The student has requested that this electronic version of the thesis does not include the main body of the work - i.e. the empirical chapters and conclusion. The other sections of the thesis are available as a research resource.

Part I

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Conceptual Context

Political parties are widely regarded as central to both the theory and the practice of modern liberal democracy. Schattschneider went so far as to argue that parties were indispensable to the successful functioning of democracy.[1] Yet whilst political parties have been an almost permanent and ever-present force within liberal democracies, they have been, and continue to be, subject to constant challenges and changes.

One of these challenges has come from the growth of ethnic and nationalist consciousness over the past fifty years. Decolonisation across large swathes of Africa and Asia, and the end of the Cold War has heralded a dramatic rise in nationalist sentiment across much of the globe. From the Baltic to the Balkans, and in many other regions across the world, previously suppressed minority groups have been re-asserting their distinctive ethnic, religious and national identities, fighting for greater expression and control of their cultural and national identities.[2]

Sub-state nationalist or regionalist parties exist today in virtually all major Western European countries, with a number of these nationalist movements proving to be quite successful in recent years.[3] Once considered to be 'revolts against modernity,'[4] or 'throwbacks to the past,'[5] these parties have established themselves as both reputable and influential political players in most West European democracies. Whilst Rokkan and Urwin identified approximately 29 main 'peripheral parties' in the early 1980s, recent scholarship has estimated that there are 93 such parties across Europe.[6] The rise of such sub-state nationalist parties matters because by definition these parties are undermining the very foundations of the existing political system, challenging, or at least trying to re-organise, the distribution of power between the centre and

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[1] E.E. Schattschneider, *Political Parties* (New York, 1942).

[2] T. Gurr, *People Versus States: Minorities at Risk in the New Century* (Washington, DC, 2000); G.P. Nielsson, 'States and 'nation-groups': a global taxonomy,' in E. A. Tiryakian and R. Rogowski (eds.) *New Nationalisms of the Developed West* (London, 1985), pp. 254-276; C. Tilly, 'Ethnic conflict in the Soviet Union,' *Theory and Society*, 20 (1991), pp. 569-580.

[3] E. Hepburn, 'Introduction: Re-conceptualizing Sub-state Mobilization,' *Regional & Federal Studies*, 19 (2009), pp. 477-499. A non-exhaustive list of analogous terms to describe these political parties or movements may also include 'regionalist, 'subnational regionalist,' 'substate nationalist,' and 'minority nationalist.' See S.M. Lipset and S. Rokkan, 'Cleavage structures, party systems, and voter alignments,' in S.M. Lipset and S. Rokkan (eds.) *Party Systems and Voter Alignments: Cross-National Perspectives* (New York, 1967), pp. 1-64; D. W. Urwin, 'Herbinger, Fossil or Flea-bite? 'Regionalism' and the West European Party Mosaic,' in H. Daalder and P. Mair (eds.) *Western European Party Systems: Continuity and Change* (London, 1983), pp. 221-256; D. Seiler, *Les Partis Autonomistes* (Paris, 1982); L. De Winter and H. Türsan (eds.) *Regionalist Parties in Western Europe* (London, 1998).

[4] S.M. Lipset, 'The Revolt against Modernity,' in S.M. Lipset, *Consensus and Conflict: Essays in Political Sociology* (New Brunswick, 1985), pp. 253-294.

[5] E. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780,* 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 1990).

[6] S. Rokkan and D. Urwin, *Economy, Territory, Identity: Politics of West European Peripheries* (London, 1983); E. Massetti, 'Explaining Regionalist Party Positioning in a Multi-dimensional Ideological Space: A Framework for Analysis,' *Regional & Federal Studies*, 19 (2009), pp. 501-531.

periphery. They are either challenging the boundaries of the state or the basic distribution of powers within the state.

Within many long-established democracies, states have felt obliged to respond to 'bottom-up' sub-state nationalist pressures by reforming fundamental aspects of their constitutions or by enacting decentralising and regionalising reforms across their constituent territorial units.[7] The strengthening of the regional tier is evident from the constitutional changes enacted in states as diverse as Belgium,[8] Spain,[9] Italy,[10] as well as more recently in the United Kingdom.[11] Sub-state nationalist parties for example, were key actors in transforming Belgium into a federal state.[12] In the UK, the electoral growth of Scottish nationalism during the 1990s was an important factor which encouraged the British Labour Party to adopt a commitment to devolve power to some of the UK's component nations.[13] The reconfiguration of Spain as a 'state of autonomies' at the end of the 1970s devolved substantial policy autonomy to the regions, primarily as a political concession to the demands of the Catalan and Basque nationalists.[14] Nationalist parties such as the CiU and PNV managed to extract further political concessions from Spanish governments during the late 1990s, in return for their parliamentary support in confidence measures.[15] Even such a historically archetypal unitary and centralised state as France has granted a minimal form of administrative devolution to Corsica in order to appease the demands of the island's nationalists.[16]

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[7] A. Elias, *Minority Nationalist Parties and European Integration: A Comparative Study* (Abingdon, 2008), pp. 1-2; L. Hooghe and G. Marks, *Multi-Level Governance and European Integration* (Lanham, MD, 2001); L. Hooghe, G. Marks, A. H. Schakel, *The rise of regional authority: a comparitive study of 42 democracies* (Abingdon, 2010).

[8] K. Deschouwer, 'Kingdom of Belgium,' in J. Kincaid and A. Tarr (eds.) *Constitutional Origins, Structure, and Change in Federal Countries* (Montreal, 2005), pp. 49-75; W. Swenden and M.T. Jans, 'Will it stay or will it go? Federalism and the sustainability of Belgium,' *West European Politics*, 5 (2006), pp. 877-894.

[9] E. Aja, 'Spain: Nations, Nationalities and Regions,' in J. Loughlin (ed.) *Subnational Democracy in the European Union: Challenges and Opportunities* (Oxford, 2001), pp. 229-253; L. Moreno, *The Federalization of Spain* (London, 2001).

[10] T.W. Gold, *The Lega Nord and Contemporary Politics in Italy* (Basingstoke, 2003); F. Palermo, 'Italy's long devolutionary path towards federalism,' in S. Ortino, M. Zagar and V. Mastny (eds.) *The changing faces of federalism: Institutional reconfiguration in Europe from East to West* (Manchester, 2005), pp. 182-201.

[11] R. Hazell (ed.) *The State and the Nations: The First Year of Devolution in the UK* (Thorverton, 2000); A. Trench (ed.) *The State of the Nations: Has Devolution Made a Difference?* (London, 2004).

[12] J. Buelens and R. Van Dyck, 'Regionalist parties in French-speaking Belgium: The Rassemblement Wallon and the Front Démocratique des Francophones,' in L. De Winter and H. Türsan (eds.) *Regionalist Parties in Western Europe* (London, 1998), pp. 51-69.

[13] J. Mitchell, 'The Evolution of Devolution: Labour's Home Rule Strategy in Opposition,' *Government and Opposition*, 33 (1998), pp. 479-496.

[14] M. Keating, *Nation against the State: The New Politics of Nationalism in Quebec, Catalonia and Scotland* (Basingstoke, 2001).

[15] J. Calvet Crespo, 'Gobiernos minoritarios, pactos parlamentarios y producción legislativa en España,' *Política y Sociedad*, 40 (2003), pp. 89-103; E. Guerrero Salom, 'Apoyo(s) parlamentario(s) antes que gobierno(s) de coalición. El caso español: 1993-1996 y 1996-2000,' *Política y Sociedad*, 40 (2003), pp. 77-88.

[16] A. Cole, 'Decentralization in France: Central Steering, Capacity Building and Identity Construction,' *French Politics*, 4 (2006), pp. 31-57; J. Loughlin and S. Mazey (eds.) *The end of the French unitary state?: ten years of regionalization in France* (London, 1995); C. Olivesi, 'The failure of regionalist party formation in Corsica,' in L. De Winter and H. Türsan (eds.) *Regionalist Parties in Western Europe* (London, 1998), pp. 174-190.

