

2002 Abstracts / Résumés des exposés 2002

Abizadeh, Arash (aabizadeh@wesleyan.edu) - Can Habermasian Discourse Shake the Charge of Motivational Impotence? On Constitutional Patriotism, Rhetoric, and Affect - Civic republican and cultural nationalist critics charge that Habermas's notion of constitutional patriotism is too affectively thin and thus impotent to motivate social integration. In this paper, I undertake critically to examine the philosophical underpinnings of Habermas's political theory in order to show how the susceptibility of his notion of constitutional patriotism to the charge of impotence can be traced to a problem in the way in which he conceives of discursive practical reason. By implicitly constructing the notion of discursive rationality in contrast to, and in abstraction from, the rhetorical and affective components of language use, Habermas's notion of discursive practical reason ends up reiterating the same binaries - between reason and passion, abstract and concrete, universal and particular - that provide the tacit parameters used by his critics to motivate the charge of impotence. I undertake to demonstrate how Habermas's theory of social and political integration can only succeed once his discourse ethical theory of politics is rebuilt upon a notion of discursive practical reason that overcomes these philosophy/rhetoric binaries common to both camps. This paper fits into a larger project about the relationship between discourse, rhetoric, and identity in democratic politics.

Abu-Laban, Yasmeen (yasmeen@pgu.srv.ualberta.ca) - Multi-Culturalism and the Problem of Essentialism: Canadian and International Developments - In Canada, the introduction of an official policy of multiculturalism in 1971 provided a new understanding of what it meant to be a Canadian citizen. Today, on both sides of the Atlantic, multiculturalism is being debated and increasingly presented as a "problem" for politics and ethics. The purpose of this paper is twofold. First, it overviews Canadian political debates surrounding multiculturalism policy since 1990. In this period, multiculturalism emerged as a hotly contested political issue. Much of this debate has centred on the question of whether or not multiculturalism is desirable for national unity. However, more recently, in the context of the new international "war on terrorism," multiculturalism is being debated in relation to issues of national and international security. Second, this paper overviews the ever-burgeoning theoretical literature on multiculturalism from 1990. In this period, multiculturalism as an ideal has been debated by Canadian, American and European political philosophers concerned with addressing the possibilities and limits of liberalism, and by extension, Western liberal democracies. In this paper it is suggested that multiculturalism as a vision of citizenship, and as a set of policy practices aimed at giving recognition and rights to minorities is valuable on the grounds of equity in Canada and other liberal democracies. It is argued that rather than multiculturalism, it is essentialist thinking, imagery and ideas which present the greatest "problem" in contemporary politics and political theory. This paper will make use of secondary sources (including the work of leading political theorists) as well as primary sources (including newspaper articles, parliamentary debates and party platforms and statements). This paper builds on my published work which deals with immigration and multiculturalism policies in Canada, political parties and political representation (especially along lines of gender, race and class), and citizenship theory. The focus in this paper should contribute to the workshop on citizenship, immigration and itegration both empirically (with the case of Canada) and theoretically.

Adams, Christopher (cadams@worinc.com) - The Canadian Grain Trade, Evolving Policies, and the Global Order in the 1990s - This paper examines the extent to which federal government policies and relations with farm organizations in the 1990s were largely shaped by international forces. The method of analysis used includes interviews with organizational leaders and decision-makers (Canadian Wheat Board, Canadian Fed of Agriculture, etc), international reports and data on wheat prices and trade developments, Statistics Canada data regarding farm incomes and supports, and secondary publications.

Using a structural approach to understanding interest group behaviours and impact, this research will help inform those seeking to further understand Canadian policies as they are shaped by the international environment as well as interest group behaviours within the agricultural sector.

Anant, Arpita (Oaa7@qmlink.queensu.ca) - Local Activism? Global Implications of Dalit Activism - Drawing on the recent work of Thomas Risse, Stephen C. Ropp and Kathryn Sikkink entitled "The Power of Human Rights: International Norms and Domestic Change" my paper will be an attempt to study the impact of the norms of international human rights on the discourse of "Dalit Rights" in India. I will discuss the applicability of the 'spiral model' of internalization of international norms in the Indian context with reference to the Dalits, a group disempowered on the basis of their caste. Moving beyond the discussion in the book, and with the aim of complementing the top-down model of the authors, I will attempt to argue that the evolution of Dalit activism at the international level has important consequences for regime change; it may well have transformed the power-based regime enforced by a hegemon to a cognitive one based on an intersubjective understanding of the meaning of discrimination and disempowerment. The method of analysis will be historical/analytical. Tentatively, Section I of the paper will present the historical evolution of the rights of Dalits under the Indian Constitution. Section II will look at the process of 'internationalization' of the Dalit concerns in international forums. In Section III, I will analyse the effect of internationalization on the self-perceptions of the group and the change, if any, in the official policies concerning them. Section IV will assess the implications of the inclusion of the concerns of Dalits in the ambit of human rights for the existing regime. Section V will examine the theoretical implications of the phenomenon of the linkage of the local and the global for theories of international relations in general and regime theory in particular. The proposal is based on my Ph.D synopsis entitled "Group Rights in the International and Indian Discourses" for which I am enrolled at the Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, India.

Andrew, Caroline (candrew@uottawa.ca) - La participation politique des femmes de l'Ontario français - A bilingual (or french) presentation of the work being done on the political participation of Francophone women in Ontario by the Table féministe de concertation provinciale. The Table, which brings together a large variety of Francophone women's groups in Ontario, has been pursuing a number of interrelated projects trying to pose the question of the options for political participation that best suit the needs and particular circumstances of Francophone women in Ontario. A study was done of different possible avenues for political participation, another of ways of renewing local leadership through encouraging women to consider municipal politics and another in terms of developing workshops around the development of political skills. The presentation will look at the projects in terms of their definitions of politics, the kinds of participation being envisaged and the ways of engaging Francophone women in this discussion.

Ayres, Jeffrey (jayres@smcvt.edu) - Contentious Politics in North America - This paper will investigate the extent to which the post-NAFTA context of economic integration has encouraged new patterns of contentious political behavior. Have regular patterns of social and political contestation--both institutional and non-institutional--emerged between North American citizen groups and decision-making authorities? Does this political conflict have North American policies, institutions and actors as targets? Are there processes or forms that are relatively exogenous to any particular state? My research suggests that we are witnessing a significant upsurge in transnational civic participation since NAFTA, and the rise of regularized patterns of political conflict are helping to outline the contours of a nascent North American polity. This paper will thus analyze the significant growth in institutionalized and non-institutionalized contentious collective action within North America. Formal working groups composed of trinationally-cooperation NGOs have increasingly petitioned the Commission for Environmental Cooperation and the Commission for Labour Cooperation, while a plethora of informal parallel strikes,

cross-border coalitions, transnational solidarity actions and a diffusion of protest forms and tactics have emerged, creating what might be considered a North American political conflict structures. The empirical research will be supported by qualitative data collected from fieldwork in Canada, the U.S. and Mexico over the past several years.

Baier, Gerald (baier@stthomasu.ca) - *Aboriginals and Canadian Federalism: From Judicial Review to Co-operative Federalism* - Aboriginal peoples in Canada have been uniquely influenced by the judicial review of federalism. Arguably this is as important a forum for the development of Aboriginal policy as is the assertion and recognition of rights. While the federal government retains the primary responsibility for “Indians and Lands reserved for the Indians” accorded it through section 91(24) of the Constitution Act, 1867 the provinces are not entirely removed from Aboriginal policy. Section 88 of the Indian Act requires that provincial laws of general application apply to aboriginals, unless such subjects are covered elsewhere by the Indian Act. This effectively makes the provinces responsible for filling holes in the federal aboriginal policy regime. Additionally, the provinces have a responsibility for non-status Indians as members of their general population with unique social circumstances. Moreover, as aboriginal self government becomes a reality in Canada, jurisdictional disputes are likely to increase. In short, judicial review of the federalism variety is likely to be a perennial feature of aboriginal politics in Canada. This paper will survey recent decisions on federalism and Aboriginal politics with a view to testing the contributions that federalism and the law have to make to this policy file. The paper will also investigate whether or not judicial review is of significant consequence to Aboriginal policy, particularly in comparison to the more popular mechanisms of executive and co-operative federalism. Does judicial review help to alleviate the problems that federalism throws in the way of Aboriginal politics? Or are Aboriginal leaders and their government counterparts more comfortable with the institutions of negotiation and co-operation? In short, is there a Aboriginal executive federalism?

Aboriginals and Canadian Federalism: From Judicial Review to Co-operative Federalism Aboriginal peoples in Canada have been uniquely influenced by the judicial review of federalism. Arguably this is as important a forum for the development of Aboriginal policy as is the assertion and recognition of rights. While the federal government retains the primary responsibility for “Indians and Lands reserved for the Indians” accorded it through section 91(24) of the Constitution Act, 1867 the provinces are not entirely removed from Aboriginal policy. Section 88 of the Indian Act requires that provincial laws of general application apply to aboriginals, unless such subjects are covered elsewhere by the Indian Act. This effectively makes the provinces responsible for filling holes in the federal aboriginal policy regime. Additionally, the provinces have a responsibility for non-status Indians as members of their general population with unique social circumstances. Moreover, as aboriginal self government becomes a reality in Canada, jurisdictional disputes are likely to increase. In short, judicial review of the federalism variety is likely to be a perennial feature of aboriginal politics in Canada. This paper will survey recent decisions on federalism and Aboriginal politics with a view to testing the contributions that federalism and the law have to make to this policy file. The paper will also investigate whether or not judicial review is of significant consequence to Aboriginal policy, particularly in comparison to the more popular mechanisms of executive and co-operative federalism. Does judicial review help to alleviate the problems that federalism throws in the way of Aboriginal politics? Or are Aboriginal leaders and their government counterparts more comfortable with the institutions of negotiation and co-operation? In short, is there a Aboriginal executive federalism?

Barkin, Samuel (barkin@polisci.ufl.edu) - *Realist Constructivism* - This paper argues for the possibility of a constructivist approach to realist international relations theory. The two leading paradigmatic debates in the field of international relations in the past decade have been between rationalism and constructivism, and between realism and liberalism. Although these are separate debates, there has been

a tendency to combine them, at least to the extent that constructivism has come largely to be associated with liberalism and seen as incompatible with realism. This tendency is true both in proponents of and critics of constructivist epistemology. This paper argues that this association is not in any way inherent either to constructivist epistemology or methodology. It results partly from the political biases of some of the seminal constructivist theorists, and partly from a misreading of realist texts and methods. This paper also argues that the association of constructivist methodology with liberal political theory is far from benign. It limits avenues for analysis of international relations in ways that reinforce certain political status quos, in ways that a realist constructivism can illuminate.

Barr, Cathy (cbarr@wlu.ca) - From Brampton Bill to Iron Mike: Leader Images in Ontario, 1977 and 1999 - Political leaders have not often been the subject of academic study in Canada and provincial leaders have been studied even less frequently than their federal counterparts. Empirical studies that focus on how voters view provincial political leaders are virtually non-existent. The proposed paper is an attempt to begin to fill this void by exploring the characteristics that people spontaneously associate with Ontario political leaders. Because I will be using data collected in 1977 and 1999, I will also seek to determine if there have been any significant changes in the content or structure of leader images in the province since the 1970s. Finally, I will explore the impact of leader images on provincial voting behaviour. The paper will use data collected for the 1977 Ontario Provincial Election Study and the 1999 Ontario Provincial Election Study. Conveniently, both studies included open-ended questions asking respondents what they liked and disliked about the leaders of the three major parties. Analyses of the responses to these questions will form the core of the proposed paper. This research presented in this paper will contribute to our understanding of leader image, electoral behaviour, and Ontario provincial politics. The paper is part of the author's ongoing research programme that focuses on how voters perceive and evaluate their political leaders. Previous work within this research programme has focussed on prototypical political leaders, Canadian federal party leaders and televised leaders debates.

Barr, Cathy (cbarr@wlu.ca) - Leaders as Seen by Followers - Political leaders have not often been the subject of academic study in Canada and provincial leaders have been studied even less frequently than their federal counterparts. Empirical studies that focus on how voters view provincial political leaders are virtually non-existent. The proposed paper is an attempt to begin to fill this void by exploring the characteristics that people spontaneously associate with Ontario political leaders. Because I will be using data collected in 1977 and 1999, I will also seek to determine if there have been any significant changes in the content or structure of leader images in the province since the 1970s. Finally, I will explore the impact of leader images on provincial voting behaviour. The paper will use data collected for the 1977 Ontario Provincial Election Study and the 1999 Ontario Provincial Election Study. Conveniently, both studies included open-ended questions asking respondents what they liked and disliked about the leaders of the three major parties. Analyses of the responses to these questions will form the core of the proposed paper. This research presented in this paper will contribute to our understanding of leader image, electoral behaviour, and Ontario provincial politics. The paper is part of the author's ongoing research programme that focuses on how voters perceive and evaluate their political leaders. Previous work within this research programme has focussed on prototypical political leaders, Canadian federal party leaders and televised leaders debates.

Bélanger, Eric and Nadeau, Richard (eric.belanger@umontreal.ca) - The Effect of Political Trust on the Vote in Canadian Federal Elections - Like citizens in many other western democracies, Canadian citizens have gradually become less trusting towards government and politics over the past few decades. What effect did the decline in political trust have on Canadians' electoral behavior? This study demonstrates that declining political trust affects vote choice, but the electoral beneficiaries differ according to electoral context. Our analyses rely on survey data from the last five Canadian Election

Studies (1984-2000). We show that in general, third-party alternatives benefit from declining political trust and act as vehicles channelling popular discontent towards politics. During the 1980s, politically distrustful voters supported the New Democratic Party at the expense of both major parties (Liberals and Conservatives). In the 1993 federal election however, the NDP's function as a vehicle of distrust appears to have been stolen by the Reform Party and the Bloc Québécois. This significant trend has continued throughout the 1990s, a finding that potentially throws new light on the electoral decline of the NDP during the past ten years. Our results also challenge the major conclusion reached in American studies according to which there is no link between political trust and electoral participation. We show that in 1984 and 1988, politically distrustful voters were also significantly more likely to abstain, but this pattern stopped with the 1993 election. In other words, the emergence of two new parties provided the disaffected with alternative means of representation, thus channelling dissatisfaction back into the electoral arena.

Bélanger, Paul (pxbelang@acsu.buffalo.edu) - (A?)Symmetry in the Social Bases of Provincial and Federal Party Support: A Contextual Analysis of Canada's Electoral Terrain - There exists a large body of literature in electoral politics, on Canada and elsewhere, that sees voting as a reflection of social cleavages. Partisan preference is seen to spring from and possibly reinforce social, economic, and demographic divisions in society. Students of Canadian electoral politics have indeed found this to be true in the study of federal elections, leading one psephologist to conclude that Canadians are 'profoundly rooted in tribal loyalties.' The present paper focuses on revealing the extent to which these social divisions are manifested in provincial electoral politics and assess the degree of symmetry between these two political worlds. The paper seeks to offer a distinctly geographic interpretation that sees electoral politics and voting situated in places, in communities, and in neighbourhoods. The constancy assumption that congruence is uniform across the country is questioned and the paper seeks, instead, to understand how social coalitions of support vary contextually across the electoral terrain. Do Canadians, in their respective communities, inhabit two political worlds? Absent relevant survey data, the analytical approach is predicated on producing commensurable spatial units that facilitate a comparison of federal and provincial election results. This innovative approach requires that the vote at Canada's 26,000 federal polling stations be geographically transposed onto Canada's 683 provincial electoral districts. This is accomplished through the use of spatially-referenced data within a geographic information system (GIS). Employing recent models of ecological inference and spatial heterogeneity, the congruence of federal-provincial coalitions of support and their embeddedness within local contexts is assessed.

Belkhodja, Chedly (belkhoc@umoncton.ca) - La proximité comme réponse à la représentation? - La question qui nous intéresse est de comprendre l'intrusion de la proximité dans le discours politique contemporain. Nous entendons par proximité un désir du politique à établir un rapprochement avec les gens comme si cette "nouvelle forme de représentation" allait permettre de combler un vide. Depuis quelques années, l'emploi de la proximité est en effet présenté telle une formule gagnante et efficace susceptible à toute action politique de renouer avec un idéal mobilisateur capable de réanimer la démocratie. Dans ce projet de communication, le point de départ de notre réflexion repose sur l'hypothèse que le langage de la proximité se diffuse dans l'espace démocratique et définit l'attitude du politique à vouloir établir sa légitimité autour d'un nouveau lien avec la population. Cette communication propose deux choses. Du point de vue de la théorie démocratique, il s'agit de préciser la relation qui peut exister entre le langage de la proximité et le malaise ou crise de la représentation démocratique. Nous voulons aborder une série de travaux qui établissent la thèse d'un déficit démocratique de nos sociétés, notamment Chantal Mouffe, Claude Lefort, Pierre Rosanvallon et Marcel Gauchet. Cette analyse nous semble essentielle car elle doit mener à une réflexion critique par rapport à

l'état de la démocratie et de la politique en générale. Au delà de l'engouement actuel pour les procédures démocratiques de rapprochement tels référendums, initiatives et mise en ligne de nos gouvernements, la proximité du politique bouleverse profondément la façon de penser et de faire de la politique. Formulé autrement, la proximité n'est-elle pas en train de réduire la portée de la représentation et du politique?

Bennett, Colin J. and Regan, Priscilla (cjb@uvic.ca) - What Happens When You Make a 911 Call? The Regulation of Cellular Technology in the United States and Canada - The proliferation in the use of mobile cellular telephones in North America has raised important public policy dilemmas that allow political scientists to compare and evaluate how different states are attempting to manage this particular 'paradigm shift' in technological practices. The combination of cell phones and wider locational technologies permit a precise tracking of an individual's position and movement. Surveillance of this kind has the public policy benefit of enhancing the operation of a community's emergency response services; these advantages have been exposed during the recovery of the victims of the September 11th attack in New York. Conversely, these public interests need to be balanced against the potential for inappropriate surveillance by both public and private sector organizations. Cell phone tracking in the United States was propelled by a Federal Communications Commission (FCC) mandate that all cell phones manufacturers need to ensure that their handsets are "E-911" capable. For E911's first phase, cellular carriers must be able to pinpoint, to the nearest cell tower, the location of someone calling 911. For Phase II, carriers must be able to pinpoint a 911 caller's location to within 50 to 300 meters. FCC requirements mandated that the first phones equipped with Phase II capabilities should have appeared by October 2001. Thus far, most carriers have requested an extension to this deadline. In Canada, the process has proceeded more deliberately through a series of trials (in Alberta and North York) coordinated through the Canadian Wireless Telecommunications Association (CWTA). It is expected that these trials will lead to a tariff filing by Bell Canada, which will begin the process of nationwide implementation. Canada also makes a distinction between Phase 1 and Phase 2 implementation. But there is a debate going on about the precise type of technology that might be used; a GPS chip in the handset (the US approach), or a triangulation method. So far there has been no regulatory intervention from the Canadian Radio and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC). So the same technologies, similarly perceived public policy benefits, and similarly perceived fears of surveillance have led to contrasting policy approaches in Canada and the US. This paper attempts to explain the difference in regulatory styles, and to reach some more general conclusions about the interaction of institutional, economic, and technological interests in the two societies. The paper is part of a larger project funded by the National Science Foundation (NSF) entitled "People and Place: Geographic Information Technologies and Patterns of Individual Identification." (M. Curry, D. Phillips, P. Regan, C. Bennett, C. Raab).

Bertelli, Anthony Michael (ambert2@uky.edu) - On the Judicial Role in Public and Administrative Law - Courts spend significant docket time reviewing the actions of administrative agencies, whether through judicial review of rulemaking (what might be called an "administrative law function") or statutory and constitutional challenges to agency operations more generally (a "public law function"). The law, politics, and public administration literature is filled with arguments that courts are more or less successful in preserving administrative accountability, judgment, balance, and rationality through judicial review. Through a formal model, this paper argues that "common law" development in both administrative and public law makes the judicial task easier, as it retains information about the distribution of policy outcomes flowing from an administrative agency. Moreover, this model emphasizes the role of public managers, i.e., administrative agency directors, at the center of the process, seeking support for the defense of its administrative actions in court and shaping policy given the constraints of judicial institutions. A comparative analysis of judicial review in the United States and

Canada illustrates the content and some dynamics of the model. Differential use of interest group litigation, notions of federalism, and standing and scope of review between the systems are discussed as “comparative statics.” The paper concludes that alternative formulations of judicial review display various political responses—embedded in judicial review structures—to the information asymmetries and uncertainty involved in political control problems. The comparative effectiveness of various review regimes depends upon the institutions that result from this “structural politics.”

Best, Jacqueline (jmbest@jhu.edu) - Hollowing out Keynesian Norms: How the Search for a Technical Fix Sealed the Fate of the Bretton Woods Regime - As policymakers and scholars alike have begun to debate the possible shape of a new financial architecture, it is worth reexamining the lessons of the Bretton Woods era. Why was the regime successful for so long, and why did it collapse when it did? This paper re-engages with these central questions and provides a novel answer: the collapse of the Bretton Woods financial regime was precipitated by the hollowing out of post-war economic norms. Some scholars, like John Ruggie, have suggested that the end of the Bretton Woods regime was a norm-governed transition from one set of instruments for managing that cooperation to another. Others, like Eric Helleiner emphasize a profound breach in the dominant norms at the time, from a Keynesian to a free-market approach. In contrast, I argue that in the final years of the Bretton Woods regime there was neither a breach nor continuity in the norms governing international finance. There was instead a process of hollowing out. Examining the various attempts made throughout the 1960s and early 1970s to reform a system that was in increasing difficulty, I conclude that while many of the policy approaches remained the same, the ideas and norms which had underpinned those policies were beginning to change. While Keynesian theory remained the ostensible guide for international monetary policy, that theory had itself been considerably overhauled in the post-war years and transformed into a neoclassical synthesis which sought to reconcile Keynes with his classical predecessors. What was lost in the process was Keynes’ insight into the political and intersubjective nature of economic life, producing an increasingly narrow and technical approach to solving the problems at hand. It was this hollowing out of the Keynesian norms which had underpinned the original system which fostered the increasing rigidity and fragility of the regime and ultimately precipitated its collapse.

Bhatia, Vandna and Coleman, William D. (bhatiav@mcmaster.ca) - Ideas and Discourse: Reform and Resistance in the Canadian and German Health Systems - This paper offers a social constructivist approach to understand the process of policy change, using health reform policies in Canada and Germany as case studies. Specifically, it seeks to explore how some policy ideas become successful while others fail to pass the scrutiny of policy makers and other key actors. Combining an analysis of the normative and cognitive content of a policy idea with the communication process that accompanies it, the research posits conditions that make the adoption of a policy idea more or less likely. Conditions are grouped into four sets of ‘discourses’, ranging from those under which an idea is most likely to be adopted to those where it is least likely to be adopted. A new policy idea will be adopted to the extent that its content is broadly consistent with existing normative beliefs and it offers pragmatic and parsimonious solutions to the policy issue at hand. Moreover, it must be accompanied by a process of communication that allows candid and unqualified debate amongst a broad range of actors, involving the critical normative and cognitive elements of the policy. Such was the case in the Gesundheitsstrukturgesetz of 1993 in Germany, which stands in sharp contrast to the Canada Health Act of 1984 and Canada Health and Social Transfer of 1996 in Canada. The theoretical approach used in this paper builds on existing work on the role of ideas by offering specific, empirically tested circumstances under which policy ideas may be influential. The methodology used will be a variant of discourse analysis adapted for public policy studies.

Bilodeau, Antoine (bilodeau@chass.utoronto.ca) - The Development of Party Identification: Lessons

Drawn from the Immigrant Population in Canada - Is the direction of party identification a matter of socialisation or political experience? And is the intensity of PID a matter of generational or life-cycle explanation? The concept of party identification has occupied a central place in the literature on electoral politics over the last 40 years (Campbell, Munro, Alford and Campbell 1986). But the accumulated pieces of evidence have not provided an entirely clear picture. Most previous studies have focused primarily on individuals who were socialised in a single stable environment where they have had chance to develop a partisan affiliation early in life. Research designs with that slanting point are likely to favour socialisation and life-cycle explanations of PID. But what about those cases where people have not been exposed to the main political parties during their childhood, and where parents' partisan attachment provide no obvious cues to PID in novel environments? This paper offers to answer these questions by investigating the development of party identification among immigrants in Canada, people who are confronted late in their life to an entirely new political environment. The strategy involves measuring the intensity and the direction of immigrants' PID given their length of residence in Canada and their age at migration. Immigrants' PID intensity and direction are then compared with those of their native-born counterparts. Data will be drawn from the Canadian election studies from 1965 to 2000 to provide a substantial sample of immigrants (about 2500). The study provides new insights concerning the nature of party identification in situations in which people develop PID late in the life cycle, and it simultaneously helps to understand the political learning of immigrants in new political environments.

Bird, Karen (kbird@mcmaster.ca) - Where Are the Women, Who Are the Women, and What Difference Do They Make? Parity in French Municipal Elections - The purpose of this paper is to understand the immediate effects of France's new gender parity law, in terms of women's access to local political office. This paper is part of a larger research project involving both a large-sample survey (n=1215) of male and female candidates in the 2001 French municipal elections, and a series of in-depth interviews with women and men who were elected to local office under the parity law. The research is theoretically important in that it tests a set of assumptions concerning women's representative role (universalist or differentialist) embedded within the parity debates. The paper will first describe the history of the parity movement and the difficulties encountered in achieving legal change, before shifting to a focus on French municipal elections. We will look at the effects of parity in securing women's access to different elected offices of municipal government. Using survey data, as well as in-depth interviews, we will examine the differences between the men and women who ran as candidates in these elections, and explore the possibility that women's increased presence in politics may have implications in terms of policy change for women and other marginalized groups.

Biro, Andrew (abiro2@uwo.ca) - The Politics of the (De)Commodification of Nature: The Case of Canadian Water – To come/à venir

Black, David (blackd@is.dal.ca) - Reassessing a Foreign Policy 'Fiasco': Canada and the World Conference Against Racism - The dominant view in the Canadian mass media of the UN World Conference Against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance held in Durban, South Africa in September 2001 is that it was, as the title of this paper suggests, an embarrassing fiasco. In this view it was a setback for the credibility of the UN in Canada and elsewhere, especially in terms of its role in promoting human rights. This case brings into question two major themes in the practice of Canadian foreign policy: multilateralism and "democratization". The paper therefore focuses on two central questions: what does this case teach us about the usefulness and limits of the UN/multilateralism in advancing the Canadian government's stated priority of promoting human rights? And is there a point at which the "democratization" of foreign policy, through the incorporation of a disparate range of non-governmental actors, becomes dysfunctional? This leads to consideration of

a third question: can a more generous interpretation of this case be sustained, in which the UN Conference and Canada's role therein is seen to contribute to the maintenance of a vital global conversation concerning highly charged and divisive issues? These questions will be addressed through interviews in Canada and South Africa with official and non-governmental participants, as well as through review of official documents, press accounts, and the secondary literature.

Blake, Donald E. (dblake@interchange.ubc.ca) - Contextual Effects on Attitudes toward Minorities in Canada - Numerous studies, mainly in the United States have shown that the negative racial attitudes of whites towards African-Americans increase with the percentage of the latter in the local environment (Giles and Hertz 1994; Glaser 1994; Huckfeldt and Kohfeld 1989, Taylor 1998). However, Oliver and Mendelberg (2000, 547) argue that to "conceptualize racial threat solely in terms of racial environments" is to oversimplify and perhaps mis-specify the impact of context. Among other things, they show that most whites live in physically separate social and political environments from blacks and that hostility towards blacks is a function of the policy area being contested (jobs or housing desegregation, for example) and is higher among whites who live among less educated white populations. In other words, "the environmental sources of white racial hostility may work less through realistic conflict over resources than through psychological states that produce out-group animosity" (ibid., 587). This paper examines the phenomenon in Canada by analyzing attitudes of whites towards minorities and minority rights, as a function of the size of the visible minority population in the neighbourhoods in which they reside, controlling for individual level socio-economic status. It is based on a more elaborate model than previous research such as that by Berry and Kalin (1995) and Schissel, Wanner and Frideres (1989). Data for the analysis come from the 1997 Canadian National Election Study and the 1996 Census of Canada. References Berry, J.W. and Rudolf Kalin. 1995. "Multicultural and Ethnic Attitudes in Canada: an Overview of the 1991 National Survey." *Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science* 27:301-320. Giles, Micheal, and Kaenan Hertz. 1994. "Racial Threat and Partisan Identification." *American Political Science Review* 88: 317-326. Glaser, James. 1994. "Back to the Black Belt: Racial Environment and White Racial Attitudes in the South." *Journal of Politics* 56: 21-41. Huckfeldt, Robert, and Carol Kohfeld. 1989. *Race and the Decline of Class in American Politics*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. Oliver, J. Eric, and Tali Mendelberg. 2000. "Reconsidering the Environmental Determinants of White Racial Attitudes." *American Journal of Political Science* 44: 574-589. Schissel, Bernard, Richard Wanner and James S. Frideres. 1989. "Social and Economic Context and Attitudes Toward Immigrants in Canadian Cities." *International Migration Review* 23:289-308. Taylor, Marylee. 1998. "Local Racial/Ethnic Proportions and White Attitudes: Numbers Count." *American Sociological Review* 63: 56-78.

Blattberg, Charles (charles.blattberg@umontreal.ca) - Comedy and the Universal Minimal Moral Code - Many political thinkers have come to accept that there is something inherently ethnocentric - in particular, Western - about universal doctrines of human rights. Some have responded to this critique by affirming the existence of a more modest 'global minimal moral code', a set of prohibitions, said to be present in all the world's cultures, which speak against such utterly base acts as murder, torture, slavery, and other forms of gross cruelty. Being much less ambitious than most schedules of human rights, the code is understood to be compatible with a much wider diversity of ethical cultures in the world and so is less vulnerable to charges of ethnocentrism. In this paper, I plan to lend support to the notion of the code by giving an account of one of its sources. In essence, my argument is that the code can be conceived of as a set of interpretations of the basic needs associated with the human body. In support of this thesis, I plan to draw a parallel with the phenomenon of the comic. For comedy is itself a fundamentally interpretive practice, and it is, moreover, one which has been shown to consist of two basic types: one highbrow and intellectualist, and the other lowbrow and centred on the body, often

called slapstick. Comedy of the intellectualist vein has been shown to be highly relative to culture ('what's funny on one side of the Pyrenees', one might say, 'is not on the other'), while slapstick is instead much more universal. Indeed, slapstick has this quality, I will claim, specifically because of its corporeal nature, for our bodies have roughly the same physical properties everywhere. As such, I will suggest that we can associate it with that kind of interpretation which is behind the minimal moral code, just as the humour of the more intellectualist sort might be said to parallel the interpretations responsible for culturally specific values.

Bodnar, Cameron D. (cbodnar@mta.ca) - The Deliberative Ideal and Canadian Democracy - Achieving agreement-constitutional or otherwise-on institutional reform issues is notoriously difficult in Canada. In recent years, spurred by events such as the failure of the Meech Lake and Charlottetown agreements, the 1995 referendum in Quebec, the free trade agreements, and the tension created by both the successes and failures of treaty negotiations, a range of scholars have reflected critically on the nature of this problem. My paper engages this literature. I start with the well-recognized assertion that the impossibility of progress should be located, for the most part, with the intransigence of the participants rather than with something fundamentally incommensurable. Many, for example, place prime responsibility for the impasse with the disinclination of English-Canada to consider formalizing the practice of asymmetry-where specific powers are devolved to a particular province or provinces. Rather than focus on legitimizing specific reform proposals, however, I explore what might be termed the conditions of compromise. My basic thesis is that constitutional/institutional negotiations in Canada are hampered at least as much by a lack of understanding of how a fair compromise might be reached as they are by disagreements over the content of specific reform proposals. To assist in this endeavour, I draw upon aspects of recent debates in democratic theory, specifically those surrounding the concept of deliberative democracy. I apply its emphasis on expanding our understanding of the relationship between public deliberation and political justification and legitimation to the Canadian context, arguing that it assists in both explaining recent past failures and suggesting alternatives for the future.

Bodur, Marella (mbodur@ccs.carleton.ca) - Feminism and Citizenship in Turkey - Since the 1980s Turkey has witnessed the proliferation of social movements -feminist, Islamist and Kurdish nationalist. Although there are significant differences among and within these movements, they all challenge the homogeneous, secular, and male-dominated public sphere constructed by the Republican elites, by asserting the "difference" of women, Islamists and Kurds. Since questions of religion, gender and ethnicity challenged both the identity and the boundaries of the "Turkish national community", the emergence of these movements can be understood as an attempt to rearticulate the relationship between the public and the private, and thus, to redefine the concept and practice of citizenship in Turkey. This paper examines how the feminist movement has tried to define citizenship both in theory and practice since the 1980s in Turkey. The theoretical framework of this paper draws on social movement theory, feminist citizenship theory and the literature on the public sphere. The analysis is based mainly on the periodicals published by women's groups and interviews conducted with women activists (including feminists, Kurdish feminists and Islamist women). The paper is divided into two sections. The first section focuses on the discourses and activism engaged in by Turkish feminist groups to press for an expansion of women's citizenship rights. In this section, I also outline the political and historical context in which women's citizenship struggles have been played out. Drawing on Jürgen Habermas's conceptualization of the public sphere, I argue that in Turkey the public sphere was constructed around universal egalitarian principles and people were allowed to take part in the public life as modern, secular citizens, leaving their particularistic (gender, religious and ethnic) identities in the private sphere. Thus, the differences among citizens based on race, gender, ethnicity and class are deemed irrelevant to the exercise of citizenship. This emphasis on the universal and homogeneous aspect of citizenship in

Turkey has been criticized by feminists (as well as Kurds and Islamists), who employed a "politics of difference" appealing to women's difference to justify their demands for a more inclusive citizenship. Thus, the feminist movement pursued a "gender-differentiated model of citizenship", projecting a homogeneous identity to publicize women's oppression based on gender. Such an essentialist construction of the identity "woman" enabled the movement to challenge the dominant citizenship discourse, yet it marginalized women's groups with different agendas. The second section of the paper deals with the challenges posed by Kurdish feminists and Islamist women, who criticize Turkish feminists for downplaying class, race and ethnic differences among women by advocating a "gender-differentiated conception of citizenship". The analysis suggests that since much of the Turkish feminist theorizing and activism is based on western feminism, it reflects some of its biases. For instance, Turkish feminists tend to universalize from the experiences of Turkish middle-class women by ignoring differences among women. Exploring the discourses of Turkish, Kurdish and Islamist women also reveals the intersections of gender, ethnicity, class and religion in Turkey. Women's groups must address the diversity of women in Turkey and need to build solidarities to challenge and transform not only the existing gender hierarchy but also class and ethnic hierarchies. They must struggle for a gendered conception of citizenship, which takes into account women's diversity in Turkey. The paper concludes by discussing the ways in which the construction and contestation of citizenship in Turkey can inform broader international feminist debates.

Bonner, Michelle (mbonner17@hotmail.com) - Building Democracy: Women's participation in Argentine Human Rights Organizations - Robert Putnam's claim that social capital is declining parallels claims made by democratization theorists that civil society demobilizes after a return to electoral democracy. It is recognized that civil society played an important role in transitions to democracy. For example, the human rights organization (HRO), Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo, is often cited as having played a pivotal role in the return to Argentine electoral democracy. If accurate, what does the demobilization of civil society mean for the longevity and type of democracy being consolidated in newly democratized countries? What does this phenomenon mean for women? Through HROs, Argentine women are contributing to the construction of a democracy which can be deemed legitimate by its citizens. Through public debates and court action, HROs are developing the definition and effectiveness of the rights of citizenship while simultaneously redefining the relationship between citizens and their government. A country where presidential power verges on authoritarian and citizen's trust in all government institutions is weak, Argentina provides a useful case study of women's participation in civil society and their contribution to the construction of democracy. While Argentine women have benefited from quota laws in Congress and the Senate, the lack of trust in government institutions makes women's continued participation in non-governmental human rights organizations important. This paper will evaluate Argentine women's distinctive social, political and economic experiences and apply it to an evaluation of their participation in the predominant Argentine HROs during the period of electoral democracy, 1983-2001.

Boucher, Joanne (j.boucher@uwinnipeg.ca) - Betty Friedan and the Radical Past of Liberal Feminism - Betty Friedan is often depicted as a paradigmatic liberal feminist thinker. Her book, *The Feminine Mystique* (first published in 1963) is regarded as a classic of American liberal feminism. Indeed, many critics have argued that this work provides glaring examples of the central weaknesses of liberal feminism. In particular, it is said that Friedan's text ignores the diversity of women's experiences and interests as it concentrates almost exclusively on the concerns of white, middle and upper class, heterosexual women. However, recent biographical work about the political life of Betty Friedan prior to the publication of *The Feminine Mystique*, potentially throws much of this familiar narrative into disarray. For instance, in his recent book, *Betty Friedan and the Making of the Feminine Mystique*,

Daniel Horowitz carefully chronicles Friedan's involvement in the American labour and left movements in the 1940s and 1950s. Far from being a suburban housewife disengaged from politics, Friedan was an astute left-wing activist who spent many years working as a labor reporter. Notably, she wrote extensively about the problems faced by working class women. This paper explores some of the complex implications of Friedan's radical past. It examines the ways in which this biographical information problematizes *The Feminine Mystique* as a liberal feminist text. Further, it examines implications for the ways in which liberal and socialist feminism are conceptualized and the relationship between biography and political theory.

