanders are part of the political game. Politicians are lobbied together with ministers, government employees with the aim of supporting the project which his/her constituents wish to accomplish. The politicians and cabinet

ministers have an interest in having a listening ear since the lobbying politician is either

a holder of an important office or might be needed in the future if he/she needs to be

lobbied within the government/political party. Irving L. Janis (Macionis & Gerber,

2002) refers to this situation as *groupthink* whereby group members conform to other

members in the group and adopt the same view with hardly any dissent or criticism.

What lobbying power does an NGO have when it comes to infrastructure? Its members

might be either instrumental by putting pressure through their private political access

points, use the media or go on the streets. These strategies fit in with a "name and

shame" scenario whereby a display of citizen disgruntlement aiming to attract viewers'

sympathy.

It is left up to the provincial and federal government officials and politicians to decide

on the contents of public policy. Public consultations are not held on technical issues

such as infrastructure but are geared towards areas of public policy which are considered

more "social," such as heritage and fisheries. It is through personal and organizational

lobbying that individuals and social entities can access the policy-making framework

and indirectly put in their contribution. Whether lobbying is successful or not, depends

on how the politician perceives the issue. It depends on the politician's discretion to

carry forward the ideas and opinions of the constituents. What happens if individuals or

social organizations are not vote-carrying citizens? Will they still get fair access to the

politician? This is especially the case of newcomers to Canada or people who do not

want to join federal and provincial political spheres, examples of which are Canadian

aboriginal groups who might consider themselves sovereign and therefore do not

recognize certain Canadian jurisdictional structures.

The absence of women has been observed during this research. Different social organizations were researched in order to acquire information on their involvement in infrastructure-related policy mechanisms. The president of the NGO would be contacted for an interview and in this research, none of those contacted in the first place were women. Only two women took part in the interviews. It is worth noting that both of them were acting on behalf of other individuals (males in both cases) who were not in a position to reply to the interview questions. This is in itself a research question for another study. How does one explain the absence of women in important governmental and civil society's ranks in PEI? Is this happening elsewhere in Canada?

The political culture in PEI has been set as it is for at least two hundred years. It has evolved from a proto-feudalistic territory with inherent political beliefs and way of doing things. Frank MacKinnon, an Island historian, asserts that

> "Where the constituencies are so few in number and small in size and population, the task of getting to know the voters and their political sympathies is not difficult. Such personal contact is far more effective than an over-sized machine. Letters and flowers in case of death, illness, marriage, births or other such occasions, for example, will bring more votes to a candidate than the resolutions of confidence of an annual meeting." (1951, p.258)

Size and isolation (especially during harsh winters when ice-boats could not make it between mainland and island) have been conducive towards this situation. Srebrnik (2004, p.331) argues that size "directly affects the social interaction of individuals through the multiple role relationships that are created by virtue of small population size

and this in turn affects their political and economic systems through the impact of such social networks on both elite relationships and on political interaction within the society as a whole. Small-scale social structures are personalistic and informal; the overall pattern of interaction among elites is consequently more cooperative, and this behaviour tends to be mimicked by the citizenry as a whole."

The Islander considers the politician as his/her direct representative with influence in the Municipality, Legislative Assembly, and Parliament. The vote symbolizes the delegated and discretionary authority that the voter hands to the politician.

> Literal democracy in the sense that everyone has a direct say in government can only exist in very small communities where everyone can meet and discuss a problem until agreement is reached... but even in the smaller territories, unless we are discussing some of the very smallest islands, this is impossible. Representative government takes the place of democracy in its pure form. (Mair, 1961, p.53)

In return for the collective discretionary clout awarded to the politician by his/her constituents, he/she makes himself/herself relatively highly accessible to hear their opinions, needs, ideas. The politician is expected to use his/her influence in his networks to accommodate the needs of the voters who put him/her in that political seat. In return, the constituents will support the politician's and his party's political issues in totality, even if the issues may not be fully congruent with their opinion. Social cohesiveness is an important factor within the decision-making (Benedict, 1967). There

is inherent recognition that lobbying is effective if their politician has a strong following and also if their politician needs to return the favour to whoever he/she lobbied to in other instances.

> It's been said that PEI is over governed. That may be so, but there's no question that our municipal governments are the grassroots governments, the ones close to the people charged with looking after voters' most basic needs." (The Guardian)

Politicians work hard to be in the limelight. They want to be seen as involved and also have accomplishments attributed them to their personal political skills. "Political credit is something that politicians aim for. It is like putting money in the bank for the public to see. There is always jealousy about who contributes what. And who gets what." (Interview respondent)

It is not a difficult exercise to link politics and infrastructure policy especially within a small island context such as PEI. More problematic is the ability to document the process.

The main findings of this thesis are the following:

a) public policy-making lies within the discretion of the federal and provincial governments, minimizing the involvement of the municipal government and the social forces to that of implementing the policy/project/program;

b) the function of the politician overrides the lobbying utility of social groups – as well as many of the legal-rational functions of any public bureaucracy that relates to infrastructure project management. The social forces in PEI utilize the

networks and the knowledge which the politician has to accomplish their aspirations.

The first finding is congruent with a twin project in Manitoba using the same interview templates. (Grace, 2008) confirms that, within infrastructure policy, "intergovernmental relations between the four municipalities and the federal/provincial governments are highly directive and top-down." (p.11) The results of the research in Manitoba generally exclude the involvement of civil society and non-governmental groups in the policy relationship. Politics and networks did not surface in the research in Manitoba.