The electoral and political success of sub-state nationalist parties is a powerful indicator of the continuing relevance of 'territory' in the politics of many western democratic states.[17] Territory continues to provide a basis for political mobilisation, representation, and electoral contestation.[18] Yet due to the 'methodological nationalism' of mainstream political science, there remains an intrinsic tendency within the political science literature to overlook *territory* or to dismiss *territorial actors* as aberrations or exceptions in the predominantly class-based arena of 'mainstream politics.'[19] The dominant paradigm in political science has been the modernist one, in which functional diffusion across nation-states should lead to the ironing out of differences across territory,[20] or, as one scholar put it, the 'end of territory.'[21] Politics is seen to be determined by class interests that operate uniformly across states, whilst territorial cleavages have been treated as merely throw-backs to the past or 'revolts against modernity.'[22] The 'territorial dimension' has been largely ignored in the party literature, even though the Western European party system developed based on a series of societal cleavages, the most important of which were territorial or national divisions.[23] *Territory* is rarely conceptualised as a political *strategy* within the literature. Most standard works on European political parties do not focus on the effect of nationalism, regionalism or decentralisation on the party system.[24] Notwithstanding recent scholarship,[25] the academic literature concerning state-wide parties has traditionally ignored the way in which state-wide parties accommodate territorial or regional cleavages within their party organisations and programmes. The prevalent discourse with regard to the study of political parties has more often than not been concerned with merely 'single-level language.'[26]

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[17] Hepburn, 'Re-conceptualizing Sub-State Mobilization,' p. 478.

[18] M. Keating, *The New Regionalism in Western Europe: Territorial Restructuring and Political Change* (Aldershot, 1998), p. 3.

[19] A. Wimmer and N. Glick Schiller, 'Methodological Nationalism and the Study of Migration,' *European Journal of Sociology*, 43 (2002), pp. 217-240; C. Jeffery and D. Wincott, 'The Challenge of Territorial Politics: Beyond Methodological Nationalism,' in C. Hay (ed.) *New Directions in Political Science: Responding to the Challenges of an Interdependent World* (Basingstoke, 2010), pp. 167-188.

[20] A. Lijphart, 'Political Theories and the Explanation of Ethnic Conflict in the Western World: Falsified Predictions and Plausible Posdictions,' in M. Esman (ed.) *Ethnic Conflict in the Western World* (Ithaca, 1977), pp. 46-64.

[21] B. Badie, *La Fin des Territoires* (Paris, 1995).

[22] Lipset, 'The Revolt against Modernity.'

[23] Lipset and Rokkan, *Party Systems*.

[24] G. Sartori, *Parties and Party Systems: A Framework for Analysis* (Cambridge, 1976); P. Mair (ed.) *The West European Party System* (Oxford, 1990).

[25] J. Hopkin, 'Political Decentralization, Electoral Change and Party Organizational Adaptation: A Framework for Analysis,' *European Urban and Regional Studies*, 10 (2003), pp. 227-237; E. Fabre, 'Party Organization in a Multi-Level System: Party Organizational Change in Spain and the UK,' *Regional & Federal Studies*, 18 (2008), pp. 309-329; E. Fabre and E. Martinez-Herrera, 'State-wide Parties and Regional Party Competition: An Analysis of Party Manifestos in the United Kingdom,' in W. Swenden and B. Maddens (eds.) *Territorial Party Politics in Western Europe* (Basingstoke, 2009), pp. 229-248; E. Fabre and M. Mendez-Lago, M. 'Decentralization and Party Organizational Change: The British and Spanish State-wide Parties Compared,' in W. Swenden and B. Maddens (eds.) *Territorial Party Politics in Western Europe* (Basingstoke, 2009), pp. 102-118; J. Hopkin, and P. Van Houten, 'Decentralization and State-Wide Parties: Introduction,' *Party Politics*, 15 (2009), pp. 131-135; W. Swenden and B. Maddens, B. (eds.) *Territorial Party Politics in Western Europe* (Basingstoke, 2009).

[26] K. Deschouwer, 'Political Parties in Multi-Layered Systems,' *European Urban and Regional Studies*, 10 (2003), p. 213.

The re-emergence of the 'national question' as a source of political contestation necessitates a renewed academic interest in territorial and nationalist dimensions of politics and party competition. Regionalisation, the rise of sub-state nationalist movements, and the solidification of sub-state national identities matter. Such dynamics not only threaten to re-draw the political and territorial boundaries of democratic states; by definition they also challenge the operational context that most political parties have long been accustomed to.[27] Such developments pose significant questions and challenges to state-wide parties, particularly to their policies in relation to key aspects of nationhood. Arguably, these dynamics pose a particular challenge to Conservatives, or to parties of the right, which have often espoused a homogenous or unitary vision of the nation-state, and have perhaps been least sympathetic to those who challenge, or indeed question, the parameters of the national community.[28]

1.2 Research Design

1.2.1 The Central Research Question

This thesis can be read as a piece of contemporary political history, which demonstrates quite how flexible and variegated the response of the political right can be to the 'national question.'[29] It does so by focusing upon the experiences of two centre-right parties, the British and Canadian Conservative parties.[30]

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[27] B. Jones and M. Keating (eds.) *The European Union and the Regions* (Oxford, 1995); M. Keating, *Plurinational Democracy: Stateless Nations in a Post-Sovereignty Era* (Oxford, 2001); Keating, *Nation against the State.*

[28] These dynamics have also been challenging for parties of the left, which have exhibited competing centralising and devolutionary tendencies. The British Labour Party and the Spanish Socialists are prime examples. See J.B. Jones and M. J. Keating, 'The British Labour Party: Centralisation and Devolution,' in P. Madgwick and R. Rose (eds.) *The Territorial Dimension in United Kingdom Politics* (London, 1982), pp. 177-201; J. Geekie and R. Levy, 'Devolution and the Tartanisation of the Labour Party,' *Parliamentary Affairs*, 42 (1989), pp. 399-411; M. Evans, *Constitution-making and the Labour Party* (Basingstoke, 2003); S. Balfour and A. Quiroga, *The Reinvention of Spain: Nation and Identity since Democracy* (Oxford, 2007), pp. 72-97.

[29] The nation and nation-state have arguably played a more central place in conservative thinking than in the politics of the left, yet remain to be sufficiently problematised by the literature. In contrast, there are a plethora of publications which explore the relationship between Marxism, socialism, and the 'national question.' See W. Connor, *The national question in Marxist-Leninist theory and strategy* (Princeton, NJ, 1984); R. Munck, *The difficult dialogue: Marxism and nationalism* (London, 1986); E. Nimni, *Marxism and nationalism: theoretical origins of a political crisis* (London, 1991); J. Schwarzmantel, *Socialism and the Idea of the Nation* (Hemel Hempstead, 1991); M. Löwy, *Fatherland or Mother Earth? Essays on the National Question* (London, 1998).

[30] The thesis considers the modern-day *Canadian Conservative Party* as the political heir to a series of right-of-centre parties that have existed in Canada, beginning with the *Liberal-Conservative Party* founded in 1854 by Sir John A. Macdonald, which later became known simply as the *Conservative Party* from 1873, and as the *Progressive Conservatives* as of 1942 following the election of John Bracken as party leader. The modern day *Conservative Party of Canada* is also the legal heir to the heritage of these historical Conservative parties by virtue of assuming the assets and liabilities of the former *Progressive Conservative Party* upon its merger with the *Canadian Alliance* in 2003. By means of terminological clarity, all references henceforth to the *Canadian Conservatives* include, or refer to all historical and contemporary reincarnations of the party.

The Central Research Question can be stated as follows:

- How did the British and Canadian Conservative parties approach the 'national question' in Wales and Quebec during the 20th and early 21st centuries?

In seeking to answer the central research question, three major inter-related aspects of the life of political parties are examined for evidence of common, or case specific, pressures, debates and responses, namely:

- Party Policy (e.g. policy positions relating to devolution, provincial rights and minority language).
- Party Discourse (e.g. the nuance and syntax of political discourse and rhetoric).
- Intraparty Organisation (e.g. the evolution of party structures and authority, the social and political background of party officials, candidates, and parliamentary elites).

In exploring the British and Canadian Conservative parties' relationship to the 'national question,' this study not only traces the development of the parties' policies and attitudes in relation to self-government and devolution, but also examines their broader policy programmes for Wales and Quebec. This study will examine the British Conservative Party's attitude to Welsh culture and the Welsh language; how the party viewed Wales' relationship to England, Britain and Britishness; its relationship with Welsh nationalism; and the discourse offered by the party in relation to Welsh history. Similarly, this study will examine the Canadian Conservative Party's attitude towards Quebec nationhood; its attitude towards the French language and culture; its approach towards Quebec's place within confederation and its relationship with the wider Canadian state; the party's relationship with Quebec nationalism; and finally the narrative provided by the party in relation to Quebec's history.