Bourgault, Sophie (s.bourgault@utoronto.ca) - Rethinking Revenge and Forgiveness: Nietzsche's Ressentiment - Le dépassement du ressentiment est le plus grand défi de notre histoire. - Guy Laforest, *De l'Urgence* Despite being viewed by some as the key challenge of (post)modernity, the issue of overcoming ressentiment has often sparked angry-but short-lived-debates, as was seen in Québec in response to one of the only thorough studies of ressentiment, Marc Angenot's *Les idéologies du ressentiment*. Unfortunately, the weaknesses in Angenot's analysis have generated much scepticism about the usage of the Nietzschean concept of ressentiment. Yet, a more accurate reading of Nietzsche could contribute significantly to our understanding of the complex political dynamics of revenge and forgiveness. Ressentiment has been conceptualised as a psychological state, as the basis for a political rhetoric-a 'morality'-, and often, as both. This ambiguity as to its meaning has contributed to a negative perception of the debate on ressentiment. But this perception is unwarranted, and is impeding what could be a fruitful and timely application of the most enlightening of Nietzsche's teachings. Through a comprehensive review of the various understandings of ressentiment proposed not only by Nietzsche and his influences, but also by his heirs, I will argue for an analytical distinction between two types of ressentiment: against the Other, and against the Past. While they are not necessarily mutually exclusive, I believe that an appreciation of the distinction between the two must precede any discussion of the possibility of overcoming ressentiment-the possibility of forgiveness through *amor fati*, for instance. This paper will form one chapter in my doctoral thesis on Nietzsche's understanding of revenge and memory in politics.

Bowden, Bradley and Molloy, Andrew (amolloy@uccb.ns.ca) - Local Coal Industries in a Global Market: Change and Transition in the Cape Breton and Queensland Coal Fields – To come/à venir

Boychuk, Gerard W. (gboychuk@watarts.uwaterloo.ca) - Black and White -- Social Assistance in the United States and Canada, 1935-2000 - While there were important differences in the social assistance systems of the United States and Canadian in the late 1960s and early 1970s, these were not primarily differences in the generosity of the two systems. In the period since, the social assistance systems in the two countries have diverged considerably in terms of their overall generosity. In providing a historical institutionalist account of these developments, the paper argues that a key element in explaining these patterns is the critical interaction of race and the chronological sequence of program development in the United States. Contrary to conventional interpretations, the paper argues that strong government and public support for social assistance programs in the US continued long after these programs came to be publicly identified as being disproportionately populated by blacks. Rather, the decline in support for social assistance in the US emerged in the face of the failure of these programs to achieve their implicit goal of encouraging blacks to conform to traditional patterns of white behaviour. The paper argues that the differences between the two countries cannot be attributed to American individualism or a more favourable Canadian predisposition towards providing for the needy or greater acceptance of government intervention in the economy and society.

Bradford, Neil (Bradford@uwo.ca) - Public-Private Policy Partnership? Shifting Paradigms of Economic Governance in Ontario - Today many governments are embracing new modes of economic

governance that rely on public-private partnerships devolving authority and responsibility to policy networks in civil society. Despite the general enthusiasm for such decentralized collaboration, there is significant variation in its meaning and practice. This paper uses comparative, contextual analysis of two economic innovation strategies launched recently in Ontario to explore differences in the structure and process of economic governance. The timeframe is the 1990s when the province faced intense economic restructuring pressure in a turbulent political climate shaped by the change in government at mid-decade from the New Democratic Party to the Progressive Conservatives. The paper argues that while both governments addressed the challenges of the knowledge-based global economy by embracing public-private partnerships, they did so in very different ways, suggesting the existence of two distinct paradigms of economic governance, one social democratic in character and the other neo-liberal. Three issues of institutional design and policy content distinguish the paradigms: patterns of inclusion and exclusion in the partnerships, the public purposes assigned to them, and the geographic scale to which governing authority is devolved. Two central conclusions emerge: first, the importance of linking analysis of decentralized policy networks at the meso or local scale to macro-level political factors that fundamentally shape their operation and policy affects; second, the dynamics of governance failure in securing the conditions for economic innovation. While much is known about the limits of state and market mechanisms in coordinating innovation processes, the recent Ontario experience suggests that governance through public-private partnership generates its own complexities, even dysfunctionalities. This paper extends my earlier published accounts of prospects for ‘associative governance’ in sub-national settings in three ways: first, by incorporating comparative analysis of decentralized public-private partnerships at the sectoral and the urban scale; second, by formally conceptualizing two distinctive partnership paradigms; and third, by exploring the theme of governance failure as states seek to share policy responsibility with stakeholders.

Bradford, Neil (Bradford@uwo.ca) - Taking Stock of the “New Localism”: A Political Economy Perspective - Recently, scholarly interest in the “new localism” has exploded. Despite conventional wisdom about the “death of distance” or the “end of geography,” it is apparent that the ‘new’ economy fosters a spatial clustering of both opportunities and problems in city-regions. Economic innovation flows from building dense, learning-based networks of producers and suppliers in particular locales. Simultaneously, complex challenges of social exclusion and cultural discrimination emerge within and between metropolitan areas. Here, political economy has much to offer as a scholarly project long-devoted to understanding the dynamics of economic innovation, social cohesion, and the role of the state in mediating change. Thus far, however, its contributions have been characterized by a certain intellectual fragmentation, or insularity in approach, that limits the capacity to grasp the multi-faceted issues at hand. Some political economists focus on cluster-based economic localism; others examine governance arrangements and public-private partnerships in ‘mega-cities’; still others describe the inequalities that result as cities respond to globalization with little support from senior governments. The result is a research community tending to separate rather than connect the economic, social, and political dimensions of the new localism. This paper argues for a more integrated strategy built around a new theoretical framework that merges insights from the leading political economy approaches: regulation theory, urban regime theory, and institutional analysis. The resulting synthesis highlights three contested relationships, central to the new localism but often not captured in political economy research: relations across geographic scales of state authority; relations between the supply (production/technology) and demand (consumption/social) sides of the localized new economy; and relations between democratic citizenship and economic governance in local policy communities. The merits of this theoretical framework will be illustrated through selected application to the author’s ongoing empirical research into the politics of local economic development in Ontario city-regions.

Breckenridge, George (breckeng@mcmaster.ca) - The Reconstruction of a Conservative Ideology in the United States 1945-1980 - The paper examines a neglected aspect of the theory of political orders or policy regimes, the process of constructing a replacement ideology within the dominant order. The general framework is provided by the work of Stephen Skowronek on policy regimes and David Plotke on the New Deal political order. Both argue that the opportunity to replace a regime only exists when it reaches the final stage of disjunction or decline but that there is nothing inevitable about the construction of a replacement regime. A political order has two interdependent components: a majority coalition and a hegemonic approach to public policy. While Republican coalition building provides a background, I focus on the attempts to restate and renew conservative ideas in opposition to the dominant New Deal liberalism. The Republican Party divided in its response between liberals who sought accommodation with and modification of the New Deal ideology and conservatives who sought to replace it. The emergence of new issues: union power, the Cold War, civil rights, Vietnam, the culture war, and eventually the disjunction of the dominant regime provided a series of opportunities to which conservatives responded at different levels. I use David Ericson's distinction between political philosophers, statesmen, and politicians to distinguish between three levels of ideas: political philosophy, political ideology, and policy ideas and argue that the renewal of philosophy, principally by Strauss, was a necessary condition for the reconstruction of a conservative ideology.

Brock, Gillian (g.brock@auckland.ac.nz) - Liberal Nationalism Versus Cosmopolitanism: Locating The Disputes - Liberal nationalists and cosmopolitans appear to be engaged in a debate. From the evidence, however, it is not clear both sides always understand exactly what is at issue. In this paper I hope to clarify some of the points of difference and agreement so that more progress can be made in resolving the issues. I discuss some possible ways to resolve disagreements and reconcile the two views. I suggest that cosmopolitanism should be preferred, though I concede that liberal nationalism may have some merit as an interim goal in certain situations. In section I I discuss the liberal nationalist's position by considering the starting assumptions and motivating concerns, the arguments offered as the moral basis for the position, and the problems liberal nationalists face. In section II I do the same for the cosmopolitan's position. In section III I try to locate some of the points of agreement and disagreement between the two sides, despite mischaracterizations and other difficulties. In section IV I discuss some possible ways to reconcile the two positions. In section V I sum up where we are in the debate and what tasks remain pressing for both sides.

Brown, Stephen (ste.brown@utoronto.ca) - Foreign Aid, Quiet Diplomacy and Recurring Ethnic Clashes in Kenya - Drawing from fieldwork and documentary evidence, the paper is based on a case study undertaken for the International Peace Academy's project "From Promise to Practice: Strengthening UN Capacities for the Prevention of Violent Conflict." It examines the "ethnic" clashes that took place in Western Kenya in 1991-94 and on the coast in 1997 and the donors' weak response to them. It argues that from the beginning Western donors refused to acknowledge publicly that, though the conflicts have been played out in ethnic terms, the cause was fundamentally political, instigated by high-level government officials for partisan purposes, related to the return to multiparty competition. Donors, in particular the UNDP resettlement project, failed to address the fundamental reasons why clash victims left their homes in the first place, the question of prosecution of the perpetrators or the issues of restitution and the victims' safety. Furthermore, by renewing aid to reward modest economic reforms in 1994 and 2000, despite little or no progress in the political sphere, donors signalled that political reform and the respect of human rights was not a priority for them. The fact that violence was usually initiated by pro-government militias has not been taken into account by the various donor-supported, community-based peacebuilding activities. As a result, the goals of reconciliation among ethnic communities and prevention of further conflict are impossible to achieve. Ethnic cleansing re-

emerged prior to the 1997 general elections and will recur before the next ones as well, due by the end of 2002.

Brunet-Jailly, Emmanuel (eb Brunetj@uvic.ca) - Forms and Functions of Cross-Border Metropolitan Regions: Co-operation and Competition in North America and Europe - Cross-border relations have been subject to analysis by international relations specialists and political scientists focusing on the role of states and international organizations for decades. The literature on cross-border relations suggests that cross-border relations may take place because of free trade, because they are in the interest of international organizations, or in the interest of the central state, or because regional governments and/or cities take cross-border initiatives. Some authors also suggest that such relations result from local sociological, economic or cultural elements and geographical proximity. This paper focuses on metropolitan regions. The European Union and the North American Free Trade Agreement differ in their institutional structures and opportunities. The metropolitan cross-border regions of Lille (Nord-Pas de Calais, Flemish and Walloon), and Enschede/Gronau (Dutch/German border region) are compared with those of Detroit (Ontario-Michigan), Niagara (Ontario-New York), Vancouver (British Columbia/Washington) and San Diego/ Tijuana (California/Mexico). Methodology: Qualitative analysis of data and information collected through 250 interviews. Key Findings: This paper shows that local governments are empowered by the European Union regime, while, on the contrary, free trade and local political culture play a central role under the North American Free Trade Agreement. Implications: Economic Integration leads to a transformation of the forms and functions of local governments. Asymmetrical forms of government supersede symmetrical forms. This in turns raises the question of the practical and normative implication of asymmetry, but also questions our capacity to conceptualize these changes.

Brunet-Jailly, Emmanuel (eb Brunetj@uvic.ca) - Origins and Decay of the Westphalian Order, Canada, International Relations and the National Gate-Keeper Position - When Mel Lastman, the mayor of Toronto, suggested in November 1999 that Toronto should become the eleventh province of Canada, Canadians staggered. This statement, however, is highly relevant to the changing nature of the relationship between federal states and sub-national levels of government (provincial/municipal), which is at the core of this paper. There are at least three separate trends that are shaping this process. First, it is clearly acknowledged that globalization processes allow sub-national levels of government to gain power vis-à-vis federal states: Provinces in Canada, regions in Belgium, Lander in Germany and their largest municipalities are becoming more important political actors. Second, provinces (regions, Lander) and large municipal governments are becoming increasingly powerful economic actors with international links and specific comparative advantages. Third since the 1970s a large number of central/federal governments have downloaded functions and policy responsibilities to the lower levels of government. Sub-national governments are perforating the federal/central sovereignties. Furthermore, international regimes such as the European Union or the North American Free Trade Agreement are not the only challenges to sovereign states: trans-border flows of goods, capital, information and skilled people have created “spaces of flows,” which challenge traditional polities that are “spaces of places,” such as territorially organized municipalities, regions, provinces and states. The final implication of these trends may not reveal themselves for some time; however, they have always had very substantial practical consequences for federal governments and sub-national levels of governments. Scholars from different sub disciplines of political science have approached the study of those trends from different perspectives to produce an important and varied literature in intergovernmental relations, comparative politics, international relations or local government, none of which, however, address specifically the profound practical implications of the legal frameworks that organize the relationships and functional (domestic and international) responsibilities of different levels of government in federal states. It is

proposed with this paper to research and compare the history of large bodies of legal norms: treaties, constitutions, statutes and acts of governments that organize the domestic intergovernmental relations and international activities of federal and sub-national level of governments, with a special focus on Canada. This paper is part of a large research program that will document and compare the three histories of legal norms of the Holy Roman, the British – Commonwealth, and the Spanish-Hapsburg Empires and their successors: Switzerland, Austria, and Germany; Canada, the USA and Australia; and Belgium and Spain

Bruyneel, Kevin (kbruyneel@babson.edu) - The Complicated Geometry of Aboriginal Politics in Canada - What is the political location of a First Nation in Canada, and how does it effect the way Aboriginal people generate their claims in the Canadian political context? Answering this question demands looking at the role of boundaries in Canadian politics. The name 'First Nations' points to one type of boundary spanned by Aboriginal people, that being a temporal one that marks the time preceding Canadian confederation. Aboriginal political actors assert that since their respective nations pre-exist the temporal boundaries of Canada - prior to the legal and political existence of Canadian sovereignty - Aboriginal sovereignty cannot be expected to assimilate to the spatial boundaries of Canadian politics. Furthermore, the conflict between English Canada and Quebec places Aboriginal nations in a triangulated boundary relationship amidst the wider politics of sovereignty that often defines English/French conflicts in Canada. The inside/outside and triangular boundary dynamics can help or hinder the cause of Aboriginal sovereignty. In this paper, I analyze the words and deeds of Aboriginal political actors (e.g. Phil Fontaine, Taiaiake Alfred, James Bay Cree, Shuswap Nation), as well as those of Canadian and Québécois political leaders. I have three objectives: i) To define and demonstrate the inside/outside and triangular boundary dynamics; ii) To show how Aboriginal politics generates its claims in relationship to these two forms of boundary politics; and iii) To show how these forms of boundary politics inform not only Aboriginal politics specifically, but also Canadian politics generally.

Camfield, David (camfield@yorku.ca) - The Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, the Communist Party and Canadian Workers in the 1940s - This paper will analyze the relationship between the two parties of the Left and Canadian workers in the 1940s. It will offer a new perspective on the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (CCF) and Communist Party of Canada (CPC) in a historical period that was crucial to the evolution of the Canadian Left. It will examine not only the programmes and electoral and extra-parliamentary politics of the two parties that were of relevance to workers (men and women, of various ethno-racial identities) but also how party practices affected workers and whether workers who supported these parties were able to use them to advance their interests. The extent to which these parties advanced a specifically class-based politics will be assessed. Methodologically, the paper will draw on the existing body of secondary literature on the CCF and CPC, primary sources and related social-historical research. By considering party activity within the problematic of the development of the Canadian working class as a historical formation (see my "Implications for Political Studies of Theorizing Working Classes as Historical Formations," presented at the CPSA conference in 2000), the paper will offer an interpretation different from those found in the existing studies of these parties as institutions and of their ideologies. This paper will draw on my soon to be completed doctoral dissertation, "Class, Politics and Social Change: The Remaking of the Working Class in 1940s Canada."

Carbert, Louise (lcarberr@is.dal.ca) - Rural Women, Regional Development, and Electoral Democracy in Atlantic Canada - In their 1998 analysis of women's election to provincial legislature, Richard Matland and Donley Studlar (Political Research Quarterly) attributed a key role to rural ridings in holding back the overall rates of women's election in Canada. A series of court rulings have upheld the principle of "effective, not necessarily equal representation," and have thus entrenched the practice of

over-representation of rural voters. So long as this practice continues, the political dynamics of rural Canada will continue to exercise disproportionate influence relative to population. In Canada, as elsewhere in the world, rural areas are distinguished in one important regard by electing proportionally fewer women to public office than urban centres. Understanding the reasons for this distinction thus becomes central to the study of women's representation. Unfortunately, there has been very little to go on, in the way of empirical evidence. Previous riding-level studies have been carried out to measure statistical relationships, but were not designed to reveal underlying causal mechanisms. They leave open the crucial question: what are the characteristics of rural life that act as barriers to rural women's election? This paper reports on the results of a new research program which is designed to address the above question empirically. It goes directly to those most likely to understand the key issues: rural women community leaders. In field work carried out December 1999 - September 2000, the author conducted 14 focus-group discussions across all four Atlantic provinces, interviewing 126 rural women community leaders in all. These discussions covered the whole range of local political life from the point of view of potential or actual candidates for public office. An objective to be pursued in this paper is a possible relationship between women's election to public office and economic development programs, with reference to traditional patron-client relations. The results go a long way to understanding the complex local dynamics behind the rural / urban, regional, and partisan patterns in women's election to public office that have been found at the aggregate level by previous researchers.

Carens, Joe – Citizenship and Integration: Normative Approaches – To come/à venir

Carty, R. Kenneth and Eagles, Munroe (rkarty@unixg.ubc.ca) - Nominations and Local Election Campaigns in Canada: Testing Sayers' Typology - In his *Parties, Candidates and Constituency Campaigns in Canadian Elections* (1999) Anthony Sayers' argues that the character of local election campaigns in Canada is largely determined by the nature of the local nomination contest as shaped by the electoral appeal of the constituency. Distinguishing between contested/uncontested and open/closed nominations, Sayers develops a four-fold typology of candidate types and campaign styles. Contested nominations in open (cadre-style) parties lead to the nomination of 'local notables' who mount highly personalized or 'parochial' election campaigns. Uncontested nominations take place in those parties' unappealing districts and give rise to 'stopgap candidates' who run token campaigns that 'parallel' those of their national party. Contested nominations in 'mass-style' parties produce 'party insiders' who conduct 'subsidiary campaigns' that are integrated into the party's national campaign. Finally, incumbents and non-contested nominations in competitive districts lead to 'high profile' candidates whose election campaigns are regarded by national parties as significant 'components' of their overall election campaign. Our paper takes up the question of the generalizability of this parsimonious explanatory framework. Specifically, we operationalize Sayers' typology using a national survey of the local associations of three national parties and explore for evidence of the hypothesized party organizational and campaign relationships.

Cheung, Peter T.Y. (tsyicheu@hkucc.hku.hk) - Globalization and Local Government: Hong Kong's Strategy to Become a World City - In order to respond to the challenges of globalization and the increasing competition with other Asian economies, Hong Kong, as a Special Administrative Region (SAR) of the PRC, has been struggling to define a strategy to become Asia's World City since 1997. This paper examines such efforts, the difficulties encountered, and the political dynamics involved. Since 1978, Hong Kong's unique position in managing China trade has strengthened its role as Asia's premier financial and trading center. By 2001, however, China's pending accession into the WTO and the rapid growth of southern China and other coastal cities like Shanghai have raised important questions about Hong Kong's role as a middleman in China trade. Many sectors in Hong Kong are demanding the Government to take a far more proactive stance to help them expand their reach into the

China market. Hence the HKSAR Government is still exploring a way to deal effectively with Beijing as well as other local governments inside the Mainland. Domestic institutions and governance structures that are critical to Hong Kong's competitiveness, such as the education system, the civil service, and regulatory institutions, have been called into question since the onset of the Asian financial crisis and the ensuing economic slowdown. Reforming these important domestic institutions have now begun, but such reforms have encountered substantial difficulties. Drawing upon primary sources and the literature on the linkages between the global and local dimensions of political economy, this paper will analyze Hong Kong's efforts in defining a strategy to further social and economic integration with its hinterland in south China and in reforming domestic institutions to meet the challenge of regional competition and the requirements of a knowledge-based economy

Cho, Chansoo (ccho1@po-box.mcgill.ca) - Disembedding or Reembedding? Labor Market and Political Institutions in an Era of Globalization - At a time when so many arguments, empirically strong or weak (or even unfounded), about the impact of globalization on society, economy, and politics within national boundaries have proliferated, in what direction the international liberal subsystem would move is a major research and policy question. I argue that given the persistence and resilience of the domestic institutional arrangements for the welfare state (empirical referents of "social purpose"), the subsystem will be "reembedding" rather than "disembedding" itself. Reembedded liberalism should be distinguished from the mere extension of the postwar settlement partly incongruent with changes under way in industrial structure, employment pattern, and labor-management conflict resolution mechanism. It would be a more market-friendly system, especially favorable to international capital flows, but qualified with a wide range of social and political buffers. The reembedding option may be available and viable to the extent that social purpose as a "founding condition" continues to exist as a "maintenance condition" for the liberal subsystem. A useful way to assess the linkage between the two conditions is to compare "embedded liberalism" of the 1950s with the current liberal subsystem in terms of domestic labor market and political institutions. Comparing the four major countries--Britain, France, Germany, and the United States--allows for an examination of how the liberal subsystem as a "club of like-minded states" has been under stress and will evolve.

Chung, Ryoa (ryoa@sympatico.ca) - Global Governance and International Distributive Justice: On What Grounds? - In this paper, I will argue that the concept of democratic global governance is reasonably sound enough to be taken seriously when considering the theoretical and institutional design of our future world. If it is the case that globalization extends further than the realms of economic and technological interdependencies - such as to induce fundamental changes in our political institutions as well - there is much hope that the traditional geopolitical structure, enclosed in insuperable national frontiers, will give way to a more expansive and comprehensive view of international obligations of distributive justice. But this begs a fundamental question: does it make any sense at all to propound a principle of distributive justice on a global scale and on what philosophical, ethical grounds?

Clarkson, Stephen (Clarkson@chass.utoronto.ca) - Continentalism from Below: Variations in Transnational Mobilization among Aboriginal Nations, Environmental NGOs, and Labour Unions - The Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement activated Canadian labour unions in an unprecedentedly broad coalition with other civil society actors within the Canadian polity. The North American Free Trade Agreement generated considerable activity among American unions and environmentalists and triggered an insurrection among the indigenous population in the Mexican state of Chiapas. Beyond these national responses to the accelerated economic integration continentalization heralded by these agreements, there has been moderated interest in the weak forms of continental governance established by NAFTA. The Commission on Environmental Cooperation seems to be only moderately more substantial than the ineffectual Commission on Labour Cooperation as institutions of continental

governance "from above." By observing specific organizations within the aboriginal nations, environmental NGOs and the labour movement, we want to identify the extent to which transnational linkages between Canada, the United States and Mexico, whether formal or informal, are generating what can be called continental governance "from below." The paper's empirical work will be based on interviews conducted in Toronto, Washington, DC and Mexico City in the spring of 2002.

Clarkson, Stephen (sclarkson@chass.utoronto.ca) - Canada's External Constitution - Canada's legal order has been continually amended as the federal government signed international treaties and passed implementing legislation to adjust its laws to their norms. This paper will argue that the bilateral, trilateral, and multilateral trade agreements, which Ottawa has signed in the past fifteen years, have amended the Canadian constitution in a qualitatively different way. The Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement, the North American Free Trade Agreement, and the World Trade Organization have a dramatically greater impact than normal treaties because of: 1- the scope of their norms which reach deep into the legislative and administrative systems of the federal and provincial governments; 2- the authority of their dispute-settlement mechanisms which can nullify the previously sovereign acts of Canadian legislatures. Based on a seven-part definition of "constitution," this paper will outline the varying degrees in which CUFTA, NAFTA, and the WTO have re-constitutionalized the Canadian state. The research on which this paper is based derives both from a reading of the trade agreements and a consideration of their already discernible effects on Canadian policies.

Cohn, Daniel (dcohn@sfu.ca) - A Rational Basis for Unsustainable Fiscal Policy in "Have" Provinces with Neoliberal Governments: Evidence from Ontario - At its best, rational choice analysis generates and tests hypotheses that explain how surprising, or even perverse, outcomes are produced through the interaction of public policy, institutions, and the self-interests of actors. The ambition is to improve outcomes by remodeling policy and institutions to take better account of self-interest. This approach has been rightly criticized when its practitioners seek to create explanations of such sweeping generalization and application as to ignore variations in the context within which actors assess and formulate their self-interests. Nevertheless, when properly constructed, rational choice analyses can offer important insights into the causes of public problems and their potential solutions. One such problem is represented by the unsustainable fiscal policy adopted by the neoliberal Harris government of Ontario during the latter half of the 1990s. Despite an economic boom, the government claimed that it was unable to adequately fund programs stemming from its constitutional responsibilities for health, education and social services with the revenues generated by its chosen fiscal policy and federal transfers. The province repeatedly called for and received increased federal assistance, reducing funds available for other federal priorities and at the expense of less prosperous provinces. Given the nature of the Canadian federal system, especially the lack of party cohesion across the federal-provincial divide, division of powers, economic competition between provinces, and fiscal relations, a rational basis can be demonstrated for Ontario, as well as for the other "have" provinces of Alberta and British Columbia, to adopt unsustainable fiscal policies when governed by neoliberals. The paper recommends changes to policies governing federal transfer payments so as to reduce the incentives encouraging the "have" provinces to act in this manner. This paper builds on, and extends rational choice models that take account of government ideology, such as that proposed by Torsten Persson and Lars E.O. Svensson ["Why a stubborn conservative would run a deficit," *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 104 (1989), 325-345]

Constantineau, Phillippe (constantineau-p@rmc.ca) - La gouvernance mondiale et la politique étrangère américaine avant et après le 11 septembre: entre l'unilatéralisme et le multilatéralisme - S'agissant des questions de sécurité, en particulier de celles qui les touchent directement, comme celle qui s'est posée à la suite des attentats terroristes du 11 septembre 2001, les États-Unis d'Amérique, tant et aussi longtemps qu'ils formeront l'unique puissance hégémonique ayant une portée mondiale, ne se laisseront

pas limiter dans leur action par des accords multilatéraux, alors même qu'ils peuvent rechercher activement la conclusion de tels accords ou la formation de vastes coalitions internationales. Cela tient non pas au leadership politique du moment, ni même à la culture politique américaine, mais à des raisons systémiques: 1) la compétition continue en matière de sécurité, non pas entre États ou nations, mais entre régimes politiques, et 2) la position hégémonique de la puissance américaine. Une telle configuration de la puissance permet, voire favorise la recherche, de la part des États-Unis, d'une concertation internationale en matière de sécurité, mais trace tout autant des limites à la diplomatie américaine, et par le fait même à la réalisation d'un certain concept de la gouvernance mondiale. Suivant cette analyse, qui s'appuie sur la théorie des systèmes asymétriques, il faudrait s'attendre à ce que le Conseil de sécurité des Nations Unies soit régulièrement contourné dans les affaires d'intérêt vital pour la sécurité des États-Unis, tandis que l'OTAN devrait être appelée à jouer un rôle accru.

Conway, Janet – Jubilee! Social Movements and Globalization From Below: The International Politics of the Canadian Ecumenical Jubilee Initiative – To come/à venir

Cooke, Murray (mcooke@yorku.ca) - The Changing Working Class and the Crisis of the New Democratic Party - This paper will analyze the changing relationship between workers in English Canada and the New Democratic Party (NDP). It will focus on two related issues: first, the impact of structural changes in the nature and organization of work on the fortunes of social democracy; and second, the emergence of recurrent tensions between the union movement and the party. The electoral setbacks experienced by Western European social democratic parties in the 1970s and 80s fostered various explanations based on changes in the structure of the working class. These changes include the rise of service sector employment, changes in firm size and new forms of work organization. In light of the federal NDP's continued growth in electoral support in the 1970s and 80s before falling apart in the 90s, this paper will examine these important changes in a less deterministic manner. These changes have also played a role in undermining the relationship between the party and the union movement. The NDP and major trade unions have struggled to find a basis of unity and have frequently followed divergent paths. This paper will look beyond the most visible controversies such as those surrounding the campaign against the Free Trade Agreement and the Ontario NDP government's Social Contract to examine this process in detail. This paper will reflect my on-going research for my dissertation on the crisis of the NDP. It will rely on a variety of primary sources and the existing secondary literature.

Cooper, Andrew (Andrew.cooper@sympatico.ca) - Canadian Foreign Policy after September 11 - The intent of this paper is to make some tentative judgements about the nature of Canadian Foreign Policy after the events of September 11, 2001. Elements of continuity can be found in the approach of Canadian foreign policy making, most notably in the sense for balance expressed in Prime Minister Chrétien's initial response to the crisis. Indeed, the sense of caution found at the leadership level underscores much about the operating principles under which the Liberal government has operated since 1993. In a variety of other ways, however, Canadian foreign policy conforms to the notion that 'everything has changed' since September 11. In terms of style, the novelty of this crisis may be witnessed by the naming of Foreign Minister Manley as chair of a special Cabinet Committee on security issues. In substance, the distinctive feature of the crisis has been to confirm the end of a Canadian foreign policy based on the Axworthian doctrine based on human security/soft power and 'like-minded' partnerships. Moving away from trying to restructure the concepts of security and sovereignty the emphasis has been placed on easing Canada's commitment-capability gap. Rather than concentrating on widening the capacity for building 'coalitions of the willing' the focus has been on a limitationist notion and giving primacy to the relationship of Canada with core actors generally and the United States in particular. Instead of seeking space for multilaterally-oriented initiatives, the main game for Canadian foreign policy has become much more explicitly that of managing the issues

pertaining to the definition and features of the Canada/US border/perimeter.

Côté, Catherine (9cc3@politics.queensu.ca) - Le traitement des politiciens dans le discours journalistique télévisé québécois - Argumentation proposée: Parce que principale source d'information politique des citoyens, les nouvelles télévisées exercent une influence certaine sur le système démocratique. Or depuis quelques années, on constate une montée du cynisme de la population envers ses représentants politiques (Blais et Gidengil 1991). Il y a donc lieu de s'interroger sur la provenance de cette dévalorisation des politiciens et nous croyons que le discours journalistique télévisé n'y est pas étranger. Nous avons donc analysé ce discours en cherchant à vérifier l'hypothèse selon laquelle le discours journalistique télévisé québécois révèle une attitude négative envers les politiciens. Cette dévalorisation s'articule autour de trois axes, soit le format des nouvelles, le type de nouvelles et surtout, la forme de discours utilisée par les journalistes
Méthode d'analyse: Nous avons utilisé comme corpus chacune des nouvelles qui concernaient des politiciens lors des bulletins de 22h00 de la SRC et de TVA sur quatre semaines. Nous avons utilisé trois méthodes d'analyse de contenu, soit une grille d'analyse quantitative qui évaluait l'attitude des journalistes, une analyse lexicographique du discours journalistique qui évaluait la fréquence des éléments de locution ainsi qu'une analyse contextuelle.
Pertinence du projet: Notre projet est l'un des rares à s'attarder aux périodes non-électorales qui sont certainement à long terme, les plus influentes. Au surplus, nous sommes la seule chercheuse à utiliser l'analyse lexicographique pour étudier le discours journalistique. De plus, l'attitude journalistique canadienne, contrairement aux approches américaine et européenne, est encore très peu étudiée.
Intérêts de recherche: L'attitude du discours journalistique télévisé s'inscrit dans nos intérêts de recherche quant aux effets de la couverture médiatique sur le cynisme des citoyens que nous poursuivons dans notre thèse de doctorat.

Cranford, Cynthia – Home Caregivers for the Disabled – To come/à venir

Crawford, Mark (mchammer@technologist.com) - The GATS Debate: Webs of Influence and Rhetorical Structures - This paper combines rhetorical analysis of pro and anti-WTO debates, a substantive technical legal analysis of selected GATS negotiation issues between sovereign states, and either a "policy network" or "web of influence" type of model of trade policy formation, in an attempt to describe (dynamically) the inter-relation and interdependence of these three spheres of contestation/cooperation. The GATS is an example of regulatory globalization as a contest of principle between state actors and between state and non-state actors; sub-national units (provincial, municipal, aboriginal, territorial, and in some respects nation-states in the EU) are less likely to be protagonists in some of these constests than non-state actors. The proposed paper, if successful, would bridge technical trade policy scholarship and more public terms of debate; and demonstrate the relevance of hitherto untapped resources of legal and political theory to the analysis of trade law. To some extent, this would involve an application of the author's background in constitutional studies and legal theory to a new area. It also involves using the experience gained from my year as a trade policy analyst in the Services trade Policy Division of the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade in 2000-2001.

Cutler, Fred (cutler@interchange.ubc.ca) - Electoral Behaviour in a Federal Context: The Consequences of Confusion - This paper aims to bridge the empirical gap between the study of federalism and of electoral behaviour. In a paper delivered at the CPSA annual meeting last year (2000) , I developed a model that, with appropriate measurements, would enable some assessment of the degree to which uncertainty, confusion, or disaffection resulting from the complexities of a federal polity affects electoral choice. The model allows for three broad possibilities: 1. Issue Bias. Voters might either discount or dwell on issues about which they are more uncertain in their attributions of governmental responsibility. 2. A Pox (blessing) on Both Houses. Voters might react to confusion by hedging their bets, blaming (or crediting) both governments, with the objective of getting the problem corrected (or

continuing the satisfactory policy) from whichever government is able and willing to act in that area. 3. Refus (Spécifique et Global). Voters' overall uncertainty might simply make them more negative about the government being evaluated. In another more disturbing case, voters might be less inclined to turn out to vote at all. Using data recently collected after the Alberta and BC elections of 2001, I am now in a position to test the model as it applies to decisions in both federal and provincial elections. I will employ standard regression-based estimation, common in research on electoral choice. It is likely that at this stage only tentative conclusions will be possible because the data is from a relatively small sample (460), from only two provinces, and measures of uncertainty are in their infancy. Nevertheless, this paper will begin to evaluate an important argument as yet unassailed by empirical evidence-that federalism is a barrier to democratic accountability (see Smiley 1987, Cairns 1977, MacKinnon and Nechyba 1997, Simeon and Cameron 2002, Richards 1998).

Cyrenne, Chad (c-cyrenne@uchicago.edu) - Political Liberalism in a Pluralist State: What Isaiah Berlin Can Teach Us About Liberalism - Isaiah Berlin remains an enigmatic figure in contemporary political theory. His "Two Concepts of Liberty" has near-canonical status. His writings on pluralism, on the other hand, have yet to be incorporated into political debate. This paper explores the meaning and importance of Berlin's value pluralism. In particular, I suggest that Berlin's pluralism ought to be more decisive for the ways we think about political liberalism. Many have insisted that these literatures be kept separate; bringing them together shows how much Rawls and Berlin have to learn from one another. Properly understood, Berlin's pluralism sheds new light on the ways a political liberalism might be institutionalized in practice. Method: Interpretive/Textual. Wider Research: Dissertation Chapter. Dissertation: "From Fox to Hedgehog and Back Again: Political Liberalism from John Locke to Isaiah Berlin" Committee: Charles Larmore (Chair), Martha Nussbaum, Nathan Tarcov, Jacob T. Levy Expected Date of Defense: June 2002

Daly, Tamara, Williams, A. Paul, Deber, Raisa and Lum, Janet (Tamara.daly@sympatico.ca) - Unearthing Grassroots: The Formalization of Voluntary Nonprofit Organizations in Ontario's Home Health and Social Care Sector - Drawing on a case study of voluntary nonprofit organizations (VNOs) in Ontario, this session will explore the responses of VNOs in the home health and social care sector resulting from two massive changes to Ontario government long term care policy implemented in 1995/96. First, the introduction of a managed competition request for proposal model has institutionalized market principles in a sector that had been primarily dominated by VNOs. Second, the introduction of a formalized "planning, funding and accountability" process has shifted the terms under which government provides money to VNOs to deliver home health and social care services. These policy shifts follow a volatile period during which three successive governments grappled with reform of the long term care sector, and during which VNOs passed from the funding cultures of the Ministry of Community and Social Services (Com Soc) to a new, amalgamated Ministry of Long Term Care (that joined the efforts of the ministries of Health, Com Soc, and Citizenship), only to be absorbed under the umbrella of the Ministry of Health in 1995. These policy changes have occurred concurrent with hospital restructuring in the province, which has reduced the capacity of the hospital sector. As people are quickly moved from hospitals into the community for their care, the limits of the publicly funded home care system are exposed, placing increasing demands on local VNOs to cope with more people with greater needs. Against this backdrop of massive changes to VNO funding arrangements with government, and elevated demands and needs, some VNOs have responded by "formalizing" their organizations. In some instances this involves shifts towards consolidating, merging or creating larger organizations with more administrative capacity. In other instances, these policies are undermining smaller informal local organizations with little administrative capacity. The administrative requirements of these funding policies also limit flexible grassroots activities traditionally exercised by

VNOs in the sector. These two policies, in concert with the increased demand in the sector, are altering VNOs relationship with government and stymieing the flexible responses of VNOs to local needs, in effect unearthing grassroots activity.

Darcy, Bob (bdarcy@okstate.edu) - Fair Seat Apportionment

Beginning in the Eighteenth Century a number of methods for apportioning seats have been proposed. Some are ad hoc, fitting the immediate political needs of the author, others have their appeal in Nineteenth Century arithmetic reasoning. Two methods, however, have a far stronger appeal rooted in least squares. Hill's method minimizes the sum of squares of population per representative across all seats while the Webster - Sainte-Laguë method minimizes the sum of squares of seats per person across all persons. The sum of squares, however, offers only an approximation to the differences between the individual cases and the mean of all cases. The total absolute difference measures the actual differences and, when minimized, offers the fairest seat apportionment among political parties. This paper presents an iterative method of seat apportionment and illustrates its use with Canadian and European election data.

Dartnell, Michael (dartnell@sympatico.ca) - Global Communication and Political Activism: The Post-Territorial Feminism of the Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan (RAWA) - In the past decade, the World Wide Web has emerged as a tools used by political groups to relay information to global civil society. The resulting global media presence has led to an unprecedented level of publicity for organizations and issues that were previously ignored or marginalized due to the limits of traditional forms of communication. The paper examines the case of RAWA Website as the point of departure to discuss how opposition political movements use the Web when other means of voicing dissent are unavailable. Through referring to the group's Website, the types of message transmitted, the forms of transmission (text, video, audio, e-mail or other), and target publics (national, global, political elites, media), the paper outlines the issues and theoretical challenges raised by so-called electronic oppositions. The Web in itself, like other new information technologies, does not constitute a threat to state power as some analysts have suggested. However, by providing information that was previously inaccessible, RAWA has in some sense expressed a significant alteration in political communication, in particular by radically liberating some Afghan women from a radically oppressive en-gendered and territorial location. The paper argues that Web-based feminist political communication recasts women's rights and moves to social and political liberation in the specific situations in which women find themselves rather than primarily in relation to states.