The politicians on the Island are ever-present within the infrastructure process, irrespective of whether they are municipal, provincial, or federal. The social forces represent a small segment of the population which rallies together to engage the politician into their lobbying. It is a working relationship that links the individual voter, the politician, the government and the opposition into an alliance of negotiations within multi-governance spheres (Lazar & Leuprecht, 2007). How has this happened?

"For an infrastructure plan to work, it needs the support and input of the Government of Canada, the Government of PEI, and the Island municipalities – this has to be a joint effort." (Murphy MP, 2008, p.13)

Fletcher mentions that it is up to "civil society itself that can trigger reform and determine its timing and nature." (1994, p.163) Small communities have characteristics of social cohesion and intense factionalism. (May & Tupouniua, 1980) Politicians

exploit the factionalism and lobbying and work towards guaranteeing that they get elected or stay elected, come the next election.

Through personal conversation, the author has been told that "the only way to influence *them* is if you make it political" (Augustine, 2007) and this seems to be the only way to go forward at the moment on PEI. One interview respondent shared that "Power attracts more power and power doesn't give up power. There is a *status quo* of doing things how they were always done." (Interview respondent)

Recommendations for good public policy

"We do it differently." (Interview respondent) If the policy community acknowledges the role played by the politician in infrastructure in PEI, this might be useful to formalize the process. It gives potential users of the policy a clearer picture on the roadmap to access funds. Lobbying space in infrastructure might be found for social groups who do not want to approach politicians to support their project. This might be instrumental to democratize further public policy by giving a wider voice to different sectors of society.

APPENDIX 1

DATA TABLES

Table 11: Charlottetown – Federal and Provincial Roles in Infrastructure

Questions	Responses	
	Multi-Level Government	*Social Forces*
How is the province engaged in infrastructure?	The province forms part of a tripartite cost-sharing agreement, whereby it puts in one third of the eligible costs. It is a medium where funds are passed from the federal government to the municipality. One respondent mentioned that infrastructure money is divided according to the four federal ridings, one quarter each. Charlottetown receives 23.8% of the resources reflecting the population base in PEI.	The province has an influence on priorities set for infrastructure projects. The province gives operating funds to NGOs.
How is the federal government engaged in infrastructure?	Policies are determined by federal government and provincial people. Federal government operates through the provincial government. There are ongoing negotiations between federal and provincial governments.	The federal government is instrumental in formulating the actual policy, (one NGO mentioned that there is no consultation) and then leaves it up to ACOA to help with its implementation. ACOA processes the funding applications and refunds.
Who are the bureaucrats?	ACOA represents the federal government in PEI and is the agency with which the municipality has most contact.	ACOA.
Anyone dominating within the process? If yes, why?	The federal government puts in one third of the finance and yet is seen as the one that brings in the most resources to policy within infrastructure. The provincial government is involved somehow in policy-making.	Those with the power in hand.

Table 12: Charlottetown – Municipal and Social Roles in Infrastructure

Questions	Responses	
	Multi-Level Government	*Social Forces*
How is the municipality engaged in infrastructure?	The municipality is informed about infrastructure policy which would have been determined elsewhere. The municipalities have a say through the Federation of Canadian Municipalities. Under the federal provincial infrastructure program, each municipality puts in a wish list. Depending on the 'legitimacy' of the projects, it would be approved or not by the Management Committee.	The municipality initiates projects. It also provides operating grants to NGOs.
Which are the predominant social groups in the community?	One respondent pointed at the municipality, municipal leaders, Charlottetown Area Chamber of Commerce.	Business community, agriculture lobbying groups and clients benefiting from projects undertaken by social organizations
At which stage of the project are social groups involved?	No response.	An NGO was involved at the research and data gathering stage but the other two NGOs mentioned that they were involved in the execution stage of the policy, one of them specifically mentioned that they became involved when they became aware that money is available.
What is/are the role/s played by social forces in the community?	Social forces are more involved at the provincial level than at the federal one.	One NGO responded that its role is to fundraise. Another respondent answered that if NGO's are more involved, infrastructure would better meet the needs of society.
Do municipalities collaborate between each other with regards to infrastructure?	Although the Federation of Canadian Municipalities encourages collaboration, one respondent stated that there is no such collaboration between local authorities. There is plenty of competition between municipalities. Another participant suggested that having 75 municipalities on PEI is too much and consolidation is a solution. Communities are too small when they want to do a project. They do not have revenue sources to put up one third of the costs.	One example was mentioned whereby Charlottetown and neighbouring municipalities provide funds towards a particular NGO.
What are the effects of social groups' involvement?	No response.	One NGO reported that there is no involvement by the social groups within decision making processes. Accordingly, knowledge is co-incidental rather than *de facto*.
Any interactions between business community and municipality?	The public transit project has been mentioned as a public private project that has worked very well.	A public-private model-type infrastructure venture was mentioned as an example of interaction between business and municipality.