The thesis further examines the leadership and organisation of both the British and Canadian Conservative parties in Wales and Quebec respectively. The discussion will examine the organisational structure of the British and Canadian Conservative parties, and the political and cultural makeup of the parties' political elites. It will consider whether we may infer from the nature of the parties' leadership and organisational choices any broader generalisations about the British and Canadian Conservative parties' engagement with the 'national question,' and their

approach towards the political and conceptual challenges of developing an electoral appeal within the context of stateless nations.[31]

1.2.2 A Route Map

The research design employed to investigate how the British and Canadian Conservative parties approach the 'national question' is based upon qualitiative case studies of a selection of conservative leaders and administrations from the 20th and early 21st centuries. Given the paucity of systematic comparative research in this area, this design was chosen in order to generate rich in-depth data on the processes through which conservative parties interpret and respond to the 'national question,' and to trace the influence of different variables on the British and Canadian Conservative parties' attitude formation. Such an approach affords the opportunity to shed light on the interplay of different factors, particularly the role of agency, on the programmatic and campaigning choices of the cases under review. In this respect, the case study approach allows us to orientate the research towards 'understanding motivations,' rather than simply 'explaining causal relations.'[32]

In terms of the specificity of the research design, the empirical chapters in Part II of the thesis employ an episodic approach, whereby specific episodes drawn from different Conservative administrations from across the two case-studies are examined in greater detail. The 'episode' is a useful heuristic device that will enable the research to delimit each party leader and administration to be studied within its political, social, and temporal context.[33] Moreover, the variety of leaders and administrations analysed provides for sufficient 'in-case' variation within the two case studies under review. These episodes span the 20th and early 21st centuries, encompassing periods of electoral strength and weakness for both the British and Canadian Conservative parties; periods in which the parties have held national elected office, but equally important, periods when both parties have occupied the opposition benches. After all, it is only in opposition that many parties will give serious consideration towards reforming or adapting their programmatic goals or campaign strategies.[34] Drawing episodes from a wide time-span reveals recurring patterns and points of departure in conservative approaches to the 'national

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[31] It should be noted that the focus of this study is on the state-level party organisation, and not how the regional branches of the parties have responded and adapted to the 'national question.'

[32] D. Della Porta and M. Keating, 'How many approaches in the social sciences? An epistemological introduction,' in D. Della Porta and M. Keating (eds.) *Approaches and Methodologies in the Social Sciences: A Pluralist Perspective* (Cambridge, 2008), p. 3.

[33] D. McAdam, S. Tarrow, and C. Tilly, *Dynamics of Contention* (Cambridge, 2001).

[34] R. Harmel and K. Janda, 'An Integrated Theory of Party Goals and Party Change,' *Journal of Theoretical Politics*, 6 (1994), pp. 259-287; K. Janda, R. Harmel, C. Edens, P. Goff, 'Changes in Party Identity: Evidence from Party Manifestos,' *Party Politics*, 1 (1995), pp. 171-196.

question' in Wales and Quebec respectively; demonstrating quite how flexible and variegated the response of the political right can be to the 'national question.'

1.2.3 The Logic of Comparison: The 'Why?'

Implicit in the adoption of a comparative design is a belief that we can understand social phenomena better when they are compared in relation to one or more meaningfully contrasting cases or situations.[35] Whilst critics suggest that such research runs the risk of turning into a 'wonderful, creative exercise of comparison that ultimately is meaningless,'[36] comparative research can aid in the specification of the conditions under which one case can learn from another. Comparative research can fill important gaps in knowledge about how other cases deal with similar situations and challenges, or about the background and effects of alternative strategies for solving common problems (or avoiding their emergence in the first place).[37] Phrased slightly differently, comparison can put our judgements about policy processes and outcomes into a broader and more refined perspective. An awareness of alternative strategies can challenge the political and cultural assumptions on which a nation's or organisation's policies are based.

1.2.4 The Logic of Comparison: The 'How?'

The method of comparing case studies is divided primarily into two types of system design: 'most similar systems design' and 'most different systems design.'[38] Most similar systems design (MSSD) seeks to compare political systems that share a number of common features in an effort to neutralize some differences while highlighting others. Based on J.S. Mill's method of difference, MSSD seeks to identify the key features that are different among similar countries and which account for the observed political outcome.[39] The most similar method typically

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[35] A. Bryman, *Social Research Methods,* 2nd ed. (Oxford, 2004), pp. 53-55; L. Hantrais, 'Comparative Research Methods,' *Social Research Update,* 13 (1996).
[36] G. Peters, *Comparative Politics: Theory and Methods* (London, 1998), p. 85.
[37] K.W. Deutsch, 'Prologue: achievements and challenges in 2000 years of comparative research,' in M. Dierkes, H.N. Weiler and A.B. Antal (eds.) *Comparative Policy Research* (Aldershot, 1987), pp. 5-25.
[38] T.W. Meckstroth, '"Most Different Systems" and "Most Similar Systems": A Study in the Logic of Comparative Inquiry,' *Comparative Political Studies*, 8 (1975), pp. 132-157; A. Przeworski and H. Teune, *The Logic of Comparative Social Inquiry* (New York, 1970); A.M. Faure, 'Some Methodological Problems in Comparative Politics,' *Journal of Theoretical Politics*, 6 (1994), pp. 307-322.
[39] J.S. Mill, *A System of Logic, Ratiocinative and Inductive* (New York, 1846).

employs a minimum of two cases.[40] In its purest form, the chosen pair of cases is similar on all the measured independent variables, except the independent variable of interest.

Most different systems design (MDSD) on the other hand, compares countries that do not share any common features apart from the political outcome to be explained and one or two of the explanatory factors seen to be important for that outcome.[41] This system is based on Mill's method of agreement, which seeks to identify those features that are the same among different countries in an effort to account for a particular outcome. The reason for choosing systems that are similar is the ambition to keep constant as many extraneous variables as possible.[42] In this way, MDSD allows the researcher to extract common elements from a diverse set of countries that have greater explanatory power.

This thesis applies the Most Similar Systems Design (MSSD), in which we choose as objects of research systems that are as similar as possible, except with regard to the phenomenon, the effects of which we are interested in assessing. There are two different ways to conceive of the MSSD. A strict application of a MSSD would require us to choose countries that are similar in a number of specified variables (the control variables) and different with regard to only one aspect (the independent variable under study). Alternatively, we may choose a looser application of a MSSD , where we choose to study countries that appear to be similar in as many background characteristics as possible, but where the researcher never systematically matches the cases on all the relevant control variables. If the MSSD is conceived of in the latter form, most regional comparative studies could be said to implicitly apply a MSSD. It is this latter approach which is adopted in this study.

This study acknowledges that there are different strategies of comparative research in the political sciences, including comparing many countries, comparing few countries, and single-country studies. The central distinction between different comparative methods depends on the key trade-off between the level of abstraction and the scope of countries under study.[43] In general, the higher the level of conceptual abstraction, the more potential there is for the inclusion of a large number of countries in a study, where political science concepts 'travel'

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[40] A. Lijphart, 'Comparative Politics and the Comparative Method,' *American Political Science Review*, 65 (1971), pp. 682-693; A. Lijphart, 'The Comparable Cases Strategy in Comparative Research,' *Comparative Political Studies*, 8 (1975), pp. 158-177; T. Skocpol and M. Somers, 'The Uses of Comparative History in Macrosocial Inquiry,' *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 22 (1980), pp. 174-197.

[41] D. Collier, 'The Comparative Method,' in A. Finifter (ed.) *Political Science: The State of the Discipline* (Washington, DC, 1993), p. 112.

[42] S. Bartolini, 'On Time and Comparative Research,' *Journal of Theoretical Politics*, 5 (1993), p. 134; G. Sartori, 'Comparing and Miscomparing,' *Journal of Theoretical Politics*, 3 (1991), p. 250.

[43] P. Mair, 'Comparative Politics: An Overview,' in R.E. Goodin and H. Klingemann (eds.) *The New Handbook of Political Science* (Oxford, 1996), pp. 309-335.

across different contexts.[44] On the other hand, focusing upon one country or a few countries means that researchers can use less abstract concepts that are more grounded in the specific contexts under scrutiny.

To gain a better understanding of how conservative parties approach the 'national question,' this research applies a binary comparison of two case studies. Focusing on only two cases ('small-N'), this method has important advantages over the alternative large-N quantitative study or single case study methods, and seems more appropriate for the specific focus of this study. First and foremost, the focus on a limited number of cases enables a more in-depth examination than is possible with a large-N design. The latter, often associated with quantitative studies, gives only scant attention to historical processes of change and country specific explanations. By contrast, a small-N analysis can delve much deeper into the case studies, allowing us to explore in detail the environment in which a given party acts, drawing a rather more complete picture of the socio-structural, institutional, political and electoral context under which the cases operate. At the same time, the in-depth approach gives the opportunity to shed light on the interplay of different factors and on the role of agency acting not only within, but also upon the environment. This research design is specifically appropriate for understanding 'path dependence,' a conceptual approach that is elaborated below (1.2.6).