Dashwood, Hevina S. (dashwood@chass.utoronto.ca) - Global Initiatives on Corporate Social Responsibility and their Impact on Canadian Multinationals - The objective of this paper is to account for the impact of evolving international norms on corporate social responsibility (CSR), and to explain their impact on Canadian multinationals. In a global context where the influence of multinational corporations (MNCs) is enormous, collective understandings about acceptable behaviour for corporations have moved beyond the minimalist position that a corporation's sole responsibility is towards its shareholders. The theoretical literature relevant to this paper concerns attempts to explain and trace the impact of international norms dissemination on state and non-state policy and behaviour. Existing studies that employ the constructivist approach to analyze the impact of ideas and norms in international politics have largely been concerned with tracing the way in which pressures exerted on governments produce policy change. This paper sets out to advance the existing literature by investigating the role of both state and non-state actors on the evolution of international norms respecting CSR, and how this helps to alter behaviour of one important category of non-state actors, Canadian MNCs. Following from the UN's call on MNCs for a "Global Compact", CSR is conceptualized in this study as a corporation's obligations towards direct (employees) and indirect (local

community) stakeholders in the areas of human rights, labour standards and the environment. In order to trace the impact of international norms on Canadian corporate policy and behaviour, the results of preliminary research on the activities of Canadian mining multinationals, including Placer Dome, in developing countries will be conveyed. Tracing the transmission of international norms is expected to contribute to a better understanding than now exists of the influences that have motivated Canadian MNCs to adopt and implement policies on corporate responsibility.

Dauphinee, Elizabeth (edauphin@yorku.ca) - You Can't Get There From Here: The Political Economy of Structural Peacekeeping - International commitments to peacebuilding envision the following goals: (1.) enforcement of the cessation of hostilities, (2.) mobilization of aid for reconstruction projects, (3.) a sufficient degree of reconciliation between communities to ensure the development of civil society, and (4.) the development of liberal democratic, free market structures. Scholarship has cited local intransigence as the primary factor in peacebuilding failures. Few have queried the impact of peacebuilding processes on the social, political, and economic reconstitution/reconstruction of the target society. This paper argues that it is precisely the entrenched nature of international organizations in post-conflict societies that may prevent the very outcomes they aim to conclude. With specific attention to Bosnia, I demonstrate that peacebuilding initiatives do not simply facilitate local recovery, but are themselves constitutive of that recovery, and may include practices that impede it on a variety of levels. I refer to this entrenchment as 'structural peacekeeping', and argue that local political, economic, and civil society initiatives are fundamentally dependent on international organizations over both the short and long term. Examples include the stultification of local political initiative/interest in the face of an unaccountable, authoritarian international administration and the failure of local economic development as a result of international organizations that draw local expertise away from local initiatives. I re-evaluate the goals and processes of peacebuilding more generally in the hope of illuminating possibilities for a decoupling of international organizations from local societies so that meaningful autonomy can be fostered and an ethical exit can be located.

Davies, Graeme (graeme.davies@man.ac.uk) - Domestic Dissatisfaction and the Levels of Hostility 1950-1982 - There has been considerable research in the field of international relations that relates domestic politics to the initiation of international conflicts. One particular area relates domestic dissatisfaction to the initiation of an international conflict. It is believed that a decision-maker who feels that his/her chances of political survival are small will initiate an international conflict to generate a 'rally-round the flag' effect that will boost his/her political position. There has been considerable empirical research in this field to ascertain if this relationship exists and in general the evidence has been mixed. This paper assesses the impact of domestic dissatisfaction upon the likelihood of a decision-maker initiating different levels of conflict, ranging from mobilisation of forces, threats of aggression, use of force and finally the initiation of an international war. The paper using a multinomial and ordered logit models to demonstrate that different types of domestic dissatisfaction results in a decision-maker initiating a different types of international conflict. The research follows on from an earlier paper that assessed the impact of domestic dissatisfaction upon the likelihood of a decision-maker initiating an international conflict, this paper did not assess the likelihood of different levels of hostility.

de Clercy, Cristine (c.declercy@usask.ca) - The Behavioural Revolution, Act 2: Rational Models of Leadership – To come/à venir

Decker, Susan (deckers@inac.gc.ca) - Fiscal Federalism in Russia - There is a well developed literature on fiscal federalism in Russia. This paper, Northern Supply and the Politics of Inter-budgetary Transfers, will contribute to that literature by examining how fiscal relations between the federal

government and the regions have affected public policy and the role of the state in the provision of social services. Persistent problems in supplying the North with crucial supplies for winter, including food and fuel, will be used as a case study to illustrate some general trends in center-regional inter-budgetary relations, as well as how these trends have undermined state capacity in key areas of state responsibility, including northern supply. The period under study extends from the early 1990s to the present, using data on transfer payments and expenditure patterns. The paper argues that there has been an on-going struggle between the federal government and the regions over certain areas of public policy, as each is motivated to divest itself of responsibility for social spending. The regions have been unsuccessful, and either by law or by default, have assumed the bulk of responsibility for social spending. For those regions dependent on funding from the federal government, the situation has become dire as transfers are frequently insufficient to meet the needs and responsibilities of the regions. Using the assumptions of rational choice new institutionalism, this paper examines the strategies the regions have used to extract more resources from the federal government, as well as the implication of those strategies from a public policy perspective. Specifically, a new institutionalist approach illustrates how the budget and transfer payment system combined to establish an incentive structure that is largely responsible for the northern supply problem.

Denemark, David (denemark@cyllene.uwa.edu.au) - From First-Past-the-Post to MMP: Election Campaigns in New Zealand, 1996 - New Zealand's electoral transformation in 1996 from First-Past-the-Post to Mixed Member Proportional representation (MMP) necessitated a variety of fundamental changes to parties' campaign tactics, organizations, and technologies, since parties' appeals and the techniques for conveying them, reflect the constraints of the electoral law within which they occur. This essay examines this historically-significant transition by drawing primarily on two sets of interviews I conducted with those closely involved in the 1996 election campaigns in New Zealand – in the lead-up to the campaign, while contemplating the looming implications, and in the months thereafter, reflecting on the lessons of that transition. More specifically, this paper examines the implications of the switch to MMP on marginal seats, targeting, issue constituencies, mass media appeals, and other aspects of electoral campaigns. My analytic focus is at the local, constituency level where, historically, New Zealand's electoral battles were won or lost, but where the new electoral rules make increasingly irrational the expending campaign resources. This is the case because MMP's reliance on the party vote to determine the distribution of parliament's seats means New Zealand's political parties, for the first time in 1996, confronted a new imperative: to ignore geographic boundaries of marginal seats, and to focus their energies on the nationwide maximization of the party vote, wherever they can be found. The result was an election campaign significant both for the failures of many parties to confront that imperative, and for those who cunningly manipulated voter uncertainty about the new rules for electoral advantage.

Denver, David and Hands, Gordon (D.denver@lancaster.ac.uk) - To come/à venir

Detomasi, David (ddetomasi@business.queensu.ca) - Reforming the Management of the Public Sector: The Case of the Department of National Defence - Background: The end of the Cold War engendered large cuts in defence expenditure and a demand that the Department of National Defence (DND) operate more efficiently. This motivated DND managers to embrace private sector management techniques to reform their management practices and to increasingly rely on private agents to supply non-core defence services. This paper will examine the longitudinal effects of these actions through an in-depth case examination of DND's efforts at managing contracts for non-core service provision. Key issues to be examined include the formulation of contract provisions, the development of shared and appropriate metrics for improved public service delivery, and the endemic managerial difficulties in adopting

private sector management techniques. The paper will contribute to the wider debate around the "New Public Management", specifically by examining one department's accumulated experience with NPM techniques over the previous decade. The paper will conclude with important lessons learned that will help condition the department's relations with private sector service providers in the future.

DeWiel, Boris (dewielb@unbc.ca) - The Ideological Effect on Canadians of Sept. 11: A Prediction based on a 2-D Model of Value Space - How will the events of Sept. 11 affect Canadians' political values? This paper uses a new model of left-right value space to predict some shifts in the ideological orientation of Canadians in the wake of those events. A review of empirical studies of left-right value orientations shows that several independent analysts have converged on similar two-dimensional models of political value space. This paper identifies the cardinal points of a two-dimensional model using a theory of ideology (from DeWiel, *Democracy: A History of Ideas* [Vancouver: UBC Press, 2000]). The paper ends with a prediction concerning ideological shifts by Canadians along those dimensions in reaction to the events of Sept. 11. The model categorizes political values using an autotelic-heterotelic distinction (derived from Kant's example of autonomy versus heteronomy). The Continental tradition from Rousseau and Kant saw human values as endogenously created, or autotelic. The Anglo-empiricist tradition from Hobbes and Locke saw human values as exogenously given (by nature, God or tradition), or heterotelic. The autotelic-heterotelic distinction is postulated to have left-right polarity. The second dimension of value space is based on the distinction between individualist orientations and communalist orientations. The result is a two-dimensional model: (a) autotelic individualists versus heterotelic communalists, and (b) autotelic communalists versus heterotelic individualists. The events of Sept. 11 are expected to be polarizing: a majority movement is predicted toward heterotelic communalism, with minority reactions in the autotelic and individualistic directions.

Dobrowolsky, Alexandra and Saint-Martin, Denis (adobrowolsky@stmarys.ca) - Agency, Actors and Change in a Child-Focused Future: Problematizing Path Dependency's Past and Statist Parameters - This paper begins by critically examining the groundbreaking work of leading welfare state and policy thinkers: Paul Pierson and Gøsta Esping-Andersen. In order to explain various states' policy activity or, more accurately, their inactivity in the 1980's and 1990's, both analysts turned to path-dependency theory. With this approach, contemporary policy choices are not only shaped, but seemingly set, by previous policy directives and prior political dynamics. In championing this particular variant of neo-institutionalist analysis, Pierson and Esping-Andersen adopt a back-ward looking orientation. While we can always learn from the past, for we agree that history is both eventful and insightful, this is not what is at issue in our paper. What we problematize is the over-determinism of these analyses. As past policy choices congeal, they freeze out the possibility of either dramatic upheavals or actors geared toward substantial change. Both consequences constrict agency. To some extent, the past, but more noticeably, the present and future struggles of collective actors tend to be left out of the path dependency equation. In our view, significant developments, and perhaps even dramatic changes, are taking shape in a "Third Way" socio-economic and political context of the late 1990's and early 2000's. More specifically, after outlining a raft of new policy initiatives in Canada and Britain centred around the child, it will become increasingly apparent that path dependency falls short of the explanatory mark. There may indeed be, in Kuhnian terms, a paradigm shift in progress for which Pierson and Esping-Andersen cannot account. Here, political scientists, most notably Peter Hall among others, step into the breach by looking at the part played by not only institutions, but also by bearers of ideas who act as catalysts for paradigm shifts. According to Hall, intellectuals and policy experts, in particular, play significant roles. While, our account certainly builds on Hall's understanding, we take it a step further. That is, given our concern with agency and change, and in light of the recent predisposition to future-oriented policy directives, we set out to explore the effects of "non-state actors" in what we consider to be these new policy directions.

More precisely, our premise is that a broad range of political actors and networks, e.g., in not only think tanks, but also in charities, voluntary organizations and social movements, are working both in and outside the state, strategically deploying child-centred discourses. And so, in both Britain and Canada, an array of political actors, old and new, from within the state and from without, are helping to nudge a new paradigm into existence. While different political actors, no doubt, have divergent means as well as ends, ultimately, they have worked to a degree in conjunction, resorting to child-focused and future-oriented aspirations and goals in an effort to bring about transformations. Our methodology has three prongs. First, we carefully analyse the path-dependency literature, paying close attention to the work of Pierson and Esping-Andersen. Second, we amass and analyze recent child-related policy directives in Canada and Britain. Third, we draw on a range of primary and secondary sources: books, pamphlets, websites of key child-related organizations, along with interviews conducted with key activists and academics to track wider and influential policy networks. In conclusion, our aim is to provide an innovative theoretical and empirical contribution to at least three different fields of study: i) welfare state and public policy; ii) comparative politics, and iii) social movements.

Docherty, David (ddochert@wlu.ca) - It's Harder Than You Think: Constituency Service and Legislative Representation in Canada and Great Britain -

How do members of parliament balance their constituency work and their legislative roles? Despite predominant public views about politicians being self-interested and lazy, most MPs (in Canada and Great Britain) log long hours, both in the capital and in the constituency. Yet these jobs are very distinct. Constituency representation demands a certain style and approach that is a far cry from the type of representation that takes place within the parliamentary environment. In the constituency, members act as local trouble shooters. Partisan considerations are often left aside and replaced with an ombudsperson type approach to problem solving. In the legislature, partisan considerations are never far from a member's actions and motives. In addition, while an MP is thought to have considerable influence while at home, they must act as part of a well-disciplined team, often subsuming their own goals and agenda for those of the party. The constituency roles of legislators, while not ignored, has received less academic scrutiny than the legislative roles of members. Yet as studies of constituency work has suggested (Fenno, Young and Wood, Russell) understanding a representative's local approach is often a good indicator of the type of style they will use in the duties inside the legislative environment. Using survey and interview data collected from members of parliament in both Canada and Great Britain, this paper offers an initial examination of the competing work worlds of legislators. The paper argues that different members bring different approaches to these worlds. Some see the legislative and constituency duties as closely linked while others try to keep them distinct. This paper examines both the causes of these different approaches (ie are they rooted in partisan differences, urban-rural splits, pre-legislative careers) and the effects of these differing styles. Please note: While the majority of data has been collected for this paper, it has yet to be fully explored. As a result, at this point in time I am unable to provide a thesis as to why such differences exist. The argument of the paper will emerge as these survey and interview data are analyzed (sometime between now and April).

Docherty, David (ddochert@wlu.ca) - Surveying Leader Cohorts – To come/à venir

Driscoll, James (jdriscoll@trentu.ca) - The Political Theory of Situated Individualism: Democracy and Representation in Late Modern Society - As the twentieth century drew to a close, the scope and number of critiques of modernity and liberal democratic theory and practice increased. We have entered an age where a politics of affirmation of values and recognition of identity is competing with instrumentalist demands for the satisfaction of interests in the public realm and institutionalised notions of entitlement. This paper will attempt to situate recent challenges to liberal conceptions of the self, democracy and representation with reference to C. B. Macpherson's conception of possessive

individualism and a poorly articulated, but widespread, set of assumptions about the self and society that underlay much of empirical social science in the post-war period: what Talcott Parsons called institutionalised individualism. The response of seventeenth-century political theorists to the breakdown of their traditional political culture was to create a new narrative of individuals, interests and universal rights. Social scientists in the post-war period shifted the focus of an empirical democratic theory to problems of pluralism, system integration and economic management. We face the challenge of re-organising the public realm on the basis of identity, difference, and values. I shall argue that there has been a convergence in recent work on a political theory of situated individualism: a de-centred, interactive and communicative conception of the self which demands a re-thinking of liberal conceptions of citizenship and democracy. A more coherent account of these changes will help to eliminate, for example, much of the ideologically driven debate over Charter jurisprudence in Canada.

Eberts, Mirella (meberts@chass.utoronto.ca) - Muddling Through Justice: The Lustration Dilemma and Communist Legacy in Poland – To come/à venir

Eidlin, Fred (feidlin@uoguelph.ca) - Two Kinds of Explanation: Causal and Conceptual Breakthrough - Although the meaning of the word explanation is straightforward enough in everyday usage, social scientists sometimes worry about what to count as a good scientific explanation. A scientific explanation, they usually believe, eliminates the puzzling or problematic character of a phenomenon by stating its cause. That is, it subsumes the phenomenon under a general law. The present article draws attention to another kind of explanation in science which, like many common usages of the word "explanation," removes the problematic character of a phenomenon, not by stating a cause, that is, some previously unknown fact or law, but through a conceptual breakthrough. It proposes a new vision that solves the problem. In other words, there can be genuine growth of or improvement of knowledge which, rather than giving a cause (or reason), consists in breaking out of old, established ways of thinking, and inventing new ways of looking at the facts or data.

Eisenberg, Avigail (avigaile@uvic.ca) - Are Referendum on Minorities' rights Ever Justified? (And if so, when?) - Referenda are conventionally viewed as favouring majorities, not minorities. Nonetheless, referenda have often been used by liberal states to determine the extent that a majority is supportive of measures meant to protect a minority (or disadvantaged group). As some authors have noted, referenda have a mixed record in relation to minority rights and certainly no worse a record than do legislative politics. Moreover, in some cases, referenda are deemed crucial to settling matters that elected representations lack the legitimacy to settle (e.g. questions involving secession). This paper explores the circumstances surrounding referenda and focuses on the *culture of deliberation* to which referenda give rise. The culture of deliberation is shaped by several factors including the history of the issue, the type of minority, the type of right under scrutiny, the marketing techniques employed, and the democratic message conveyed by referendum-based decision-making. I argue that, in some cases, the deliberative culture in which referenda arise bias referenda against minority rights. The paper focuses on two case studies: the Colorado Initiative on extending equal protection to gays and lesbians and the proposed referendum on treaty negotiations in British Columbia.

Elman, R. Amy. (elman@kzoo.edu) - Challenges in the Conceptualization and Operationalization of Women's Movements in Comparative Politics – To come/à venir

Erk, Can (erk70@hotmail.com) - A Forgotten War: 19th School Wars in Europe - The second half of the 19th century witnessed bitter domestic conflicts between secular and religious camps in Western Europe. In particular, confrontation deeply polarised France, Germany, Belgium and the Netherlands. In France and Germany, conflict ended with the victory of one side. Republicans under the leadership of Leon Gambetta and Jules Ferry won the 'guerre scolaire' in the Third Republic, while Bismarck's 'kulturkampf' managed to unite the nationalists, socialists and liberals in an anti-Catholic alliance. In the

Netherlands and Belgium, on the other hand, opposing sides reached compromises and negotiated settlements instead. Here lies the puzzle, why did larger European countries fight a winner-takes-all battle whereas smaller ones reached complex settlements including all parties? Based on the research I carried out in Europe this past summer, I propose that the explanation lies in the international role these countries played. The two smaller neutral countries whose foreign policies were 'fixed' by major European powers did not face the pressing need to form a united national front against the rest of the world. Belgium and the Netherlands were not an active part of the major power struggle in Europe and therefore were not pressured to have strong conscript armies and national unity brought by uniform national education. France and Germany, on the other hand, could not afford internal dissent. Locked in the European power struggle, international strength was seen to be dependent on national homogeneity. Historical documents and single case analyses seem to corroborate this interpretation, however the four cases have never been studied together in a systemic manner. Therefore, I believe that the findings of the project will be of theoretical interest to students of comparative politics. In addition to the theoretical issues at play (i.e. combining levels of analysis, requirements for conflict resolution), the nature of the conflict is relevant to many countries around the world where disagreements over worldviews still divide public opinion. Countries as diverse as Mexico, Israel, Turkey and India are currently locked in internal disagreements over the role of religion in education - a conflict almost identical to that of late 19th century Europe.

Evans, Terri Lee (terri@sfu.ca) - Doing Things Differently in an Amalgamating Canada: a Unitary and Multi-Council Comparison - Throughout the 1990s, senior governments have shown an increasing interest in the manner in which metropolitan areas are governed. Their preoccupation with and intervention into the urban fabric has significantly impacted local government structures, functions, and is redefining their *raison d'être*. The prominent interveners, eastern Canadian provinces, have pounced on disgruntled local governments by using the trump card of Section 92(8) of the Constitution Act 1867 to bring in sweeping reforms. Using their legislative powers, provincial governments have forced metropolitan reforms, with consolidation of municipalities as the preferred reform option, on disgruntled local governments, with the self-convinced argument that such changes will bring about cost savings and increased efficiency, narrowly defined by fiscal considerations. This trend, toward the consolidation of municipalities into larger regional entities, is based on fiscal considerations of provincial governments that "municipal politicians and municipalities were inherently wasteful, inefficient, and incapable of cooperation." Has municipal restructuring resolved the problem? Does consolidation lead to increased efficiency and cost savings or are these promises left unfulfilled? To test the hypothesis, a two site case study will be conducted: the Halifax Regional Municipality, which was restructured in 1996. and the Victoria Capital Regional District, which has not been restructured but confronts similar regional pressures. An examination of municipal fiscal indicators (service areas, governance, tax rates), over a ten-year time period will be used to comment on the efficiency/cost savings debate surrounding amalgamation, and provide a useful fiscal comparison of two regions who are 'doing things differently'. While this paper will look primarily at the efficiency dimensions of metropolitan restructuring, connections between representation, accountability, accessibility, effectiveness, and the fiscal reality of 'doing more with less' are areas of interest for future research. The significance of this study will be the contribution to a small but growing body of literature where the claims put forward by consultants and provincial governments regarding the efficiency of consolidating municipalities are being measured by academics.

Everitt, Joanna and Gidengil, Elisabeth (jeveritt@unbsj.ca) - Probing Public Perceptions About Female Leaders: Three Useful Methodologies – Party leaders play an increasingly important role in Canadian political life. They are the main focus of media attention and they are often crucial in the electorate's

voting calculations. The growing number of women assuming leadership roles in political parties has recently raised questions about the impact that gender has on public perceptions of female leaders and on the impact of the media on the development of these views. This paper examines three different methodological approaches to the study of public perceptions of female party leaders. Drawing on examples from the authors' past research of the 1993, 1997 and 2000 Canadian national elections it analyses the usefulness of public opinion surveys, experimental studies and content analysis to explore the role that gender based stereotypes play in leadership evaluations.

Fabry, Mikulas (mfabry@interchange.ubc.ca) - The Idea of National Self-Determination and the Recognition of New States – To come/à venir

Ferguson, Peter (peter.Ferguson@usask.ca) - Democratic Consolidation, Breakdown, and Co-operatives: A New Look at Civil Society - The role civil society plays in the democratization process has attracted increased attention over the last several years. The literature has stressed the importance of the development of civil society for the prospects of democratic consolidation. Further, the examination of democratic breakdown has also turned to the decline of civil society as an explanation for the mass public withdrawing support from democratic regimes. It is therefore important to develop indicators for civil society and to test their role in the democratization process. This paper examines co-operatives as a proxy for civil society in new democracies. A variety of different indicators have been advanced in order to study civil society but none have attempted to examine the formation of and participation in co-operatives. These organizations fulfill the requirements of civil society (as defined by Schmitter, for example) because they are self-organized groups, they deliberate and take collective action in defense of their interests and they act within the rules of society. The very nature of the democratic decision-making that guides the functioning of co-operatives makes them an ideal indicator of democratic civil society. Beyond this theoretical argument, the paper tests the basic proposition that transitional democracies with lower rates of formation of co-operatives and participation in co-operatives are more likely to experience democratic breakdown than similar countries with higher rates. This analysis fits into a larger research agenda examining the differences between the consolidation and breakdown processes.

Field, Ann-M. (afiedl@chat.carleton.ca) - Rethinking the Law-Enforcement Approach for Addressing Hate Crimes in Canada - A Grassroots Perspective - Over the last decade, hate crimes has become an important policy issue for the federal government. The willingness of our government to address the problem of hate crimes is a positive move. However, policy-makers see their choices informed by a literature that advances a law enforcement approach at the expense of alternative approaches to solving the problem of hate crimes. There is an obvious convergence in the literature that discusses the issue of responding to hate crimes. Whether in government reports, in the literature produced by anti-racist and human rights organizations, community groups, or academics in various disciplines (criminology, sociology, law, or public policy), most seem to advance the claim that hate crime legislation is a progressive response to the problem at hand. This research will serve to unravel the discourse around responses to hate crimes, specifically focusing on anti-lgbt violence as a case study. It will question whether the law enforcement response to hate crimes advocated in the literature and put in practice by the federal government is an effective one. It will also assess whether this approach is advanced at the expense of more effective ways of responding to hate crimes. It is my contention that the exclusion of certain voices, especially at grassroots level, from the discourse on hate crimes has prevented us to consider alternatives to the law enforcement approach for solving this social problem. After a brief overview of what is being advanced in the literature on hate crimes and an outline of our governments response to hate crimes, this paper will serve to document a grassroots perspective on responses to hate crimes. It will reflect on a series of interviews done with community workers and gay rights activists in

Montréal and Ottawa. It will outline the needs and interests of the individuals the hate crime policies aim to protect. This research addresses a gap in the literature. Although Canadian scholarship on the issue of hate crimes is still in its beginnings, most of the literature in Canada and elsewhere focuses on law enforcement responses as understood by police services and governments. Not much has been written on the needs of the communities the hate crime policies aim to protect. The information this study will provide will deepen our understanding of hate crimes by outlining the needs of those who are the target of hate crimes. It will also provide information on the role of public policy in creating more inclusive social environments for groups that are marginalized or in correcting situations of inequality. This piece is part of a larger body of work which looks at citizenship practices. The main purpose of looking at hate crimes is to come to an understanding of how to change the boundaries of the citizenship regime (Jenson and Phillips) to be more inclusive.

Field, Ann-M. (afield@chat.carleton.ca) - Rethinking the Law-Enforcement Approach for Addressing Hate Crimes in Canada - A Grassroots Perspective - Over the last decade, hate crimes has become an important policy issue for the federal government. The willingness of our government to address the problem of hate crimes is a positive move. However, policy-makers see their choices informed by a literature that advances a law enforcement approach at the expense of alternative approaches to solving the problem of hate crimes. There is an obvious convergence in the literature that discusses the issue of responding to hate crimes. Whether in government reports, in the literature produced by anti-racist and human rights organizations, community groups, or academics in various disciplines (criminology, sociology, law, or public policy), most seem to advance the claim that hate crime legislation is a progressive response to the problem at hand. This research will serve to unravel the discourse around responses to hate crimes, specifically focusing on anti-lgbt violence as a case study. It will question whether the law enforcement response to hate crimes advocated in the literature and put in practice by the federal government is an effective one. It will also assess whether this approach is advanced at the expense of more effective ways of responding to hate crimes. It is my contention that the exclusion of certain voices, especially at grassroots level, from the discourse on hate crimes has prevented us to consider alternatives to the law enforcement approach for solving this social problem. After a brief overview of what is being advanced in the literature on hate crimes and an outline of our governments response to hate crimes, this paper will serve to document a grassroots perspective on responses to hate crimes. It will reflect on a series of interviews done with community workers and gay rights activists in Montréal and Ottawa. It will outline the needs and interests of the individuals the hate crime policies aim to protect. This research addresses a gap in the literature. Although Canadian scholarship on the issue of hate crimes is still in its beginnings, most of the literature in Canada and elsewhere focuses on law enforcement responses as understood by police services and governments. Not much has been written on the needs of the communities the hate crime policies aim to protect. The information this study will provide will deepen our understanding of hate crimes by outlining the needs of those who are the target of hate crimes. It will also provide information on the role of public policy in creating more inclusive social environments for groups that are marginalized or in correcting situations of inequality. This piece is part of a larger body of work which looks at citizenship practices. The main purpose of looking at hate crimes is to come to an understanding of how to change the boundaries of the citizenship regime (Jenson and Phillips) to be more inclusive.

Finbow, Robert (finbow@is.dal.ca) - The North American Agreement on Labour Cooperation - The North American free trade agreement created new institutions in trade, labour and the environment. This essay will assess the effectiveness of the North American Agreement on Labour Cooperation by examining the operation of the core institutions (Secretariat and National Administrative Offices) over the past eight years. I will examine the main functions of these institutions in hearing public

submissions on violations of labour laws, and in conducting research and cooperative activities. The presentation will be based on interviews in each national labour department and at the Secretariat, interviews with trade union and business actors, and a study of public documents and correspondence of these agencies. The strengths and weaknesses of the accord will be reviewed to assess its contribution to a common labour relations regime in North America and its impact in creating new transnational communities of actors in government and civil society in the three countries. I will also assess whether the institutions live up to the promises of their founders, and whether these can serve as a model for labour relations institutions in an FTAA agreement.

Finbow, Robert G. (finbow@is.dal.ca) - Expenditure Models of Federalism in Canada and the United States - Canada's federal bargain, with its redistributive elements of equalization and federal transfers, has come under stress in recent years. Fiscal crisis and decentralist pressures from Quebec and the West have eroded Ottawa's post-war role as enforcer of national standards and provider of redistribution. In addition, globalization has made the national economy more porous, and undermined previous benefits to have regions (in return of purchases of goods and services) of equalization, unemployment insurance and other income support measures. This threatens the have-not provinces who are faced with the loss of federal largesse, while remaining in a federal and electoral model which limits their influence on national economic policy. The essay will compare federal models in Canada and the US. This analysis will consider proposals for decentralization in fiscal and expenditure policy, via such measures as opting out with compensation from federal programmes, transfers of tax points to the provinces etc. Despite the rhetoric of a "social union", this approach will leave the have-not provinces in a worse position than poorer American states. Canada's central institutions provide these regions with only limited influence on national policy. Hence while they stand to lose important revenues and programmes under this decentralized model, they will not receive a fair share of national expenditures in procurement, research and development, or other growth-inducing ventures by Ottawa. To draw upon the American model without reference to the strong intra-state position of some poorer regions via the Senate is to completely misread the workings of that political economy, ultimately with disastrous consequences for Canada's have-not provinces. This analysis will compare federal expenditures in key areas in Canada and the United States to assess the scope of this problem, and will suggest new ways of conceptualizing the similarities and differences between these systems.

Fischer, Dan and Williams, Robert (rwilliam@watarts.uwaterloo.ca) - Exploring the Concept of "Safe Seats" in the Ontario Party System (1975 - 1995) - The term "safe seat" has been used often in Canada and elsewhere by academics and journalists alike. It is meant, primarily, to refer to a constituency that has been - and will continue to be - securely held by a particular political party. However, the conventional use of the term has been characterized by inconsistent definitions and irregular applications. Some scholars consider a "safe seat" to be one in which the same party has won a designated number of consecutive elections. Others invoke the margin of victory (in a single election or a series of elections) as the indicator of a "safe seat". Still others use a combination of the two properties. In most cases, however, seats are labeled "safe" (or, its opposite) without a clear explanation of how the determination is actually made. To develop a better understanding of the two measures of "safe seats", this paper analyzes constituency-level aggregate electoral results in Ontario provincial elections over two periods, 1975 - 1985 (when there were 125 provincial constituencies) and 1987 - 1995 (when there were 130 constituencies). The former period is widely regarded as being politically stable and the latter is considered to be marked by political instability. By looking at the occurrence of "safe seats" before and after this crucial point, the study will not only add depth to our understanding of party competition in Ontario, but will also help render the meaning of a "safe seat" less ambiguous.

Fletcher, Joseph F. (josephf@chass.utoronto.ca) - The Irony of Bills of Rights - What citizens,

politicians and lawyers think about civil liberties and legal rights turns out to have little or nothing to do with how they feel about bills of rights. Surveys in Canada, Australia and Britain show that more important by far is what they think about matters of social and political equality. And, at least among the public (and lawyers in Canada), those who place a high value upon tradition and authority exhibit an intriguing ambivalence toward bills of rights in being simultaneously attracted to their symbolic aspects while being repelled by the basic values that they embody. These findings are discussed with an eye to the likely resilience of support for basic rights and freedoms in the face of contemporary challenges.

Forbes, H. Donald (dforbes@chass.utoronto.ca) - Will Kymlicka's Liberal Multicultural Nationalism - The purpose of this paper will be to review the three main elements of Will Kymlicka's widely discussed and very influential "liberal theory of minority rights" (his classification of ethnocultural groups, his classification of group-specific rights, and his distinction between internal restrictions and external protections) in order to determine whether, as claimed, they constitute a liberal theory of multiculturalism. The paper will argue, first, that Kymlicka's suggestions for managing ethnocultural diversity deviate significantly from conventional liberal ideas about individual equality and state neutrality. His early publications were an attempt to overcome this difficulty, but more recently he has seemed to accept the futility of trying to reconcile liberalism and multiculturalism theoretically. By placing his theory in its Canadian context, I shall then try to show that it deviates from the distinctive conceptions of group equality and cultural recognition that distinguish multiculturalism from other ways of dealing with ethnic diversity. Finally, I shall suggest that the theory can be best understood as a form of Canadian nationalism. Canada can be presented as a model for other countries, not because it is, strictly speaking, either liberal or multicultural, but because its management of ethnic conflict seems to have worked well in practice. I am currently working on a larger study of multiculturalism in Canada, and the presentation and discussion of this paper, if it is accepted, would advance this effort.

Fournier, Patrick, Martin, Pierre and Nadeau, Richard (Patrick.Fournier@umontreal.ca) - Who Can Be Talked Out of What Political Positions and How?: Political Persuasion and Big Choices - Studies of voting and public opinion formation are increasingly attentive to the notion of persuasion (Mutz, Sniderman & Brody, Political Persuasion and Attitude Change, 1996). The focus of research on this topic is understanding the factors that can lead voters to change their minds about opinions on policy issues, evaluations of candidates and parties, and their vote choices. Yet, "there is precious little evidence specifying who can be talked out of what beliefs, and under what conditions" (Mutz, Sniderman & Brody, 1996: 8). We seek to fill some of this gap by examining persuasion within the context of fundamental and highly salient issues. Big choices contrast with typical political issues which are generally of little concern for an uninterested, inattentive, and unsophisticated public. Specifically, our study deals with fundamental issues in recent Canadian history: Quebec separation from the rest of Canada, the Free Trade Agreement between Canada and the United States, and the Charlottetown Accord on constitutional reform. Our analysis will rely on a series of survey simulations, replicated across several surveys, where respondents were asked whether they would still support/oppose major political change under various hypotheses about the potential consequences of the debated options. These simulations show that a substantial proportion of the electorate can be moved by the manipulation of a relatively small amount of new information that comes into conflict with their own beliefs. Our study seeks to identify who can be persuaded to change their minds, and which arguments have power over them.

Franke, Mark F.N. (frankem@unbc.ca) - The Colonial Structure of International Human Rights Law: Implications of Taking Seriously the Challenge of Indigenous Peoples' Rights in a Global Context - Examining the central institutional, legal, and intellectual structures on which the modern regime of international human rights law is conceived, I argue in this paper that this aspect of international law is

at base colonial in character. Rather than providing the legitimate bases on which the recognised fundamental human freedoms may be variously expressed and enjoyed by persons and communities around the world, the human rights project pursued through the United Nations and its conventions provide the legal justification to subordinate all persons and their communities across the globe to a highly limited notion of liberty within political structures archetypal of classic colonial regimes. I develop this argument most specifically in reference to the ongoing movement supported by the United Nations to create a central convention on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. Investigating the principles and politics underlying the draft version of this convention and the working groups that have produced it, I show how this genuine desire and effort to address the colonial abuses committed by Europeans against indigenous peoples around the globe has the inescapable and paradoxical effect of completing the former imperial projects. Overall, this paper fits within my larger project of critically evaluating the conditions for moral and ethical practice in international affairs and institutions. The scholarly significance of my analysis is expressed in two broad manners: First, it provides rich and much-needed critical leverage toward the rethinking of the contestable categories on which modern human rights discourse is now constructed. Second, it establishes with considerable force the full impact that claims made by indigenous peoples for international respect and liberty may have.

Fridell, Gavin (gfridell@yorku.ca) - What's Faire About Fair Trade: A Framework for Analysis - Over the past two decades, globalization and its related neoliberal policies of trade liberalization and state downsizing have been accompanied by increases in unemployment, poverty, and inequality in most Third World countries (Berry 1998). Among the responses to these alarming trends have been efforts to develop "fair trade" industries which produce and market goods under principles of democratic organization, no child labor, environmental sustainability, social premiums to improve community living standards, and a minimum-price guarantee to producers. Developing a theoretically informed framework for analyzing and assessing fair trade production is the purpose of my paper entitled "What's Fair about 'Fair Trade'?: A Framework for Analysis." While the fair trade industry has made some notable inroads into European and North American markets over the past thirty years, it has attracted very little academic attention. The few general works available on the topic have been primarily descriptive, lacking scholarly depth (Ransom 2001; Blowfield 1999; Barratt Brown 1993). In particular, the political implications of fair trade, which purports to be an alternative form of production and trade, have not been examined in any extensive or theoretically grounded manner. My paper, which stems from my dissertation research on fair trade coffee production in Oaxaca, Mexico, will outline the existing attempts to assess the fair trade industry, provide a critique of these attempts, and then propose a new framework for assessing fair trade drawn from the works of a broad range of political theorists (McNally 1993; Burbach 1998) and theoretically grounded case studies (Bebbington 1999; North and Cameron 2000).

Froese, Katrin (froese@ucalgary.ca) - Metaphysics and the Dao - The idea of metaphysics has recently come under assault, prompting some philosophers to sound its death knell. The burgeoning distrust of metanarratives has made many thinkers resistant to the idea of a "whole" for fear of repressing difference and dissonance. Metaphysics is often conflated with the notion of a single-ordered cosmos. In marked contrast, Chinese philosophy, particularly Daoist thought, posits the notion of a whole to which all beings belong, but denies that this whole can ever be known because it is continuously in process. While thinkers such as Laozi and Zhuangzi are very open about the limitations of knowledge, there is no trace of the kind of existential despair that has plagued much of Western philosophy since Nietzsche. Because there were no absolutes to begin with, Chinese philosophers did not have to withstand the assault of a Nietzschean sledgehammer. In this paper, I intend to compare the Western philosophers Heidegger and Nietzsche with Laozi and Zhuangzi in order to examine metaphysical alternatives to a

single-ordered cosmos. I will argue that like many Daoist thinkers, Heidegger and Nietzsche posit the notion of a kind of whole that imbues our existence with meaning, but insist that it emerges out of the interconnection between things, rather than unfolding according to a single pattern. Yet, at the same time, the Western self's desire to grasp the whole is still very much in evidence in Heidegger's and Nietzsche's notions of self-overcoming. Conversely, Laozi and Zhuangi offer a very different understanding of self-overcoming that accepts particularity without being riveted to it.