Table 13: Charlottetown - Political Forces in the Community

Questions	Responses	
	Multi-Level Government	*Social Forces*
What is/are the role/s of politicians in the community?	One participant stated that federal, provincial, and municipal politicians are involved in shaping infrastructure policy. A well-known politician successfully lobbied for a specific project which was not a priority for the municipality. Another respondent noted that when the federal MP's party was in power, he was the contact person on infrastructure on PEI. Contact decreased after the party lost the federal election.	The politician provides support to the NGO. When there is a problem with the project/policy, one gets hold of the Minister in charge or even contact directly the Premier. The politicians' door is always open for discussion even if the NGO may not get the answer that it is looking for.
Is the municipality apolitical?	One participant pointed out the very good relationship between the MLA and the municipal councillors. Another person mentioned that the city council is party-based. When the federal minister came over to PEI, one could observe the Tory influence from the number of mentioned projects. This person shared that the mayor is related to the MLA and the Minister's brother sits on the Council, specifically referring to this instance as "this is a small *town* in a small island."	No response.
Are partisan politics evident?	Partisan politics were perceived when the Tory Federal Minister promoted projects on the Island while it has a Tory Provincial Government. Another participant reported that the federal MP is not involved in provincial infrastructure processes whilst in opposition.	No response.
What kind of lobbying is done?	The politician lobbies for funding for his/her constituency/riding or to make a project eligible within the program criteria. Another respondent stated that the MLA would speak to colleagues and try to get their support for projects which the municipality wishes to undertake.	One NGO noted that smallness is key to lobbying due to the possibility of direct contact. The NGO in question lobbies the politician and the municipality. Other participants lobbied also MLAs, Ministers, MPs, and bureaucrats for support towards their initiatives.
Is lobbying personal or organizational?	Personal.	Lobbying is both personal and organizational. It is personal since people know each other through their personal networks and organizational through the office grapevine
How much lee-way is there to adapt projects/programs to place?	One participant answered that the municipality implements the policy as is whilst another person stated that when some projects seem to be ineligible, politicians might get involved. They are always there to push forward the interests of their constituents.	One NGO stated that the project they realized had total discretion in adapting it specifically to Charlottetown. Another NGO replied that the policy for funding was there and they just applied. A third NGO mentioned the agricultural lobby which works towards flexibility in adapting rather than adopting policies.

Table 14: Summerside – Federal and Provincial Roles in Infrastructure

Questions	Responses	
	Multi-Level Government	*Social Forces*
How is the province engaged in infrastructure?	Both respondents agree that the province is on the negotiating table with the federal government. Someone specified that the Canadian Constitution stipulates that federal government has to negotiate with provincial government. MRIF, Gas Tax, and CSIF are negotiated at the provincial level with limited or any support from municipal level. There is some input by the Canadian Federation of Municipalities. The Province takes the infrastructure money coming for unincorporated areas. The province generally determines which project is going forward and determines the amount of money that each community gets following negotiations with the federal government.	Only one reply. According to the respondent, the policy has been made and created by the provincial government.
How is the federal government engaged in infrastructure?	One respondent noted that ACOA department is the federal business partner in the province. Another respondent mentioned that there is fairly extensive contact between federal government and provincial politicians. Federal, provincial, and municipal jurisdictions overlap. In the overlapping jurisdictions such as agriculture, there are negotiations.	No response.
Who are the bureaucrats?	No response.	No response.
Anyone dominating within the process? If yes, why?	One respondent stated that in PEI, the lead comes from the federal government. Whoever carries the purse strings, dominates the process. The other respondent stated that the municipality would have preferred to use infrastructure money elsewhere, however the Province determined that money was going towards green projects. The two higher levels of government determine the direction and what was going to be funded.	Only one reply. According to the respondent, some of the interest groups are dominating within the process.

Table 15: Summerside – Municipal and Social Roles in Infrastructure

Questions	Responses	
	Multi-Level Government	*Social Forces*
How is the municipality engaged in infrastructure?	One respondent replied that it is the municipality which introduces the concept of the project. The other respondent replied that the municipal government is quite under-funded. The municipality cannot afford to cost-share projects. It is not a rich province so the only way projects can be done is through the involvement of the federal government. Municipalities are an assumed responsibility of the provincial government.	Only one reply. One participant stated that it took ten years from conception of the idea to conclusion. Projects have their own pecking order.
Which are the predominant social groups in the community?	No response.	There are three different replies. One referred to the municipal level that drives projects; the second one referred to economic development organizations such as tourism-related business groups. The third reply referred to the community improvement council (CIC) and environmental groups.
At which stage of the project are social groups involved?	No response.	Social groups are on the receiving end, at the tail end of the project. Another respondent referred to their NGO's role in collecting data from the community and passing it to the community.
What is/are the role/s played by social forces in the community?	No response.	One respondent noted that interest groups have a strong voice and push policy more to one direction. More consultation with interest groups might result in better policy. Interest groups have people protecting their own interests and therefore have "pretty strong" opinions. A second respondent noted that consultation with the end-user groups is of paramount importance to make sure projects are built towards satisfying the users' needs. "Projects can't be built in a vacuum." The role of the NGO is to collect information from the communities through direct participation and passes it on to the higher echelons of government.
Do municipalities collaborate between each other with regards to infrastructure?	One respondent made reference to the sewage treatment plant done in collaboration between Summerside, Stratford, and Charlottetown.	No response.