1.2.5 Justifying the Choice of Case-Studies

The choice of case-studies for this study was justified on several grounds. Firstly, the choice of Wales and Quebec as comparative case studies presented two historic stateless nations with complex but strong identities.[45] Wales and Quebec are both territories with particularly strong claims to nationhood. Their respective domestic politics are characterised by coherent sub-state nationalist movements, characterised in many respects by their support for the promotion and safeguard of the French and Welsh languages, long perceived to be subjugated and under threat from larger, English-speaking neighbours.[46]

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[44] G. Sartori, 'Concept Misinformation and Comparative Politics,' *American Political Science Review*, 64 (1970), pp. 1033-1041; G. Sartori, 'Compare Why and How: Comparing, Miscomparing and the Comparative Method,' in M. Dogan and A. Kazancigil (eds.) *Comparing Nations: Concepts, Strategies, Substance* (London, 1994), pp. 14-34.

[45] E. A. Tiryakian, 'Quebec, Wales and Scotland: Three Nations in Search of a State,' *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, 21 (1980), pp. 1-13; D. Balsom, 'The Three-Wales Model,' in J. Osmond (ed.) *The National Question Again* (Llandysul, 1985), pp. 1-17; J.-G. Lacroix, 'The Reproduction of Quebec National Identity in the Postreferendum Context,' *Scottish Affairs*, 17 (1996), pp. 62-77; E. Mackey, *The house of difference: cultural politics and national identity in Canada* (Toronto, 2002).

[46] K. O. Morgan, 'Welsh Nationalism: The Historical Background,' *Journal of Contemporary History*, 6 (1971), pp. 153-172; R. Fenwick, 'Social Change and Ethnic Nationalism: An Historical Analysis of the Separatist Movement in Quebec,' *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 23 (1981), pp. 196-216; W. D. Coleman, *The Independence Movement in Quebec, 1945-1980* (Toronto, 1984); R. Handler, *Nationalism and the Politics of Culture in Quebec* (Madison, 1988); C. Aull

Secondly, the British and Canadian Conservative parties have a similar electoral record of failure in the stateless nations of Wales and Quebec, in spite of long and distinguished histories (more so in the case of the British Conservatives) in state-wide elected office. The 20th century has been dubbed by commentators on UK politics as the 'Conservative Century.'[47] Indeed, during the 20th century the Conservative Party dominated British politics to such an extent that it governed for almost seventy out of a possible hundred years. Whilst it is widely considered to be the most enduring political party in British history and the so-called 'natural' party of British government, understandings of the British Conservative Party's 'national' appeal must be qualified by its electoral performance in Wales.[48] Since franchise extension, the Conservative Party has never won a plurality of the Welsh popular vote or a majority of Welsh seats, the highpoint of Conservative success being its 32 per cent share of the Welsh popular vote at the height of the Thatcher revolution, when the Tories won fourteen seats out of a possible thirty-eight in the general election of 1983. During the late-1980s and early-1990s, the party's representation in Wales would gradually fall to eight seats at the 1987 general election, and six at the 1992 poll, this decline culminating in the Conservative Party's electoral wipe-out in Wales at the 1997 general election with a pathetic 19 per cent of the Welsh popular vote. It has since been suggested that there is a deep-rooted historic perception amongst large swathes of the Welsh electorate that the British Conservatives are a fundamentally 'English' party, of little or no relevance to the Welsh electoral context. This perception is deeply-ingrained in the conscience of a number of Welsh electors. Indeed, according to Wyn Jones et al, for many electors in Wales, Conservatism is a part of the 'other' against which Welsh identity and Welshness has come to be defined.[49]

Meanwhile, Quebec has been the bane of the Canadian Conservative Party's existence for the past 100 years or so.[50] With a few notable exceptions – R.B. Bennett's win in 1930, John Diefenbaker's 1958 majority and Brian Mulroney's back-to-back victories in 1984 and 1988, conservatism has been a tough sell in 'la belle province.' Apart from the Mulroney sweep, one must return to the time of the Fathers of Confederation to discover sustained Tory strength in Quebec. As Michael Bliss suggests, the Conservative party's position in Quebec has been shaky 'since at least the dithering over Manitoba Schools, perhaps as far back as the execution of Riel

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Davies, *Welsh nationalism in the twentieth century: The ethnic option and the modern state* (New York, 1989); H. Meadwell, 'The Politics of Nationalism in Quebec,' *World Politics*, 45 (1993), pp. 203-241; L. McAllister, *Plaid Cymru: The Emergence of a Political Party* (Bridgend, 2001).

[47] A. Seldon and S. Ball (eds.) *Conservative Century: The Conservative Party since 1900* (Oxford, 1994).

[48] R. Wyn Jones, R. Scully and D. Trystan, 'Why Do the Conservatives Always Do (Even) Worse in Wales?,' *British Elections and Parties Review*, 12 (2002), pp. 229-245.

[49] Ibid. p. 243.

[50] T. Kheiriddin and A. Daifallah, *Rescuing Canada's Right: Blueprint for a Conservative Revolution* (Mississauga, ON, 2005), p. 141.

or even the death of [Sir George-Étienne] Cartier.'[51] The party's continued marginality in Quebec in subsequent decades has encouraged some commentators to argue that the Canadian Conservative Party has failed to meet the first test of a truly national party: that of being able to attract substantial electoral support from both of the country's main linguistic groups.[52]

To select cases for comparison not only involves justification of why certain cases have been included, but equally important, why other cases have been excluded. The binary Wales-Quebec comparison does not pretend to exhaust the possibilities of other worthwhile comparisons, or case-studies. The 'national question' has re-emerged as an important source of political contestation across much of Western Europe in recent decades, with the politics of nationhood proving difficult terrain for parties of the right in particular. Since the reconfiguration of Spain as a State of Autonomies at the end of the 1970s, the Spanish right has had to respond to increasing threats and challenges to its understandings of the nation and national identity.[53] Traditionally, the Spanish right has championed a unitary vision of the Spanish nation. Yet over the past few decades, the political right in Spain has been challenged by the increasing radicalisation of peripheral nationalisms, from ETA's campaign of terrorism in the Basque Country, to the demands of Catalonia's nationalist leaders for a new relationship with the wider Spanish state. Like their Conservative counterparts in Britain and Canada, the Partido Popular (PP) has been shunned by the electors of Catalonia and the Basque Country – historic regions akin to the stateless nations of Wales and Quebec. Suspicions about the party's Francoist roots have prevented the PP from attracting strong and sustained levels of support within the historic communities. The Catalunyan and Basque bourgeoisie have been reluctant to abandon centre-right nationalist or regionalist parties, for fear that supporting state-wide conservative parties such as the PP will be interpreted as a vote of confidence in a form of unitary, centralised nationalism. Consequently, a number of natural conservative voters have coalesced around the right-leaning nationalist CiU in Catalunya and the PNV in the Basque Country.[54] The PP has thus only managed to compete for a small segment of the Catalan bourgeoisie and Basque upper classes, and there are few signs of this position changing.[55]

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[51] M. Bliss, *Right Honourable Men: The Descent of Canadian Politics from Macdonald to Mulroney* (Toronto, 1994), p. 72.

[52] J. M. Beck, 'Quebec and the Canadian Elections of 1958,' *Parliamentary Affairs*, 12 (1958), p. 90.

[53] Balfour and Quiroga, *The Reinvention of Spain*, p. 98.

[54] F. Pallares and M. Keating, 'Multi-level electoral competition: Regional elections and party systems in Spain,' *European Urban and Regional Studies*, 10 (2003), p. 247.

[55] The 2011 Spanish General Election seemingly confirmed this trend, as the Partido Popular was largely shunned by the electors of Catalonia and the Basque Country in favour of the nationalist parties. The Guardian, 'Spain General Election Results,' http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/interactive/2011/nov/20/spain-general-election-results (Accessed 20 November, 2011).