Fudge, Judy (jfudge@yorku.ca) - Rural Route Mail Carriers – To come/à venir

Gabler, Melissa (gablermj@mcmaster.ca) - The WTO, the European Union, and Trade and Environmental Policy Integration: The Case of Biodiversity - The 1992 Earth Summit and its Agenda 21 placed a general duty upon subnational, national, and supranational organizations to improve or restructure the policy process so that consideration of environmental issues becomes fully integrated across relevant sectors, with a view to promoting sustainable development (Chapter 8). This paper will explore the development and possible integration of environmental and trade policy in the field of biodiversity in two systems of supranational governance, the World Trade Organization (WTO) and the European Union (EU). The investigation will determine the nature and extent of integration reflected in the legal and policy processes and outcomes of the EU and WTO from 1992 to the present, and whether such change varies across the arenas. Degrees of policy integration over time are hypothesized to depend upon levels of ideational compatibility and institutional capacity. This study of the EU's and WTO's evolving treatment of the trade and environment interface is theoretically significant for ideational and social constructivist scholars interested in policy change. The inquiry will examine what happens when different complexes of ideas, such as trade liberalization and environmental protection, interact. It will further explain the conditions - intrinsic to ideas and institutional contexts - under which normative-institutional change is possible and influential in shaping policy results. In contrast to theories that presume outcomes simply mirror the material or power-based interests of states, this approach will explicitly test such assumptions by probing for the social basis of change in identities, interests, and policy outcomes. Qualitative analysis of core supranational policy documents/agreements, legal decisions, national position papers, and elite interview transcripts will be the research method used in the comparative analysis.

Gamble, Brenda, Deber, Raisa B. and Williams, A Paul (Brenda.gamble@utoronto.ca) - The Boundaries of Medicare - A survey is being distributed to elite decision makers among physicians, health services administrators (including hospitals and home care providers), business leaders, pharmacists, and nurses to ascertain their views about what should be 'in' and 'out' of Medicare. The results will be linked to a conceptual framework based on different views of equity and different concepts of social solidarity.

Ganik, Sue (s.d.granik@lse.ac.uk) - It's My Party: Organizational Attachment in a Bilingual Political Party Setting - This proposal concerns recent doctoral research which, to the author's knowledge, is the first study designed to test the organizational attachment of members in a bicultural political party. The research explored a central hypothesis: "attitudinal attachment to a political party between members of different linguistic groups is the same because of a common belief in party ideology". The host organization was a political party in Wales, a constituent part of the UK. Approximately two thirds of party members use Welsh as their language of choice, the remainder use English. Respondents to an unsolicited questionnaire, mailed to a random sample, were asked to complete a version of the Organisational Commitment Scale (Meyer et al 1993) designed for use specifically within a political party environment. RESULTS Preliminary results suggested that on all scale items measuring affective commitment there were substantial and statistically significant differences between English and Welsh speakers. MANOVA based analysis was used to explore the relationships between affective

commitment, language and two other variables hypothesized to be antecedents of affective commitment: person characteristics and work experiences. Language retained its significance when the two ideological variables were controlled for and only lost significance with affective commitment when organisational tenure was controlled for. Length of membership, not ideological belief, reduces the differences in attitudinal attachment between linguistic groups. DISCUSSION More research is needed into how linguistic diversity impacts on the individual experience of political party membership, and how political parties can enhance productively the experience of membership for all. Meyer JP, Allen N.J., Smith C.A. (1993) 'Commitment to organizations and occupations: Extension and test of a three-component conceptualization', *Journal of Applied Psychology* 74, pp 152-156.

Garneau, Édith (garneau@hotmail.com) - La citoyenneté différenciée des femmes autochtones - Les rapports entre gouvernance autochtone et conscience de genre se traduisent la plupart du temps par l'exclusion des femmes d'un projet civique. Établir ces rapports sur le mode de l'intégration et non plus de l'exclusion exigerait la prise en compte des rapports genrés non seulement en fonction d'ajouts, mais aussi en fonction d'une reformulation de la citoyenneté autochtone. L'autonomie gouvernementale des Premières nations et les valeurs libérales démocratiques semblent à première vue contradictoires en ce qui concerne le concept d'égalité entre les sexes dans l'appartenance à une communauté autochtone. Des femmes autochtones sont assujetties à des tensions identitaires entre une gouvernance autochtone qui les exclut en tant que femmes, et la sauvegarde de leur intégrité, comme femmes, dans une société globale qui reconnaît peu leur identité autochtone. Nous tentons de cerner et d'analyser ces catégories identitaires chez des femmes autochtones en tant que sujets femmes et sujets politiques d'une citoyenneté autochtone différenciée au Québec. Nous utilisons les témoignages de femmes des Premières Nations, lors des audiences publiques de la Commission royale sur les peuples autochtones (1996). C'est par l'entremise de théories féministes des groupes différenciés que nous abordons notre question. Nous définissons les concepts d'exclusion des sphères privée et publique, les identités de genre et nationale qui sont tous reliés par les répercussions des actions des gouvernements néo-colonialistes canadien et québécois. On s'aperçoit que les chevauchements identitaires, subtilement, sont interreliés et s'influencent mutuellement.

Gattinger, Monica (monica_gattinger@hotmail.com) - Trading Interests: Trade Policy Consultations with the Cultural Industries Sector - This paper examines the impact of globalization on private sector participation in domestic policy consultations. The research investigates the effect of two crucial features of globalization on participation: (1) international opportunities (both public and private) for business to pursue policy preferences, and (2) threats or opportunities in the global business environment. Using a qualitative longitudinal case study (1986-2000) of the Canadian federal government's Cultural Industries Sectoral Advisory Group on International Trade, the paper examines two hypotheses: (1) that engagement in consultations will decline where domestic actors believe they can more effectively pursue their policy objectives in public and private international arenas, and (2) that participation in consultations will become more competitive (cooperative) where shared global opportunities or threats uncouple (unify) private sector interests. Existing scholarship on globalization's consequences for Canadian public policy suffers from conflicting theoretical propositions and a paucity of empirical analyses (Skogstad, 2000). This paper seeks to strengthen theoretical and empirical scholarship in the field by deciphering globalization's impact on participant engagement in domestic consultations. The study is based on the author's doctoral dissertation (SSHRC Doctoral Fellowship Award No. 752-2000-2226, Thesis committee: Professors Leslie Pal (supervisor), Bruce Doern and Maureen Molot, Carleton University). The author's broader research interests encompass three main governance themes (globalization, business-government-society relations, and consultation) and three main policy fields (cultural policy, energy policy and regulation, and youth policy). Skogstad, G., 2000.

“Globalization and Public Policy: Situating Canadian Analyses”. Canadian Journal of Political Science 33 (4), 805-828.

Gecelovsky, Paul (pgecelov@uwo.ca) - 'Una Gran Familia': Canada and the Free Trade of the Americas Agreement - Leading up to the third Summit of the Americas meeting in Quebec City, Jean Chretien made numerous references to the Americas as being 'Una Gran Familia'. This paper will explore the Free Trade Agreement of the Americas (FTAA) agreed to in Quebec City in light of Canada's foreign economic policy. It will be demonstrated that for Canada the affect of the FTAA will be more symbolic than substantive. That many of the substantive trade provisions within the FTAA are already in place in the NAFTA and WTO. This is not to argue that the FTAA is unimportant but rather that its importance lies in the broader sense of an attempt to construct a family of the Americas.

Gibbon, Angus (angus.gibbon@utoronto.ca) - Impartiality in Constitutional Adjudication - Political study of the courts in the Charter era have systematically discounted the possibility of impartiality in decision-making. That is, existing theories of judicial decision-making under the Charter pay little attention to the normative obligation to decide cases impartially. This may have to do with the fact that one common conception of impartiality, that of applying rules without passion or prejudice, seems to have little relevance to legal judgment under the broadly-worded prescriptions in the Charter's text. The idea that in their application of the Charter the courts are enforcing legal rules has come under serious and sustained attack. Building on constitutional and legal theory, the paper offers a conception of impartiality which may nonetheless explain aspects of judicial policy-making in the enforcement of constitutional rights law. It argues that the concepts of rules, discretion and impartiality have been inadequately theorized in political study of the courts, and that a more serious engagement with legal theory would result in a more persuasive political science. Certainly, discounting the law and impartiality as explanatory variables may be a valid approach, but until they have been adequately conceptualized and tested against the evidence of judicial decisions, such an approach will fail to persuade. It will not fully have explained away the authority of law and legal norms - such as impartiality - in constitutional adjudication, and will to this extent be restricted from making imperialistic claims about what explains the results in particular cases. The paper builds on the author's study of law, legal theory, and constitutional adjudication.

Goldstein, Joshua D. (jgoldste@chass.utoronto.ca) - Hegel's Experience of the Good: from Duty to Habit in the Philosophy of Right - My paper explores an important theme in the study of Hegel's social philosophy: the nature of the subjective experience of the Good in the fully ethical community. My paper argues that Hegel initially takes an Ancient rather than Kantian approach to the experience of the Good by defining it in terms of 'properly ethical habit', but then transforms Ancient habit into something compatible with ordinary life. I carry out this argument through a detailed textual analysis of Hegel's central work of political theory, the Philosophy of Right of 1821. I begin with a brief examination of Hegel's account of freedom as the nature of the Good before shifting to an analysis of Hegel's description of three forms of the experience of the Good: duty, virtue and rectitude, and custom and habit. I show that these three constitute a logical movement towards successively more complete forms of freedom. I then show that the content of this 'ethical habit' cannot be understood as either philosophy or statesmanship. Instead, habit receives its content from the concrete demands of those 'practical identities' associated with free selfhood. These identities are rooted in the family, corporation, and civil service; the habit consists of 'love', 'honour', or 'service'. My paper provides a counter-weight to recent interpretations of Hegel's social philosophy that try to locate the preeminent political virtue in an abstract patriotism or philosophy. This proposal is based on a chapter from my recently completed doctoral dissertation at the University of Toronto which I am in the process of revising for submission for publication.

Goshulak, Glenn (ggosh@yorku.ca) - Theories of Nationalism: The Soviet Case - The paper addresses the applicability of global theories of nationalism to the Soviet case. Ernest Gellner and Eric Hobsbawm assume that the Soviet state was able to successfully 'freeze' nationalisms within its borders in a nineteenth century state. Therefore, the nationalisms that emerge in the variety of post-Soviet states are primarily reincarnations of these earlier forms. The actual Soviet experience, however, suggests something much different. In many cases it fits with Gellner's 'high culture' modernization model in which the state, through mobility, education, and the creation of a lingua franca is able to promote a supranational identity. However, the Soviet state project also challenges the modernist model. It reveals how the promotion of a 'high culture' is not neutral, but in practice means promotion of a Russian-based hegemonic identity, but also reveals the resiliency of non-Russian nationalisms despite state suppression. The Soviet experience, therefore, challenges the applicability of western-based universal models of nationalism. The paper involves a critical analysis of existing theory, and applies it to empirical evidence of the Soviet case. As the existing theories are considered inadequate, I suggest an alternate approach to nationalism in the Soviet context. Based on Joel Migdal's state-in-society model, I propose studying nationalism as being embedded within the struggles and accommodations between and within the state and society. My Ph.D. dissertation focused on the Ukrainian case, but further research goals include a comparative study of Ukraine, Moldova, and Belarus.

Graefe, Peter (peter.graefe@umontreal.ca) - Quebec's Employer Associations: From Neoliberalism to Neoliberalism fleur-de-lise – To come/à venir

Greene, Ian (igreene@uorku.ca) - The Impact of Social Science Evidence on Supreme Court of Canada Decisions - The paper argues that since 1976, social science evidence has had an increasingly important effect on the outcome the Supreme Court of Canada decisions, as well as the decisions of the courts below. The paper compares the social science evidence presented in factums, affidavits and reports in ten leading cases between 1976 to 2000, and shows how the impact of social science evidence has increased in importance over time. The paper considers several explanations for the increased relevance of social science evidence: the new sophistication of counsel in using social science evidence, the increasing skill of expert witnesses from the social sciences in presenting evidence, and the somewhat expanded ability of judges and their clerks to interpret this evidence. The paper concludes with an assessment of how the use of social evidence in litigation has impacted both the judicial decision-making process, and social science research. Although there are comprehensive studies of the use of social science evidence in American courts, to the best of my knowledge there has been no comprehensive analysis of the use of social science evidence in Canadian courts. Relevant articles in Canadian academic journals have merely touched on certain aspects of the use of social science evidence in the Canadian judicial context. This paper is an initial attempt to address this deficiency in the literature. The paper is consistent with my research during the past fifteen years into judicial behaviour and the impact of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

Greene, Jonathan (6jsg@qsilver.queensu.ca) - Politics, Poverty, and Protest: Bridging the Class Divide - In the face of the broadening popularity of identity politics, decline of labour militancy, and expanding influence of new social movements, a prominent theme among students of class political action has been the decline of class politics. What if we shift our focus away from the labour movement, reinterpret the place of new social movements, and undertake qualitative research on poor and homeless people's organising? Does this paint a new picture of the state of working-class politics? This paper is part of a broader project on poor and homeless people's mobilisations in Toronto, Canada and London, England. This, one part of the project, queries into the present state of research on poor people's organising and seeks to offer explanations for why so little has been written in this area. There are two communities of scholars we might expect to study poor and homeless people's organising -- students

interested in class politics and students of social movements. Both have failed to do so. Why? On the one hand, class-oriented scholars have been working with a narrow understanding of the working-class, one that excludes poor people by definition. On the other hand, young students of social movements, captivated by the politics of the new social movements, have turned their attention to the study of these movements. Together, these trends have pushed the politics of poor people outside of academic discourse and left a gap in our knowledge of class-based forms of politics.

Gunster, Shane (sgunster@yorku.ca) - Depoliticizing Politics: Theorizing Utopia in a Post-Utopian Age - Politics has long relied upon the idea of utopia – the dream that things could be different – to energize the critique of contemporary society and to fuel speculation about alternative forms of social organization. It is often said, however, that in postmodernity there is no longer any place for the epic utopian narratives that once fuelled the architectonic ‘meta-dreams’ of modernity. Instead, the cynical indifference and suspicion that now governs our attitude towards utopia(s) requires that politics relinquish grandiose dreams of self-transformation in favour of more ‘realistic’ projects. In this paper, I wish to explore this shift in greater detail. In particular, I want to concentrate upon the political effects that accompany the commercialization of utopian images and themes. While utopian narratives may have less political currency than ever before, utopian images have never been more ubiquitous due to the growing penetration of advertising, promotion and marketing into all facets of social life. Drawing upon work in critical theory and cultural studies, the paper traces the origins of this (seeming) paradox to the commodity form itself and its complex role within everyday life. This piece fits into a larger project on the political effects of advertising I am completing as part of a Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council Post-Doctoral Fellowship. It also takes up themes from my doctoral work in which I conducted a comparative theoretical inquiry into the effects of commodification upon cultural practices.

Gupta, Madhvi (madhvi_gupta@excite.com) - Cities and Citizenship: Public Health and Collective Action in Sao Paulo and New Delhi - The so-called "dual cities"—with wide social and economic disparities between the rich and the poor—like São Paulo and New Delhi, pose an increasingly complex set of challenges in realizing the core goals of representative democracy. In such cities, aside from poverty and high income inequalities, social deficits in areas such as education, transport, and health services, while on the one hand, indicate high levels of democratic deficits for less-advantaged citizens, on the other, they arguably create incentives for collective action to (re)claim social citizenship. Based on recent field research in Sao Paulo and New Delhi, this paper addresses the following questions: 1) What are the mechanisms that have allowed the consolidation of citizenship deficits with respect to health services in the cities of Sao Paulo and New Delhi ? 2) How have such deficits been negotiated by affected citizens? In doing so, the paper also engages with current debates on democratic deepening, the nature of democratic rule, and issues of citizenship, with reference to ‘new’ (Brazil) and ‘old’ democracies.

Gutterman, Ellen (ellen.gutterman@utoronto.ca) - Corruption and Compliance: Explaining Non-compliance with the OECD Anti-corruption Regime - In the four years since the 29 member states of the OECD unanimously agreed to and signed the 1997 OECD Convention on Combating Bribery of Foreign Public Officials in International Business Transactions, 27 states enacted domestic legislation to comply with the Convention rules. For Germany, France, and others this meant a reversal of long-standing national policies supporting foreign bribery. Yet in its initial phase of follow-up monitoring to evaluate each country’s implementing legislation, the Convention’s peer-review working group found that while Germany and the U.S ‘satisfactorily’ comply with the Convention, France only ‘sufficiently’ complies and the United Kingdom has not complied. Why did some states comply and others not? The first part of this paper examines the features of the OECD Convention, showing (a) how its monitoring

provisions exemplify the 'managerial' model of international treaty compliance suggested in the literature on compliance and cooperation in international relations; and (b) how it functions, as a hard legal instrument, to resolve of a prisoner's dilemma in international trade and investment practices. The second part of the paper compares levels of compliance in Germany, France, U.K., and the U.S. Using primary research drawn from official documents and interviews with key public officials, civil society leaders and business leaders in the four countries, the paper explains variations in compliance with reference to normative and material variables at the domestic level and formulates implications for both norm-driven and interest-driven theories of international cooperation. The analysis is drawn from my doctoral dissertation, currently in progress.

Haddow, Rodney and Klassen, Thomas (rhaddow@stfx.ca) - Labour Market Policy in Ontario: The Effect of Partisanship and Institutions - The NDP government elected in Ontario in 1990, and the Progressive Conservative administration that succeeded it in 1995, started their respective mandates with sharply contrasting legislative programs. This was especially true in the labour market field - including labour relations, training, occupational health and safety, and workers' compensation. This paper -- based on SSHRCC-financed research conducted by the co-authors last summer -- would document the extent of these differences, and examine the extent to which, in the event, the two governments implemented distinctive policy agendas in the labour market field. Because the literature on comparative public policy tells us that different labour market regimes have quite distinctive equity and efficiency implications, this study represents an important test of the ongoing debate about the continuing relevance of partisan differences in public policy-making. The paper would also examine the mediating effect of institutions on the capacity of each governing party to achieve its preferred policy design. It would argue that in the case of Ontario labour market policy, institutional factors were the most important intermediating variables conditioning the impact of partisan preferences on policy outcomes. Moreover, their impact was not uniform. Better suited to their institutional setting than those of their NDP predecessors, Tory policy makers faced fewer obstacles in translating commitments into policy outputs. Pursuing any particular style of labour market policy is not a straightforward matter. Institutions play an important role in mediating the impact of the policy preferences of governing parties on policy outcomes. In particular, the paper would argue that three factors - the degree of organization among economic interests, the historical pattern of conflict or cooperation between them, and the state's capacity to mediate this relationship and to undertake strategic policy-making - condition the broad design of labour market policy regimes in developed capitalist democracies, and circumscribe the alternatives available to newly elected politicians once such a regime has crystallized. In Ontario, limited mobilization among economic interests, a history of business-labour conflict, and a modestly endowed provincial state impeded the implementation of NDP policy from the outset, and expedited the success of Harris's alternatives. The paper assesses the implications of these findings for an understanding of the importance of partisanship and of institutional setting in shaping policy outcomes.

Hamilton, Paul (phamilto@spartan.ac.brocku.ca) - Negotiating Sovereignty: The Scottish National Party and the Euro - European integration, and the responses of regional/nationalist parties to this process require a rethinking of the phenomenon of nationalism in the developed world. Traditional/conventional assumptions about sovereignty and identity need to be reconsidered in the wake of fundamental transformations to the practice of sovereignty and self-determination. The Scottish National Party has long advocated secession from the UK but has, since the early 1980s, advocated a sovereignty nested within the structures of the European Union. This curious 'internationalist nationalism' is most unusual in its advocacy of surrendered sovereignty, most evident in the SNP's enthusiasm for the European single currency. The evolution of the SNP's position on Europe in general and the single currency in particular, serves to place the basic arguments of the contemporary nature of

sovereignty in stark relief. The paper examines the party's struggle over the EU and explains why the party has made the choices it has. The paper seeks to build on a literature dealing with 'new nationalism' in the developed world and the apparent contradictions of nationalism and globalization. The paper includes an historical analysis and an analysis of the contemporary debate over the single currency in Scotland. The central question posed is whether or not nationalism has any substantive content when it advocates the surrender of hitherto sacrosanct sovereignty.

Hamlin, Cynthia Lins (Hamlin@uol.com.br) - Social Science as Explanatory Critique: The Realist Alternative - The current crisis of the social sciences hinges on the problem of whether their content can be reduced to their linguistic and/or cultural context and, ultimately, of their usefulness for society at large. Constructivists and realists, the contenders in this new debate, offer different and largely opposed responses to these problems. Constructivists often cannot avoid reducing social reality to a variety of incommensurable discourses, of which the social sciences are only one, and not particularly justifiable. Relativism and scepticism inevitable follow. Critical realists, in their turn, deeply commit to scientific realism, distinguishing between the transitive (epistemological) and the intransitive (ontological) dimensions of knowledge, thus avoiding the epistemic fallacy according to which reality can be reduced to our knowledge about it. This distinction also provides the basis for the development of themes which are central to all social thought: the relation between philosophy and the social sciences, the notion of cause, the problem of naturalism, the relation between models, concepts and reality, the agency-structure problem, and so on. In positing the non-conflationary character of the transitive and intransitive dimensions, realists are able to side-step both the conventionalism of positivist approaches, and the scepticism of constructivism. This, in its turn, allows for the coherent development of a type of knowledge which can be part of the process of social change, justifying the need and the importance of the social sciences.

Hankivsky, Olena (olena@interchange.ubc.ca) - Lessons for Canada: South Africa's Reparation and Rehabilitation Policies - In recent years, there has been a proliferation of campaigns for reparations for the wrongdoings experienced at various institutional settings, including Native residential schools in Canada. Compensation and redress packages are being introduced with increasing frequency in an attempt to find fair and satisfactory ways of 'healing' and 'restoring' people. Modes of compensation have been, and continue to be, developed without an understanding of their therapeutic effectiveness. Finding an appropriate and effective response to past institutional abuse is therefore an urgent social policy concern. To inform the development of responses to residential school survivors in Canada, this paper will review and analyze South Africa's approach to addressing the injustice of Apartheid. Included in the analysis will be an overview of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and the reparations that were provided by the government in the form of individual compensation and community rehabilitation. The paper argues that South Africa's experiences in attempting to achieve 'reconciliation' in a country emerging from racial inequities and oppression can be drawn upon to improve the responses to Aboriginal residential school survivors in the Canadian context.

Hankivsky, Olena (olena@interchange.ubc.ca) - Liberal Assessments of the Ethic of Care – Over the last twenty years, an ethic of care has impacted significantly on the study of ethics and political philosophy. The care ethic is most commonly associated with Carol Gilligan and her work *In a Different Voice: Psychological Theory and Women's Development*. Gilligan's findings have been at the basis of the development of care as an ethic which in turn, many theorists have relied upon to reveal what they interpret as the shortcomings of an ethic of justice. In response, a number of liberal theorists have attempted to challenge the theoretical distinction between justice and care. In particular, Susan Moller Okin and Will Kymlicka have investigated how an ethic of justice can accommodate the values and priorities of an ethic of care. They assume that with a creative shift in focus, the existing framework

of the ethic of justice can be interpreted in a manner that satisfies the most essential demands of an ethic of care. This paper examines the responses of Okin and Kymlicka to the care ethic. Their work is important because they provide certain insights for better understanding the relationship between the ethic of justice and the ethic of care. At the same time, however, they do not comprehend fully the distinction between the two perspectives of care and justice. This paper challenges the claims made by Okin and Kymlicka and in particular their oversimplification of the unique features of an ethic of care when discussing the ability of an ethic of justice to accommodate care's values and priorities. The paper concludes that as a result of their narrow understanding of care, Okin and Kymlicka do not grasp the substantive changes that would occur in the realm of the public if we took care seriously.

Harasymiw, Bohdan (bharasym@ucalgary.ca) - Russia's "Oligarchs" and the Transition to Democracy - In its transition to democracy, Russia has encountered a curious conglomeration of political and economic power, personified in the wealthy businessmen-cum-politicians known as the "oligarchs." This concentration of power is antithetical to the pluralism and autonomy of elites found in properly-functioning democracies. Insofar as these "oligarchs" were cultivated by and flourished under Boris Yeltsin, Russia's first president, in exchange for their support for him and his government, the question arises as to whether they are now a permanent feature of Russian politics and thus an inhibiting factor in the country's consolidation of democracy. Their inhibiting effect comes from their being able to restrict competition as well as access to decision-making by means of their control of the mass media, political parties, and financial capital. President Vladimir Putin has emphasized his commitment to democracy by ostentatiously trimming the wings of at least some of the "oligarchs." But this is not the end of the story. The proposed paper examines the various "oligarchs" and others connected to them (be they politicians, successful or shady businessmen, or even organized crime figures) using network analysis to see if there have been substantial changes in their status from Yeltsin to Putin. If the concentration of power is being broken up, then this will be positive for democracy and its consolidation. Otherwise, Russia may be on the path to a pseudo-democracy in which participation is dominated by elites and the public voices its occasional plebiscitary approval of their decisions. The paper is linked to the author's wider research interests, namely: the nexus between politics, business, and organized crime in Russia; whether Russia is a "criminal state" and if this is a terminal condition; and the transition to democracy in both Russia and Ukraine.

Harris, Stephen L. (stephenharris1@compuserve.com) - Political Economy of Finance Canadian Public Policy Capacity Building in Developing Countries Democracy and Development - The purpose of this paper is to explore a number of influences on policies surrounding the regulation of financial services in the industrial democracies. The lens through which I probe this liberalization process focuses on the similarities in the patterns of action of both private sector and state actors across both time and space. This perspective helps one draw-out the iterative nature of this liberalization process – one of change and adaptation. As well, it highlights the competitive feature of the conduct of policy actors and the consequent policy supply. Generally, this project asks the question – who makes the rules for the financial services industry in both domestic and international markets. It is concluded that it is the industry itself that makes the rules and the state, with a lag, legitimizes the rules. There are three related explanations for this policy experience, reflecting both the globalization and public choice paradigms: n The state's capacity for autonomous action has been impaired because of the globalization phenomenon; n The existence of information asymmetry between the state and the financial services industry puts the industry in a hegemonic position and the state consequently becomes captured; and n States respond in this way because it is in the personal interest of the elected and appointed policymakers.

Harris, Stephen L. (stephenharris1@compuserve.com) - Reform of the Financial Services Industry in Canada - The purpose of this paper is to examine the Canadian Government's recent efforts to reform

the financial services industry. Financial industry structures have changed to reflect both global developments and the numerous activities that have become important elements of commercial banking such as merchant- and/or investment banking, portfolio and/or wealth management, life insurance, and vehicle and equipment leasing. In most countries this blurring of financial activity – or broadening of the business of banking -- has helped foster dynamism in the industry. Unfortunately, globalization has been a thorny problem for the Canadian financial services policymakers. In the supply of financial sector policy Canadian policymakers respond to self-serving political arguments (i.e., political rent seeking) rather than being inspired by potential social welfare enhancing measures. Thus, much of what has transpired in recent years, as the federal authorities dabbled with proposed changes, has been driven not by economic considerations, not by considerations of policies that would be in the public interest, but particularistic interests. In classic public choice fashion the costs of benefits to the few are being borne by the citizenry at large. Canadian policy-makers continue to pursue the remnants of the policies of economic nationalism of the 1960s. It will be shown that the most recent legislation, Bill C-8, is little more than an acknowledgement by the federal government that the “status quo” in respect of the banks’ powers is fine, while for insurance companies, their power to encroach on the territory of the banks without “compensation” rings familiar to what government policy did to the trust and loan company industry not too many years earlier. The analysis will show that financial sector policy in Canada is not informed by developments in the global financial services industry or by a policy environment that is constantly changing. The paper will explain the political imperatives for the outturn that has been observed.

Hartley, Sarah (shartley@chass.utoronto.ca) - The Influence of Ideas on Policy-Making for GMOs in Britain - Developments in agricultural biotechnology in the 1980s produced technological innovations in the form of genetically modified organisms (GMOs). Governments were forced to respond to the potential risks of releasing these innovations into the environment. In Britain, policy-makers, backed by industry and non-governmental organisations, opted for a legislative and regulatory structure that adopted the idea that GMOs posed an environmental risk. In the following years, this idea became institutionalised in British society to a greater degree than in government institutions, resulting in state/society tensions surrounding the testing and commercialisation of GMOs. Building on Campbell’s (1998) typology of ideas and their effects on policy-making, I argue that the influence of ideas explains the adoption and institutionalisation of the idea of environmental risk by decision-makers in Britain. Ideas as normative beliefs held by the public, cognitive ideas held by experts, and as frames, symbols, and analogies can explain both the legislative and regulatory choices made by Britain policy-makers at this time, and the different degrees of institutionalisation. This paper is developed from two thesis chapters that are part of a broader study that attempts to explain differences between Canada and Britain in terms of the adoption and institutionalisation of the idea of GMOs as an environmental risk. The argument is founded on empirical evidence gathered from field research in Britain and on the literature on ideas and public policy. Indeed, agricultural biotechnology presents a unique opportunity to study the influence of ideas on public policy in order to develop a coherent theory of how ideas become and remain powerful.

Harvey, Michael W.F. (Michael.Harvey@utoronto.ca) - Networks and Legitimacy in a Post-Parliamentary Policy: the European Union’s Social Dialogue - As the European Union approaches the 2004 Intergovernmental Conference in the midst of its most ambitious enlargement the questions of legitimacy and democracy posed by academics and policy makers will become ever more urgent. Recent innovative work on this problem has suggested that we should look beyond the traditional mechanisms of representative democracy in order to find an institutional framework that is appropriate for a “post-parliamentary” polity. As a complex and differentiated multi-levelled polity, the EU requires

different types of democratic mechanisms for different policy areas. One mode of representation that has been suggested for inclusion in this institutional mix is organisational representation or network governance (e.g. Anderson and Burns 1996; Eriksen 2000). This paper will explore one policy area where network governance is being developed, the social dialogue. The social dialogue was introduced in the Treaty on European Union. One objective of encouraging European-level employers' and labour groups to negotiate social legislation directly was to make the resulting policy more legitimate. Since 1995, three framework agreements have been reached and implemented as directives and negotiations on a fourth are on-going. One other failed at the final stages in May 2001. The paper will use a policy networks approach (e.g. Skogstad and Coleman 1990) to analyze the extent to which this objective has been met. The analysis will be based on documentary research and a series of semi-structured interviews conducted with actors at the European, national and sectoral levels in the spring and summer of 2001. The 1995 parental leave framework agreement, the failed 2001 negotiations on agency work, and the ongoing negotiations on teleworking will serve as cases. Andersen, Svein S. and Tom R. Burns (1996) "The European Union and the Erosion of Parliamentary Democracy: A Study of Post-parliamentary governance," *The European Union: How Democratic Is It?* Edited by Svein Andersen and Kjell Eliassen. (Thousand Oaks, IL: Sage) pp. 227-251. Coleman, William and Grace Skogstad (1990) "Policy Communities and Policy Networks: a structural approach", in *Policy Communities and Public Policy in Canada: a structural approach*, edited by William Coleman and Grace Skogstad (Missassauga, ON: Copp Clark Pitman). Eriksen, Erik Oddvar (2000). *Deliberative supranationalism in the EU*, in *Democracy in the European Union: Integration through deliberation?*, edited by E. O. Eriksen and J. Fossum (New York: Routledge) pp. 42-64. Scharpf, Fritz (1996) "Negative and Positive Integration in the Political Economy of European Welfare States," in *Governance in the European Union*, edited by G. Marks, F. Scharpf, P.C. Schmitter and W. Streek (London: SAGE Publications) pp. 15-39.

Heinmiller, B. Timothy and Stein, Michael B. (heinmibt@mcmaster.ca) - *Globalization and Domestic Policy Responses: A Comparison of the Role of Intergovernmental Veto Players in Social Welfare Retrenchment* - In the literature on globalization and domestic policy, it is now widely recognized that the impact of globalization is not uniform across all countries. Instead, the forces of globalization are refracted through domestic political systems, which vary greatly in their socio-political and institutional characteristics, resulting in a wide array of domestic policy responses. A good example of this phenomenon is social welfare policy in the Western, industrialized states: some states have responded to the pressures of globalization by quickly and decisively retrenching their social welfare programs, while other states have resisted these pressures and avoided any significant moves toward social welfare retrenchment. Most explanations of such domestic responses to globalization have focussed on socio-political factors, such as the strength of domestic trade unions or domestic left-wing parties, to the detriment of a myriad of potential institutional explanatory factors. Our paper would correct this oversight, by examining domestic policy responses to globalization in light of a key institutional factor described by George Tseblis as "veto players." Veto players are individuals or groups whose permission is required for a policy change, such as retrenchment, to occur. Tseblis developed the concept of the veto player through an examination of intragovernmental processes, but we would argue that this concept is equally applicable to intergovernmental processes, where veto players are also evident. By examining the process and extent of retrenchment in a number of federal and unitary states in the Western world, we would show that the greater the number of veto players involved in domestic policy-making, the more likely it is that social welfare retrenchment will have been delayed and left incomplete. In this way, we would isolate a key institutional factor that can explain much of the variation in domestic policy responses to globalization.

Henders, Susan (henders@yorku.ca) - *(In)tolerance and (A)symmetry: The Politics of Representation in*

Special Status Regions in China and Western Europe - One of the most important question of our age remains how and whether states can accommodate the representational and economic demands of distinct territorial communities within their borders. One of the most important tools for this is the special status region, formalized asymmetrical distributions of territorial-political authority. Though at times at international juncture, democratic, democratizing, and non-democratic states have set up special status regions. In both China and Western Europe, existing arrangements grant distinctive territorial communities special forms of both international and domestic autonomy, partly institutionalizing multilayered notions of citizenship and representation spanning local, state, and supra-state. Yet special status arrangements are often riven with tensions, many centred on contestations over representation of and in the special status community itself. This paper argues that the tensions are due to a plexus of local, state, and global factors that make states inhospitable to asymmetry. This intolerance is both an intended and unintended consequence of the problems inherent in state-building and post-communist transitions; the institutions, and practices of liberal democracy; and globalizing institutions and practices of neoliberal economics. However, the politics of representation in special status arrangements is not purely, or even mainly, central-local. As local identities are heterogeneous, fluid, and contested, disputes over representation are simultaneously local-local; in a context of globalization and internationalization, they are also transnational and international. Power and identity are mutually constituted at, between, and amongst all levels. Thus, this paper evaluates the implications of constructivist approaches to identity and power for my earlier work on special status regions (Henders 1997, 1999, 2001). Focusing on examples from the PRC and European Union, the paper is based on primary and secondary sources, some gathered in field work. Henders, Susan J. 1997. 'Cantonisation: Historical Paths to Territorial Autonomy for Regional Cultural Communities'. Nations and Nationalism, in a special issue entitled 'Nationalism: Theory and Practice', 3(4): 521-540. Henders, Susan J. 1999. The Territorial Accommodation of Cultural Difference, D.Phil. Thesis, Oxford University. Henders, Susan J. 2001. 'So What if its Not a Gamble? Post-Westphalian Politics in Macau', Pacific Affairs, Forthcoming.

Henderson, Ailsa (ailsa.Henderson@utoronto.ca) - New Politics and the Rhetoric of Renewal - In the establishment of new legislatures in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland architects of institutional change articulated a need for a 'new politics' that would be less aggressive, less male-dominated and less isolated from the electorate than the old politics of Westminster. In Canada, efforts to re-package the New Democratic Party fall under a 'new politics initiative'. Additional calls for 'new politics' have surfaced in Australia, the Philippines and the United States. But what is 'new politics'? Does it just signify no more than a willingness to tinker with the existing system or is it part of a coherent package of reform that retains similar elements across time and across states? Relying on a comparative analysis of speeches, documents and interviews this paper examines the use of the phrase 'new politics' both by campaigners and those in the media who report their activities. Throughout it analyses the appeal of the phrase 'new politics', the rhetorical tropes used by those who employ it and the context in which it is employed. It argues that the phrase is used as part of a concerted effort to re-engage citizens with politics, to present a tabula rasa polity in which the relationship between voters and legislators may be forged anew. The paper identifies a conscious effort on the part of political activists to respond to mounting evidence of declining voter trust and efficacy. It provides an examination of the term, as has been called for in British territorial politics literature, and contributes to political culture research by examining efforts to alter political attitudes and patterns of behaviour. The paper is part of a larger project on political culture that examines national identity, institutional design and the changing relationship between and among voters and their representatives. Ailsa Henderson

Hiebert, Janet (hiebertj@qsilver.queensu.ca) - Has the Charter Made any Significant Difference to

Politics in Canada? - An inherent difficulty when assessing the effects of a bill of rights arises from discerning the direction of influence. Do judicial decisions influence political and public opinion? Or do they reflect changing societal and political assumptions about values that are already underway? Robert Dahl's observation, made almost half a century ago, that courts will not be long out of step from legislative decisions (either ahead or behind) is important when thinking about the relationship between judicial and political judgement. In this panel, we will explore various perspectives on whether the Charter has resulted in significantly different social policy outcomes, and if it has altered the political behaviour and strategies of interest groups, the assumptions and actions of representative institutions, and the approaches and role of the judiciary.