What are the effects of social groups involvement?	No response.	One respondent stated that since policy was not straightforward, it was more of one interest group against the other rather than the collective benefit. A second respondent noted that there is greater success through participation and involvement and the input leads to policy change. It is important to let community have an ownership on the policy in question. The third respondent replied that the project has worked out to suit end-user groups.
Any interactions between business community and municipality?	No response.	One respondent stated that business leaders need to buy in the project since they can set the tone of how a project is perceived in the community. A second respondent noted that partnership is sought between the NGO and the local business community looking for common grounds. The third respondent replied that the business community links up with the municipality in gathering community support and moving forward with the projects.

Table 16: Summerside - Political Forces in the Community

Questions	Responses	
	Multi-Level Government	*Social Forces*
What is/are the role/s of politicians in the community?	One respondent stated that politicians shape the initial response when and where the need is. It is a political decision that determines the program and its funding. The other respondent pointed to the politician's role as a balancing one. If there is disagreement between municipality and bureaucrats, politicians take a try to convince bureaucrats to change their way.	One respondent that politicians are well-intentioned individuals who are constrained by their agendas and limitations. A second reply was that when there is community support, it is easier for politicians to come one your side. A third reply was that the local politician was asked to help their NGO promoting a huge funding project.
Is the municipality apolitical?	Both respondents agreed (separately) that municipalities are apolitical. One of them replied that projects depend on its type, whether they are community driven, staff-driven or driven by the politician.	No response.
Are partisan politics evident?	One respondent referred to the tension between the provincial and federal government, especially with regards to who gets the credit for doing a project. The other respondent noted that there is no federal MP on the government side and that limits municipality with regards to direct input going to certain people at the federal level.	No response.
What kind of lobbying is done?	Only one respondent replied. There is a certain amount of lobbying done at municipal level to encourage the province to support certain projects. Funding amounts are pre-determined before they get to municipal level. There is lobbying with the MLA on a regular basis depending on what the issues are.	One reply is that when there is a policy disagreement, one goes to the individuals who could have an influence on decisions. Another participant noted that lobbying is done to businesses for support, to politicians and to social groups to get their ideas. A third reply was that there are some groups who are outspoken and too much lobbying might be a damper on how the respondent's NGO looks. The NGO in question tries to be very neutral.
Is lobbying personal or organizational?	Only one respondent replied. There is contact with the people who negotiate at the provincial level and at the ACOA base. Ministers are also met with to discuss municipality's needs.	One reply insinuated that lobbying is organizational. It is important for project funding and it involves a lot of networking, building on relationships and seeking expertise. A second respondent noted that lobbying is done based on individual connections, "people that we know, people that we feel that we can have good serious discussions about concerns."
How much lee-way is there to adapt projects/programs to place?	Both participants agreed that agreements are usually specific and therefore have little wiggle-room. One respondent stated that negotiations can be reopened for amendments to the agreement if something serious happens such as an oversight. If the agreement is tight, there is not much one can do about.	Only one reply. It took a long time to reach agreement on this project since the policy was not straightforward and this hindered approval.

Table 4: Montague and Federal and Provincial Roles in Infrastructure

Questions	Responses	
	Multi-Level Government	*Social Forces*
How is the province engaged in infrastructure?	Only one reply. The province is the main contact for the municipality with respect to federal-provincial agreements. The province's role is that of a negotiator with each infrastructure program. Province gives information concerning infrastructure projects, having information sessions with various administrators and ministers representatives to review parameters of program. They are helpful as they possibly can. There is also the cost-sharing function.	Only one reply referring to the province buying into a project which an NGO proposed.
How is the federal government engaged in infrastructure?	Only one reply. Ottawa (the federal government) initiated the infrastructure program.	Only one reply referring to ACOA's funding programs that support economic development.
Who are the bureaucrats?	One respondent pointed at the provincial bureaucrats as the contact points. The other respondent noted that the infrastructure program is such that both federal and provincial governments have different bureaucratic people to approve projects.	Only one reply. At the municipal level, municipalities have an infrastructure engineer on staff or an administration person in the case of small communities. At the provincial level, NGO would meet with engineers, directors, decision-makers.
Anyone dominating within the process? If yes, why?	Both respondents replied similarly. Accordingly, it was stated that the infrastructure program is divided evenly between the federal and provincial government. They bring in the most resources. However whereas one of the respondents replied that no-one dominates, the other respondent noted that they hold the strings.	No response.