Given the relative infancy of Spanish democracy, and the paucity of Conservative governments in Spain since 1978, the Wales-Quebec binary was considered a more robust comparison of how state-wide conservative parties might approach the 'national question.' At a broader level, both Canada and Britain are long established and relatively stable democracies, and the institutional political design of Canada and Britain are similar in many respects. Indeed, Canada's majoritarian parliamentary system is modelled upon the Westminster system. Both political systems utilise a similar single member, simple-plurality electoral system for elections to their respective parliaments, which makes for easy cross-national comparisons of electoral behaviour. In addition, since the constitutional reforms enacted by the Labour Government in 1997 and the establishment of devolved bodies in Scotland and Wales, there is now a comparable degree of devolution/federalism which characterises both British and Canadian political systems.[56] This study further ruled out a larger comparison which might have included the Partido Popular, believing, much like Dyer and Wilkins, that a larger multiple case-study approach risked paying less attention to the specific context in which each case-study operated, and more to the ways in which cases can be contrasted.[57] Comparing few countries achieves control through the careful selection of countries that are analysed using a middle level of conceptual abstraction. Studies using this method are more intensive and less extensive since they encompass more of the nuances specific to each country. Focusing on Wales and Quebec allows for a mix of qualitiative and comparative analysis simply unavailable to a larger set of case-studies.[58] By explicitly focusing upon two cases alone, this study can successfully locate each case within its political, social and historical context, and develop a deeper and more nuanced appreciation of the conditions under which the cases function or operate. Notwithstanding the limited choice of case-studies, a pair-wise analysis of the British and Canadian Conservative parties can still permit us to observe certain aspects of the cases which might prove generalizable or relevant to other conservative parties, and which might later be evaluated/tested on a much wider set of cases. It is very plausible to believe that the problematic relationship between state-wide Conservative parties and the 'national question' is a much wider phenomenon worthy of further exploration.[59]

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[56] It should be noted, however, that this is only true of certain parts of the United Kingdom. England has no devolved Assembly or Parliament.

[57] W.G. Dyer and A.L. Wilkins, 'Better Stories, Not Better Constructs, to Generate Better Theory: A Rejoinder to Eisenhardt,' *Academy of Management Review*, 16 (1991), pp. 613-619.

[58] C. Ragin, *The Comparative Method: Moving beyond Qualitative and Quantitative Strategies* (Berkeley, 1987).

[59] Potential future research agendas are identified in chapter 8.

1.2.6 'History Matters:' Historical Institutionalism and path-dependency

The thesis adopts an essentially historical institutionalist approach to understanding the British and Canadian Conservative parties' engagement with the 'national question.' In this approach politics is seen as 'path dependent,' in that first moves influence later actions until that path is disrupted – or punctuated – by a critical juncture, thereby pushing the party (or institution) in a new direction.[60]

In recent decades, historical institutionalism has emerged as a leading approach to institutional analysis and, indeed, a prominent approach within political science more generally.[61] Historical institutionalism embraces the idea that individuals act within institutional arrangements, the present structure and functioning of which are understood only partially when they are not embedded in a historical perspective.[62] Deeply embedded in the historical institutionalist literature lies an assumption that there are self-reinforcing processes within institutions (or parties) that make institutional configurations, and hence their policies, difficult to change once a pattern has been established. Policymaking and political change are conceived as discrete processes, characterised by extended time periods of considerable stability - referred to as 'path-dependency.'[63]

'Path dependence' can be an ambiguous term, but in the best historical institutionalist scholarship it refers to the dynamics of self-reinforcing or positive feedback processes in a political system - what economists call 'increasing returns' processes.[64] Path dependence

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[60] J.G. March and J.P. Olsen, 'The New Institutionalism: Organizational Factors in Political Life,' *American Political Science Review*, 78 (1984), pp. 738-749; S. Steinmo, K. Thelen and F. Longstreth (eds.) *Structuring Politics: Historical Institutionalism in Comparative Analysis* (Cambridge, 1992); P.A. Hall and R.C.R. Taylor, 'Political science and the three new institutionalisms,' *Political Studies*, 44 (1996), pp. 936-957; E.M. Immergut, 'The theoretical core of the new institutionalism,' *Political Sociology*, 26 (1998), pp. 5-34; P. Pierson and T. Skocpol, 'Historical Institutionalism in Contemporary Political Science,' Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, 2000.

[61] e.g. M. Shefter, 'Party and Patronage: Germany, England, and Italy,' *Politics and Society*, 7 (1977), pp. 403-452; R. Collier and D. Collier, *Shaping the Political Arena* (Princeton, NJ, 1991); T. Ertman, *Birth of Leviathan: Building States and Regimes in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 1996); J. Hacker, 'The Historical Logic of National Health Insurance: Structure and Sequence in the Development of British, Canadian, and U.S. Medical Policy,' *Studies in American Political Development*, 12 (1998), pp. 57-130; E. and J.D. Stephens, *Development and Crisis of the Welfare State: Parties and Policies in Global Markets* (Chicago, 2001).

[62] C. Hay and D. Wincott, 'Structure, agency and historical institutionalism,' *Political Studies*, 46 (1998), pp. 951-957; K. Thelen, 'Historical Institutionalism in Comparative Politics,' *Annual Review of Political Science*, 2 (1999), pp. 369-404.

[63] J.A. Goldstone, 'Initial Conditions, General Laws, Path Dependence and Explanation in Historical Sociology,' *American Journal of Sociology*, 104 (1998), pp. 829-845; J. Mahoney, 'Path Dependence in Historical Sociology,' *Theory and Society*, 29 (2000), pp. 507-548; P. Pierson, 'Increasing Returns, Path Dependence, and the Study of Politics,' *American Political Science Review*, 94 (2000), pp. 251-267; P. Pierson, 'Not Just What, but When: Timing and Sequence in Political Processes,' *Studies in American Political Development*, 14 (2000), pp. 72-92; M. Weir, 'Ideas and the Politics of Bounded Innovation,' in S. Steinmo, K. Thelen and F. Longstreth (eds.) *Structuring Politics: Historical Institutionalism in Comparative Perspective* (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 188-216; B.G. Peters, J. Pierre, D. S. King, 'The Politics of Path Dependency: Political Conflict in Historical Institutionalism,' *The Journal of Politics*, 67 (2005), pp. 1275-1300.

[64] Pierson, 'Increasing Returns.'

constitutes a particular kind of historical process with a number of distinctive characteristics. First, the particular sequence in which events happen is important, since 'small' or fairly trivial events very early on in a sequence can have disproportionately large effects on later events. Second, during the early stages of a sequence – what can be understood as the 'critical juncture' – things are relatively open and fluid, but generally become more restrictive as one moves down a particular path. Finally, once political actors have ventured far down a particular path, they are likely to discover that path change becomes 'bounded' and difficult to reverse course. Political alternatives that were once quite plausible may become irretrievably lost. According to Pierson:

> …previously viable options may be foreclosed in the aftermath of a sustained period of positive feedback, and that cumulative commitments on the existing path will often make change difficult and will condition the form in which new branchings will occur.[65]

There are strong theoretical grounds for believing that self-reinforcing processes are prevalent in political life. Patterns of political mobilisation, the institutional 'rule of the game,' and even citizens' basic ways of thinking about the political world tend to generate self-reinforcing dynamics.[66] In addition to drawing our attention towards 'critical junctures' or key formative moments, arguments about path dependence can further help us understand the powerful inertial 'stickiness' that characterises many aspects of political development. As Pierson has observed, path dependence can provide a 'useful and powerful corrective' against functionalist explanations for important social and political outcomes.[67] Perhaps most important of all, path dependence argumenets highlight the role of 'historical causation,' in which dynamics triggered by an event or process at one point in time reproduce themselves, even in the absence of the recurrence of the original event or process.[68]

Path dependency is an appealing concept for understanding how the British and Canadian Conservative parties have approached the 'national question.' It provides a framework for understanding and interpreting the empirical observations that policy decisions accumulate over time, and that once established, can be difficult to change or reform. In this sense, path dependency arguments can 'provide an important caution against a too easy conclusion of the inevitability, 'naturalness,' or functionality of observed outcomes.'[69] Whilst a historical institutionalist approach is particularly useful in contributing to our understanding of how the British and Canadian Conservative parties' approach the 'national question,' the empirical

[65] Pierson, 'Not Just What, but When,' p. 76.
[66] P. Pierson, *Politics in Time: history, institutions, and social analysis* (Princeton, NJ, 2004), pp. 10-11.
[67] Ibid.
[68] A.L. Stinchcombe, *Constructing Social Theories* (New York, 1968).
[69] Pierson, 'Increasing Returns,' p. 252.

analysis also reveals that there may be other important factors at work which may have shaped or determined the respective strategies and programmes of the two parties.