Hiebert, Janet (hiebertj@qsilver.queensu.ca) - Parliament and Charter Judgements: Challenging a Judicial-Centric Approach - Canada's political culture is being transformed by a more conscious rights culture that is influencing how governments assess their legislative initiatives and how the public and courts evaluate these in turn. The predominant view about how the Charter has altered institutional roles emphasizes a judicial-centric approach for resolving Charter conflicts. Many Canadian legal scholars are influenced by the calls of some students of American constitutionalism who conceive of rights as trumps over political decisions and consider judicial determination as final and superior to political judgement. Under this judicial-centric view, judges alone define the meaning of rights and determine whether legislative actions are consistent with the Constitution. This perspective envisages the purpose of the Charter as correcting errant legislation, and considers the judiciary to be the exclusive custodian of rights. In this paper, I will suggest a different conception of how the Charter influences institutional roles. Rather than view the Charter as an instrument under which the judiciary determines the 'correct' answer for a Charter conflict, I will argue that Parliament shares responsibility for determining whether legislative decisions are constitutionally justified. Moreover, I will argue that the virtue of the Charter does not lie in its promise of a judicially-derived correct answer to legislative conflicts that give rise to claims of rights. Rather, its virtue lies in its capacity to improve the quality of scrutiny that is brought to bear on the validity of governmental action, by providing incentives for the government satisfies itself and Parliament, that legislative decisions are justified in light of the normative values of the Charter. The paper will develop this normative argument for shared responsibility for Charter judgements and will discuss the extent to which this ideal is being realized.

Hiebert, Maureen S. (mhiebert@chass.utoronto.ca) - The Timing of Genocide: Structural Change and Crisis as a Catalyst for Killing - Why does genocide happen when it does? I suggest that long-term political, economic, and social structural changes destabilize societies that go on to commit genocide. Specifically, the established order between groups in the political community are thrown into flux, creating inter-group tensions. Short-term crises further exacerbate these problems and serve as the specific catalyst for the perpetration of genocide. The mere occurrence of destabilizing structural changes and crises do not on their own, however, lead to genocide. Genocide is perpetrated in societies that exhibit a pre-existing "permissive" genocidal political culture. Political elites and societal actors interpret changes and crises based on dominant political cultural attitudes and beliefs concerning the perceived identity and interests of specific groups in society. These groups are then blamed for the negative consequences of changes and crises and are seen as a significant threat to the future. Their physical elimination is believed to be required to ensure the survival of the dominant society. The paper will be based on a qualitative comparative historical approach involving a comparison of the Holocaust and the Cambodian genocide (1975-1979). The theoretical contribution is two-fold: 1) it goes beyond the current genocide literature by problematizing and theorizing the relationship between changes/crises and genocidal political cultural beliefs; 2) it shows how political culture can be animated by exogenous shocks, thus producing dramatic and sudden changes in political behaviour. The paper is part of a

dissertation in which I argue that genocide is the result of a three step shift in the construction by elites and societal actors of the interests and identities of the victim group. The victim group ultimately comes to be perceived as a serious threat to the survival of the dominant community solely because of their continued physical existence.

Hollifield, Jim – The Emerging Migration State – To come/à venir

Horak, Martin (martinhorak@hotmail.com) - Institutional Change and the Quality of Post-communist Urban Government: the Case of Prague - After the fall of communism, East Central European municipalities re-emerged as key sites of democratic policy-making. Nowhere were the challenges faced by municipal governments greater than in large cities, where the effects of market reform were most rapid. In this paper, I examine how local political leaders managed market-led urban development in the historic core of Prague, Czech Republic, between 1990 and 2000. I focus first on whether they were able to use open democratic process to develop systematic policy. I present evidence that they failed in this regard, despite having at their disposal strong, well-organized formal powers and fiscal resources. I then turn my attention to explaining this failure. Drawing upon primary documents and extensive interview data, I argue that early post-communist Prague developed a matrix of state and societal political institutions built upon mutually incompatible organizing principles, a condition that I call “institutional incoherence”. The strong formal powers of the local state coexisted with political parties structured around the principle of intra-party democracy, an administrative system governed by extremely complex decision-making rules, and a legal framework that did not clearly separate public and private spheres. In the new market environment, the interaction of these institutional forms made it undesirable for local political leaders to govern in an open and systematic manner. An excerpt from a broader research project on post-communist urban government, the paper is at once an empirical contribution to our understanding of post-communist urban politics, and a critique of “democratic transition” literatures that ignore how the interaction of old and new political institutions affects the quality of new democracies.

Howe, Paul (phowe@unb.ca) - Name That Premier: The Political Knowledge of Canadians - Past and Present Recent work has suggested that large numbers of Canadians lack the political knowledge required to be effective citizens. Unaware of the most rudimentary facts about their political system, many are unable to participate effectively. Some simply opt out: witness the sharp decline in voter turnout in recent elections. An important part of the argument is that this is a new phenomenon triggered, in good measure, by especially low levels of political knowledge among younger Canadians. Today’s young Canadians, that is, are uniquely ill-informed about politics, much more so than their parents were at the same age. This element of the argument has not been subjected to rigorous testing. Certainly current data suggest that young Canadians are ill-informed about politics compared to their elders, but the novelty of the pattern has not been firmly established. Are the substantial age differences apparent today a new phenomenon or simply part of a recurring pattern? One objective of this paper is to test the novelty hypothesis, by comparing levels of political knowledge across comparable age groups today and in the past. Using two Gallup polls from 1956 with pertinent political knowledge items, the paper will draw inter-temporal comparisons with data from the 2000 Canadian Election Study . A second line of analysis will assess whether the relationship between political knowledge and voting has changed over that same 44 year period. Both relationships – age and political knowledge; political knowledge and voting – will be assessed using multivariate techniques, controlling for other socio-demographic variables such as education, gender and region. Of these control variables, education is of particular interest in its own right, since the educational system is sometimes indicted for failing to provide today’s young Canadians with sufficient civic marrow. Examining interaction effects between age and education at the two points in time will allow for some investigation of the role education may

be playing in any observed inter-generational differences.

Hull, Carrie L. (carrhull@chass.utoronto.ca) - Drawn with a Very Fine Camelhair Brush: Aristotle and Foucault on Natural Kinds - In my proposed paper, "Drawn with a Very Fine Camelhair Brush: Aristotle and Foucault on Natural Kinds," I will contrast Aristotle's realism with Michel Foucault's nominalism. Foucault has argued against the existence of natural kinds, proposing that individual things or people are related to one another only derivatively, i.e., via discourse, language, and culture. Any collection of individuals into groups therefore reflects some preconception of the group's defining similarities, and is by no means natural. Foucault has convincingly argued that the resulting categorizations inevitably result in various forms of domination. Although Foucault seldom refers to Aristotle, many of Foucault's followers have opposed their position to Aristotelian realism, often shorthanded as "essentialism." I maintain that Aristotelian realism must be confronted, not as it has been caricatured, but rather as Aristotle himself articulated it in his major philosophical work, the *Metaphysics*. Although Aristotle acknowledges natural variability, he insists that reality is structured. Certain relationships are awarded ontological status, as are natural kinds. These contentions need not commit one to a whole-hearted first philosophy nor a conservative politics. However, the *Metaphysics* provides a serious challenge to nominalism. My paper is of significance because few theorists make recourse to Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, although many write as though they fully understand its ideas. A contemporary look at this difficult work can strengthen the arguments of those scholars interested in an alternative to twentieth century nominalism and the relativism it often supports. It is possible to take Foucault's arguments about domination seriously without resorting to his nominalist ontology.

Hunt, Krista (krista@yorku.ca) - The Co-Optation of Women's Rights Discourse in the War Against Terrorism – To come/à venir

Ihrke, Douglas (dihrke@uwm.edu) - Employee Perceptions of Leaders as a Function of Organizational Design: Is There Really No End to Hierarchy? – In 1975, Fred Thayer wrote his classic book, *The End to Hierarchy*, in which he makes the argument that public organizations are becoming flatter where the role of the supervisor is diminishing. Presumably employees will assume broader roles where the need for numerous layers of supervision no longer exists, hence the end of hierarchy. We find this proposition not borne out by either theory or empirical research. Thus, the purpose of this paper is to explain why hierarchy is still an extremely powerful factor influencing employee perceptions as to the appropriate role of supervisors. This paper will develop a theoretical model that explains why hierarchy is still very important. Moreover, this model will be supported by empirical research conducted in a natural resource agency of the federal (US) government. In this study, we will examine the perceptions of District Conservationists (DCs) toward the leadership credibility of their managers who occupy different levels of the hierarchy. The data for this study come from a 41-page survey of District Conservationists, the front-line operating officers of the Natural Resource Conservation Service (NRCS), administered in the spring of 1994. District Conservationists work in field offices in counties throughout the U.S. and serve as the street-level bureaucrats of the agency. The overall response rate for the survey was approximately 92 percent. We feel this research is important to report because it shows why various federal reforms, such as the Food Security Act (FSA) of 1985, may not succeed due to dysfunctions emanating from bureaucratic structure. Management theorists continue to call for an end to hierarchy, but the realities of managerial life indicate that it may in fact be here to stay. For these reasons, we feel that this theory and research would be of great interest to political scientists studying both public policy and organizational behavior within the public sector.

Ingram, James (ingraj01@newschool.edu) - What is Cosmopolitical Criticism? - This paper attempts to define and explore an emerging field within normative political theory that is not yet recognized as such. A thread running through recent debates about globalization, cosmopolitan ethics, international

justice, basic human rights, and cultural difference is the need to think in critical terms beyond the national or cultural community. Thus, we find that theorists from diverse perspectives – from Martha Nussbaum to Judith Butler, from Jürgen Habermas to Michael Walzer – are often talking about the same things, sometimes in surprisingly similar ways. Yet the scope and terms of this nascent debate are far from clear. By calling this new field cosmopolitical criticism, I mean to orient it around the question of how normative moral-political critique is possible and productive in disputes that cross national and cultural frontiers, where neither common assumptions nor common institutions can be counted on. The paper tries to elucidate this new terrain by outlining its domain, the types of moral and political issues that arise within it, and some of the most important philosophical questions it poses. After identifying these basic philosophical questions and the range of answers to them, I then sketch four general approaches to cosmopolitical criticism. By isolating the basic aims and assumptions of these approaches, I do not propose to arbitrate or choose among them, but rather to suggest that each has characteristic advantages and disadvantages.

Isbester, Katherine (kees.t.hoofst@virgin.net) - An Analysis of the 2001 Nicaraguan Elections - On November 4 2001, Nicaragua goes to the polls to elect a president of the country. At the moment, it appears as if Sandinista leader and ex-president Daniel Ortega will win the election, although it is predicted to be close. Ortega stands the best chance of winning because 1. present president Arnoldo Aleman has alienated the popular classes and divided the elite, 2. the economy is in crisis and Ortega has a patina of caring for the dispossessed, and 3. Ortega has chosen as his running mate the hugely popular maverick and Social Christian, Augustin Jarquin. Operating against Ortega is, as always, an ad hoc alliance united around depriving the FSLN of power . The ability of this alliance to achieve power has been mitigated by the constitutional changes negotiated between the FSLN and Aleman's governing party, the Liberals. Also operating against the re-election of the FSLN are the allegations of child sexual abuse brought by Ortega's step-daughter. However, the matter has been deemed private and despite the best efforts of the women's movement to politicize the issue of abuse, the allegations have not hurt Ortega. While the prevailing assumption is that a re-elected FSLN might re-enact social justice policies it is unlikely given the economic climate and the mercantile attitude of the sandinista ruling elite.

Ives, Peter (p.ives@uwinnipeg.ca) - Language, Representation and Supra-State Democracy - Western political philosophy contains differing conceptions of language: what it is, its relation to cultural identities and its role in democratic participation. Locke and the liberal tradition tend to emphasize its instrumental nature as a vehicle for communication. The German tradition of Wilhelm von Humboldt, Fichte and Herder have inspired a much closer connection between language, culture and political identity. This paper argues that these different notions of language are becoming increasingly more pressing for the practice of democracy and representation precisely because of ‘globalization’ and the changing role of the nation-state. By examining the European Union, I will illustrate how debates around representation and the ‘democracy deficit’ involve coming to terms with differing conceptions of language. The European Union is clinging to its eleven official (or working) languages and contending that language policy is the jurisdiction of its member states. Suggestions for changing this position about language have been rejected due to issues of representation. Theorists of procedural and deliberative democracy attempt to overcome the dichotomy between liberalism and republicanism by recourse to language and communication. They have implicitly point to the importance of language to issues of democratic representation. But, I argue, such theories fail to address the practical language problems faced by th EU. Increasingly, the EU itself is attempting the purely technical solution of computer translation. I argue that this may exacerbate problems of political representation, public discourse and the creation of a European civil society accessible by all its citizens.

James, Matt (mjames@interchange.ubc.ca) - The Politics of Recognition as a Politics of Security:

Lessons from Canada's 1950 Special Senate Committee on Human Rights - This paper addresses the role of prestige and respect as bases of social control in social-movement struggles over security. Its analysis focuses on the presentations made by various social-movement organizations to Canada's 1950 Special Senate Committee on Human Rights: the country's first official forum to solicit citizen views on the desirability of a national bill of rights. This study's methodology draws on critical theory, social-movement theory, and the sociological literature on prestige. The basic motivation for this research stems from the author's wider interest in the relationship between the politics of recognition and the politics of redistribution. The paper emphasizes the close relationship between questions of security and questions of prestige and respect. It does so in order to highlight certain limitations of interpretations that discuss the politics of recognition primarily in terms of authenticity, self-esteem, or other so-called "postmaterial" concerns. To this end, the study points out that the major complaints that social-movement representatives brought to the Committee were problems of insecurity that were grounded in underlying problems of disrespect. Further, the paper demonstrates how a nascent postwar human-rights discourse provided a potential basis of symbolic power for disrespected groups, which the Senate Committee evidently viewed as a threat. By looking at human-rights debates that followed in the immediate wake of an extraordinary international crisis, my analysis highlights the tendency of crises to obscure the diverse security needs of multiple collectivities. This point is important to make at a time when crisis is once again serving to prioritize an undifferentiated, homogenizing conception of security. Thus, the paper calls attention to what many discussions of the politics of recognition tend to overlook: the attempt of such a politics to furnish traditionally disrespected groups with the symbolic power to focus debate on the security needs that conformity seeks to submerge.

Janara, Laura (ljanara@uwo.ca) - Democracy and Racism: Re-reading Tocqueville and Beaumont - Alexis de Tocqueville's Democracy in America and essays and Gustave de Beaumont's novel on US racism will be critically read as illuminating dimensions of US society and culture, democratic and otherwise, that combine fatefully to entrench enduring racism within US democracy. Tocqueville has often been charged with producing an unnuanced portrait of US egalitarianism. This article overcomes Tocqueville's tendency superficially to separate out "Anglo-American" egalitarianism from US racism, by way of his texts' interior resources, particularly his portrait of European AMERICANS as simultaneously desiring equality AND HIERARCHY. In Tocqueville's texts, it will be argued, the preceding, stratified, secure and predictable world of European aristocracy encourages anxiety over democracy's relative flux -- an anxiety that feeds among Tocqueville's European Americans a yearning for "race" privilege as a guaranteed, post-aristocratic form of psychic and material security. This dynamic is examined in relation to how his European Americans symbolically fraternalize relations with Native Americans; and to how racial slavery and its logic of "othering" works in US democratic society's imagination. The paper ties what Tocqueville sees as AMERICA's unhealthy democratic acquisitiveness, envy, pride and tyrannical public opinion not only to his own textual accounts of US racism but, suggestively, to nineteenth and twentieth century America's historical expressions of racialized subjugation. I presently have a book in press that is a feminist re-reading of Tocqueville's Democracy in America, and thus approach this issue of race in relation to broader work on Tocqueville, democratic theory and gender.

Jang, Jiho (jj41c@mizzou.edu) - The Continued State Activism in the Era of Globalization in South Korea, 1998-2000 - Institutional change occurs in the context of historically determined pathways. This study shows that the Korean state's reaction to the economic crisis since 1997 has been accommodated within a central logic defined by layers of institutions. The implementation of reform plans under the Kim Dae Jung government, following earlier liberalization moves, does not act to erode the state's intrusive institutional arrangements in the big business, the chaebol. There is no rapid disappearance of

institutional pattern of the state's intervention in Korea. Method: Qualitative and Content Analysis, based on most recent data from newspapers and government documents Contribution: This study tests the persistence and embeddedness of institutional patterns by investigating a series of the Korean state's activism vis-a-vis private businesses. It provides an analytic lens, which can be applied to other developing countries, which have been experiencing similar economic restructuring. The nature of the state's intervention and reforming process of the big business come to the forefront in the analysis of the state and its relations with the large corporation in other developing countries.

Jansen, Harold (Harold.jansen@uleth.ca) - Is the Internet Politics as Usual or Democracy's Future? The 2001 Alberta and British Columbia Provincial Elections On-line - There has been much speculation about the potential impact of the Internet on politics. While some feel the Internet may transform and strengthen democracy through making information more readily available and facilitating citizen communication (Corrado and Firestone, 1996), others are more skeptical, arguing that the Internet will preserve existing power relationships (Davis, 1999). In addition to this larger debate, it is clear that changes in communications technology have implications for political parties and elections (Carty, Cross, and Young, 2000). This paper will address that debate through an analysis of the use of the Internet by political actors in the 2001 provincial elections in Alberta and British Columbia. Alberta and B.C. are especially tempting case studies, as these two provinces have consistently led Canada in Internet use by their populations (Statistics Canada, 2001). In short, if the Internet is going to affect the conduct of elections in any locations, we should expect to see signs of this in Alberta and British Columbia. Furthermore, the temporal proximity of the two elections allows a comparison of the impact of the Internet in two comparably "wired" provinces with distinct partisan traditions and situations. The paper will examine the way the Internet was used by a variety of actors in the two elections. The first part of the paper will consist of an analysis of the content provided on the web sites of major parties, and the patterns of web site updates used by the parties in the election. I will also analyze candidate campaign web sites, looking at which candidates chose to develop their own web sites and the nature of the content in these sites. The third part of the paper will look at the extent to which interest groups used the Internet to get involved in the electoral process. The fourth part of the paper will examine media web sites and the way they used this medium to cover the two elections on-line. This paper is an extension of the author's major research focus. I am currently analyzing similar data from the 2000 federal election and will be presenting data from the same study about on-line discussion of politics during the BC election at another conference.

Jimeno, Clara (cjimeno@home.com) - Guatemala: The Role of Political Parties in Strengthening Women's Participation – Political parties are the engine of the political process in a democratic society. Democracy can only be achieved if there is freedom to express different political views through different political parties. It is not possible to have democracy if there is not equal participation of civil society and the political space to exercise political rights. In this context, the inclusion of the population's diversity and of marginalized groups, particularly women is a condition for democracy. This is not always the case. Studies have shown that political parties could become instruments that serve the status quo and specific privileged groups. In this case, political parties that fail to represent the voice of marginalized groups, particularly women, are more an obstacle to achieve democracy than an instrument to exercise it. This is particularly true in countries where women and minority groups (i.e. religious, ethnic) have been historically excluded from political participation. I recognize the importance of political parties to support a democratic process, but they must be the political space for the exercise of women's political rights. There is also a growing gap between political parties and civil society, as well a lack of trust in the role of political parties by the majority of people that deserves attention. I will use the case of Guatemala to discuss these themes. Guatemalan women made history

through women's organizations being one of the key players in the peace process. However, their efforts were channeled by women's organizations, not by political parties. Consequently, these organizations developed strategies to promote women's political participation that provided valuable lessons which could challenge political parties. This analysis will respond to the following questions based on the Guatemala context: Are the political parties playing a role that represents the interests of the diversity of the population, including women? Do women trust political parties? Have women been successful in achieving significant participation in political parties? If not, why have they failed? What are the formal and informal supports required to increase women's participation in political parties? Is there a need to reform political parties' internal structures, in order to respond to these needs in the future? The purpose of my analysis is to identify strategies to be used by Guatemalan women to increase their political participation. It is also necessary to identify affirmative action, in order to enhance women's participation in political parties. The study will highlight changes to make the structure of political parties more inclusive and thus democratic. Information will be gathered through interviews with Guatemalan women political leaders. Data will be also obtained from bibliographic information. Feminist theory and gender analysis will be used in the analysis of the information.

Johns, Carolyn, Inwood, Greg and O'Reilly, Patricia (cjohns@ryerson.ca) - Public Sector Reform, Intergovernmental Administrative Machinery and Intergovernmental Officials in Canada – "Managing across levels of government", "intergovernmental partnerships" and building "vertical institutional capacity" have become important components of public sector reform with the objectives of improving policy outcomes and the performance of public sector organizations in federal countries. Unprecedented efforts have been made in the past decade to improve intergovernmental cooperation in order to achieve greater efficiency and effectiveness in the increasing number of policy areas where governments share roles, responsibilities and resources. Although the implementation of these arrangements is unfolding at the administrative level, there has been limited research on the character of these new arrangements, the administrative and accountability implications of these arrangements and the changing role of the intergovernmental machinery and intergovernmental officials in this evolving intergovernmental context. This paper will argue that the analysis of intergovernmental relations in Canada has overlooked the central question of what impact public sector reform has had on the intergovernmental machinery and cohort of intergovernmental specialists that were the focus of analysis in the 1980s. The paper is based on the assumption that a conceptual distinction between federalism, intergovernmental relations and intergovernmental management is helpful in focusing the level of analysis and distinguishing the various types of actors (elected officials, intergovernmental generalists and IGR policy specialists) and roles in the intergovernmental arena. The first section of the paper will outline and analyze the enduring importance of intergovernmental policy implementation and intergovernmental administrative cooperation in the context of managerialism and new public management. This section of the paper will discuss innovations in intergovernmental machinery, the changing nature of accountabilities and the political-administrative interface in the new intergovernmental context. The second section of the paper will focus on implications of public sector reform for the intergovernmental administrative machinery in Canada. As part of a larger study of intergovernmental policy capacity in Canada, the third section of the paper will detail findings from a survey of intergovernmental officials and interviews with intergovernmental officials across Canada. This section will explore the perceptions of intergovernmental officials regarding the evolution of their roles in the context of changes in federalism and public sector reform. It is anticipated that this paper will make a significant contribution to the literature on intergovernmental administrative arrangements and relations. The paper will also contribute to the literature on the power, roles and responsibilities of un-elected intergovernmental officials in the context of the theoretical literature on models of

intergovernmental administrative interaction and federalism. It will also explore the theoretical utility of the literature on intergovernmental management, intergovernmental networks and inter-organizational networks in understanding the changing nature of intergovernmental administrative relations in Canada.

Johnson Redden, Candace (candaceredden@yahoo.com) - Canadian Health Care Politics and the Global Third Way Debate According to Anthony Giddens in *The Third Way and its Critics* - Third Way politics presents a "radical centre" in the polarized debate between statist and market approaches. Third Way politics recognizes new challenges and suggests that traditional leftist, welfare state approaches to social policy, globalization and economic management are no longer appropriate. In particular, Giddens argues that "social diversity is not compatible with a strongly defined egalitarianism of outcome," and that "inequality can no longer, if it ever could, be countered only by income transfers from the more to the less affluent" (53). Rather, what is needed is a reorientation toward "life politics," and away from the old "emancipatory politics" of the left (40). This entails the development of strong states (but not necessarily big states) and strong and engaged civil societies. In addition, Third Way politics is a departure from the insularity of protectionist domestic regulatory regimes and a commitment to understanding the inevitability and even desirability of the forces of globalization. Third Way politics, embraced by the Clinton government in the United States in the 1990s and the Tony Blair government in Britain, seems to be applicable to Canada. That is, much of what Giddens describes as global Third Way-ism captures recent governmental approaches to social policy reform and economic priority setting. The health care system, Canada's most revered social programme, has undergone a number of substantial changes throughout the late twentieth- and early twenty-first-centuries in each of the provinces. Many of the reforms have (1) attempted to reconcile commitments to universality with challenges of difference and diversity, (2) engage citizens and their communities in health care decision making (and thereby strengthen civil society) and (3) recognize the global impact and ubiquity of bioethical issues. Such developments are clear examples of the decline in relevancy of T.H. Marshall's social rights thesis and the need to define new relationships among the government, the economy and society. In my paper, I will consider the applicability of the Third Way debate to Canadian health care politics and argue that each of the general reform efforts noted above (1, 2 and 3) are distinctly Third Way and offer more sophisticated, appropriate and flexible approaches to contemporary problems.

Johnson, Geneviève (Genevieve.Johnson@utoronto.ca) - An Approach to Normative Policy Analysis - There is a growing moral imperative to investigate the values underlying public policy. Increasingly, governments are making and implementing policy to regulate aspects of science, technology, and the environment that could have negative ramifications for both existing and future generations. Policy decisions are increasingly made by the elites of these fields in consultation with representatives of associated industries and relevant government departments, and to the exclusion of the broader set of interested parties. Institutions established by this policy increasingly operate beyond the purview of adequate means of public oversight. It is the convergence of these factors, i.e., risk and uncertainty, elite decision making, and non-transparent institutions, that gives rise to a certain need to examine the normative foundations of policy. The proposed paper develops an approach to normative policy analysis. It will survey the current literature about moral obligations to entities distant in both space and time to forge an understanding of the nature and content of such obligations. Questions posed will include the following: Do we have obligations to ensure that public policy harms neither near nor distant entities? Are these obligations of justice? What is the substance of these obligations? What are the policy implications of these obligations? Developing a better understanding of our obligations related to policy that is associated with risk and uncertainty for both existing and future generations would be an important and timely exercise— an exercise which could have applications in many policy areas such as that of nuclear waste management in Canada.

Johnston, Richard, Soroka, Stuart and Banting, Keith (rjohnstn@interchange.ubc.ca) - Social Diversity and Support for the Welfare State - A modest body of evidence suggests that relatively diverse societies are less likely than relatively homogeneous ones to invest in redistributive and social insurance programmes. The theory that purports to account for this pattern refers to notions of common community and mutual obligation, and a social capital account also seems obvious. But there seems to be no empirical study of the micro foundations these theories imply. Our task will be conceptual unpacking, to sort these micro foundations out. Among the factors might be minorities' resistance to universal programmes as instruments of majority cultural domination and majority resentment of programmes seen as transferring resources to "outsider" racial minorities. The social capital literature provides a subtly different perspective, with an emphasis on trust as the solution to collective action games. We explore the distinction and overlap between these perspectives, with a mind to empirical estimation. The empirical base of the paper is a unique body of survey data, the first wave of the "Equality, Security, and Community" Study, including "metro" and "resource-communities" oversamples. This survey brings together detailed evidence about household structure and income, about social networks, about trust and confidence in various persons, institutions, and policies, about perceptions of ethnic diversity, about sense of well-being, and about support for various elements in the welfare state. Merged with the survey data are demographic data from the 1996 Census. We thus are able to look at both minority and majority perception and opinion and the extent to which perceptions in one group are contingent on exposure and proximity to members of other groups.

Johnston, Richard, soroka, Stuart and Gibbon, Gwilym (rjohnstn@interchange.ubc.ca) - Equality, Security, and Community - A modest body of evidence suggests that relatively diverse societies are less likely than relatively homogeneous ones to invest in redistributive and social insurance programmes. The theory that purports to account for this pattern refers to notions of common community and mutual obligation, and a social capital account also seems obvious. But there seems to be no empirical study of the micro foundations these theories imply. Our task will be conceptual unpacking, to sort these micro foundations out. Among the factors might be minorities' resistance to universal programmes as instruments of majority cultural domination and majority resentment of programmes seen as transferring resources to "outsider" racial minorities. The social capital literature provides a subtly different perspective, with an emphasis on trust as the solution to collective action games. We explore the distinction and overlap between these perspectives, with a mind to empirical estimation. The empirical base of the paper is a unique body of survey data, the first wave of the "Equality, Security, and Community" Study, including "metro" and "resource-communities" oversamples. This survey brings together detailed evidence about household structure and income, about social networks, about trust and confidence in various persons, institutions, and policies, about perceptions of ethnic diversity, about sense of well-being, and about support for various elements in the welfare state. Merged with the survey data are demographic data from the 1996 Census. We thus are able to look at both minority and majority perception and opinion and the extent to which perceptions in one group are contingent on exposure and proximity to members of other groups.

Johnston, Ronald J. and Pattie, Charles (rjohnston@bristol.ac.uk) - Campaign Expenditure, Canvassing and Voting Behaviour – The Ecological and Individual Scales: Examples from the UK and New Zealand - Most studies of the impact of spatial variations in campaign intensity on election results are conducted at the ecological scale – usually involving studies of constituencies. They almost invariably show that the amount spent by a party on its local campaign is related to its performance at the election under consideration. The implication is that the greater the exposure of voters to one party's campaigning (relative to its opponents'), the more likely they are to vote for it – either remaining loyal to the party if they voted for it at a previous election or switching to it from voting for another party

then. In this paper, we test the validity of that inference, using survey and other data on (a) split-ticket voting at the 1996 and 1999 new Zealand general elections and (b) voting at the 2001 UK general election.

Jolicoeur, Pierre (jolicoeur.Pierre@uqam.ca) - Le Pacte de stabilité pour l'Europe du Sud-Est : Perspectives pour la région - La région des Balkans est une zone trouble depuis dix ans. Suite au Conflit du Kosovo et aux frappes de l'OTAN en Yougoslavie en 1999, l'Union européenne a lancé un «Pacte de stabilité pour l'Europe du Sud-Est». Il s'agit d'une organisation qui vise à regrouper et à systématiser les efforts de démocratisation, de stabilisation et de développement économique de la région balkanique. Divisé en trois tables de travail (Table 1 : démocratisation et droits humains; Table 2 : reconstruction économique; Table 3 : questions de sécurité), le pacte de stabilité est devenu l'acteur incontournable par lequel l'ensemble des efforts internationaux de reconstruction après conflit pour la région doit passer. Deux ans et demi après sa création, une évaluation de l'organisation est devenue nécessaire. Malgré les nombreux échecs qui caractérisent la courte histoire de l'organisation, la communauté internationale continue à y investir. Les 25 et 26 octobre 2001, une importante réunion des «donateurs» a permis de dégager 3 milliards d'Euros pour la région, une somme impressionnante étant donné le contexte de ralentissement économique. Dans cette communication, nous analyserons l'incidence du Pacte de stabilité sur le développement de la scène régionale. Dans un premier temps, nous exposerons le fonctionnement du Pacte et de ses trois tables. Dans un deuxième temps, nous établirons un bilan de ses activités, ses succès et ses échecs. Dans un troisième temps, nous évaluerons les perspectives d'avenir de cette approche régionaliste.

Jolicoeur, Pierre (jolicoeur.Pierre@uqam.ca) - Le fédéralisme comme enjeu de la résolution des conflits caucasiens - Pour cette communication, nous retenons quatre cas de conflits caucasiens : le conflit du Nagorno-Karabakh (disputé en Azerbaïdjan), les conflits de l'Ossétie du Sud et de l'Abkhazie (tous deux en Géorgie) et le conflit tchéchène (dans la Fédération de Russie). Outre leur proximité géographique, ces conflits présentent six importants traits en commun du fait qu'ils font face à des problèmes d'ordre sécuritaire similaires : 1- les conflits se situent dans un contexte d'instabilité liée au processus transitionnel dans lequel se trouve l'ensemble la région; 2- il s'agit de conflits à «caractère ethnique» dans des sociétés multiethniques profondément divisées; 3- le catalyseur des conflits est toujours une modification unilatérale du statut constitutionnel du territoire contesté; 4- les conflits ont donné naissance à des «proto-États indépendants»; 5- les conflits sont gelés, mais non réglés (stagnation du processus de paix) et 6- le besoin d'un nouveau partage de pouvoirs. Après avoir développé chacune de ces caractéristiques, nous présenterons certains enjeux constitutionnels que représentent une résolution politique de ces conflits. Nous verrons que la résolution de ces conflits nécessite des modifications constitutionnelles qui devront tenir compte des aspirations légitimes des parties belligérantes et résoudre les frictions engendrées par l'opposition entre le principe de l'autodétermination des peuples et celui de l'intangibilité des frontières. Pour finir, nous concluons en lançant quelques pistes de réflexions sur les possibilités et les limites offertes par le fédéralisme comme moyen de résolution politique de ces conflits.

Jones, Charles (cwjones@julian.uwo.ca) - Human Rights and Cultural Pluralism - How should human rights be conceived in a world characterized by ideological and cultural pluralism? Answering this question requires both (1) defending a position on the relative priority of economic and social rights as against civil and political rights, and (2) determining the role (if any) of cultural norms in the justification of human rights. This paper focuses on the second of these two questions, with the aim of discovering whether a defensible conception of human rights must be (a) restricted so as to be neutral among conflicting political cultures, or (b) non-neutral or "partisan" in the sense that the content of human rights is justifiable independently of particular cultural beliefs (even when affirming and

protecting those rights is not compatible with retaining those beliefs).

Juyal, Shreesh (shreesh.juyal@uregina.ca) - The Evolving Role of the UN Security Council with Respect to Human Rights - There are two distinct articles in the United Nations Charter that appear to contradict each other in respect to the rights of sovereign States. Article 2 (7) of the Charter reads: Nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any State..., but this principle shall not prejudice the application of enforcement measures under Chapter VII. The UN Security Council is given primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security under the collective security system provided for in Article 24, and member States are obliged to carry out its decisions (Article 25). The apparently contending articles contain military, economic and other measures to prevent gross human rights violations under Chapter VII, which can and have been undertaken by the Security Council and which are, indeed, in direct intervention of domestic sovereignty of States. Through an analysis of the evolving role of the Security Council, with respect to human rights, this paper will examine: (a) is "humanitarian intervention" an accepted International Law option for preventing gross human rights violations, (b) how can this doctrine of intervention reconcile with Article 2 (7) of the Charter, and (c) how the principle of sovereignty under Article 2 (7) can be protected. In its conclusion, the paper will demonstrate that the end of the Cold War has brought a dramatic change in regard to the issue of domestic jurisdiction (Article 2 (7)) and the question of massive and flagrant violation of human rights. It will further demonstrate that there appears to be a growing consensus that the Security Council should act to end massive violations.

Kaboré, Boniface (bkabore@hotmail.com) - Le concept de communauté internationale - Le concept de communauté internationale, aujourd'hui en vogue dans le langage médiatique et diplomatique, demeure un concept fondamentalement obscur que le théoricien des relations internationales ne saurait prendre pour acquis sans le passer au crible de l'analyse conceptuelle. Ramenée à sa plus simple expression, la question centrale est de déterminer dans quelles conditions et dans quel sens, la notion de communauté internationale peut légitimement être appliquée à l'ordre international. Il est ici question de la pertinence théorique de ce concept rapporté à l'échelle des relations internationales. L'argumentation proposée: En réponse à cette question, nous soumettons l'hypothèse que la résurgence de la notion de communauté internationale dans le langage de la presse et de la politique internationale signale, au-delà de ses usages rhétoriques et parfois frauduleux, l'émergence d'un nouvel imaginaire de la coopération internationale. Il s'est opéré, sur cette base, un glissement de paradigme qui nous fait passer de la représentation (classique) de l'ordre international comme système à sa conception comme communauté. L'argumentation proposée démontre, étape après étape, comment s'effectue ce passage et établit les conditions spécifiques d'après lesquelles le concept de communauté peut être rigoureusement appliqué à l'ordre international. La méthode utilisée: La méthode d'analyse utilisée est théorique et analytique au sens où elle se fonde sur un travail d'analyse et de clarification des concepts. Ainsi, avant de nous poser la question de savoir si le concept de communauté est théoriquement recevable quand il s'agit de l'ordre international, nous examinons successivement ce concept selon diverses grilles d'analyse (étymologique, sociologique et politique), afin d'en extraire la signification profonde, la portée exacte, bref la substance conceptuelle. Après quoi, nous essayons de déterminer les conditions de son application au système des relations internationales. Pertinence théorique du projet: La pertinence de ce projet réside dans le fait qu'il s'efforce de donner sens, pour le théoricien, de l'intrusion du concept de communauté internationale dans un ordre mondial jusque là conçu comme anarchie ou système de forces. Tout en éclairant l'arrière-fond théorique de cette transformation, il projette une lumière sur les nouvelles bases de la coopération internationale qu'elle induit. Le projet montre de cette manière comment l'ordre mondial il tend désormais à être assimilé à une communauté (métaphore organiciste)

plutôt qu'à un système (métaphore systémique) sous le coup des transformations profondes qu'il a subies au double niveau empirique et théorique, de façon plus évidente encore depuis la fin de la Guerre froide. Bien entendu, cette mutation dans la représentation du monde influe sur la représentation qu'on se fait de ses acteurs (nouvelles forces en présence) et de ses enjeux (intérêts en jeu), ainsi que sur les modalités de la coopération internationale qui se mue, à son tour, progressivement en gouvernance mondiale. Des travaux existent déjà sur le sujet, mais restent limités, pour la plupart, à des perspectives historiques (histoire des relations internationales) ou juridiques (évolution et problèmes du droit international), dont plusieurs datent d'avant la fin de la Guerre froide. Le souci de l'analyse conceptuelle associée à la critique sociale dans la compréhension de la notion contemporaine de communauté internationale constitue précisément l'intérêt distinctif de ce projet. Champs de recherche: Ce projet s'intègre dans le cadre d'un travail recherche plus vaste portant sur la notion de communauté internationale comme telle dans une perspective à la fois analytique-théorique et critique-normative. Il s'agit d'une contribution à l'analyse des bases nouvelles de la coopération internationale qui cherche à combiner les bénéfices de l'analyse conceptuelle avec ceux de la critique sociale, à l'ordre international comme communauté, tout en s'interrogeant sur les possibilités et les conditions de l'action pour l'avènement effectif d'une telle communauté. L'examen critique révèle, en effet, que la communauté internationale, loin d'être une réalité déjà donnée, demeure essentiellement un projet, un idéal, si l'on préfère, un monde à faire.