Table 18: Montague – Municipal and Social Roles in Infrastructure

Questions	Responses	
	Multi-Level Government	Social Forces
How is the municipality engaged in infrastructure?	Only one reply. The municipality has no direct input on the establishment of the policy.	One respondent noted that the municipality starts projects. Another respondent made reference to a project whereby the three levels of government were involved. A third respondent noted that the municipality has a sub-committee that looks at the town's economic development.
Which are the predominant social groups in the community?	Only one reply. Business social forces.	Four out of five respondents referred to economic-development/business groups as the ones that are dominant in the community. A fifth respondent referred to the general public having an interest in getting something done. Reference was made that the politician has a pivotal role in this. He/she is contacted to get works in motion.
At which stage of the project are social groups involved?	No response.	Different stages have been mentioned by the respondents. One respondent noted that social forces have no role at the federal level except in rare occasions. Their role is limited to municipal and provincial involvement. A second respondent stated that social forces are involved at the tactical level, on how to execute a program after the decision has been made elsewhere. A third respondent stated that the group he/she is involved in is in the planning stage and then after that, it is moved to town officials to make policy out of it. A fourth respondent noted that the NGO, in a particular project, was involved from conception to finalization. A fifth respondent stated that individuals or group of homeowners bring forward any projects they might wish to see realized.
What is/are the role/s played by social forces in the community?	Only one reply. They contact the politician, lobbying for support.	One respondent stated that the NGO he/she represents has minimal involvement in infrastructure policy-making. An engineering firm might be involved a little bit in deciding what type of projects a community needs and then helps deliver the project. If NGOs would be more involved, there would be more public input into choosing which project receives funding rather than a staff person within government, deciding that community needs a new soccer field. Probably decisions would be different if public organizations were involved in the decision making. A second respondent stated that involvement of the social forces depends on the energy level of the leader in those groups. "If they want to play a big role, one can go and speak to any MLA or MP." A third respondent stated that the NGO does not build infrastructure but rather recommends policy to government, makes representation to government in reaction to specific policy. A fourth respondent referred to the NGO's role in advising the town council on projects.
Do municipalities collaborate between each other with regards to infrastructure?	Only one reply. There is no collaboration between municipalities on a specific project.	Only one reply. A respondent is a member of an NGO that covers more than one municipality.
What are the effects of social groups' involvement?	No response.	One respondent stated that there would be less cost if social groups were involved. Plans need not be modified at a later stage. A second respondent pointed out the positive economic effects of a specific project, undertaken by the NGO on the communities in Kings County. A third respondent mentioned that someone is going to be impacted with project, and therefore everyone needs to be involved since at the end, it might backfire.
Any interactions between business community and municipality?	No response.	Three out of four respondents mentioned the collaboration between NGOs and the business community and the municipality. A fourth respondent referred to the confrontation between businesses when it was felt that unfair competition was happening when government-funded projects were going towards their competitors.

Table 19: Montague - Political Forces in the Community

Questions	Responses	
	Multi-Level Government	*Social Forces*
What is/are the role/s of politicians in the community?	One respondent replied that the politician's role is that of putting in suggestions to policy. The other respondent stated that the politician's job is to make sure that project gets approved through the different levels of approval and gets funding. The politician asks the people in his riding to see what they need.	One respondent stated that politicians are contacted by individuals when a project is needed. A second respondent stated that there is lot of direct access to MPs and MLAs on PEI in order to influence policy. A third respondent stated that the federal politician lobbies in Ottawa on behalf of Montague. A fourth respondent stated that politicians do get involved and they do not take a stand until they know the other person's stand.
Is the municipality apolitical?	No response.	One respondent stated that within the town level, politics dictate a lot where things get done. On a municipal level, politics influences MLAs. Another respondent made reference to politics at the municipal level. Project deals with municipal, provincial, and federal political interests.
Are partisan politics evident?	No response.	One respondent stated that federally, it is very hard to lobby especially when there is a Conservative government in Ottawa and all the MPs in PEI are Liberal. Another respondent had this to say on politics in PEI: "if one is going to Liberal who is not in power, the Liberal municipal person will help since they will be attacking the incumbent person who is of a different party. And so sometimes one doesn't know if they are on one's side or they are using it as a platform to allow themselves to use it publicly as disagreement with government at that time."

| What kind of lobbying is done? | Only one reply. The Member of Parliament lobbies to get project approved and funded. | Different strategies of lobbying were mentioned. One respondent stated that when the NGO he/she represents has a disagreement with provincial government, a lot of times someone from federal government will agree with NGO. A second respondent stated that the NGO lobbies its members to reach consensus on what they want. The local groups do not have a direct influence on the policy but it is usually through an MP or an MLA that one uses the provincial government to pressure the federal; or it's vice versa the MP goes to the deputy minister. When the federal government is lobbied, the third respondent mentioned that one has to send the federal politician to Ottawa. It does not always work since PEI is a small province. A fourth respondent explained how a group makes a presentation to a rural politician. The NGO uses people within organization who have contacts. In PEI, Montague area, one can see the Premier at the grocery store, or bump into him at the Mall, Christmas shopping or one could go to his church sit down beside him. |
| | | One knows where they live, one can see them, one can call them, and they go to local meetings, so there is access. The fifth respondent knows the MP for the last twenty years and feels confident talking to him personally. An organization can get money if NGO puts together a very good project since the federal government likes professional projects. Before the NGO was set up, potential committee members were interviewed to know if they knew people who could be lobbied for money. The mission statement was that to carry a project through and anybody can decide a project but money is needed. "Shakers are needed." |

Is lobbying personal or organizational?	Only one reply. The politician pulls his/her weight in Ottawa.	Lobbying is both personal and organizational. One respondent was specific, stating that lobbying is personal, between the community's individual and the politician and organization when the NGO contacts the federal/provincial government with regards to disagreement of opinion. Another respondent stated that if social groups want a big role, they can go and talk to an MLA or MP. There is lot of access in PEI to MPs or MLAs. The NGO can call the Premier or MP and tell them about particular issues such as wharves in town or the funding for certain projects. The NGO feels it has direct access to those MLAs and MPs. After that, it is up to them to influence policy, examples of which are direct calls, direct meetings, and direct face-to-face contact.
How much lee-way is there to adapt projects/programs to place?	One respondent stated that there is no need for wiggle-room. The other respondent noted that there is not much wiggle room for municipalities. One cannot deviate from the approval that there is.	Only one answer. One respondent stated that if there is a change in the project, it is difficult for community to do anything about it. When community applies for funding, the government looks whether the community is eligible. Once the project is awarded, making changes in the scope of project is a time-consuming process.