1.2.7 Sources

This project uses standard historical methods and triangulates between a number of sources.[70] Primary empirical data was gathered from a breadth of sources including, but not exclusive of:

- Official party literature (manifestos, policy documents, election pamphlets and campaign websites).
- Newspaper reports (primarily, The Globe and Mail [Canada]; The Gazette [Quebec]; and the Western Mail [Wales]).
- Speeches and articles by former and current government ministers, as well as past and present members of parliament.
- The personal papers of a number of former Conservative party leaders and cabinet ministers.
- A series of semi-structured interviews with party elites.

The thesis required the generation and collection of data from a breadth of primary sources, such as the collection of party manifestos, speeches, personal papers, memoirs and party policy documents through extensive archival research. The National Library of Wales, home to the Welsh Political Archive, was an ideal location to conduct this research and to elicit a breadth of primary sources relating to the Welsh case-study. Of particular relevance to this thesis was my engagement with the personal papers of Lord Crickhowell (former Secretary of State for Wales) and the Welsh Conservative Party's Official Archival Collection. Cabinet Office papers were consulted at the National Archives in Kew, in addition to primary sources from the British Conservative Party's archival collection at the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

Between August and December 2010, the Institute of Canadian Studies at the University of Ottawa kindly agreed to host me as a visiting scholar. This visit allowed me to spend lengthy periods of time delving into the National Archives in the Canadian capital, in order to generate primary sources relating to the Conservative Party of Canada. This arrangement allowed me to consult the personal papers of a number of former Conservative leaders, including Sir John A.

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[70] P. Burnham, K. Gilland, W. Grant and Z. Layton-Henry, *Research Methods in Politics* (Basingstoke, 2004), pp. 31, 277.

Macdonald, Robert Borden, and R.B. Bennett, along with other inter-related materials from the Progressive Conservative Party's Official Archival Collection.

To complement the thesis' extensive archival research, a series of semi-structured interviews were conducted with a number of political elites in order to solicit valuable information and insight in to the British and Canadian Conservative parties' political records and relationships with Wales and Quebec. The semi-structured interview method was chosen for a number of reasons, primarily as it allowed the opportunity to consolidate responses with observational work, and the opportunity to pick up on body language or potential leads for further elaboration or probing.[71] The semi-structured interview was also considered to be a more useful and reliable method of soliciting information from political elites than a more formal and impersonal survey or questionnaire. Although some methodological and ethical dilemmas may arise from the use of 'elite-based research,' interviews with those centrally involved in policy-making can offer valuable insights into the policy process.[72] The possibility of selective memory and even deliberate deception exists, but elite level interviews and other sources of evidence from participants can 'tell something of the climate within which the broad structure and intimate detail of policy is crafted and consolidated.'[73] Lords Crickhowell, Hunt and Roberts (former Welsh Office Ministers) were very generous with their time, along with a number of current members of parliament and members of the National Assembly for Wales. I am also indebted to Professor Tom Flanagan of Calgary University, former chief-of-staff to the Conservative government of Stephen Harper, and one of Canada's leading public-intellectuals, for sharing his own experiences from the 2004 and 2006 campaign trails in 'la belle province.'

1.3 Key Concepts

Research in the field of political science is deeply implicated in issues of definition. Yet research in the field has all too often suffered from terminological and conceptual ambiguity. Certain definitions of key concepts have been notoriously controversial and have long been subjected to intense argument and debate within political science. In order to avoid this predicament, the following passage outlines and explains my conceptual understanding and empirical application of three key concepts which form the backbone of my subsequent empirical enquiries: *state-wide parties*, *conservative parties*, and the *stateless nation*.

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[71] H. Rubin and I. Rubin, *Qualitative Interviewing* (London, 1995).

[72] R. Phillips, 'The Politics of History: Some Methodological and Ethical Dilemmas in Elite-Based Research,' *British Educational Research Journal,* 24 (1998), pp. 5-19; G. Walford, 'Ethics and Power in a Study of Pressure Group Politics,' in G. Walford (ed.) *Researching the Powerful in Education* (London, 1994), pp. 81-93.

[73] C. Batteson and S. J. Ball, 'Autobiographies and Interviews as Means of 'Access' to Elite Policy Making in Education,' *British Journal of Educational Studies,* 43 (1995), p. 207.

1.3.1 State-wide Parties

The descriptor *state-wide party* draws a clear and useful distinction between parties which are organised and compete throughout the country's constituent nations or regions, with those political parties, which often harbour nationalist or secessionist sentiments, which compete within narrower or confined geographical or electoral contexts. In relation to this thesis' case-studies, the descriptors *state-wide* and *sub-state* parties draw a useful distinction between the state-wide British and Canadian Conservative parties on the one hand, and their electoral rivals at a sub-state level, namely the Bloc Québécois in Quebec, and Plaid Cymru in Wales.

Within the Spanish party literature, the descriptors *partido de ambito estatal* (state-wide party) and *partido de ambito no estatal* (non state-wide party) are commonplace within the literature.[74] Such labels draw a useful distinction between the nationalist or regionalist parties of the Autonomous Communities e.g. the CiU, and the major Spanish state-wide parties, namely the PSOE and the Partido Popular. Despite the apparent conceptual clarity of such labels, the descriptors state-wide and non-state-wide are nevertheless relatively alien to the party lexicon and the wider party literature. Embracing these descriptors and normalising their use beyond this particular project would serve to enrich the wider party literature, and establish some much needed conceptual clarity in the field of comparative political science.

1.3.2 Conservative Parties

Just as Mair and Mudde suggest that 'a socialist party is a socialist party is a socialist party, regardless of the extent to which its ideology, policies, or electoral base might later be modified,'[75] so too can we argue that a 'conservative party is a conservative party is a conservative party.' By any standard definition, the British and Canadian Conservative parties are archetypal examples of right of centre or conservative parties, and can, by any stretch of the imagination, be categorised as members of a mainstream conservative party family, however stringently or loosely defined.[76] Both the British and Canadian Conservative parties are located in a similar political space to the right of the political centre ground, espousing similar ideologies and principles in matters pertaining to constitutional, economic and social preferences, as well as many more shared preferences on matters of major policy. Moreover, both parties have, and continue to appeal to similar demographics. Their self-identification as 'conservative' parties, coupled with their membership of a number of trans-national conservative working groups and

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[74] e.g. M. Alcantara and A. Martinez (eds.) *Las Elecciones Autonomicas en Espana, 1980-1997* (Madrid, 1998).

[75] P. Mair and C. Mudde, 'The Party Family and Its Study,' *Annual Review of Political Science*, 1 (1998), p. 223.

[76] I will further elaborate upon the ideological foundations and major assumptions of conservatism in chapter 3.

organisations, further underpins this thesis' right to describe and to refer to these two parties as being members of a broader conservative party family.

Whilst conscious that the conservative family includes a plethora of diverse conservative parties from across the globe, the empirical scope and application of these understandings of conservative parties should be qualified as being a predominantly western democratic understanding of conservative parties. This empirical enquiry and its knowledge claims will be limited to the study of conservative parties in Wales and Quebec, and beyond these nations to state-wide conservative parties operating within predominantly western-democratic stateless nations.

1.3.3 Stateless Nations

Informed by the work of Montserrat Guibernau,[77] my thesis' understanding of the stateless nation refers to nations which, despite being incorporated within the boundaries and territories of one or more other states, challenge the legitimacy of the state's authority over the 'national' territory. These nations will often consider themselves to constitute actual or potential states in their own right.[78] Their sense of separate national identity will largely be manifest in the form of a dynamic core, comprising of a common culture, language, history or attachment to a particular territory or homeland.[79] The state, or the political institutions normally associated with the nation will often be considered to be missing, as members of the stateless nation choose not to identify or relate to the legitimacy of the existing state institutions.

Wales and Quebec are understood by this thesis to constitute archetypal stateless nations. Such labels should arouse little disagreement. Both of these respective nations are underpinned by historic ethnic origins or cores which can be traced back to an era previous to the rise of the modern nation-state. Moreover, both nations are characterised by mature sub-state nationalist movements, which in turn are characterised by their support for the promotion and safeguard of their respective minority languages and cultures, as well as varying degrees of greater political autonomy and self-determination from the British and Canadian states.

1.4 Research Aims

First and foremost, this thesis can be read as a piece of contemporary political history, which demonstrates quite how flexible and variegated the response of the political right can be

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[77] M. Guibernau, *Nations without states: political communities in a global age* (Cambridge, 1999).
[78] Although this is not the case in Brittany and Galicia.
[79] Although in Scotland language is mainly absent from nationalist mobilisation.

to the 'National Question.' As an initial contribution, this thesis reviews the British and Canadian Conservative parties' historic engagement with the 'national question.' The study demonstrates that both parties have a more varied tradition in relation to the 'national question' than their opponents are prepared to concede or, indeed, many Tories are inclined to accept.