Kam, Christopher (kam@sc.edu) - Institutional and Sociological Perspectives on Parliamentary Behaviour and Party Cohesion - This paper investigates which of two alternative explanations best explains back-bench behaviour in parliamentary systems: 1) an institutional explanation that focuses on the confidence convention and the party's control of career advancement, or 2) a sociological explanation that sees loyalty and cohesion as a function of norms. The institutional perspective assumes that MPs are rational actors intent on securing re-election and career advancement. However, as the latter good is controlled by party leaders, MPs (sometimes) face a trade-off: dissent in order to preserve their electoral prospects or toe the line in the hope of securing advancement. In other words, there is an implicit contract between leaders and followers such that loyalty brings advancement, disloyalty, demotion or career stagnation - all underpinned by the need (on the governing side, at least) to retain the confidence of the House. The sociological perspective (e.g. Searing 1994) balks at casting back-bench behaviour in contractual terms. Instead, MPs' loyalty (and hence aggregate party cohesion) is due to the internalization of norms of loyalty and solidarity. Formal institutions, such as the confidence convention and the party's system of career advancement, may create an environment in which it is easy for party leaders to foster such norms, but they do not directly generate loyalty or cohesion. Aggregate and individual-level data from Great Britain, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand indicate, however, that dissent is more strongly connected to career opportunities than to socialization. These results cast doubt on the utility of employing social norms and roles as the chief independent variables in models of parliamentary behaviour.

Kaufmann, Eric (epk@socsci.soton.ac.uk) - The Orange Order in the 20th Century: A Comparative Analysis of N. Ireland, Scotland, Newfoundland and Ontario - The annual conflict between the Orange Order and the Garvaghy Road Residents' Association over the Drumcree parade route at Portadown, Northern Ireland, has been a major flashpoint in Unionist-Nationalist relations since 1995. Moreover, the precariousness of David Trimble's pro-Agreement faction within the Ulster Unionist Party (whose MPs and MLAs are almost all Orangemen) has been accentuated by the 2001 electoral gains of Ian Paisley's DUP. These events attest to the contemporary importance of the Orange Order in the politics of Northern Ireland. Yet what brings added significance to a study of the contemporary Order is its capacity to serve as a test of both classical and current (i.e. Social Capital) theories of social and

political change. For instance, Orange decline in Ontario and Belfast contrasts with the situation in Newfoundland and parts of Northern Ireland and Scotland. Hence this paper seeks to understand why the Order's membership and power rises and falls across historical time and geographical space. I have obtained unprecedented access to internal Orange records in all four locations. Though actual membership figures must remain confidential, I will provide an analysis of membership trends in relation to key external variables derived from the census, surveys, events and police reports. The goal will be to examine the relative effect of techno-economic, cultural and 'political' (i.e. institutions, events) forces on Orange membership/power over time and place.

Kellogg, Catherine (Catherine.Kellogg@ualberta.ca) - Time Into History: Hegel's Invention, Derrida's Point - In this paper I argue that among the most important questions at stake in the modernism/postmodernism debate is the question of time. That is to say, insofar as a particular conceptualization of time has - at least for Marxists and feminists - constituted the relationship between history and desire, it has in turn determined the sphere of political critique as such. In other words, I maintain that what can meaningfully be considered as political for both Marxists and feminists is indirectly adjudicated in terms of a prior understanding of the philosophical category of time. And it is in fact the precisely relationship articulated by Hegel between history, time, desire and politics which gives his thought the continuing power and resonance. It is the complex relationship he draws between these categories which constitutes the template of political critique. Given this frame for political intelligibility, Jacques Derrida's radical challenge to Hegel's reading of time would seem to mark his philosophical project outside the bounds of political critique. Indeed, the hostility and/or blank incomprehension which is the traditional response of both Marxists and feminists to Derrida's project can be understood on the basis of his destabilization of this relationship. However, I argue that Derrida's radical interpretation of Hegelian temporality and its relationship to both history and desire, rather than evacuating the field of politics, has instead offered a new way to think politics; one that should be compelling for feminists and Marxists alike. For if, as I show, Derrida's reading of time, and thus of history and desire, allows for a thinking of politics beyond faith, then the question becomes how the contours of what gets to count as political critique might be re-drawn.

Kellogg, Paul (paul.Kellogg@utoronto.ca) - Gramsci, the Turin Council Movement, and the Renewal of Democracy - "This is what democracy looks like" has been the chant on the streets of the world since Seattle in 1999. In political theory, re-thinking a notion of democracy has, in the context of the anti-globalization movement, returned increasingly to the writings of Antonio Gramsci. Jim Stanford, Maude Barlow and Tony Clarke have all, in recent works, invoked the theories of this Italian Marxist as part of their prescription for a new, more democratic society. This return to Gramsci is usually based on the Prison Notebooks and other writings of Gramsci late in life. What hasn't yet been done is relate the insights in these writings to the writings and activity of the young Gramsci during the factory council movement in Turin in the two years following World War One. This paper will make that attempt. Gramsci's leading role in a profound, council-based "local democracy" in those years was, the paper will argue, central to his development of a theory of the renewal of democracy in his later works. The paper will first outline Gramsci's views on democracy as outlined in the Prison Notebooks. His writings, here are notoriously open to different interpretations, given the Aesopian language Gramsci was forced to adopt to bypass the prison censor. But the paper will then survey his actions and writings during the factory council movement, and argue that properly understood, they provide a "Rosetta Stone" for accurately interpreting his prison writings. The research for this paper is part of a wider project on democracy and the left in the 21st century.

Kelly, James (jkelly@spartan.ac.brocku.ca) - Has the Charter Made any Significant Difference to Politics in Canada? – To come/à venir (with Hiebert – Harrison section)

Kennedy, Geoff (pants@yorku.ca) - Historical Materialism and the History of Political Thought - In the late 60s and early 70s, an historicist approach formulated by Quentin Skinner challenged the methodological foundations of the prevailing textualist and contextualist approaches to the history of political thought. The textualist approach was criticized for adhering to an ahistorical conception of political meaning. That is, it believed that political theory addressed the 'timeless issues' of political life. The contextualist approach was criticised for reducing ideas to a function of an underlying structure. That is, contextualists—particularly Marxists—sought to explain the rise of certain political theories in terms of its wider social context, thereby dangerously circumscribing the agency of political thinkers themselves. Since this historicist attack, Marxists have never really been able to address the methodological criticisms leveled against them. In fact, not very many Marxists are interested in the history of political thought at all any more. As such, there is a conceptual void within the Marxist approach to history of political thought. A Marxist approach to the history of political theory needs to take seriously the criticism leveled against it by the Cambridge School historicists while recognising the limits of their own linguistic contextualisation. In this paper, I attempt to build on the distinction made by Skinner between explanations of causation and explanations of meaning. By conceptualising the structuring of the meaning of political thought in relation to a social context—rather than a strictly intellectual one—it is hoped that the greater historical and social specificity that eludes the Cambridge School can be attained while at the same time avoiding the trap of circumscribing the agency of political thinkers by reducing the emergence of their ideas to a function of a social structure.

Kernerman, Gerald (geraldk@chass.utoronto.ca) - Representation and the Dilemma of Difference in Canada: Lessons from Feminist Theory – Struggles over representation in liberal democratic societies typically operate according to an impartial/partial binary distinction. In opposition to the traditional liberal premise of the universal impartial representative (who can speak on behalf of all citizens regardless of his or her gender, race, ethnic, or other characteristics), those who struggle to achieve more equitable representation often emphasize the inevitable partiality of political representatives, arguing that they (usually white, male, etc.) cannot possibly represent the specific issues, needs, and experiences of underrepresented and marginalized groups. In this way, many underrepresented groups have recognized, questioned, and even reversed the impartial/partial binary opposition. Yet while this strategic reversal is important, its logic can lead to situations where the gender, race, sexual or other attribute of the representative becomes all important. At its most problematic, the simple reversal of the impartial/partial binary opposition results in an essentialist identity politics, where the relationship between representation, identities and power relations is overly static. Focusing on the Canadian case, this paper argues that even though this essentialist logic of identity is usually resisted, it is hard to overcome, and this reflects, at least partly, the difficulty of negotiating and displacing the impartial/partial opposition - a manifestation of what feminist legal theorist Martha Minow has described as the dilemma of difference. As equality-seeking groups pursue strategies to overcome their under-representation, they are inevitably differentiated and particularized in the process. Access to the sphere of representation - as a universal civic space - is frequently denied as such representatives are presented as being more preoccupied with their own particularistic concerns than those of all citizens. There is a double irony at play here: members of equality-seeking groups, differentiated not by choice but by exclusion, are further differentiated once they become 'representatives' as they are denied an impartial voice that allows them to speak on behalf of all. Furthermore, their partiality, despite being imposed, is constructed as a threat to civic unity. The only alternative is for these representatives to actively and aggressively embrace the traditional liberal premise of impartiality by rejecting any suggestion that their gender, race or other attribute has any influence on their role as representative. Forced to make such a choice between a particularized or disembodied representative, it is difficult to

develop a fluid representative voice that displaces the impartial/partial binary opposition. In contrast, representatives from traditionally over-represented groups have more freedom to move across this binary opposition, expressing their particularity at some points without undermining their ability to appear impartial at others. To make this argument, the paper draws from contemporary feminist theory and undertakes a discourse analysis of media, policy, and constitutional texts from the Charlottetown Accord (1992) to the present.

King, Loren A. (lking@mit.edu) - Deliberative Disagreement in a Republic of Reasons - Much recent work in democratic theory ties legitimacy to public deliberation about the reasons that justify authority. But sincere and informed citizens may disagree about reasons, and some may find that their reasonable claims and cogent arguments never influence democratic outcomes. Why should these citizens accept democratic procedures and outcomes as legitimate? I suggest that reasonable citizens should have plausible grounds for expecting their deliberative activities to be fruitful in shaping the public sphere, especially the informal public sphere of shared civic and commercial spaces, nongovernmental associations, and artistic and journalistic fora. An emphasis on the subjective expectations of reasonable citizens is a vital component of fair equality of political influence, and recognizing this draws our attention to the appropriate moral psychology of deliberative citizenship under pluralism.

Kingston, Paul (Kingston@chass.utoronto.ca) - Donors, Patrons, and Civil Society: The Unintended Consequences of Promoting Grass-Roots Conservation Programmes in Postwar Lebanon - The paper will examine the results of the Global Environmental Facility (GEF), UNDP and IUCN sponsored project to promote the creation of biosphere reserves or "protected area projects" (PAPs) within postwar Lebanon. Interested in using the project to promote civil society and the broader goal of national reconciliation, foreign donors decided to use Lebanon's fledgling group of environmental NGOs as their principle collaborators. The paper will document the gradual infiltration of the implementing NGOs by Lebanon's resilient clientelist forces, forces that are particularly strong in peripheral regions of the country where land remains a primary source of social and political power. The result was the creation of de facto 'environmental monopolies' controlled by forces inimical to the interests of civil society and national reconciliation. The presentation will conclude with a discussion of the pitfalls and dilemmas of donor policies that ignore or turn a blind eye to the inherently political nature of development interventions.

Knopff, Rainer (knopff@ucalgary.ca) - A Democratic Charter? - Charter sceptics who worry about the undemocratic nature of judicial power are accused of 1) a simplistic, populist conception of democracy that does not take seriously the sense in which "true democracy" must incorporate the countermajoritarian claims of individual and minority rights; 2) a failure to appreciate that judicial power is generally a more reliable barometer of public opinion, and hence more profoundly democratic, than executive-dominated legislatures; 3) blindness to the democratic, "civil society" source of the Charter and Charter claims; and 4) a refusal to acknowledge the democratic justification provided for judicial power by its ongoing "dialogue" with governments and legislatures. This paper documents and assesses these very different, even conflicting, arguments for a "democratic Charter."

Kobayashi, Audrey – Transnational Communities and Political Inclusion – To come/à venir

Kokaz, Nancy (nkokaz@chass.utoronto.ca) - Thinking About Global Justice - Moral inquiry defies state boundaries. The exploration of ethics in international affairs has been on the rise-and rightly so in light of the plethora of ethical questions that world politics raises. To take just one example, it is impossible not to be appalled by the radical inequalities that characterize our world. Almost as shocking is the limited theoretical attention that questions of global distributive justice (and injustice) have received from political scientists, despite the urgency of the moral and political challenges that the facts of global inequality present us with. This and other similar questions in practical ethics can only be addressed in a

satisfactory manner in relation to a solid theoretical framework that clarifies the content and derivation of global obligations, as well as who these obligations fall onto. Without such a theory of global justice, the new international activism of our era is doomed to grope in the dark. It is the aim of this paper to articulate such a framework through an attempt to develop a robust theory of global justice that can provide guidance in dealing with the practical ethical dilemmas we encounter in world affairs. The elaboration of the main elements of this theory will reveal the importance of "building bridges" to move beyond the unproductive deadlock that has characterized the grand debates in political theory, overcome the artificial separation between political theory and international relations in matters pertaining to global justice, and most importantly, close the gap between theory and practice by offering concrete normative advice aimed at facilitating the taking of a principled stance in the face of global injustice. It is hoped that the results will offer the seeds of a much-needed ethical response to the moral quandaries inherent in the complex processes of world politics.

Kopas, Paul (pkopas@uwo.ca) - Tobacco Control: The Role of Local Government in the Pursuit of a National Goal - In a relatively few years, tobacco control regulations introduced by local governments across Canada have become so widespread that they compete for prominence with the federal government's own tobacco control policies. These regulations and the speed with which they were implemented can be explained as the result of the membership of municipal medical health officers in an international epistemic community combined with their key role in the public health administration in Canadian cities. The confluence of two ideas, the long-standing municipal objective to protect public health and the newly established scientific information about environmental tobacco smoke (ETS), allowed medical health officers to be both pivotal and entrepreneurial. The analysis will use an interpretive approach to establish the nature of the epistemic community and to examine the chronological development of scientific information, the sequence of increasingly strong municipal regulations, and the role of medical health officers. It will show that neither provincial nor federal governments played a role in these local decisions. The paper will do two things. First, it will show that municipal governments can be part of epistemic communities and will demonstrate how these governments may implement the objectives articulated by these communities. Second, it will explore the relationship between municipal and federal governments as they separately pursue broad national objectives. As an example, this analysis will endeavour to show where municipal and federal relationships can be strengthened, without challenging provincial jurisdiction, in the pursuit of national (or even international) goals. The paper fits within the author's interests by examining the relationship between ideas and institutions and explaining why, at some times but not others, certain ideas are incorporated into policy. Moreover, in terms of the author's interest in environmental policy, the tobacco control experience may be a precursor to debates over chemical use on lawns, pest control, and other issues that concern public health.

Kornprobst, Markus (markuskornprobst@yahoo.com) - Land, Nation, and State – Irredentism in Western Europe - Europe's age of revolutions, peaking in the mid-19th century, gave rise to a new form of international dispute: irredentism. Before the end of WWII, the high number of irredentist disputes, almost none of which were peacefully resolved, greatly destabilised the regional system. After WWII, however, all irredentist disputes were resolved peacefully. This is not puzzling with regard to Central and Eastern Europe, where Soviet hegemony put an end to territorial disputes, but it is puzzling with regard to Western Europe. Between 1969 and 1975, all irredentist disputes were resolved. Why did irredentism suddenly disappear? In order to solve this puzzle, I employ the method of abduction. I begin with a triangle consisting of episteme, identity, and norms as a theoretical framework, and refine this framework inductively by process tracing. My argument may be briefly summarised as follows: After the horrors of WWII, a shared social epistemology (episteme) became a constituent part of the

identities of Western European states; Europe's past is Europe's enemy. This led to the selection of norms concerning minority rights and the territorial status quo, which made the resolution of irredentist dispute possible: irredenta were granted minority rights, and, in exchange, formerly irredentist states stopped to claim territory. The theoretical significance of this study, which is part of a larger research project on irredentism, is twofold: First, irredentism in Europe is an important example of progress in international relations. How can this progress, which is certainly not irreversible, be sustained? What can we learn from this progress for the study of irredentism in other regions, or the study of other issue areas? Second, the study sheds new light on the selection and diffusion of norms – a very important and contested issue on the constructivist research agenda – by emphasising the links between this process, identity, and episteme.

Krajnc, Anita (akrajn@chass.utoronto.ca) - Re-Tooling Government and Civil: Defending 'Big Government' in the Environmental Field – To come/à venir

Kuehls, Thom (tkuehls@aol.com) - The Politics of Postcolonial Translation - "The task of postcolonial translator," writes Judith Butler, "is precisely to bring into relief the non-convergence of discourses so that one might know through the very ruptures of narrativity the founding violences of an episteme." Yet in the same volume, Butler speaks of the need for "establishing practices of translation among competing notions of universality." In other words, it is not enough to simply expose the founding violences of an episteme by drawing out the non-convergence of discourses, it is also necessary to work to establish practices of translation. Not for the purpose of sealing the rupture with new universalisms, but to set the conditions for a genuine politics of democracy, where various voices participate in a discussion where the terms of discourse have not already been set. What I propose to do in this paper is employ Butler's twin suggestions in the context of the politics of colonialism and decolonization. To that end I examine the manner with which the Euro-American discourse of colonialism was premised on a particular conception of sovereignty that was not operative across American Indian societies in the 16th and 17th centuries and that legitimized a certain level of colonial violence. Beyond that examination I attempt to locate possible sites of (or for) practices of translation. First, I look at the English-Indian engagements in the early American colonial period. Second, I look at a set of U.S. Supreme Court cases from the Marshall court of the early 1800s involving the status of Indian tribes in terms of the U.S. Constitution, that James Tully has suggested ought to serve as a template for contemporary land claims and aboriginal rights cases. Lastly, I look at the Supreme Court of Canada's decision in 'Delgamuukw v. British Columbia' (1997). The decision in the Delgamuukw case directly addresses the issue of translation, arguing that "Native oral history" must be accepted as valid evidence in aboriginal land claims cases.

Kukucha, Chris (Christopher.kukucha@uleth.ca) - The Future of Canadian Foreign Economic Policy - The post-war period has been marked by a proliferation of international economic regimes that has impacted the formulation of Canadian foreign economic policy at both the international and domestic levels. Internationally, Canada has continued to demonstrate a reliance on multilateral linkages but it has not hesitated to pursue regional, bilateral, or unilateral opportunities when it has served the national interest. Domestically, as trade and financial interdependence has increased Ottawa has been forced to secure the participation and compliance of domestic actors with jurisdictional authority and legitimate interest in specific issue areas. This paper will provide a chronological overview of developments related to the formulation of Canadian foreign economic policy. Internationally, it will attempt to determine if Canada's policy "flexibility" has provided a positive or negative foundation in terms of Canadian economic interests. Domestically, it will isolate a number of variables including the Canadian constitution, traditional institutional actors, expanding federal-provincial ties, sectoral and societal interests, and the impact of "ideas" (culture, ideology, etc.). In doing so, this analysis will draw together

a wide range of existing studies that touch on matters related to specific trade agreements, globalization, Canadian federalism, and sectoral aspects of Canada's international economic relations. At the same time, however, it will also provide an overview of where "gaps" appear in the current literature. Specifically, it will address the need for a comprehensive examination of Canadian foreign economic policy that includes historical and current developments and international and domestic levels of analysis.

Laforest, Rachel (rlafores@chat.carleton.ca) - Rethinking the Contours of Advocacy - In the last decade, there has been two significant shifts in relationship between the government and the voluntary sector in Canada, as in most developed countries, which have had important implications in the spheres of service provision and advocacy (Leduc Browne, 1996; Smith & Lipsky, 1993; Salamon, 1995). On one hand, the restructuring of the welfare state and the context of fiscal constraint has given increased salience to the idea that social policy can be delivered in a more cost effective way by relying on volunteers and voluntary organizations (Rice and Prince, 2000). Whereas the 1980s in Canada marked a rise of advocacy groups funded by the state, in the 1990s, these groups were pushed into primarily delivering services as funding was being cut back and partnerships encouraged or mandated (Pal, 1993; Jenson and Phillips, 1996). On the other hand, the federal government has had to come to terms with the reality that it can no longer govern alone as its role is being reduced and rethought (Paquet, 2000). As a consequence, the federal government has turned to the voluntary sector as a resource for policy advice, has come to recognize that its contribution extends well beyond the delivery of services and has taken concrete measures in order to involve voluntary organizations in the policy process, in policy dialogue and formulation at the national level (Phillips, 2001). While the impact of the first shift on voluntary organizations has been widely acknowledged, the implications for the second are not well known. This paper tries to fill this gap by examining the impact it is having on the role and functioning of voluntary organizations at the national level through an in-depth survey involving 20 organizations in the field of Children and Family services. It argues that the very nature of advocacy has been redefined to encompass the greater extent of their role in the public policy process. Rather than simply supporting an issue or speaking in favour of a particular constituency, voluntary sector organizations are now called upon to provide policy advice, research, to consult and to mediate policy to the general public. This has created opportunities for voluntary sector organizations to strengthen their role in the policy process. As such, many have opted to play a less adversarial role and to incorporate themselves into the mainstream of politics.

Lakatos, Michael (m.a.lakatos@lse.ac.uk) - Morality and Justice in Liberal Theory - One important criticism levelled against contemporary liberal theories of justice is that they try to establish a clear distinction between morality and justice, or to use their terminology, between the good and the right. The concept of morality is built-in to our conceptions of the good and these conceptions of the good must remain distinct from principles of justice according to liberal theory. This is not to say that the individual cannot retain a particular conception of the good, but rather that a broad conception of the good cannot be promoted as a conception of justice. There are numerous accounts used to justify this strict separation, but they are all dependent on a conception of autonomy that can support that differing conceptions of the good exists, that no particular conception of the good has more force than any other (with the exception of those that are unjust), and that we must be willing to limit the scope of our own conception such that others are allowed to promote their opinions equally. It is this conception of autonomy that forms the bedrock of liberal theory because if it is not accepted, the notion of tolerance that it is used to promote will be without foundation. This paper will show how a seemingly relativist theory can support such a conception of autonomy and demonstrate that the exercise of practical reason through dialogue can support principles of justice that are independent of a conception of the good.

Laliberté, André (alaliber@uottawa.ca) - The Search for Chinese International Ethics – Many Chinese intellectuals working on international relations support the Westphalian order of sovereign states while Western scholars are questioning its relevance and its necessity. This paper argues that a study of Chinese international ethics can elucidate this apparent paradox by relying on historical evidence coming from intellectual history. Using recent literature on the study of Chinese foreign policy and writings by prominent Chinese scholars reflecting on Chinese international relations, the paper will suggest a framework with which to interpret Chinese international ethics. In doing so, the paper suggests that making sense of Chinese international ethics may require jettisoning the concern over the contradiction between justice and order that prevails in Western political philosophy. The paper proposes that a reconstruction of contemporary Chinese international ethics requires identifying the legacy of the world views upheld by five different modes of interaction between China and the world since the formative stage of Chinese civilization: the classical realist strategic culture of the Warring State period (475-221 BC); the cosmopolitan openness of the Han (206 BC-220 AD) and the Tang dynasties (618-907); the Sinocentric tributary system of the Qing dynasty (1644-1911); the collaborationism adopted by Chinese elites when foreign rulers have governed the country; and the utopian tradition carried by peasant and millenarian movements as well as the communist party under Mao.

Landry, Michel D., Verrier, Molly C., Williams, A. Paul, Deber, Raiser B. and Rappolt, Susan (mike.landry@utoronto.ca) - Changes Within Publicly Funded Physical Therapy Services Across Ontario
Overview: Public financing for Canadian health care service is in a state of flux. There has been devolution of funding responsibility to provincial and regional authorities, shifts in the locus of care towards community-based settings and finally, threats of provincial delisting of a variety of health services. These trends are particularly evident in the provision of Physical Therapy (PT) services in Ontario where there is first, an increasing number of private for-profit and not-for-profit providers, and second, an increasing proportion of Physical Therapists working in the private sector. It has been purported that changes in public financing may increase the market for private physical therapy service delivery. A contributing factor purported to influence this trend is the process of globalization through foreign multinational investments and acquisitions of previously public funded clinics. Relevance: Under the *Canada Health Act*, PT is required to be insured only if deemed ‘medically necessary’ and only if provided in hospitals. As physical therapy service provision shifts from the hospital to the community, it is perceived to fall outside institutional boundaries and regulations resulting in changes in how PT is funded and delivered. Despite these alterations, there has been debate regarding the implications of the consequences at the system and client levels. Methodology: In order to better understand these issues in Ontario, a Physical Therapy Policy Scan (PTPS) was conducted to systematically document, analyze and triangulate with other available data sets, information regarding publicly financed PT services. Using Health Canada’s eight criteria, the PTPS categorized data into standardized themes that allowed for descriptive and comparative analysis. Results: Four main themes emerge from the PTPS: (1) Outsourcing: It is estimated that up to 25 hospitals in Ontario have replaced their outpatient PT departments with private corporations, and that all Community Care Access Centers have outsourced their PT services to private for-profit and not-for-profit providers. (2) Freezing: The number of publicly funded, Physical Therapist owned, PT clinic licenses or agreements in Ontario along with the relative level of funding per treatment unit, has remained unchanged since the 1960s. As a result, an increasing proportion of these clinics are now required to combine a mix of public/private funding to remain viable business entity. (3) Delisting: There has been a delisting of a specific physician code that previously allowed a physician to invoice the Ontario Hospital Insurance Plan (OHIP) for PT services. While this decision was well received among the PT community striving for the autonomy to direct access provided by the HPRAC, the consequence of delisting the public funding previously allocated

to this code, was not reallocated into direct community PT services. Furthermore, there are indications that similar changes will occur within publicly funded community PT clinics (4) *Offloading*: As public funds diminish, there are concerns voiced by various third party payers who are being expected to assume an increased financial responsibility for PT services as an insured service. Conclusions: There is significant empirical evidence suggesting a decrease in the capacity of publicly funded PT services in Ontario. Furthermore, there are clear indications that the eroding effect on current levels of public funding will continue in the short term. Consequently, the outcome may be an increased market for private PT service delivery, which may in turn have negative consequences to those who currently depend on access to public health care.

Langenbacher, Eric (langenbe@georgetown.edu) - The Importance of Collective Memory for Public Opinion: A Quantitative Analysis of Contemporary Germany - In recent years, authors have devoted substantial attention to the study of collective memory. Advances in refining the concept, in elucidating the dynamics of persistence and change and in deconstructing various components have been produced. Analysts have also delved into the impact of collective memory in a variety of politically-relevant domains, such as the articulation of collective identities, a nation's memorial culture and landscape, and the influence of memory on political structures and elites. Some authors have also begun to look at the frequency of such memories among mass publics. Few, however, have extended such analyses, to investigate the salience of collective memory for mass publics, and more importantly, the possible impact of such historical interpretations on public opinion. No other country has been as affected by collective memories of a 'past which won't go away' as postwar Germany. Indeed memories of the Third Reich have permeated German politics from the founding of the Federal Republic. A willingness to interpret the past in a way that emphasized German culpability for crimes against humanity and to confront this heritage, was originally confined to a narrow elite, but eventually broadened to affect almost all of the elite and by the 1960s and 70s greater segments of the mass public. Since the mid-1980s, collective memory issues have never been far from the political agenda. Especially since Reunification, interpretations of the past have permeated many major political debates, such as the decision to move the capital back to Berlin, virtually all controversies surrounding the issue complex of 'foreigners,' and many foreign policy issues. Given the heightened interest in memory in general and the relative dearth of empirical studies focusing on the impact of the past on mass public opinion, it is appropriate to carry out such an investigation on the important German case. This paper posits several more focused questions. First, what interpretations of the past are the most salient for contemporary generations of Germans? Does the Holocaust-centered interpretation predominate, do other interpretations of the Third Reich or do other historical epochs resonate more widely? Second, do the interpretations of the past that exist exert influence on attitudes in various political domains. Public opinion concerning foreign policy, policies toward foreigners, fighting right extremism and constitutional structures (including attitudes towards the various restrictive institutions adopted as responses to Nazism) is studied. Testing for the independent impact of memory requires the inclusion of various demographic control variables like age/generation, East-West residency and education. To address these questions, an original survey was formulated and implemented with a nationally representative sample of Germans under the age of 60 by the public opinion firm FORSA in Berlin in August 2000. Tentative conclusions include the following. The Nazi period is still the most salient historical period but is closely followed by the now-historical Federal Republic to 1990. Competing interpretations of the Nazi period do not really exist: a large majority accepts the Holocaust-centered, Germans-as-perpetrators memory. Few demographic differences emerged, although greater education and more leftist partisan identification led to a greater propensity of choosing the Nazi period and the

perpetrator memory. The biggest exception is the effect of age with older cohorts being much closer to elite-validated, historically-conscious views than younger ones. However, the most notable findings are the influences of memory on political attitudes. Large majorities (70-80%) thought the past does and ought to influence the political areas investigated and other statistics show that memory exerts an independent influence on political values. In sum, the findings greatly substantiate the contention that collective memory is an important causal factor influencing public opinion. On the one hand, a more comprehensive understanding of public opinion in Germany emerges. On the other, although Germany is a most-likely case, this paper demonstrates the relevance of the findings for other countries and the more general study of public opinion and memory.

Lanoszka, Anna (alanos@sprint.ca) - Global Governance, Legitimacy, and the Harmonization of Law - The paper is an attempt to salvage the spirit of embedded liberalism. We consider the impact of international legalization on political outcomes in order to explore the tension between justice and efficiency in a changing global order. The WTO is a global institution that includes within its mandate trade in services and intellectual property rights. It is also an ambiguous step on the road to the progressive codification of international law because of its dispute settlement system capable of exercising retaliatory power against states that break their WTO commitments. When a WTO dispute settlement panel invalidates a cultural or environmental regulation it claims to be enforcing a higher legal norm, with which all domestic policies must be consistent. Currently unchecked by any formal legislative mechanism, this judiciary part of the organization increasingly becomes a law creating body. The WTO is a treaty of economic rights that bestows directly enforceable rules on its Members. Thus balancing the welfare effects of the rules implemented by different countries over time becomes unnecessary and politics is assumed away. Instead, the WTO rules themselves provide the hierarchy of norms. The paper suggests how the post-war bargain on embedded liberalism can be reclaimed in the globalization era. The main question before us is how to reform the global institutions to ensure that domestic policy-making remains autonomous and recognized; instead of being treated as a problem that obstructs the purposes of the global harmonization of economic law.

Laponce, Jean (jlaponce@interchange.ubc.a) - Territorial or Cultural and Social Boundaries? - Borders are not just walls, they are also doors and windows; they may hinder and prevent communication, but they may also channel and facilitate it. This dual function of boundaries, well analyzed by Jean Gottmann, will offer the basic model used to make a critical assessment of the functionality of Canada's internal geographical divisions. It will be argued that these divisions are largely dysfunctional for not answering contemporary economic, linguistic, and national imperatives; especially the last two imperatives on which the paper will focus its attention. The author will consider ways of transforming a federalism of regions into a federalism of cultures by combining territorial and personal forms of federalism; he will wonder whether the century old proposals of Otto Bauer and Karl Renner and the system of personal autonomy tried by Estonia in the 1930s offer examples that could be adapted to the Canadian case.

Lawson, James (jlawson@canoemail.com) - Land-Use Politics and Forest Policy in the Ottawa Valley: The Role of Industry-Regions and the Spatial Quality of the Built Environment as Explanatory Factors - This paper summarizes and extends the author's dissertation results. It compares patterns of three different case studies of land-use politics in the Ottawa Valley. It also sketches an historically-informed explanation of those patterns, in relation to specific theories of social space and industrial geography. From the late 1960s, subregional land-use policies and politics in the Ottawa Valley echoed and influenced one another. Similar state and non-state stakeholders were involved. Parks and reserves solve similar problems. But if similar, these and other subregional patterns have never been identical, and in important ways, they diverged: aboriginal non-violent resistance varied in intensity and in its

relationship to forest management; environmentalist and pro-park alliances have had markedly different compositions. Drawing on Storper and Walker's geographic conception of industry-regions, the forest staple's encounter with the Algonquin hunting-territory system throughout the Valley in the nineteenth century emerges as a key explanatory factor for the commonalities. By contrast, an adapted schema of social-space types exposes the differentiating role played by different stakeholders' historical influence on the rural "built environment" (Harvey). Consequently, the various "special" or "protected places" (Killan) like Temagami, Algonquin Park, and La Vérendrye Park differed historically in what was being protected, and from what or whom.

Layton Henry, Zig – Transnational Communities, Citizenship and Political Engagement – To come/à venir

Leal, David L. (dleal@buffalo.edu) - The Politics of Canadian Provincial Admission into the United States - One possible future scenario for Canada is the dissolution of the federation, at which point some or all of the Anglophone provinces might apply for admission into the United States. This politically charged scenario has received only limited attention, despite periodic uncertainty about the status of Quebec. One aspect worthy of close attention is the potential U.S. reaction to provincial suitors. There are important political considerations that would influence if and how the United States would consider a northern territorial expansion. This paper examines the history of U.S. state admissions to illustrate how the anticipated partisanship (in the American context) of provincial Senate delegations would likely be a key determinant of which provinces, if any, would be admitted. An estimation of provincial partisanship is then made, with the results suggesting that American Republicans might see the admission of the Anglophone provinces as a substantial political risk. This is especially true at the moment, as almost all American federal institutions are closely divided. Even a small shift in national partisanship could have significant effects on political control over the Senate, the House, the presidency, and the Supreme Court. Canadian provincial admission might therefore be a non-starter, regardless of Canadian opinion on the subject.

Leclerc, Mélisa and Pétry, François (melisa.leclerc.deneault@utoronot.ca) - Regional and Class Variation in Public Attitudes Toward Public Spending Programmes - According to conventional wisdom, there are no politically significant class divisions in Canadian political culture. The only salient divisions in public opinion are regional divisions (Elkin and Simeon, Gibbins, Schwartz). Ornstein and Stevenson have argued the contrary point that the importance of regionalism has been exaggerated and that there are significant class divisions in Canadian political culture. Most empirical studies of regional and class cleavages in Canadian political culture are based on data from the 1960s and 1970s. In this research, we replicate earlier tests of regional and class cleavages with data from the 1990s. More specifically, our data base is constituted of more than 33 000 responses to public opinion surveys on public spending questions over the years 1992-1998. Our research examines the extent of regional and social differences among survey respondents. A multivariate logistic regression analysis is performed in order to test the relative importance of class and region and whether the two are related (for example, do regional differences in ideology reflect variation in the class compositions of the provinces?). The logistic regressions will also measure the impact of control variables such as age, gender, level of education, and language. This research is based on Leclerc's master's thesis work under Petry's direction

Lee Theresa (tmlee@uoguelph.ca) - Rethinking the Personal and the Political - Among the most significant and original contributions of the "second wave" was undoubtedly the politicization of the personal as captured by the slogan "the personal is political." Over the last three decades, feminists have indeed reshaped the political landscape of the Western world by challenging the liberal dichotomy between the private and the public. To the extent that major liberal feminist political theorists such as

Susan Moller Okin acknowledges that the distinction is ideological, feminism has made important political strides both in theory and in practice. Against this background, the paper addresses the question of whether feminist politics informed by the conviction that the personal is political can transform itself from relentless politicization into the basis upon which a new form of civic engagement can be construed. If such a possibility exists, what will be the nature of this feminist conception of civic engagement? This is an important question from a feminist standpoint because thus far politics which defies a clear distinction between the political and the personal tends to be authoritarian, if not totalitarian, as in the case of pre-liberal patriarchy in Europe and Confucianism in imperial China. In short, the paper asks if feminist formulation of the relationship between the personal and the political is unique in that it can enhance, rather than impede, the task of building an inclusive and democratic polity.

Leech, David J. (dleech@uottawa.ca) - Perceptions and Values of Watershed Actors in Eastern Ontario - Climate Change and Water Management Social and environmental research into the management of water resources has highlighted the challenges to effective management created by the mismatch between the ecological boundaries of watersheds and their associated ecosystems, and the social and political boundaries of human communities. Effective management from a social and environmental viewpoint necessitates that the coordination of public intervention attempt to better take into account the natural boundaries associated with natural processes. Moreover, effective management of water resources necessitates that public interventions address effectively the diversity and multiplicity of human behaviour and activities impacting on the use of water resources. In this context, understanding the nature of the relationship between municipal authorities and watershed-based authorities becomes a crucial prerequisite for any attempt to pass judgment on the ability of local water resource management authorities to respond to climatologically based environmental change affecting water resources. Indeed, it is necessary to grasp clearly the political dynamics (institutional, interest-based, and epistemic) affecting the coordination of policies and activities among these three categories of actors if we are to understand the possible health of our environment in the future. After studying the perceptions and attitudes of decision-makers in conservation authorities and municipalities in Eastern Ontario, we note that there are interesting conclusions to be drawn about the role of science in decision-making, the relative influence of these actors on water management priorities and the perceptions about the current state of, and impacts of climate change on the environment. Our paper will present the results of our research in the context of assessing the capacity for local municipalities and conservation authorities to adapt to climate change.

Lemieux, Marc (lemieuxmarc@yahoo.com) - Kurdistan to Kosovo: The Implications of Multi-National Use of Force Upon International Law - Since the Gulf War, US-led coalitions driven by humanitarian concerns have gone beyond the letter and previous norms of international law to use force in securing environments for humanitarian assistance and regional peace. Interventionism has radically challenged international law and the principles of the UN Charter. I argue that UN institutionalism has again become marginalized by trans-Atlantic culture driven by like-minded states sharing values and a human rights-oriented identity. Norms matter. Building upon the work of constructivist thinkers Finnemore and Onuf, this paper will examine the implications of three cases of multinational military intervention upon international law: northern Iraq, Bosnia and Kosovo. In all cases, economic interests were not directly threatened, nor were international borders redrawn. During Operation Provide Comfort, select states went beyond Security Council resolution 688 to forcibly guarantee humanitarian delivery and repatriation of Kurdish refugees to Iraq in 1991. Following international failure in Bosnia, NATO airstrikes combined with select ground troops forced belligerents to peace negotiations in 1995. Without UN authorization, US-led NATO airstrikes reversed ethnic cleansing while its forces repatriated

Kosovars in 1999. Militarized humanitarianism has been promoted by a combination of American might, preservation of collective security and common norms and values shared by most Western states. While the precedents of force for humanitarian or minority rights purposes augur poorly for the UN system, it must not be forgotten that the system was established to universalize certain norms which transcend state sovereignty.

