

shift from immigration-related issues and the war on drugs (particularly at the U.S.-Mexico border) to issues related to facilitating legitimate cross-border commerce. There was much criticism about the border being understaffed. The trajectory of the Smart Border, then, really began in the customs bureaus of both countries with proposals being put forward as early as the February 1995 *Canada/United States of America Accord on our Shared Border*, the February 2000 Office of Inspector General (OIG) report highlighting deficiencies in the INS border patrol along the northern border, and the December 2000 Canada-U.S. Partnership (CUSP) forum report, *Building a Border for the 21st Century*. The 1995 Canada-U.S. Shared Border Accord can be considered a model for the Smart Border Accord

However, these plans were not moving forward quickly, functional explanations do not always satisfy as there are many issues that need to be addressed in public life that go unaddressed.

Crisis

Sometimes it takes a shock to overcome institutional inertia and lead to policy change. There are many historical examples:

- The thalidomide controversy and drug safety.
- Martin Luther King's "I Have a Dream" speech and civil rights.
- The École Polytechnique massacre in Canada and the Columbine High School shootings in the U.S. and gun control.³⁰
- The discovery of the ozone hole over Antarctica and global negotiations to ban chlorofluorocarbons.

While the seeds of change for security and improving the efficiency of trade at the border were there, it was the September 11th crisis that pushed items from the discussion phase into the action phase.

³⁰ Dan Wood and Jeffrey S. Peake, "The Dynamics of Foreign Policy Agenda Setting," *American Political Science Review* 92, no.1 (March 1998), 174.