A study of the British and Canadian Conservatives in Wales and Quebec had the virtue of generating original empirical data on two cases which have hitherto received relatively little scholarly attention. The British Conservative Party is largely absent from the narrative of Welsh political history.[80] The Conservative Party in Wales has been far less studied by historians and students than either the Liberal or Labour parties. The never-ending debate over the decline of the Liberal party and the rise of Labour has dominated Welsh historiography during the early and latter parts of the 20th century.[81] The Welsh Conservatives in contrast have been virtually ignored by historians during this time-frame. Indeed, Professor K.O. Morgan remarked that the Welsh Conservative tradition was not worthy of any substantive academic attention.[82] He further commented that he could not recall a single Welsh Conservative biography of any note. Historiographically however, the apparent dismissal of Welsh Conservatism as merely a marginal force in Welsh politics has resulted in a distorted view of Welsh political history, a point which was highlighted by former Welsh Secretary Nicholas Edwards (now Lord Crickhowell), in the 2005 Annual Welsh Political Archive Lecture.[83] For while acknowledging the party's relatively poor electoral record in Wales, Edwards argued that the British Conservative Party had developed a political narrative which acknowledged Welsh nationhood, and a political programme of government which responded to legitimate political and cultural grievances. Paradoxically, whilst the Tories in Wales were attacked by their political opponents for being unsympathetic to Welsh national grievances, much of their policy legacy in the fields of education, language, and broadcasting advanced the 'national question,' and responded to the grievances of the nationalist movement.

Felix Aubel's doctoral thesis is the first, and hitherto the only, genuine appraisal of Welsh Conservatism in the 20th century.[84] Aubel provides some valuable historical context on the

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[80] In contrast, the Scottish Conservatives have received considerably more scholarly attention. e.g. J. Mitchell, *Conservatives and the Union: A Study of Conservative Party Attitudes to Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1990); D. Seawright, *An Important Matter of Principle: The Decline of the Scottish Conservative and Unionist Party* (Aldershot, 1999); D. Torrance, *We in Scotland: Thatcherism in a Cold Climate* (Edinburgh, 2009).

[81] K.O. Morgan, *Wales in British Politics 1868-1922* (Cardiff, 1991); D. Tanner, D. Hopkin and C. Williams (eds.) *The Labour Party in Wales 1900-2000* (Cardiff, 2000); D. R. Hughes, *Cymru Fydd* (Cardiff, 2006).

[82] K.O. Morgan, *Rebirth of a Nation: A History of Modern Wales* (Oxford, 1998), p. 45.

[83] N. Crickhowell, *The Conservative Party in Wales 1888-1998* (Aberystwyth, 2005).

[84] F. Aubel, *Welsh Conservatism 1885-1935: five studies in adaptation* (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Wales, Lampeter, 1995). His thesis was later published as a chapter in an edited volume. See F. Aubel, 'The Conservatives in Wales, 1880-1935,' in M. Francis and I. Zweiniger-Bargielowska (eds.) *The Conservatives and British Society 1880-1990* (Cardiff, 1996), pp. 96-110.

party's development in Wales. The breadth of archival materials consulted and their sympathetic treatment is also to be commended. Nonetheless, the thesis' narrow timeframe (1885-1935) and its limited choice of five constituency case studies, means that it sheds little light on the Conservative party's national electoral appeal in Wales during the 20th century, and the party's perceived identification with 'Englishness' by large swathes of the Welsh electorate.

Few Welsh Tories have assumed high office, and even fewer have put pen to paper.[85] Former Secretaries of State for Wales such as Peter Walker and Nicholas Edwards, and former Welsh Office Minister Wyn Roberts, provide some valuable insight into Conservative governance of the Welsh Office between 1979 and 1995.[86] The memoirs of David Maxwell-Fyfe, the very first Minister of State for Welsh Affairs, shed little light on his ministerial tenure in charge of Wales, devoting the bulk of his memoir to his duties as Lord Chancellor and Home Secretary.[87] Russell Deacon offers insight on the intricacies of the internal workings of the Welsh Office, and the respective records of the Conservative Secretaries of State and their ministerial teams.[88] Dylan Griffiths, Geoff Mungham and Kevin Morgan analyse the Conservative Party's territorial management of Wales, with particular reference to the party's economic and industrial policies during the 1980s and 1990s, and the subsequent proliferation of the unelected quango state in Wales under the Thatcher and Major governments.[89] Yet, again, neither of these latter two publications systematically addresses the question of why the Conservatives have struggled to generate strong electoral support in Wales, or what they have sought to do about it.

The present study contributes specifically to the literature on devolution in Wales. 'Devolution is a process not an event,' or so said former Welsh Secretary Ron Davies. He had been referring to the political process after Wales voted 'Yes' to an Assembly in the 1997 devolution referendum. Yet Davies could also have applied his comment to the century or so of campaigning that led to this referendum result. Vernon Bogdanor asserts that the 'devolution journey' in Wales was 'largely the history of an internal Labour party debate.'[90] This is very much the basis of most works which approach the history of devolution in Wales. The coverage of the three other Westminster parties, particularly the Conservatives, has been neglected. This thesis seeks to correct this imbalance in the literature, by outlining the development of the Conservatives Party's constitutional tradition in relation to Wales, and the not inconsiderable

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[85] Unless one counts Welshmen such as Michael Heseltine, Geoffrey Howe, Michael Howard and Kenneth Baker, who cut their political teeth across Offa's Dyke.

[86] P. Walker, *Staying Power* (London, 1991); N. Crickhowell, *Westminster, Wales and water* (Cardiff, 1999); W. Roberts, *Right from the Start: The Memoirs of Sir Wyn Roberts* (Cardiff, 2006).

[87] D. Maxwell-Fyfe, *Political Adventure: The Memoirs of the Earl of Kilmuir* (London, 1964).

[88] R. M. Deacon, *The Governance of Wales: The Welsh Office and the Policy Process 1964-99* (Cardiff, 2002).

[89] D. Griffiths, *Thatcherism and Territorial Politics: A Welsh Case Study* (Aldershot, 1996); K. Morgan and G. Mungham, *Redesigning Democracy: The Making of the Welsh Assembly* (Bridgend, 2000).

[90] V. Bogdanor, *Devolution in the United Kingdom* (Oxford, 2001), p. 162.

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efforts made by a series of Tory governments to respond to growing public support for a measure of Home Rule – efforts which ultimately paved the way for the establishment of the National Assembly in 1999.

Since the creation of the devolved institutions, political parties in Wales have sought to converge on the politics of civic Welshness. This has provoked tensions in all the parties, particulalray within the established British parties, as they come to grips with fashioning their *regionalist credentials* with the voters of Scotland and Wales.[91] What is missing, however, is an attempt to locate the Conservative Party's recent programmatic adaptation and constitutional thinking within its historical and ideational context, and to identify the historical precedents and ideological foundations which underpin or inform the Conservative Party's adaptation to devolution. For this reason, the thesis is primarily concerned with the British Conservative Party's response to the 'national question' prior to the advent of devolution, locating the party's recent programmatic adaptation within its historical context. Taken together, it is hoped that this is a thesis of sufficient detail and historical breadth to ensure that it will be relevant to students of Welsh politics, or to those who wish to cover the Welsh devolutionary development in any detail, for some time to come.