Leuprecht, Christian (leuprech@qsilver.queensu.ca) - Think Locally, Act Globally: Legitimizing Minority Nationalist Claims Vis-à-vis the Fractional State - A newly edited volume by Michael Keating and John McGarry on Minority Nationalism and the Changing International Order (Oxford, 2001) attempts to fill an apparent gap in the literature: How the rise of cosmopolitanism and globalization have altered the relationship of national minorities to the state. Despite the high caliber of contributors, however, they allude to but avoid wrestling with what may very well be the most significant impact of the cosmopolitanism on the state: the emergence of the latter's fractal nature. Fractality is used in theoretical mathematics to denote something that is part of the whole as well as the whole at the same time. Globalization has given rise to a controversy about the role of the state: Has the state become just another actor that has to share power with interest groups, business, etc. or does it remain uniquely positioned because it has legitimacy? Zaki Laidi resolves the apparent contradiction by pointing to the state's fractality, i.e. that it is both. (Un Monde privé de sens, Paris: Hachette, 2001) National minorities in democratizing countries tend to consider their state illegitimate because they are effectively excluded from the political process. They seek to remedy their condition of political deprivation (Connor in Keating and McGarry, 2001) by advancing their claims at the global level. There they appeal to cosmopolitan values to advance their claims via international organizations embodying those values. (Keating and McGarry) These organizations and national states then put (token) pressure on states harbouring a given national minority. Usually the states in question remain impervious to that pressure, leaving the international community with a conundrum: From a constructivist viewpoint it desires to change the situation but Realpolitik dictates that it has no business telling other states how to run their affairs. The logic presumes a holistic state that is not an actor like any other because it has legitimacy. Contrast that with the way the national minority views the state. They do not actually consider it entirely illegitimate but their appeal to the international community and cosmopolitan values suggests they consider it just one actor on par with others. In effect, I contend that the proper appreciation of the state in this case is a modicum of the two. On the one hand, the state actually has full legitimacy in all matters not affecting the minority. On the other, it does not have legitimacy in matters dealing with the minority as long as that minority does not have full and equal access to the democratic political process. In matters dealing with the minority, then, the international community can, therefore, make legitimate use of its asymmetrical bargaining power to compel the state to implement measures righting the current wrongs with regard to that minority. As long as the state continues to exclude the minority from the democratic process it does not have full legitimacy and hence can logically be obligated to share its power with other actors.

Levesque, Richard (rlevesqu@ccs.carleton.ca) - Foucault and Public Choice - Foucault and Public Choice or how adopting a productive view of the function of power can open up new horizons to the study of policymaking from a rational choice perspective; especially with respect to the discursive aspect of the policymaking process In public choice as well as in welfare economics, it is assumed that public policies serve no other purpose than redistributing resources among individuals. The objective of interest groups who get involved in the policymaking process is therefore not power as such, it is rather rent-seeking; i.e., obtaining a redistribution of resources that will favor their interest. Rational choice theories of the policymaking process therefore work with a negative view of the function of power. Power is useful only to the extent that it can be used to take away resources from some people.

Foucault, for his part, rather claims that power can fulfill a productive function as well. Foucault defines power as being the conduct of actions. For Foucault, the bodies and actions of individuals are endowed with a certain utility and, in such a context, power is a means by which one can invest bodies—a means by which one can influence how actions are being performed—in such a way that these bodies and actions will generate more utility. Thus, for Foucault, power aims at conducting the actions of people, not taking resources away from them. My presentation will aim at presenting a rational choice model of the policymaking process based on the concept of productive power. In this model, policies will not be seen as being governmental actions that aim at redistributing resources among interest groups but rather as governmental actions that aim at fixing the rules that will conduct the actions of certain groups. Groups that get involved in the policymaking process will therefore not be seen as trying to obtain a redistribution of resources that will favor their interest but rather they will be seen as either trying to impose rules on how certain groups perform certain activities so as to reduce the negative impact that these activities produced on their welfare or trying to resist, trying to get rid of, certain rules that reduce the utility they obtain from undertaking certain activities. The model that I will present is mainly developed with the help of game theory. The main results that are obtained from my model concern the discursive aspect of the policymaking process. With my model, it becomes possible to determine which kind of policies will be discussed in the public realm versus which ones will not. As well, it is possible to identify the different tactics or strategies that groups may use in the public sphere so as to either succeed in imposing rules on activities performed by other groups that negatively impact their welfare or resist and get rid of rules that negatively impact their welfare by limiting their own freedom of action and movement. My model is the first rational choice model that is able to explore, to say anything at all really, about the discursive aspect of the policymaking process. As well, it presents results about the discursive aspect of the discursive aspect of policymaking that by and large complement the results obtained by non-rational choice approaches. Thus, this model constitutes, in my opinion, a genuine contribution to the study of the policymaking process in general.

Liston, Mary (m.liston@utoronto.ca) - Building Trust, Building Memory: Renovating Representation under the Indian Act - Melissa Williams' recent work *Voice, Trust, and Memory* offers a tri-partite way of understanding the failings of representation in a liberal democracy. By organizing her analysis according to her three title axes, Williams investigates the "representative deficit" experienced by American women and African Americans. She focuses on evidence of a continued lack of an effective voice in the political system, the inability to trust how the political system will treat issues pertinent to their lives and their personhood, and the significance of group memories of a political system embedded in a discriminatory past. In Canadian political science, one of the questions raised in relation to this work is whether Williams' framework can assist in explaining and remedying the marginalization of Canadian Aboriginal citizens—and women in particular. Our project here is three-fold. We begin by focusing on the recent changes to the Indian Act. We outline how the new regulations, which enable off-reserve Aboriginal persons to vote in local band elections and referenda, affect the political experiences of Aboriginal Canadians along the 3 axes contained in Williams' framework—voice, trust, and memory. In the second section, we focus individually on each of these axes. An examination of voice under the Indian Act reveals the complicated relationship between individual autonomy and group identity. Here, we examine the role of Aboriginal interest groups as one source of voice in order to determine the impact of their voice on Canadian policy decisions. We then analyze the multifaceted forms of agency that have produced these changes and how trust—or lack thereof—has fuelled the desire for reform between the Canadian state and Aboriginal peoples and within Aboriginal communities. Lastly, the axis of memory allows us to examine institutional dialogue between Aboriginal systems of governance (customary or otherwise), the Canadian state and DIAND in particular, interest groups, and the

judiciary. A historical and gender-sensitive perspective illuminates why traditional representative routes (i.e., political parties, the Assembly of First Nations, Band consultations with the Canadian government) could not alone produce the required changes. Our final section is prospective and so more speculative. It asks about building trust and building memory: we will argue that the building of voice naturally follows building trust and memory. Here, we provide a preliminary outline of what we see as the principle elements of reconstructing both trust and memory in a divided society, by incorporating insights from both Williams' work and the reasons given by the Canadian government in effecting the changes to the electoral regulations for off-reserve Indians. Flowing from this, we consider whether the Indian Act, an imposed system of governance, can ever properly facilitate the representational needs of Native Canadians. We conclude, however, that the articulation of shared collective experiences, their incorporation into the larger national experience, and an increased attention to the particulars of representative processes may mitigate the effects of historical and systemic injustice.

Longford, Graham (glongford@trentu.ca) - Information Age Government? Federal Government On-Line Initiatives in the New Ecology of Information – The proposed paper examines recent federal initiatives in e-government in light of their potential impact on the quality and availability of information on government programs and policies for use by citizens. Proponents of GOL argue that it will provide citizens with more and better information about government programs and services, thereby improving the transparency and accountability of government to its citizens. While some of the achievements of the Government On-Line initiative appear impressive, the paper argues that altering the balance of informational power between citizens and the federal government still faces many challenges. Technical and administrative challenges, including the utility of web search tools and the absence of information management standards within bureaucracies limit the usability and accessibility of much of the information currently made available on-line. More troubling are a number of other trends in government which make accessing information more rather than less difficult. Included among these trends are the commodification of government information, the application of cost-recovery policies to information resources, a less open approach to administering the Access to Information Act, and restructuring initiatives such as privatization and devolution with fragment accountability and increase the "organizational opacity," as Roberts puts it, of government. Finally, any improvement in the informational balance of power between citizens and governments as a result of GOL may be cancelled out by other developments within the ecology of information in Canada, such consolidation and cross-ownership of the corporate media, the decline of Canada's public information infrastructure (eg. CBC), and the commercialization of news and information in general.

Lu, Catherine (catherine.lu@staff.mcgill.ca) - Justice and Reconciliation in International Society - The establishment of criminal tribunals for the former Yugoslavia and for Rwanda, along with an International Criminal Court (ICC), represent the introduction of a retributive conception of justice in international morality and law. Retributive justice is a controversial concept, raising complex questions of moral agency and accountability, of blame and guilt, and of crime and punishment in world politics. My paper will examine the philosophical literature on retributive justice in order to understand better the diverse critiques of the ICC as a global institution of moral accounting in the aftermath of moral violations such as crimes against humanity, genocide, and war crimes. Such an examination leads to an exploration of the potential conflicts that may arise between domestic and international institutions of moral accounting over divergent conceptions of justice and reconciliation and their relationship.

Lum, Janet, Williams, A Paul, Ruff, Simone and Tamara Daly (jlum@ryerson.ca) - Squeezing the Ethnoracial Voluntary Sector - This paper uses quantitative and qualitative data from an ongoing research study to examine the effects on one ethnoracial community - the Chinese community in Toronto - of recent Ontario government policies which have shifted a greater burden for health care

onto local communities and voluntary sector organizations without a matching shift in health care funding. It analyses the role of voluntary agencies in the Chinese community in responding to recent cuts in the budgets of Community Care Access Centres (CCACs). In 1996 Ontario created 43 CCACs to coordinate one-stop shopping for a range of home and community care services. Since then, government-initiated hospital restructuring initiatives have reduced hospital beds, decreased average length of hospital stays, and in the process, has substantially increased the demand for home and community care services, although current CCAC budgets remain at 1996 home care budget levels. Because home and community care are not entitlements under Medicare, CCACs have responded by cutting services, and in effect, shifting a growing proportion of clients to community agencies beyond their budgets. As CCACs shift more needs to voluntary agencies, many of these agencies are also suffering direct cutbacks due to cuts in government social services spending on which many rely to a significant extent. As well, to gain contracts for service provision, many agencies are being pushed into "managed competition" with commercial, for-profit service providers. The question is this: what are the effects for community-based voluntary agencies which are now forced to pick up a greater burden of illness and disability? One line of argument, promoted by adherents to neo-liberal ideologies, is that shifting care to local communities and voluntary agencies is good - it strengthens community capacity and produces services for the people who need them on a more sensitive and cost-effective basis. An opposing line of argument, favoured by those who criticize the progressive withdrawal of the state from areas like health, social welfare and education, is that this shift progressively erodes this capacity, and leaves individuals needing services even more vulnerable. This paper focuses on the capacity of voluntary agencies in ethnoracial communities, specifically the Chinese community. Even in such established communities as the Chinese in Toronto, voluntary agencies are being squeezed; the implications on more recent and less well-established communities such as the Caribbean community may be more immediate. As prices have been forced down as a result of competition, there is less capacity for providers to offer ethno-specific services, particularly outside large urban areas. As for broader policy implications, this research raises the issue of dedicated funding. In addition to arguing for more funding across the board, are there arguments for specific funding for needs communities most at risk?

Lyons, Sara (sara_lyons@ontla.ola.org) - Examining the Barriers to Political Power for Franco-Ontarians – As evidence consistently shows, the political salience of English-speaking Quebecers is of no small importance. The linguistic minority in Quebec appears to have been successful in recent times at keeping its rights and desires on the political agenda. More clearly, Anglo-Quebecers have political importance in the sense that their particular needs are visible on the mainstream political landscape. But perhaps more critically, their collective will appears to have crystallized into a functional and powerful political force. With this in mind, what factors lead to the contrasting weakness of Franco-Ontarians as players in Ontario politics? Despite significant numbers (almost half a million in the 1996 census), the historical standing of the French in Canada and the status of the French language in Canada, Franco-Ontarians would appear to have a modest impact in the province of Ontario. Certainly their strength is weak compared to Anglo-Quebecers, who also number approximately half a million people. Much of the difference may be attributable to the inherent volatility of language and culture in Quebec politics but there are likely also more circumstantial factors such as the scarcity of Francophone members at Queen's Park, the dominance of Toronto, an Anglophone city, in Ontario politics, or the particular distribution of Francophones across the provincial ridings. This paper will explore the various causes, primarily in the Queen's Park environment, of the political weakness of Franco-Ontarians and will attempt to clarify what the institutional and structural barriers to their political salience might be.

Maas, Willem (willem.maas@yale.edu) - Explaining European Mobility Rights - Why were European

mobility rights introduced? It is conventional wisdom that free movement rights had to be introduced in order to ensure a common market. The logic is clear in the case of goods and capital, but the necessity of extending mobility rights to individuals is not self-evident. In other free trade areas, free movement does not apply to persons; why should it do so in Europe? Freedom of movement – of goods and capital but also of people – is today seen as the key right of European Union citizenship and an essential condition for European integration, but how did this come to be so? This paper describes and explains the introduction of free movement rights – the right not only to move but also to take up employment and residence – within the EU. These rights were granted first to qualified coal and steel workers under the European Coal and Steel Community treaty, expanded to nuclear technicians with the Euratom treaty and certain employed nationals of EEC member states with the Treaty of Rome, and gradually came to apply to ever greater categories of individuals. Furthermore, the nature of the rights themselves changed; the European economic space is characterized by greater and greater freedom of movement. I examine the limited explanations within existing European integration literature and weigh them against each other as well as evaluating them from the perspective of four decades of Commission action, Court jurisprudence, and policymaking and political intervention by individual member state governments. The paper addresses a significant lacuna in the literature by focusing on the political and economic origins of this ‘dynamic institution’.

Macdonald, Douglas (Douglas.macdonald@utoronto.ca) - The Environmental Policy Interest of the Regulated Firm - Applied and academic policy analysts agree that the environmental policies developed and implemented by federal and provincial governments in Canada result from a process of negotiation with polluting industries in the resource and manufacturing sectors. For a variety of reasons, those firms are able to negotiate from a position of strength. This means that the policy interest of the firm – what it wants environmental regulators to do – has always had a significant impact on the actions ultimately taken by governments. The challenge for analysts is that this variable is not self-evident. Firms may work to weaken environmental standards, but they may instead seek to strengthen them in order to impose costs on competitors. They may also welcome regulation as a liability shield, as a means of gaining social legitimacy, or a necessary solution to the free-rider problem associated with self-regulation. The proposed paper will examine the policy objectives of firms and trade associations participating in solid waste, smog, toxic chemicals and climate change policy. The hypothesis to be explored is that their policy interest is shaped predominantly by their market interest, but that both external pressures and internal organization and culture are also significant. The paper is a first step in development of a research program which will use primary documents and interviews to determine more precisely how those corporations have set their environmental policy objectives. By shedding light on one actor, the paper will contribute to pluralist policy analysis which looks to the variables of interests, ideas and institutions. The paper is part of my ongoing research into the ways in which business influences Canadian environmental policy.

Macdonald, Laura (laura_macdonald@carleton.ca) - Beyond Boundaries?: Borders, Immigration, and the North Americanization of Contention - In this paper, I will examine the implications of debates over borders and immigration control policies (pre-and post-September 11th) for the “North Americanization of Contention”. The paper will examine the diverse role played by civil society actors (both business and non-business) in response to proposals to reform border control and immigration policy centering on first the U.S.-Mexico border and secondly the U.S.-Canadian border. While a wide array of both business and non-business cross-border coalitions have been active in contesting the current form of border control at the U.S.-Mexico border, to date only business groups have assumed a prominent role in Canada in debates around the construction of a “North American security perimeter”. As a result, no truly North American approach to borders has developed, resulting in a disjointed and shallow form of

public debate over this critical issue. The paper will draw upon social movement theory to explaining the diverse response of political actors to these proposals, and will be based upon both a review of primary documents and journalistic coverage of the issue as well as interviews with such organizations and the Action Canada Network, the Council of Canadians, the Conference Board of Canada. This paper suggests that a cautious approach to the “North Americanization of Contention” is warranted, given the current absence of institutional mechanisms to promote the development of truly continental initiatives, and the resulting ad hoc and sporadic nature of civil society involvement in policy debates.

MacLean, Melissa (mmaclean@magma.ca) - Local Democracy and the Protest Against Water Privatization in Cochabamba, Bolivia - With the introduction of the Ley de Participacion Popular in 1994, as part of a second-generation neoliberal reform package, Bolivia pioneered a decentralization regime widely considered a model for consolidating democracy in a neoliberal context. The legislation introduced citizen involvement in municipal governance and recognized grassroots organizations as legitimate interlocutors. Yet more than six years on, protest related to neoliberal adjustment in Bolivia continues to challenge the official democratic boundaries. In April 2000, the privatization of water resources and services in the city of Cochabamba touched off massive conflict. Based on field research carried out in the months following the Guerra, I analyze the links and disjunctures between this civic protest movement and the formal regime of local participation, showing how the movement intersected with Participacion Popular networks while simultaneously revealing deep flaws in the official participatory process. As a contribution to scholarly discussion on changes in democratic governance and social movements in Latin America in the wake of neoliberal restructuring and globalization, I delineate some novel features of Cochabamba's Guerra del Agua movement that I believe to be suggestive of future patterns. I argue that this case, and popular unrest in Bolivia in general, reveal the ongoing failure of Bolivia's democracy to win legitimacy, as well as demonstrating potentials and weaknesses within social movements struggling to reconfigure themselves in the neoliberal environment. The paper builds on my interests in the theory and practice of democratic governance and participation.

MacMillan, Michael and Tatalovich, Raymond (Michael.Macmillan@msvu.ca) - Judicial Activism or Restraint? The Supreme Court and Language Policy in Canada and the United States - In the past twenty years, both Canada and the United States have witnessed a significant degree of conflict over language issues. Since the passage of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, there has been growing debate about the consequent politicization of the courts and their role in democratic politics. The language issue is joined in this context in Canada because of the language clauses in the Charter. In the United States, English was not codified as the "official" language until recently when, at last count, twenty-five states have enacted laws proclaiming English their official language. In these divergent legal milieus, have the highest courts adopted a stance of activism or restraint with regard to language policy? While some scholars have maintained that the Canadian Supreme Court has been activist in this area, we argue that the Supreme Court has followed, rather than lead, political opinion on these matters. The United States Supreme Court, in contrast, has steadfastly avoided any substantive consideration of the merits of the cases appearing before it. Consequently, the Canadian Supreme Court by design, and the United States Supreme Court by default, have both elected a stance of judicial self-restraint in this contentious policy area.

MacRae, Heather (hcmacrae@yahoo.ca) - National and Supranational Gender Regimes in Europe - Over the past decade the mandate of the institutions of the European Union has broadened dramatically. The supranational body initiates policy not only in the traditional economic sphere but increasingly in the social sphere. The integration of the supranational and the national is, however, not without difficulties. Drawing from the area of gender policy, in specific the European Directive on Parental

Leave, this paper will demonstrate how competing policy visions from different levels of governance impact the process of integration. This paper will demonstrate that the Europeanisation of gender policy has resulted in the creation of an embryonic European gender regime in which (ideally) policy is directed towards a facilitation of work and home for both partners. These policies exist alongside the national gender regimes and the welfare provisions which reflect the respective national norms. However, especially in the case of states with a conservative welfare policy (such as Germany), the European gender regime frequently stands in opposition to the deeply embedded and widely accepted norms. When the two levels of gender regime contradict one another, the process of adaptation from European to national policies is particularly problematic. At the same time, the introduction of a new gender regime opens new opportunities for men and women to question and possibly to change the existing social norms.

Maioni, Antonia (Antonia.maioni@mcgill.ca) - Health Care Reform in Canada and Italy: A Comparison of Provinces and Regions - Governance in health care is undergoing profound change in Europe and North America. Among the most important features of such changes is the change the fiscal relationship between governments and the shifts in consensus around norms in the health care system. This paper examines reform initiatives in two Canadian provinces (Alberta and Quebec) and two Italian regions (Lombardy and Emilia-Romagna) in light of the conditions that structure federal-provincial and central-regional relations in health care funding and administration. Building on previous comparative research on fiscal federalism and “national” norms in health care reform in the two countries, we examine here the sources for and impact of two models of change at the provincial/regional level in Canada and Italy. Initiatives to expand market space in the health care sector in Alberta and Lombardy are compared with more state-centered traditions of health and social provision in Quebec and Emilia-Romagna.

Majic, Samantha (samantha.majic@utoronto.ca) - Does the Personal Become Political? Female Politicians in the Ontario Legislature and the Advancement of women’s Interests – Current scholarship in the field of women and politics tends to focus on the systemic barriers that prevent women from entering into the legislative arena, with little emphasis on what interests women actually advance when they have overcome these barriers and are elected into office. Consequently, this paper will examine the role of female members of provincial parliament (MPPs) in Ontario in order to determine how likely they are to advance policies and legislation that deal with issues that are often considered “women’s issues”, such as violence against women, childcare, sexual harassment, and health care funding for women’s health issues. Focusing on the sixteen female MPPs who currently hold seats in the Ontario legislature, the paper will seek to determine whether female MPPs are more or less likely than their male colleagues to advocate policies and legislation that deal with women’s issues. The types of policies and legislation that female MPPs will be assessed in terms of three factors: the female MPPs’ own life experiences, including her personality, level of education and socio-economic status; the political party she represents, looking specifically at its ideology and the attitudes of her colleagues within its caucus towards women’s issues; and the legislative process at large, examining factors as the likelihood of gaining support for and the passing of private members’ bills, and ensuring stakeholder access to committee hearings. The paper will conclude by examining the question of whether increased female representation in the legislature is the best vehicle for addressing women’s issues in the legislative arena.

Manfredi, Chris (cmanfr@po-box.mcgill.ca)- Has the Charter Made any Significant Difference to Politics in Canada? – To come/à venir (with Hiebert – Harrison section)

Manning, Kimberley (kmann@u.washington.edu) - The Search for a Feminist Comparative Method - For the past fifteen years, feminist scholars of comparative politics have struggled to make women more visible subjects of study while simultaneously recognizing the diversity among women. To this end, some feminist comparativists have emphasized “gender interests” while others have looked to “feminist

standpoints”. Insofar as these theoretical conceptions have made discussions of women more prominent in the social sciences, they have provided a powerful and strategic means to revise mainstream comparative theory and methodology. These conceptions, however, remain troubled by the (unitary) status of the subject at the center of their analyses. Consequently, political contestation among women is often missed by feminist comparativists. We need a methodology that is able to capture how national and global ideologies paradoxically empower some women while disenfranchising others, not only among different countries and classes, but within local communities as well. In this paper I argue that feminist comparative scholarship must shift from identifying women as the subject of gender analysis to examining the specific sites where ideological and institutional power converge to shape gendered identities. By suspending an expectation of common gender interests (or standpoints) among women, and focusing instead on the nexus of discursive and institutionalized power, we open the opportunity to better understand the diverse subjectivities and politics that are forged among women in local settings. In this paper, I will begin with a review of methodological approaches in feminist comparative studies. I will then draw on my own study of the mobilization of women in six Chinese villages during the Great Leap Forward (1958-1960) to illustrate an alternative method of gender analysis in comparative politics.

Massicotte, Marie-Josée (massicot@yorku.ca) - Local Organising and Global Struggles: Coalition-building for Social Justice in the Americas - What’s new about the recent mass demonstrations in Seattle, Porto Alegre or Quebec City? Where does this “global justice movement” come from; how is it organising; and what is its potential? We saw an amalgam of student, women, labour and NGO organisations getting together to oppose the neoliberal model of development and trade, and demanding the democratisation of decision-making processes that seem increasingly inaccessible for most citizens. These organisations denounce the effects of neoliberal restructuring often epitomised by multilateral organisations such as the World Trade Organisation. But do these civil society actors and mass protests for global justice indicate the emergence of a global civil society? Based on fieldwork research, this paper addresses the above questions by analysing the emergence of national and transnational coalition-building among social organisations, in the context of economic integration in the Americas. It examines the experiences of a Mexican coalition (RMALC) and its participation within the Hemispheric Social Alliance. The case study analysis challenges most of the literature on global civil society, arguing that there is no such thing as a progressive civil society on a global scale. While coalition-building opens new spaces for sociopolitical struggles, most of the work and political analyses still occur within grassroots organisations, where activists can meet and exchange on a regular basis. Investigating the strategies and political analyses of specific social actors, this paper highlights the crucial importance of local organising, as well as the benefits and problems link to transnational networking.

Mathie, William (wmathie@spartan.ac.brocku.ca) - Unless Philosophers Rule as Kings: Politics and Philosophy in Hobbes’s Leviathan - In chapter 29 of Leviathan Hobbes claims for the first time that the internal causes of the dissolution of the commonwealth can be overcome once and for all. The basis for this new hope is that it requires no change in human nature –the matter of the commonwealth– but depends rather upon better or more successful “making.” This hope does not depend upon the invention of the true moral philosophy. Hobbes claims to have accomplished this in his earlier De Cive. But Hobbes also observes for the first time in his Leviathan (in chapter 31) that his hope depends as Plato’s did upon “sovereigns be[ing] philosophers.” In the preface to De Cive Hobbes had declared that the political problem itself was the result of Socrates’s new love of civil science. The paper proposed will examine how the “improvements” in Hobbes’s teaching that distinguish his Leviathan from his earlier De Cive and Elements of Law establish the possibility of the rule of philosophy. The study proposed is associated with my earlier published work on Hobbes’s treatment of the role and nature of rhetoric in the three (or four) subsequent versions of his teaching.

Mawhinney, Michelle (mmawhin@yorku.ca) - Time, Space and the Transcendental 'I': The Kantian Self as Other - This paper will look at the Kantian free self in light of a recent resurgence of interest in his moral philosophy, not just on the part of Rawlsian liberals, but also by critical theorists who are concerned with accommodating and protecting the rights and freedoms of marginalized "others" in contemporary political society. It will take up the common presupposition that Kant's transcendental idealism must be rectified or modified in order to make it applicable to late modern issues, and argue that in fact it has something to offer us in thinking about contemporary questions of identity, difference, and otherness. For underlying Kant's idealism is an empirical, even materialist, understanding of an objective reality whose intrinsic nature we cannot know, but which has an idelible effect on subjective sources. While Kant's approach represents an attempt to find a new ground for faith in moral absolutes and ontological certainty, it also inadvertantly disrupts these things - in knowledge, truth and subjectivity.

Mayer, Jean-François (jmayer@uoguelph.ca) - Instrumental Populism as a Strategy to Consolidate Mexican Democracy - The pattern of Mexican politics is characterized by a severe degree of political and economic inequalities. This factor is particularly important in the context of the new electoral democratic regime that has recently emerged in that country. Indeed, the severity of the political inequalities suggests that the normal decision-making process will not produce policies necessary to fight poverty and reduce the gap between the rich and the poor. However, without such measures to decrease socioeconomic inequality, it is doubtful that democracy may become consolidated in Mexico. Indeed, democratic consolidation requires, among other things, that all sectors of society see and experience some benefits from the political regime and the economic system. In order to deal with this problem, this paper proposes a strategy of "instrumental populism". Instrumental populism involves the use of some of the tactics of traditional populism, but within the confines of a democratic regime governed by the rule of law. This strategy is one of reform, not revolution nor regime change. The goal of instrumental populism is to strengthen the organization of lower and middle class interest groups within civil society. This would reduce political inequality by creating a counterweight to the political influence of big business, which has tended to overwhelm that of other social sectors in the past decade. If that strategy is successful, the instrumental populist coalition could then pressure the Mexican government more efficiently in order to obtain the implementation of poverty reduction measures such as tax reform and subsequently increased social spending, which big business has fought in the past several years. The hope is that significant changes can be implemented without excessively polarization of the political system.

Mazur, Amy G. (mazur@mail.wsu.edu) - Challenges in the Conceptualization and Operationalization of Women's Movements in Comparative Politics – To come/à venir

McCormick, Peter (mccormick@uleth.ca) - Compulsory Audience: Appeals by Right and the Lamer Court, 1990-1999 - The Supreme Court of Canada differs from (for example) its American counterpart by having only a limited control over its own docket. Some cases go through an "application for leave" process that rejects more than 80%, but others simply must be heard – whether or not there are any real chances of success, or any major legal issues raised. And the numbers are substantial. 454 appeals by right were filed during the 1990s, a decade in which the Court heard 1132 appeals. This paper will look at "appeals by right" during the Lamer Chief Justiceship. What do these cases look like, and how do they resemble (and differ from) the leave docket? Where do they come from – what provinces, what types of litigant, what sub-fields of law? How often do they succeed, and how often do they divide the Court? How often do they raise significant questions of law – as measured by their assignment to larger panels, or by the length of the explanatory reasons, or by the extent to which they are subsequently cited as authority? The purpose is to attempt an answer to the obvious question: what difference does it

make? Does it matter that there are cases that need not run the "leave to appeal" gauntlet? At an abstract level, the existence of appeals by right limits the capacity of the Court to control its own caseload, to deploy its own resources, to delay or accelerate the timing of the consideration of "hot" issues. But what does the question look like when we put it in the more concrete context of the 318 (not, in fact, 454) appeals by right actually decided by the Lamer Court?

McCrea-Logie, Jennifer (rlogie@globalserve.net) - Accountability and Market Competition: Home Care Delivery in Ontario - International regulatory frameworks like the World Trade Organization have encouraged countries to extend the free market in the provision of health services. The health sector has been under extraordinary pressure as powerful medico-pharmaceutical, insurance and service corporations seek to capture the share of gross domestic product that the government has traditionally spent on public services. Partially in response to global pressures, Canada has emulated other countries like the United Kingdom and the United States by shifting health services that were previously provided by the public sector and not-for-profit agencies to the for-profit sector, thus contributing to the growth of the public market. My paper will seek to determine how the type of public market influences or constrains the accountability structures of institutions in the home care field. It will ask: Why has the Ontario government opened the home care field to commercial providers, thereby reducing the role of not-for-profit agencies? How can accountability mechanisms be designed to address the forms of fraud, waste and abuse that are common in the public market? I will create an inventory of the type of accountability structures in home care agencies before and after the introduction of managed competition in Ontario, and will undertake detailed case studies based on interviews and documentary evidence. A close examination of the accountability mechanisms in the delivery of home care will contribute to the literature that examines the effect of globalization and privatization on social service delivery in democratic countries. It is closely related to my doctoral research, which focused on the influence of medical associations on policymaking in Ontario and California.

McDougall, Allan and Valentine, Lisa Philips (akmcdll@uwo.ca) - Parliamentary Constructions: The Local and National in the Nisga'a Debate - The paper provides an analysis of constructions of the national and local in the debate on the Nisga'a Treaty in both the House of Commons and the Senate. Through the analysis of the textual record, the paper shows the significance of Party politics in constraining debate in the House and the significance of the Senate for more diverse presentations of Canadian voices. The paper also evaluates the hegemonic function of the two chambers and opens up new questions over the potential and role of the Senate in Canadian governance. The use of techniques of discourse analysis and their application to the text of debates offers interesting insights into political constructions, the emergence of potential issues, and the potential for negotiation in policy areas. This paper shifts focus from the contemporary preoccupation with policy aspects of debates to political constructions and in so doing offers a different vantage point from which to assess the hegemonic roles of the House and the Senate.

McIntosh Sundstrom, Lisa (lms@stanford.edu) - International Rights Regimes and Resistant Domestic Norms: The Case of Russia and Women's Rights - The proposed paper will examine the influence of a particular international human rights regime upon domestic politics in Russia. It follows from the author's recent dissertation, which examined the influence of transnational actors on civil society development in Russia. The author assesses the impact of international conventions on women's rights upon domestic politics in Russia, in terms of both public policy and NGO mobilization. The case is a "hard test" for assessing the power of international norms to change domestic practices, in comparison with recent accounts that have argued the power of international human rights conventions against bodily harm (Keck and Sikkink 1998; Risse, Ropp, and Sikkink 1999). International norms on women's rights are less universally accepted than traditional human rights norms against bodily harm. In the case

of Russia, formal legal gender equality established in the Soviet period has clashed in practice with strong anti-feminist norms in society. This paper argues that even when domestic norms are resistant to international norms, the existence of international rights regimes can have a significant influence on domestic politics. Signing international conventions forces governments to make formal changes in public policy. More strikingly, at grassroots levels, the existence of international conventions mobilizes domestic NGOs, gives them greater legitimacy in the political arena, and inspires alliances between NGO activists and key figures among political elites. These rights regimes, which are only indirectly connected to domestic NGOs, can even exert a more dramatic domestic influence than direct transnational assistance to domestic NGOs.

McKenzie, Judith (judith@uoguelph.ca) - Situation Critical: In Search of a Social Housing Strategy in Canada - This paper will address how governments at all levels have, for the most part, vacated the social housing policy field. Coupled with deinstitutionalization of the mentally ill, the abandonment of rent controls, the unwillingness of the private sector to construct new low-cost, rental units, and the widespread deterioration of existing social housing projects, a crisis has emerged. This crisis is most acute in large Canadian cities that serve as magnets for the most disadvantaged citizens, including the poor, refugees, and those with severe mental illnesses. In addition, funding assistance by governments to the non-profit/co-operative sectors that historically sponsored so-called third sector housing has all but disappeared. Beyond quantifying the current situation and explaining the factors that have contributed to this critical social housing shortage, this paper will argue that the 'market model' embraced by local, provincial, and federal governments has been a flawed policy strategy. Drawing on interviews with housing officials from governments, housing activists, and representatives from third sector organizations, this paper will offer some suggestions about new initiatives and partnerships that should be encouraged in addressing this critical social problem. The critical shortage in social housing is just one of the serious problems and public policy challenges that currently face urban governments and local communities.

Mellon, Hugh (hmellon@uwo.ca) - Recent Cases of Judicial Review of Municipal Actions – To come/à venir

Mendelshohn, Matthew (mattmen@qsilver.queensu.ca) - Feelings About Quebec Nationalism Outside Quebec - My paper addresses attitudes toward Quebec nationalism amongst Canadians outside Quebec. It looks generally at attitudes toward federalism, sovereignty, and national unity more broadly amongst English-speaking Canadians. The paper is informed by theories of symbolic politics, affect, emotion and feelings in the process of decision-making. The paper also takes a historical approach, situating the discussion within the context of evolutions in attitudes since Patriation and the referendum of 1980. The paper relies on previously unavailable survey data that I helped collect. I use surveys conducted by the Privy Council Office in 1996, as well as the annual Portraits of Canada Survey that began tracking a number of questions beginning in 1997. These data are just now becoming available to the research community. These new data will be supplemented by earlier data sets collected by other scholars. I will be presenting the results both of time series analysis/evolution over time, as well as a variety of experimental treatments that shed light on English-speaking Canadians' attitudes toward Quebec.

Michaud, Nelson (nmichaud@is.dal.ca) - To come/à venir

Miller, Fiona (fmiller@chass.utoronto.ca) - The Political Virtue of Hypocrisy: Truthfulness as Thorn in the Body Politic -- Rousseau's Sincerity and Nietzsche's Honesty as Political Illnesses - The goal of this paper is to make a case for hypocrisy as a political virtue. I begin with the premise that our culture is permeated by an allegiance to truthfulness that threatens both political legitimacy and private liberty. I concentrate on two instances of this allegiance represented by Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Friedrich Nietzsche. I dissect Rousseauan sincerity and Nietzschean intellectual honesty and examine the effect of

these ideals on contemporary living. I argue that sincerity, in the guise of authenticity, is a threat to individual liberty, while honesty, inducting us all into the hall of irony and value scepticism, threatens any and every claim to political legitimacy. I then note that, true to their paradoxical ways of writing, both thinkers offer arguments for and against these ideals. The latter arguments, those which question the value of sincerity and honesty, contained in the *Reveries* and in *Ecce Homo*, are also the later arguments, and, I argue, the more considered ones. What they show is the personal and political necessity of hypocrisy. Because I think Rousseau's early paeans to sincerity and Nietzsche's demand for honesty have been so influential and so pernicious to current political and private life, I work to resurrect and emphasize the importance of these late critiques. In doing so I hope to strike a blow against the tyranny of authenticity and to contribute to a cure for the political illness of irony.

Moore, Pete W. (pmoore@miami.edu) - The Politics of Arab Business: Opposition, Alliance, or Cronies? - In the last two decades, the Arab private sector has made a come back. Almost without exception, states in the region have proclaimed intent to bring the private sector back into policy negotiation to encourage greater private investment and employment. Moreover, since the decline of the nationalist left in most countries, the Arab private sector stands as the only well organized social actor, apart from political Islam. In some of the Gulf countries and Syria where chambers of commerce have been strictly state controlled, greater associational autonomy has evolved. In countries like Egypt, Kuwait, Jordan, and Morocco with a more historically independent private sector, business associations have come to play greater roles in the formulation and implementation of economic policy. The question then is, what kind of political force is Arab business becoming? Does it present a force for greater liberalization and democratization or does it present an obstacle? To address these questions, this paper will canvass patterns of business politics in select Arab countries and critique two major approaches in the social sciences, which focus on the role of business in politics. One prominent theme among economic and historical sociologists is the integral role merchants and capital played in evolution of Western democracy. Whether resisting revenue hungry despots or balancing against landed interests, business was seen as the crucial social actor in the story of democracy. A second theme traces back to Adam Smith's warning to be wary whenever businessmen gather together. Institutional economists such as Douglas North and Mancur Olson have echoed this fear of organized business focusing on the detrimental effects of rent-seeking. In short, businessmen are dubious democrats, most especially when interacting with the state. Neither approach satisfies. Evidence for each position can be found in the region. This paper will argue instead that the missing ingredient is an emphasis on the historical nature of business-state relations in the region and how institutional formation over time matters.