Table 20: Kinkora – Federal and Provincial Roles in Infrastructure

Questions	Responses	
	Multi-Level Government	*Social Forces*
How is the province engaged in infrastructure?	One respondent noted that the province acts as a middle man. They determine the projects that go ahead and which ones do not go ahead within a particular year. They disperse the money which the federal government gives them to different communities. They are there to answer any questions which the municipalities have. Another respondent referred to the provincial role within the Management Committee.	No response.
How is the federal government engaged in infrastructure?	One respondent stated that there is little contact between the municipality and federal officials. The other respondent noted that only government members rather than all members (including those in Opposition) were involved.	No response
Who are the bureaucrats?	One respondent referred to the Canada-PEI Infrastructure Secretariat. The other respondent pointed out at ACOA and the Management Committee.	No response.
Anyone dominating within the process? If yes, why?	One respondent stated that the federal government brings in the largest amount of money. Next is the provincial government. Federal government sets the policies since they are at the head of the Nation. They are coming with largest money so definitely they have a major role. The other respondent gave a similar answer. The federal government brings in the most resources, mainly through ACOA. Federal government designed overall policy thrust. Approval of programs is done by Joint Infrastructure Management Committee.	One respondent mentioned that the dominating forces are definitely not the NGOs or social forces. The other respondent replied that the municipality is happy to accept what it is presented with.

Table 21: Kinkora – Municipal and Social Roles in Infrastructure

Questions	Responses	
	Multi-Level Government	*Social Forces*
How is the municipality engaged in infrastructure?	One respondent stated that the municipality does not have big expectations for infrastructure projects. The other respondent stated the municipality's role is that of creating projects.	Only one reply. The municipality is involved by filing in claims for refunds and applying for funds rather than the decision making process.
Which are the predominant social groups in the community?	Only one reply. Fire hall volunteers.	One respondent mentioned the fire department and a couple of small groups. The other respondent referred to the provincial government who is making the policy together with ACOA.
At which stage of the project are social groups involved?	No response.	One respondent mentioned that social groups are involved when presented with a project proposal at the AGM. The other respondent stated that there is no allowed input by the NGO he/she represents into the infrastructure program.
What is/are the role/s played by social forces in the community?	No response.	As a councillor in the municipality, one would be involved from the beginning but as a community resident one would be involved when the project proposal is presented in some official announcement. There is not much input apart from Annual General Meeting. It is a majority vote that rules. The second respondent noted that there has been no involvement with how program is run.
Do municipalities collaborate between each other with regards to infrastructure?	One respondent noted that collaboration is done through the PEI Federation of Municipalities. The other respondent noted that there is no contact with other communities. Projects are only done within Kinkora. If collaboration would happen in the future, it would be a good relationship.	No response.
What are the effects of social groups' involvement?	No response.	One respondent stated that votes by residents give legitimacy during the AGM. The second respondent stated that the NGO is not involved in policy making.
Any interactions between business community and municipality?	No response.	Only one reply. There is communication between the municipality and businesses with regards to conflict of ideas. This is done in the form of letters.

Table 22: Kinkora - Political Forces in the Community

Questions	Responses	
	Multi-Level Government	*Social Forces*
What is/are the role/s of politicians in the community?	One respondent replied that the community meets the local MLA on a weekly basis to discuss specific municipal issues. The other respondent noted that there is limited contact between the federal politician and the municipality. It is done on a project-to-project basis. The MP sits down with the community council and listens to what they need or want with regards to infrastructure. There is contact between the MP and MLA on projects which fall within the same riding/constituency.	Only one reply. The national body of the NGO approached the local MPs to make sure that the infrastructure program is run fairly. Provincially there has been little input. When issues come out, they contact the MP. Any change happening comes within the federal government.
Is the municipality apolitical?	No response.	No response.
Are partisan politics evident?	Only one reply. There is very little partisan politics played within infrastructure programs. "On provincial level, things are done for political reasons. This does not happen that much within federal level. The closer one is to the ground level (local), the more politics come into play and political pressure from community and elected members."	No response.
What kind of lobbying is done?	One respondent stated that lobbying the MLA is done to resolve a pending municipal issue. The other respondent has been done to get the infrastructure program beyond water and sewage. For PEI, the objective was to have the allocation of funding beyond a per-capita formula.	Only one reply. MPs have been approached on different levels, together with Ministers and bureaucrats. There is a sympathetic ear but there is no change.
Is lobbying personal or organizational?	Only one reply. Lobbying is organizational. Key people have been put in place within federal agencies.	Organizational (no more details).
How much lee-way is there to adapt projects/programs to place?	Only one reply. There is some discretion but the way the infrastructure program was designed, it had to be discretions by agreement. There are certain needs in this community that need to be met. Rather than individual discretion, it is more jointly done here.	No response.