In a similar vein to the literature on the British and Welsh Conservatives, Canadian political history has tended to be the preserve of the left, with most publications approaching Canadian politics from the standpoint of the Liberal party and its leaders.[92] The best monograph on the Conservative party is J.L. Granatstein's *The Politics of Survival: The Conservative Party of Canada, 1939-45.*[93] Larry Glassford's *Reaction and Reform: The Politics of the Conservative Party under R.B. Bennett, 1927-1938* contains some valuable primary material.[94] Much inferior, but of wider scope is *The Conservative Party in Canada, 1920-1949* by J.R. Williams.[95] In more recent years, the

[91] A. Clark, 'The Location of Power in Scotland's Post-Devolution Political Parties: An Exploratory Analysis,' paper presented at the Political Studies Association Conference, Aberdeen, 2002; J. Osmond and J.B. Jones, 'Conservatives,' in J. Osmond and J. B. Jones (eds.) *Birth of Welsh Democracy: The First Term of the National Assembly for Wales* (Cardiff, 2003), pp. 195-209; J. Bradbury, 'British political parties and devolution: adapting to multi-level politics in Scotland and Wales,' in D. Hough and C. Jeffery (eds.) *Devolution and Electoral Politics* (Manchester, 2004), pp. 214-247; M. Laffin, G. Taylor and A. Thomas, 'Devolution and Party Organization: The Case of the Wales Labour Party,' *Contemporary Wales,* 16 (2004), pp. 53-73; M. Laffin and E. Shaw, 'British Devolution and the Labour Party: How a National Party Adapts to Devolution,' *British Journal of Politics and International Relations,* 9 (2007), pp. 55-73; M. Laffin, E. Shaw and G. Taylor. 'The New Sub-National Politics of the British Labour Party,' *Party Politics,* 13 (2007), pp. 88-108; J. Bradbury, 'Devolution and Party Organization in the UK: Statewide Parties and State-wide-Regional Branch Relations over Candidate Selection in Scotland and Wales,' in W. Swenden and B. Maddens (eds.) *Territorial Party Politics in Western Europe* (Basingstoke, 2009), pp. 119-144; Ø. Bratberg, 'Institutional Resilience Meets Critical Junctures: (Re)Allocation of Power in Three British Parties Post-Devolution,' *Publius,* 40 (2009), pp. 59-81.
[92] e.g. S. Clarkson, *The Big Red Machine: How the Liberal Party Dominates Canadian Politics* (Vancouver, 2005); J. English, *Just Watch Me: The Life of Pierre Elliott Trudeau: 1968-2000* (Toronto, 2009); B. Jeffrey, *Divided Loyalties: The Liberal Party of Canada, 1984-2008* (Toronto, 2010).
[93] J. L. Granatstein, *The Politics of Survival: The Conservative Party of Canada 1939-1945* (Toronto, 1967).
[94] L. A. Glassford, *Reaction and Reform: The Politics of the Conservative Party under R.B. Bennett, 1927-1938* (Toronto, 1992).
[95] J. R. Williams, *The Conservative Party in Canada: 1920-1949* (Durham, NC, 1956).

merger of the Canadian right has attracted renewed scholarly interest. Hugh Segal traces the Conservative party's resurrection from its near electoral wipe-out in 1993 to the party of government by 2006.[96] This theme is similarly addressed by several other scholars.[97] The election of Stephen Harper's minority Conservative administration in 2006 has reignited an interest in Conservative politics, and has encouraged a plethora of publications from Conservative insiders.[98] Of particular relevance to the Conservatives' electoral appeal in Quebec is Chantelle Hébert's *French Kiss: Stephen Harper's Blind Date With Quebec*, which documents the substantial efforts made by Stephen Harper, against widespread opposition from his western-base, to court the Quebec electorate.[99] Plamondon's appraisal of Canadian Conservatism in *Blue Thunder: The Truth about Conservatives from Macdonald to Harper*, works well as a reference text for Canadian, and in particular Conservative political history.[100] Indeed, it can be considered the closest thing to a definitive history of the Canadian Conservative movement. The only academic work of any note on the Conservatives in Quebec remains La Terreur's study of Quebec Conservatism between 1930 and 1960.[101]

Quebec Conservatism, as its Welsh counterpart, has received unsatisfactory scholarly attention. This thesis seeks to correct this imbalance in the literature. This study offers, for the first time, an in-depth analysis of the British and Canadian Conservative parties' engagement with the 'national question' in Wales and Quebec. The parties' engagement with the 'national question' is approached through a study of their policies in relation to devolution and federalism, their attitudes to the Welsh and French languages, their response to the nationalist parties, and their broader policy programmes for Wales and Quebec respectively. Whilst this thesis does not claim to offer an authoritative history of the British Conservative Party in Wales nor the Canadian Conservatives in Quebec, it does offer an important and timely appraisal of the parties' administrative records and policy legacies, in relation to key aspects of Welsh and Quebec nationhood.

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[96] H. Segal, *The Long Road Back: The Conservative Journey in Canada 1993-2006* (Toronto, 2006).

[97] B. Plamondon, *Full Circle: Death and Resurrection in Canadian Conservative Politics* (Toronto, 2006); É. Bélanger and J.-F. Godbout, 'Why Do Parties Merge? The Case of the Conservative Party of Canada,' *Parliamentary Affairs*, 63 (2010), pp. 41-65.

[98] P. Wells, *Right Side Up: The Fall of Paul Martin and the Rise of Stephen Harper's New Conservatism* (Toronto, 2006); T. Flanagan, *Harper's Team: Behind the Scenes in the Conservative Rise to Power* (Kingston, ON, 2007).

[99] C. Hébert, *French Kiss: Stephen Harper's Blind Date with Quebec* (Toronto, 2008).

[100] B. Plamondon, *Blue Thunder: The Truth about Conservatives from Macdonald to Harper* (Toronto, 2009).

[101] M. La Terreur, *Les tribulations des conservateurs au Québec: de Bennet a Diefenbaker* (Quebec City, 1973).

1.5 Chapter Outline

This thesis is divided into two parts. Part I of the thesis provides a foundation for the detailed empirical case studies in Part II. The chapters in Part I contextualise the investigation of the British and Canadian Conservative parties by sketching a comprehensive electoral history of the two parties, as well as the social, political and cultural context of Wales and Quebec respectively. These chapters also develop a theoretical and contextual body to assist the detailed empirical study by discussing the relevant theoretical tools at our disposal.

Chapter 2 provides an overview of the political, social, and cultural milieu of Wales and Quebec, as well as their legal, constitutional and political relationships with the wider British and Canadian states. Building upon the tentative empirical context sketched in this introductory chapter, the crux of the chapter is structured around providing a comprehensive electoral history of Wales and Quebec from the standpoint of the British and Canadian Conservative parties.

Chapter 3 has two overriding objectives. First and foremost, the chapter introduces the concepts of nationhood and national identity by exploring the literature surrounding them and by establishing definitions for their use within the thesis. Only by defining these concepts can the British and Canadian Conservative parties' understanding of the 'national question' be fully appreciated. Secondly, this chapter briefly explores the ideological foundations and major assumptions of Conservatism, before turning to look at particular manifestations of the conservative tradition in Canada and Britain respectively. On the basis established in Part I, we may move on more confidently to our more in-depth empirical enquiries in Part II, and explore and discuss the respective records of the British and Canadian Conservative parties in relation to Wales and Quebec.

Chapter 4 marks the first substantive empirical chapter. The chapter utilizes an episodic approach, focusing upon six key British Conservative leaders and their respective records. Of relevance to this discussion will be the Premierships of Winston Churchill, Harold Macmillan, Edward Heath, Margaret Thatcher, John Major and David Cameron. Of particular interest to this chapter will be the British Conservative Party's political and administrative record in Wales, the party's attitude towards devolution, and the party's policies in relation to cultural aspects of Welsh nationhood, namely the Welsh language.

Chapter 5 is concerned with the Canadian Conservative Party's management of the socio-linguistic divide between French and English-Canada, and the party's policies with regard to the French-language, provincial rights, and Quebec's place within Confederation. It too focuses upon the record of six notable Conservative leaders: John A. Macdonald, Robert Borden, Richard Bennett, John Diefenbaker, Brian Mulroney and Stephen Harper.

These chapters highlight the varied, and at times conflicting, Conservative schisms and approaches towards the 'national question.' These chapter further argue that at one level, the British and Canadian Conservative parties' electoral difficulties in Wales and Quebec may be explained in terms of the failure of successive Conservative leaders and administrations to develop a more nuanced and sympathetic treatment of the 'national question,' which responded sympathetically to legitimate political and cultural grievances.

Chapters 6 and 7 focus upon the leadership and organisation of the British and Canadian Conservative parties in Wales and Quebec. Party organisation is important for a variety of reasons, both positive and negative. The positive side of party leadership and organisation relates, of course, to the ability of the party to engage in successful electioneering, candidate recruitment and fund-raising, as well as to convey the public an image which is politically relevant and socially representative. The negative side relates to the ability of a party to conduct its affairs in a way in which does not bring the party into disrepute, does not encourage factional infighting and enables the party to engage in the process of policy-making and campaigning without being distracted by damaging internal battles. Focusing upon the internal dimension of parties, these chapters identify a dearth of political leadership, in addition to wider organisational failures, as factors which compounded the challenges for both the British and Canadian Conservative parties' of successfully addressing the 'national question.'

In the conclusion, the findings of the research are reported and discussed, and future avenues of research identified.

The student has requested that this electronic version of the thesis does not include the main body of the work - i.e. the empirical chapters and conclusion. The other sections of the thesis are available as a research resource.