APPENDIX 2

RESEARCH ETHICS BOARD

Multi-level Governance and Public Policy in Canadian Municipalities

CONSENT FORM

I have read the material held in the Letter of Information, have had the nature of the study explained to me, and I consent to participating in research on

_____

_____

I understand the following:
- my participation is completely voluntary
- I may discontinue my participation at any time or not answer any particular question if I chose)
- the information I provide will remain confidential within the limits of the law
- I may keep a copy of this consent form
- I may contact UPEI's Research Ethics Board by telephone at (902) 566-0637, or by email at lmacphee@upei.ca, if I have any concerns about the ethical conduct of this study .

_____   _____
(Signature)   (Date)

APPENDIX 3

INTERVIEW TEMPLATES

Interview Template: SOCIAL FORCES

1. How involved is your organization in infrastructure policy-making?

   - What role does it play in policy making?
   - Do you deal with municipal, provincial, or federal levels of government?
   - Do you meet with other levels of governments at one time or in joint meetings?
   - Do you deal with officials or politicians or both?

2. Policy-making involves several stages. At which stage of policy making are you involved?

3. How would infrastructure projects be better if organizations were involved at stages where alternative policies are defined?

4. Which local groups are most influential in making policy in infrastructure?

   - what role would these groups play in policy-making within the local, provincial and federal government?

5. When your wishes are in conflict with those of local business interests, who wins?

   - how are compromises reached?

6. How fair is policy in infrastructure to your organization?

   - Who benefits most from policy making in infrastructure?

7. How do you try to enlist help from sympathetic organizations that operate on a wider scale than your organization?

   - does it work?

8. When your organization seems likely to lose out in policy disagreements, do officials or politicians from other levels of governments sometimes take your side? If yes, how does it happen?

9. When your organization seems likely to lose out in policy disagreements, how do you seek support from the provincial and federal levels of government?

10. What are the obstacles to doing so?

EVALUATION OF POLICY

IN ORDER TO ANSWER THESE NEXT QUESTIONS, PLEASE THINK OF A PARTICULAR POLICY BY WHICH YOUR ORGANIZATION WAS AFFECTED TO USE AS A BASIS FOR YOUR ANSWERS.

1. How timely was the policy formulated?

2. How adequate was the policy to address the problem it aimed to solve?

3. How coherent was the policy? How did it fit with other related policies and programs?

4 How innovative was the policy, or was it basically a continuation of what existed before?

5 How was the implementation of the policy?

6 How effective was the policy in attacking the problems it was meant to address?

7. How efficient was the policy?

8. How equitable was the policy? How fairly were all groups treated?

- Did it help out the well off or the disadvantaged?

9. How optimal was the policy? How could it be made better?

- What are the main obstacles to this?

Interview: **MULTI-LEVEL GOVERNANCE.**

1   In your work in infrastructure, how much contact do you have with municipal officials?

- With whom?
- How often?

2   How much contact do you have with provincial government officials and politicians?

3   Are there projects formed by representatives of all three levels of government working together? Which ones?

4.   How is the province engaged with infrastructure?

- How does the province exert its jurisdictional authority over municipal-federal relations in the field of infrastructure?

5.   How constructive and helpful is the provincial government with regards to infrastructure?

6.   What role do politicians play in shaping infrastructure policy?

- How constructive is their influence?

7   How do differences in ideology or partisan affiliation play a role in shaping policy or in delaying or agreeing to policy?

8   Which level of government brings the most resources (people, expertise, money) to policy-making within infrastructure?

- How does this allow them to dominate the policy process?

9   Some municipal, provincial and federal governments have increased range of discretion. How has this happened in your organization?

- What has been the effect on policy-making in infrastructure?

10   In infrastructure, how much collaboration is there between local authorities?

- How does this help in relations with the federal and provincial governments?
- How does it improve public policy in infrastructure?
- Does it tend to slow down policy making and implementation?

EVALUATION OF POLICY

IN ORDER TO ANSWER THESE NEXT QUESTIONS, PLEASE THINK OF A PARTICULAR INFRASTRUCTURE-RELATED POLICY BY WHICH YOUR ORGANIZATION WAS AFFECTED TO USE AS A BASIS FOR YOUR ANSWERS.

1. How timely was the policy formulated?

2. How adequate was the policy to address the problem it aimed to solve?

3. How coherent was the policy? How did it fit with other related policies and programs?

4 How innovative was the policy, or was it basically a continuation of what existed before?

5 How was the implementation of the policy?

6 How effective was the policy in attacking the problems it was meant to address?

7. How efficient was the policy?

8. How equitable was the policy? How fairly were all groups treated?

- Did it help out the well off or the disadvantaged?

9. How optimal was the policy? How could it be made better?

- What are the main obstacles to this?

APPENDIX 4

LETTER SENT TO PARTICIPANTS

UPEI Letter Head

Name
Address

Date

Re: Research on Municipalities and Public Policy

The University of Prince Edward Island (UPEI) is collaborating on a national research project focusing on *Multi-level Governance and Public Policy in Municipalities*. Our specific research focuses on policy-making and formation of infrastructure projects between municipal and federal governments.

Your contribution will be an important part of the research. We will be contacting you in the very near future to request a time for an interview.

If you have any questions, or if you require further information, please contact me at (902) 566-0342 or email me at atrivett@upei.ca.

Sincerely

Dr Andrew Trivett, ScD P.Eng
Associate Professor
Dept of Engineering

APPENDIX 5

INFORMATION HANDED TO PARTICIPANTS

Intergovernmental Relations Includes Municipalities

New Book is First Product of Big Research Project

Robert Young

A very large research project has produced its first fruit. More later on the project – one of the largest social science studies ever conducted in Canada, and certainly the largest concerning municipal government. First, the book, *Municipal-Federal-Provincial Relations in Canada*.

This volume arises from a conference held at Queen's University, the annual publication of the Institute of Intergovernmental Relations,[1] a Queen's think-tank that has concentrated on "federalism" for over 30 years. For the Institute, 'federalism' has always meant federal-provincial relations, so the conference and the new book – also titled *The State of the Federation 2004*[2] – represent a major departure.

Federalism has been deepened, with intergovernmental relations pushed to include Canadian municipalities. The volume's focus on multilevel governance, and the emphasis on municipal-federal relations, should make it of interest to people in municipal government, especially intergovernmental relations specialists and members of senior management.

> *Federalism has been deepened, with intergovernmental relations pushed to include Canadian municipalities.*

The State of the Federation 2004

As Christian Leuprecht and I argue in the introduction, municipalities have risen in the intergovernmental matrix because of a number of factors – demographic changes, institutional reorganizations, new global pressures and opportunities, the European experience of multilevel governance, new technologies and practices of public administration, and determined advocacy for more power and autonomy to be shifted to cities.

The book has four sections: background; municipal restructuring; policy; and intergovernmental processes.

The background section includes an overview of the evolving federal role in municipalities by Loleen Berdahl of the Canada West Foundation, as well as a comprehensive analysis of municipal-federal-provincial fiscal relations by Melville MacMillan. Tom Courchene, an economist from Queen's University, develops a sweeping argument about the role of global city regions in the context of the "knowledge-based economy," global competition, and the rise of Richard Florida's creative class. He argues strongly for more fiscal autonomy for cities, and shows how this might be achieved.

The restructuring section features Andrew Sancton's inquisition into the causes of municipal amalgamations across Canada, Julie-Anne Boudreau's account of resistance to them, and David Siegel's thorough analysis of the evolving municipal-provincial relationship in Ontario. There's also a chapter by Pierre Hamel and Jean Rousseau about how the lack of democratic participation in the Montreal amalgamation cut down its legitimacy.

Policy is everywhere in this collection, but two studies are of particular interest. Christian Poirier examines how various governments handle im-

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migrant settlement or, more generally, "the management of ethnocultural diversity." And David Hulchanski of the University of Toronto provides a superb history of housing policy – not just social housing – along with a withering critique of governments' action (and inaction) in the field.

Last are the processes of complex intergovernmental relations, likely to be of great interest to practitioners. In Canada, this is largely unexplored ground.

A case study of Mississauga by Tom Urbaniak focuses on municipal efforts to enlist Ottawa in development projects in Canada's biggest "edge city." Christopher Dunn analyzes what causes the provincial government of Newfoundland and Labrador to insert itself into the complex relations between federal departments and agencies and the local authorities in the province.

For Saskatchewan, Ken Pontikes and Joe Garcea not only document the fact that intergovernmental linkages are widespread and intricate, but also provide a thoughtful and stimulating set of categories to understand provincial governments' roles and mechanisms in these relationships. Finally, Patrick Smith and Kennedy Stewart provide hope for advocates of more city power. In the Vancouver case, they show how a nimble and determined administration can lever desirable policies from "senior" governments that appear to monopolize power.

It's a substantial collection of work. And there is much more to come.

The Project

Most of the contributors to this volume are part of a large research team studying the public policy in Canadian municipalities. This project started in 2004 and will run for five years. It is funded mainly by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. It involves over 80 scholars from many disciplines, and is currently employing more than 60 student researchers. One of our purposes is to draw more academic attention to the study of Canadian municipal government, especially on the part of young scholars and graduate students.

But we also aim to improve public policy in municipalities. The basic framework here is that policy is determined by the structure of intergovernmental relations that produces it – which authorities take part, with what resources, and so on – and by the "social forces" (interest groups) that also participate (or not) in the policy process. By studying a very large number of cases, we intend to find out what combinations of actors seem to produce superior policies.

Even with so many researchers, not all policy fields can be studied. We have chosen six – a mix of high- and low-visibility areas, hard and soft services, and in a variety of jurisdictional positions. They are:
- emergency planning;
- federal government property;
- image building;
- immigrant settlement;

- infrastructure (that is, the various infrastructure programs initiated by Ottawa); and
- urban Aboriginal policy.

There are many studies. First is a set of comparative studies of municipal-federal-provincial relations in eight other countries. These should soon be published, providing examples of structural alternatives that Canadians might well contemplate.

Then, there are federal studies: overviews of federal urban activity; studies of new federal interventions in areas such as homelessness and child care; and studies of the six policy fields from Ottawa's viewpoint.

Most work is being done in the provinces. We will produce the first systematic overview of all of Canada's provincial-municipal systems, both institutional and fiscal. Scholars will study the six policy fields in the major city in each province. And, two policy fields per province will be explored in four municipalities of various sizes. Finally, we will examine how the provincial governments mediate – or control – municipal-federal relationships.

Much more information on the project is available online at <www.ppm-ppm.ca>, and much research is underway. Apart from documentary work, the major method of gathering information is through interviewing. If our researchers call on you, please help them out in this important cause!

Meanwhile, stay tuned for more results.   MW

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