Morris, Martin (mmorris@yorku.ca) Democracy and Visual Culture – Continued commodification of culture in a global context remains fraught with internal conflict and instability that the process of commodification cannot itself solve. The commitment to the political economy of exchange society predicated on unceasing transformation of the means of production and the constant expansion of consumption cannot provide or establish the social or political basis for adequate individual or collective development. Yet commodification has proved quite capable of acting as a substitute for full individual and collective development that contains or diverts energies centred on these goals. What is key today in such developments is the production and reproduction of culture, and the way in which identities, values, and social solidarities are reproduced in the context of the continual revolutionizing and expansion of mass communications technologies. My paper will focus on the new ways in which mass communications and mass culture rely on visual communication to carry out these tasks. What are the implications of the growing importance of visual culture and the image for democratic life? How should democratic theory, which is predominantly focused on consensus-formation through linguistic

means, respond to the challenges of visual culture? Is it possible to conceive of effective democratic control of mass communications technology (it is important that this latter point not be misunderstood as advocating the political *control* of cultural production)? This paper represents new research that is part of a larger project funded by a SSHRC Standard Research Grant and follows from theoretical positions established in my recent book, *Rethinking the Communicative Turn: Habermas, Adorno and the Problem of Communicative Freedom*, Albany: State University of New York Press, 2001, and an article, "Contradictions of Post-modern Consumerism and Resistance," *Studies in Political Economy* 64, Spring, 2001, pp. 7-32.

Morrison, Bruce (bmorris2@uwo.ca) - Democracy and the Old Regime: Consolidation Problems in Post-Revolutionary France and Post-Soviet Union - This paper will draw upon France's historical experience in order to derive a novel institutional explanation for the difficulties of Russia's passage to meaningful and sustainable democracy. Both are cases in which the pre-democratic ancien regime was founded on the basis of privilege, feudal and proprietary in France and ideologically rooted in Russia. What is more, in Russia as well as France, fairly progressive reformers emerged bearing a desire to root out privileged irrationality in order to preserve the old regime, only to encounter a zero-sum conflict between privilege and reform. In this context, democratic forms were introduced, as in the case of glasnost and the return of an elected Estates General, not out of an interest in democracy, but rather as a way to ground the reformist project in the face of an intransigent privileged elite. When democratic experimentation, however, quickly stripped beyond the reformists' capacity for control, and new institutions with a more democratic character surfaced and assumed responsibility for reforms. It was, however, the need for these reforms that generated the democratic impulse, rather than the consistent demands of capable and well-organized social actors. The temporary mobilization of society was not sustainable, and a Tocquevillean dynamic of social atomization in the context of a strengthened state was the result. It is, therefore, no surprise that Russian politics in the 1990s has been characterized above all by the recourse to Bonapartism in the form of Yeltsin's forceful overcoming of factional squabbling in the name of a super-empowered executive claiming to rule on behalf of all. As in France, legislative authority has suffered, and party formation as well, rendering democracy hard to stabilize. This analysis also sheds a new light on Russia's particularly problematic "dual transition." The key is that, as in France, democracy has arrived in the context of delayed efforts to rationalize the basic structures of state and society, the complexity and delicacy of which casts in suspicion the contribution of a poorly informed electorate inexperienced in democratic practices. Therefore, although the Russian process has not thus far generated the degree of polarization that France's revolutionary process did, and although Russia's Bonapartism is a materially impoverished one unsupported by military successes -- both of which are hopeful indicators -- the French comparison does nonetheless shed some light on the sources of consolidation difficulties in the Russian context. Russia may not need a century or more, as France did, but it will certainly be more troubled, more gradual, and perhaps even subject to reverses as it tries to overcome its origins in zero-sum conflict over state reform resolved through precocious democratic experimentation. This analysis derives from a broader project on democratization and state formation in early modern and modern Europe.

Narine, Shaun (snarine@interchange.ubc.ca) - State Sovereignty and Globalization in Southeast Asia - This paper assesses the impact of economic and political globalization on selected states in Southeast Asia - specifically, Indonesia, Singapore and Thailand. It argues that the forces of globalization can undermine the power of the state, but also have the potential to enhance the state by requiring it to fill new functions. (For example, welfare and regulatory functions) Some states in Southeast Asia can meet this challenge; others cannot. Ethnic diversity within Southeast Asia requires that many states develop decentralized political systems which may be very limited in their ability to meet the demands placed on

the state by globalization. These states are faced with a tension between designing political arrangements that will maintain political stability and national development, while contending with global forces that require more effective states. This tension is irreconcilable, and can only be accommodated if the international community agrees to provide special consideration for the unique and difficult circumstances of the developing world. This is unlikely to happen. Globalization, therefore, is likely to exacerbate political and social disintegration in vulnerable states in Southeast Asia. The paper develops the work of Mohammed Ayoob, who explores the problems of state-building in the developing world. The paper moves beyond the traditional concerns of state-building by demonstrating that efforts to adapt to political diversity are compromised by global economic forces. The paper draws on earlier work done by the author on the Asian economic crisis. The argument of the paper fits well with the themes of Power and Authority and Order and Fragmentation.

Nedelsky, Nadya (nrn@att.net) - Divergent Responses to a Common Past: Lustration in the Czech Republic and Slovakia – To come/à venir

Niles, Franklyn C. (fniles@jbu.edu) - Receptivity, Reverence, and Revolt: Explaining the Differential Impact of Worldviews, Ritualistic Church Involvement, and Conservative Values on Anti-Abortion Attitude Formation Among Protestants and Catholics in Canada and the United States - In this paper, I elaborate and extend previous research that examines the impact of religion on abortion attitudes (e.g., Wilcox 1992; Miller 1997). Utilizing the “worldviews” approach (Jelen 1988) as a guiding theoretical framework, and using data from the “God and Society in North America in 1996” survey conducted by Angus Reid Group, I develop and test a model (using standard OLS regression) that explains the origins of abortion attitudes among Protestants and Catholics in Canada and the United States. Specifically, this model elaborates the differential impact of worldviews, ritualistic church involvement, and conservative values on anti-abortion attitude formation within different Christian traditions in North America.

Background Since the historic decision of *Roe v. Wade* in 1973, the debate over abortion has continued largely unabated. Not surprisingly, a large amount of scholarly attention has been directed toward understanding the causes and consequences of abortion attitudes both in America and in other nations (e.g., Luker 1984; Jelen 1995; Wilcox 1992; Jelen and Chandler 1994; Miller 1997). Among Conservative Protestants and Catholics—two groups at the forefront of the “pro-life” movement—religious values and commitments have been shown to be potent predictors of abortion attitudes. Unfortunately, among students of religion and politics, there is still little agreement about which religious beliefs and behaviors are the most important determinants of abortion attitudes. Some scholars argue that religious orthodoxy and other values are important determinants of anti-abortion attitudes (Ross and Kaplan 1993; Emerson 1996), while other researchers suggest that religious commitment (such as attending church) is a potent predictor of opposition to abortion (Ebaugh and Haney 1978; Cochran, Chamlin, Beeghley, Harnden, and Sims 1996). I contend that much of the “muddiness” that exists in the literature is a function of the failure of most studies to provide satisfactory theories that elaborate the expected connection between religious conservatism and commitment and opposition to abortion. As a result, researchers often base conclusions upon theoretically bereft, yet elaborate, multivariate models. Additionally, many studies fail to convincingly operationalize theoretical concepts (e.g., Jelen 1988), or do not control for all dimensions of religiosity. While adding to the confusion in the literature, each of these shortcomings also undermine the substantive conclusions of these works. A recent, and more fruitful, strain of inquiry suggests that “worldviews” link together religion and abortion attitudes (Jelen 1988; Emerson 1996). For example, Jelen (1988) argues that the cognitive bases of conservative Christians' opposition to abortion is a reflection of their “respect for life” and “sexual conservatism.” The “worldview” approach has provided us with some important theoretical advances, and has thus alerted scholars to the notion that religious beliefs matter politically. However, I

argue that most studies in this area fail to adequately operationalize relevant concepts, such as sanctity of life, and do not offer adequate tests of competing hypotheses since refined religiosity measures are not consistently utilized in multivariate analysis. Theory and Expectations This study departs from most prior research in that theoretical expectations are derived from contemporary insider documents, and traditional Protestant and Catholic theology. Additionally, the developed model is empirically estimated using a refined measure of sanctity of life that more faithfully measures the underlying construct than that used in earlier studies, and a multidimensional measure of ritualistic church involvement. According to Berger (1967), churches serve as plausibility structures that help individuals make sense out of their environment. Through the process of attending church, political attitudes develop in response to cues received from the pulpit, or from the religious socialization process that occurs when churchgoers interact with other congregants. Within the literature, the influence that these two dimensions of church involvement have on the formation of abortion attitudes has never been estimated. Given the importance of church involvement within Evangelicalism—in terms of both worship service and "small group" attendance—it is imperative to include indicators measuring both dimensions of church involvement in empirical models, otherwise, an important piece of the puzzle of abortion attitude formation among Evangelical Protestants will be missing. Using a measure that assesses the frequency of sermons that contain references to abortion, I am able to assess the extent to which cues received from the pulpit influence congregants' abortion attitudes. The second dimension of ritualistic church involvement taps the socialization process that may occur through "small group" attendance. It is expected that Evangelical Protestants who profess strong beliefs in the sanctity of life will overwhelmingly oppose abortion rights for women (for all reasons). Additionally, given the centrality of sermons in Evangelical worship, and the value-reinforcing effect of clergy cues, it is expected that individuals who attend churches where clergy frequently denounce abortion from the pulpit will be more supportive of restricting abortion rights than parishioners from churches where pastors discuss abortion less frequently. Among Evangelicals, support of traditional values—such as opposition to homosexuality and the belief that Christian values should influence society—will be negatively related to support for abortion rights. As a reflection of their liturgical and ritualistic practices, among Catholics it is expected that clergy cues will exert limited influence on the formation of abortion attitudes among parishioners. Rather, belief in the sanctity of life, sexual conservatism, and engagement in private devotional activities, such as reading the Bible, will strongly influence the formation of anti-abortion attitudes. Finally, Mainline Protestants who support sexual conservatism will oppose a woman's right to have an abortion. However, given the social-theological orientation of a majority of Mainline Protestant denominations, which tend to de-emphasize pietistic morality in sermons, engagement in ritualistic church involvement will have limited influence on the formation of abortion attitudes in this group of Christians. Preliminary results support many of my hypotheses nicely, although a couple of important exceptions are evident. These findings are discussed and implications for future research suggested. This paper is the third installment in a series of research projects that examine the influence of religion on political attitudes and behavior in North America. A recent paper in this series has been solicited for publication in *White House Studies*.

Nyers, Peter (pnyers@yorku.ca) - Refugee Warriors and World Disorder - The issue of (in)security has come to the forefront in recent debates about humanitarian action in support of refugee populations. For instance, military attacks on aid workers and refugees has undermined the humanitarian and civilian nature of refugee camps, causing both states and the international community to interpret this development as a threat to both international and human security. This paper examines the militarization of refugee situations by focusing on the phenomenon of "refugee warrior communities." The concept of the refugee-warrior disrupts common assumptions about what it means to be a refugee. In contrast to the

passive and voiceless victims of conventional representations, refugee-warriors are refugees who defy their “humanitarian and non-political” status by actively engaging in armed political struggles. While there is a debate in the literature about whether the emergence of the refugee warrior phenomenon should be attributed to “failed states” or the failure of the international refugee regime, the conventional literature agrees that refugee warrior communities should be interpreted as a negative contributor to international insecurity. This paper, by contrast, analyzes the refugee-warrior phenomenon as part of a broader process of refugee communities working to assert themselves as political actors and individual refugees as political subjects. The emergence of refugee warrior communities demonstrates the limits of contemporary humanitarian and political discourses on world order that assume the ontology of the sovereign states and subjects. Drawing on examples of refugee communities along the Afghan/Pakistan border region, this paper will assess how their activities are recasting the relationship between the state, political subjectivity, and violence.

O’Leary, Damian (damian.oleary@anu.edu.au) - Negotiating Citizenship in post-Agreement Northern Ireland: Concepts, Constitutions, and Judgments - The (Belfast) Agreement ushered in a new basis for belonging in Northern Ireland. Exclusive political claims to sovereignty and exclusive claims to Northern Ireland’s cultural identity were constitutionally negated in the Agreement. This paper unpacks the conceptual foundations of justice and equality which underpin the constitutional recognition of contested citizenship identities in Northern Ireland, using the work of Kymlicka, Taylor and Young to hone in on the claims to justice being made by the two communities in Northern Ireland. It argues that the conceptual basis of a reconceived notion of belonging in Northern Ireland is discernible in the practical political judgments made about parades, policing reforms, and employment practices. Yet despite the major gains manifest in the Agreement, the paper also highlights serious obstacles threatening to unravel much of the good work of the Agreement. These obstacles relate to the institutional deficiencies that undermine the differential conception of citizenship that the Agreement mandates, focusing on the ways that the consociational design of Northern Ireland’s democratic institutions have become a political tool—a strategic vehicle—employed by the Agreement’s detractors to undermine and frustrate political and cultural change. The paper concludes that the only effective remedy against this strategic use of the Agreement to undermine the post-Agreement process, is to illuminate the claims to justice that the Agreement is meant to serve, thereby highlighting the importance of the conceptual foundations underlying the Agreement.

O’Reilly, Patricia, Johns, Carolyn and Inwood, Gregory (poreilly@ryerson.ca) - Intergovernmental Policy Capacity in Canada - Governments in Canada are under increasing pressure to work together to provide concrete solutions to policy problems of concern to Canadians, but intergovernmental policy capacity is only weakly understood. The literature on the concept of policy capacity is lacking in any coherent framework. Some authors list various factors which appear to have affected policy capacity between and amongst governments and institutions, others review external and internal barriers to both policy capacity and policy coherence. (Guy Peters, George Anderson, OECD, Carolyn Johns, Herman Bakvis) In its 1995 report, the federal government Deputy Minister Task Force on Strengthening Policy Capacity stated, "Our institutions for cooperative federal-provincial policy are weak...[However] there has been a great deal of experience in this area, both institutionally and informally, which, as far as we know, has not been reviewed systematically." We have initiated research on this topic with the support of a SSHRC Federalism and Federations Grant which has enabled us to conduct a series of federal and provincial elite interviews and a national survey of intergovernmental officials, as well as a review of secondary literature. Early presentations of findings in the last year have focused on methodological questions and key explanatory factors of variance in intergovernmental policy capacity in trade, environment and health policy. This paper will further explore the factors which enhance or diminish

intergovernmental policy capacity–based strongly on our recent findings from the interviews and survey of practitioners in the field. The analysis will focus on key international, national, regional and local factors which influence the capacity of governments to work together. Early findings suggest that while there are common patterns to intergovernmental relations per se, there is also considerable variance across the three sectors of trade, environment and health with regard to the importance of both territorial factors and institutional factors.

Onder, Nilgun (nonder@ccs.carleton.ca) - International Political Economy and Global Finance - Recent financial crises have led to the formation of a new international political agenda to reform the international financial architecture. The paper first studies the major influences in shaping this reform agenda, and then focuses on its implementation. I argue that the international financial reform involves two crucial political developments: 1) internationalization of political authority in those areas which have traditionally been primarily the domain of national governments; and 2) further integration of emerging market economies (EME) in the decision-making structures of the global financial governance. The two are closely related. The inclusion of EMEs is crucially important for the dual aspects of internationalization of authority, that is the formation of a shared purpose or legitimacy, and enforcement of resulting international standards and code of conduct. I argue, however, that the new international financial architecture has major political (rather than technical) flaws and hence is fragile. The most important is its failure to include mechanisms for a more equitable sharing of the costs of the international financial reform between the advanced capitalist countries and the EMEs. The latter are being forced to share most of the burden of the reform. The second major flaw is concerned with the problem of the socialization of the costs of crises and the privatization of gains in global financial markets, a problem which is particularly acute in the case of EMEs. I argue that the continuing political inability and/or reluctance to rectify the great imbalance between public responsibility and private benefits in the global financial system undermines the effectiveness as well as legitimacy of the international financial architecture. Many studies in the field of global finance tend to treat global financial issues as primarily technical or economic, and thus neglect or deemphasize their political nature. This paper takes an international political economy perspective, and emphasizes how the politics and economics of global finance are inseparably connected.

Ormiston, Alice (alice.ormiston@utoronto.ca) - The Wounded Self of Modernity: Rousseau's Political Disengagement in *Reveries of a Solitary Walker* - In this paper I will investigate Rousseau's attempt, in his last work, *Reveries of a Solitary Walker*, to articulate an identity or basis of self that is independent of the forces of social recognition. I will also investigate the relationship between Rousseau's struggle to articulate such a self, and his own extraordinary sensitivity and somewhat exaggerated sense of persecution. I want to argue that Rousseau's personal sufferings are no individual peculiarity, but represent an existential predicament central to modern selves who strive to be autonomous in a complex, highly interdependent, and often unjust, society. From this perspective, we must neither reject Rousseau for his "monological approach to identity (Taylor), nor embrace him for the same reason (Bloom, Cassirer). Neither must we see Rousseau as making a sharp, either/or, distinction between the natural human and the citizen (Schklar). Instead, we can understand Rousseau--in his very woundedness--as holding together the two sides of self and world, as embodying the clash between autonomy and heteronomy, nature and society, human and citizen, amour-de-soi and amour propre, good and evil, which fundamentally characterizes the modern self. As such, Rousseau remains instructive to contemporary individuals, even if his own "solution" to the clash--his disengagement from the world--was one-sided. This paper forms part of a general investigation I have been conducting into the nature of the modern subjectivity, through a study of Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau, Kant and Hegel. The aim is to comprehend conceptions of freedom and equality which underpin modern justifications

for democracy.

Orr, Shannon K. (ah2608@wayne.edu) - Participation and Climate Change Policy - Governments and the scientific community are embroiled in significant controversy over the causes, effects and solutions to climate change. According to the United Nations Environment Programme “We must not expect a single, dramatic discovery to confirm ‘global warming’ once and for all. If we wait for that discovery we will wait for a long time – until well after it is too late to do much about it. There is no climatic counterpart to the Antarctic ozone hole”. The global climate change debate was sidetracked almost from the beginning by sceptics arguing about proof, uncertainty and risk. There has been a preoccupation with legalistic definitions of proof (who has the burden of proof and what is a sufficient standard of proof), a refusal to deal realistically with scientific uncertainty and a failure to address the question of risk. The Kyoto Protocol is intended to set legally binding targets for reducing greenhouse gas emissions in developed countries, although there are powerful interests working in opposition to these ideas. This research based on interviews with interest group members attending the climate change negotiations will use Hecló’s notion of an “issue network” to determine the implications of broad participation representing sharply conflicting viewpoints for the formulation of international climate change policy, and address the effects on democratic governance for an increasingly globalized society.

Orsini, Micheal and Ladner, Kiera (morsini@gl.yorku.ca) - Transformation of First Nations Policy in Canada - Although there have been many false starts, the Indian Act appears poised to undergo its most dramatic change in fifty years, and with it will come a transformation in the relationship between First Nations and the federal government. The seeds of this change were planted in the work of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP), which developed a four-pronged plan for renewal: creating a new relationship; strengthening Aboriginal governance; building strong communities; and designing a new fiscal framework. Gathering Strength, the federal government’s 1997 response to RCAP, endorsed key elements of this plan for renewal. Pursuant to this policy commitment, the federal government is revising the Indian Act and creating a First Nations Governance Act that purports to enhance fiscal and political accountability, democratic rights and processes, and the legal standing and capacity of Indian Act band councils. Using a multi-pronged approach that combines policy analysis, Indigenist theory and ‘decolonizing’ methodology, this paper will argue that the Federal government’s policy initiative thus far fails to live up to the standards set out in Gathering Strength and in the RCAP report. We will demonstrate that these changes do not improve accountability, nor do they enhance the political rights of Indigenous peoples.

Ostberg, C.L., Wetstein, Matthew E. and Ducat, Craig R. (costberg@uop.edu) - Acclimation Effects on the Supreme Court of Canada: Do Freshmen Justices Vote Differently? - Much research has been done on the acclimation of "freshmen" justices on the U.S. Supreme Court. However, the literature is inconclusive on whether freshmen justices vote differently than their more seasoned colleagues. While some studies do find systematic differences between new justices and their brethren, other research has brought these findings into doubt (see Timothy Hagle, "Freshman Effects' for Supreme Court Justices," American Journal of Political Science 37 (1993): 1142-1157). Given the mixed results in the U.S. literature, it is intriguing to study whether any freshmen effects appear on the high court of Canada. Such a study can contribute to the literature on freshmen effects and perhaps clarify the ambiguity that exists in this field of inquiry. The proposed study will compare the voting patterns of newly appointed justices to their later voting patterns, and with their senior colleagues over a 30-year period. Specifically, the paper will use analysis of variance techniques to test for statistically significant differences in voting patterns across the Laskin, Dickson, and Lamer Court eras (1974-1997). This analysis builds on a series of publications and papers by the authors focusing on theoretical models of voting behavior on the Canadian Supreme Court. In the proposed paper, we are furthering the

examination of an established theoretical construct, namely freshmen effects, in a new cultural setting.

Pahlavi, Pierre (ppahla@po-box.mcgill.ca) - Culture, Pouvoir et Globalisation - Le but de cette communication est de présenter la relation dynamique entre pouvoir et culture comme un prisme analytique permettant de mieux comprendre la longue chaîne historique de l'intégration politique et culturelle qui relie la tribu archaïque au village global de demain. L'idée est que, à chaque étape de ce continuum historique, pouvoir politique et culture sociale interagissent et génèrent la spirale d'unification entraînant la progression simultanée de l'humanité vers des entités politiques sans cesse plus sophistiquées et des ensembles culturels sans cesse plus englobants. Cet argument combine deux approches théoriques complémentaires. Elle s'appuie sur le postulat selon lequel, dans tout type de société, la culture est utilisée par le pouvoir politique comme un outil de légitimation politique et d'intégration sociale (Hegel, Foucault, Gramsci, Bourdieu). Elle reprend également l'idée que la culture est le cadre normatif dans lequel sont déterminés l'identité, les intérêts et la loyauté des individus (Sociologie de la Connaissance, Communitarianisme, Constructivisme). Le résultat consiste en une théorie politique innovatrice considérant que, tout au long de l'histoire, des entités politiques de plus en plus vastes se sont imposées grâce à la capacité d'assimilation de cultures de plus en plus intégratives. Ce propos est illustré en tentant de démontrer que la relation pouvoir/culture fournit un cadre théorique adéquat pour l'étude 1) de l'ethnie, 2) de l'état nation, 3) des ensembles multinationaux et transnationaux et 4) de la société globale en gestation. Il s'agit également de démontrer que 5) ces différents niveaux d'analyses s'inscrivent dans un même processus d'intégration et d'uniformisation dont 6) le phénomène récent de fragmentation identitaire ne constitue pas une contradiction mais une dimension à part entière.

Papillon, Martin and Turgeon, Luc (martin.papillon@utoronto.ca) - Distinct Nations, Distinct Citizenship Regimes? Some Parallels Between Quebec and Scotland - The idea of creating a formal Quebec citizenship has recently become a central element of political debates in Quebec. It was a central proposal of the recent commission on the future of the French language and a number of intellectuals and interest groups have, since then, enthusiastically engaged in a debate about the nature and objective of such a proposal. Some commentators are more critical of the idea, suggesting it is simply another attempt by nationalist elites to bolster a faltering sovereignty movement. Few, however, have attempted to situate the current debate in a broader comparative perspective about the emergence of what Jane Jenson defined as a distinctive «citizenship regime» on the part of small nations which are part of a broader political ensemble. Is Quebec's nation-building through citizenship differentiation an exception? Our attempt in this paper is to compare the historical articulation of citizenship in Quebec with a similar process taking place in Scotland. While there is no explicit use of the notion of a distinctive Scottish citizenship, an analysis of the nature of state-society relations in Scotland points to a similar pattern where a parallel citizenship regime emerges as part of nation-building in a non-sovereign political community. The case of Scotland demonstrate the extent to which the construction of citizenship regimes «from within» is at the core of modern minority nationalist projects. It also demonstrates the different routes available to small nations in the development of a distinct citizenship regime. Whereas the Quebec regime came to be associated with the presence of a strong autonomous state, the Scottish regime is primarily based on a strong civil society. Despite these differences, the construction of citizenship regimes has occupied a central place in the modern expression of distinct nationhood in both societies. As such, rather than as a short term strategy by nationalist elites, the current debate about the creation of a formal citizenship status in Quebec should be understood as part of a much broader historical process. These arguments will be defended through an historical analysis of the components of Quebec and Scottish citizenship regimes and their differences with the broader regime of Canada and the United Kingdom respectively. A comparison of the nature of citizenship

rights, the mechanisms for social integration (social programs) and representation, and more broadly the relationship between social actors and the state in each case will constitute the bulk of our analysis. Our work is an attempt to bring some historical perspective to an important body of work on citizenship in multinational societies that remains, for now, essentially theoretical.

Paquin, Jonathan (jpaqui6@po-box.mcgill.ca) - Ways of Avoiding Secession and State Fragmentation : A Theoretical Review and Implications for Yugoslavia - The resurgence of secessionist movements (Kosovo, Chechnya, Montenegro, Eastern Timor, etc.) and the wave of states fragmentation resulting from the end of the Cold War (Yugoslavia, USSR and Czechoslovakia) demonstrate that political alternatives to secession are more than ever needed in order to avoid ethnic conflicts and international disorder. Some analysts, like Michael Hechter, John Wood, Will Kymlicka and Allen Buchanan, have briefly highlighted some ways of containing secessionist claims. However, it is regrettable that no empirical study in political science has focused on this urging issue of world politics by gathering and reviewing major alternatives to secession. This article as therefore for aim to contribute to the literature on secession by defining the different ways of avoiding secession and state fragmentation. It also deal with the burning issue of the possible Yugoslav state fragmentation by raising political alternatives to the secession of Kosovo and Montenegro. In order to do so, this article uses an inductive approach by analyzing previous cases of secession from which we can get theoretical and empirical findings. This article is directly related to my specific field of interest: secessionist conflicts and theories of secession. Moreover, it is an important theoretical and empirical contribution to the field of comparative politics.

Patten, Steve (spatten@ualberta.ca) - Globalization's Endogenous Disciplining Forces: Understanding the Internationalization of Canadian Public Policy - To understand the internationalization of public policy researchers must look beyond the constraints imposed by the institutions of global governance, such as NAFTA and the WTO. We must also look beyond the very real pressure that state policy-makers feel to respond to the concerns of global corporate interests. The internationalization of public policy is more complex than is apparent from a focus on the pressures and constraints thrown up by the most obvious global institutions and interests. There certainly are external global pressures and constraints, but more fundamental to the character and content of Canadian public policy are the policy consequences associated with new practices in policy-making and public administration. The rise of the New Public Management (NPM), the trend toward Alternative Service Delivery mechanisms (ASD), the preference for tax system-based policy instruments in social policy, and the increased prominence and power of departments of finance in social policy-making, are just some the most obvious endogenous features of neo-liberal governance that have been shaped by the new global context of policy-making. The theoretical argument to be made in this paper is that the international/domestic relationship is actually being 'internalized' by the processes that are currently transforming the institutions of policy-making and administration. It can be said that these institutions and processes are being simultaneously internationalized and neo-liberalized. Indeed, neo-liberalism has been globalized in the sense that neo-liberal understandings of globalization, and appropriate responses to globalization, are now so central to neo-liberal ideology that the neo-liberal state is, in fact, a global state. This paper will take as its case study the changing character of social policy and social policy-making in Canada during the 1990s. Focusing on the federal and Ontario governments, this paper will examine, in particular, how the ideas, methods and processes of the NPM, on the one hand, and the role and power of departments of finance, on the other hand, have shaped the internationalization of social policy in Canada.

Peckford, Nancy (npeckford@cupe.ca) – The World March of Women in Review: The Canadian Context – During the preparations for the World March of Women 2000, the Canadian Women's March Committee invited women in communities all across the country to mobilize around the March's key

goals of ending poverty and violence against women. Over the course of a year, diverse groups of women came together in highly localized committees to organize around these goals. Committees engaged in multiple and diverse strategies to raise awareness about the March in their respective regions and to seek concrete action. These activities included quilt-making projects, theatre pieces, choirs, rallies, marches, community conferences, vigils, hikes, traditional lobbying directed at local representatives, a rafting trip and a tribunal. Activities often contextualized poverty and violence against women in particular women's realities. The range of strategies local committees employed demonstrated their sustained commitment to organizing in ways that focus on the daily lives of women, and recognized the distinct and multiple forms of oppression women experience, depending upon their ethnicity, class, citizenship status, sexual orientation, or physical disability as well as their gender. The list of demands produced by the Canadian and international committees of the World March of Women served to place the actions of local committees in a broader national and global political framework. In Canada and Quebec, the scale and depth of local organizing served to mobilize widespread support amongst social justice networks for government action to improve the lives of women as laid out in the demands of the national committee. The experience of the World March of Women in Canada shows that women's civic engagement is alive and well and, in many instances, was intensely political in nature.

Perfect, Craig (craig@orbitcanada.com) - Action Into Nature: Hannah Arendt's Missing Ethic - Hannah Arendt developed an account of modern technology which captured its uniquely modern aspects, and illuminated its far-reaching implications for political life and existence itself. Central to Arendt's account of technology is an understanding of political action as the primary source of human freedom, which arises among actors in a public space. Action is the spontaneous creation of new beginnings, each of which has unpredictable consequences; action is categorically unpredictable. This unpredictability has traditionally been confined to action's proper sphere—human affairs, but Arendt argues that in modern technology, the boundaries of this sphere have been breached. Technology has increased the scope of human action so that we can now change nature itself. By acting into nature, we bring the unpredictability of action into the realm of universal laws, which is catastrophic. I contend that a Arendt's normative critique of technology is incomplete without an account of its ethical implications. An increase in the scope of human action requires an expansion of ethics, for freedom implies responsibility. My argument counters current utilitarian and pragmatist conceptions of technology, which reduce the question of technology to a short-term cost-benefit analysis. I am currently writing a dissertation on the political, ethical and ecological dimensions of modern technology in the work of Arendt, Hans Jonas and Erazim Kohak.

Perl, Anthony (aperl@ucalgary.ca) - What Is the Difference? Comparing Advice from Bureaucrats and Private Consultants - Political Science Department University of Calgary Policy consultants, those private individuals or firms engaged by state actors to perform all or part of the strategic, research, assessment or evaluative tasks that comprise the functions of policy analysis, represent a growing influence on American and Canadian governance. (Perl, 1999; Perl & White, 2001) This paper seeks to identify and analyze the effects of private expertise on public policy by comparing the work of civil servants with that of policy consultants. Drawing from airport and rail transportation planning efforts, the policy inputs generated by consultants will be closely compared with equivalent efforts by bureaucrats in the same jurisdiction. Evidence for different approaches, methods, and values will be sought in contrasting analytical results at three stages of policy development. Consultants' contribution to policy formulation will be examined by identifying whether contracted expertise yields more technical problem definitions, or rather serves as a "second opinion" on bureaucratic advice. Looking at implementation, attention will be directed to consultants' recommendations about policy instrumentation

and how these might differ from in-house analyses. In policy evaluation, the nature and type of criteria used by consultants will be compared to those criteria adopted by in-house efforts. Analytical results will help explain the degree to which policy convergence is a function of trans-national expertise that is being introduced into policymaking through the engagement of consultants. Findings should be of interest to colleagues concerned about the effects of privatized analytical efforts on Canada's capacity for policy innovation and autonomy. References Perl, Anthony. 2000. "Brain Drain Inside the State: Some Implications of Outsourcing Canadian Policy Analysis to Consultants," paper presented at the 2000 annual general meeting of the Canadian Political Science Association, Quebec City, Quebec. Perl, Anthony and Donald White. 2001. "Considering the Role of Consultants in Canadian Policy Analysis," manuscript under review by Governance.

Phillips, Susan (susan_phillips@careleton.ca) - Striking an Accord: Transnational Policy Learning in the Development of Canada's Framework Agreement between the Federal Government and the Voluntary Sector - In recent years, governments of both the left and the right in a wide variety of countries have developed a keen interest in building more constructive relationships with the voluntary sector. The policy instrument of a framework agreement modelled after the compacts negotiated in the United Kingdom is seen by many, including Canada, to be a means for establishing shared expectations and mutual undertakings in this relationship-building endeavour. The proposed paper uses a neo-institutional framework to assess the political and administrative feasibility of transplanting a framework agreement to Canada and compares this experience to that of the UK. Although the content of the Canadian accord bears considerable resemblance to the British compacts, it is far less specific and fails to grapple with key contentious issues. The challenges of such framework agreements lie not only in content, however, but in the processes of development and implementation. In this, the differing institutional arrangements are likely to make the implementation process in Canada complicated for several reasons. The absence of a large, encompassing national umbrella organization limits the sector's ability to monitor the accord and has forced it to examine its own governing structures. The enormous reluctance of the Chrétien government to deal with issues of advocacy and funding regimes and to undertake changes in the governing machinery maybe the most serious impediments to the success of the accord. Based on the Canadian experience, the paper attempts to draw out the essential challenges of using this novel policy instrument to build stronger government-voluntary sector relationships and illustrate the lessons of transnational policy learning more generally.

Pilon, Denis (dpilon@yorku.ca) - Voting System Reform and the Left: An International Comparison - Since the early 1990s voting system reform has taken off in western industrialized countries. Italy, New Zealand and Japan have adopted new voting systems for their national parliaments, while Britain has broken with its longstanding allegiance to first-past-the-post and fashioned proportional voting arrangements for its new regional assemblies in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. And a host of other countries are entertaining debate over the relative merits of different voting systems as well. So far, political scientists have highlighted a number of factors contributing to these changes: voter volatility, party dealignment, economic/state restructuring, etc. But what is the relationship between these far-reaching institutional reforms and the often torturous re-making of the political left over the last two decades, if any? The demise of the Soviet bloc and the increasing acceptance of market-based approaches to development and social policy delivery, even by left parties, has rent traditional notions of left and right asunder, contributing to the decline of traditional left parties and the emergence of new ones. Through a comparative analysis of the fissures within and across the traditional left parties of Japan, New Zealand, Italy, and Britain we can attempt to tease out the role of the left in voting system reform. While reviewing the relevant insights in this field from Shugart, Norris, Mair, Katz, and others from over the last decade, as well as the relevant monograph treatments from the countries in question,

the paper will draw from and attempt to extend the political sociology approach of Therborn, Poulantzas, and Panitch. Dennis Pilon, Ph.D. candidate Political Science Department York University, Toronto, Ontario Telephone: (416) 466-6909 email: dpilon@yorku.ca

Poelzer, Greg and Fondahl, Gail (poelzer@unbc.ca) - De Tocqueville Goes to the Russian North: The Views of Ordinary Aboriginal Community Members on Self-Government - Since the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, Aboriginal peoples in the Russian North have been engaged in struggles to acquire greater political autonomy within the Russian Federation. To date, progress has been made in a number of areas. The Russian constitution, for instance, formally recognizes Aboriginal rights, although these are poorly defined. Further, a number of the subjects of the Russian Federation have passed laws enabling Aboriginal peoples to acquire land tenure over traditional hunting, reindeer herding, and fishing territories. To the extent that there is research at the community level, most research on the status of Aboriginal peoples tends to focus on the social conditions or land use and conflict. Little research focuses on the political orientations and aspiration of rank and file community members. Based on fieldwork, between 1997 and 1999, in four communities in the Sakha Republic (Yakutia), this paper examines the views of ordinary Aboriginal community members on political life in their communities, as well as issues surrounding the desirability for enhanced political autonomy. Theoretically, one of the key issues explored in this paper is the basis for the desire for greater political autonomy. Namely, is self-government viewed as a vehicle for improving the social conditions of Aboriginal communities or is it a means to cultural preservation? Comparatively, the paper places these findings within context of research on self-government in Canada.

Policzer, Pablo (policzer@interchange.ubc.ca) - Coercion and Politics Beyond the State Coercion - Coercion and Politics Beyond the State Coercion is at the centre of politics, yet how it is organized has remained poorly understood. This paper presents an institutional typology of coercion, based on measurements of how well principals monitor agents' operations and performance. Principals can monitor from within their own organization (internal monitoring), or from information sources outside their direct control (external monitoring). Measuring levels of internal and external monitoring, using various criteria for the breadth and depth of information, yields a matrix with types that are mutually exclusive and jointly exhaustive. There are tradeoffs to each type of coercion, which can prompt principals to shift from one to another. The typology is discussed with examples of how various states and non-state armed groups have organized and reorganized coercion. The examples show that the boundaries of coercion do not correspond to standard state boundaries, especially in the present context of rapidly changing domestic and international linkages and boundaries. Any effort toward global governance will require systematic consideration of the exercise and the organization of coercion. In many cases, groups and networks organize globally, and in other cases they organize at the sub-state level. Yet, the international community remains organized primarily around a state-based system of treaties, laws, and institutions. The typology presented in this paper provides a much more systematic basis for analyzing and for making policies vis-à-vis the full range of state and non-state coercive groups and institutions. This framework forms the theoretical core of the author's present research on state and non-state coercion.

Potter, Evan – Misreading the Canadian Public – To come/à venir

Preyra, Leonard (Leonard.preyra@stmarys.ca) - Alternative Approaches to, and Issues in, the Study of Intra-Party Leadership Selection in Canada – To come/à venir

Pushkar, P. (ppushkar@altavista.com) - The Third Way, the Right Way? Health Policies in Chile 1990-2000 - While it is the New Democrats and New Labour that are most commonly associated with the Third Way, other Third Ways have coexisted and even preceded the Clinton and Blair eras. Between 1990-2000, the centrist Chilean Christian Democratic Party (PDC) followed a Third Way without

explicitly expressing any affinities to it. This paper first reviews the 'centrism' of the Third Way as elaborated on by some of its practitioners, especially Tony Blair and the New Labour, in terms of its ideology and policy implications. It then situates the economic and social policies of the PDC-led centre-left coalition of the Concertacion within the Third Way by examining in detail the changes and continuities from the prior military-authoritarian period (1973-1989). Key leaders of the PDC repeatedly expressed what later came to be Third Way ideas and justified their adherence to neoliberal economic policies with reference to a larger social goal of "growth with equity." Much like New Labour and Blair, PDC leaders and their left allies moved away from their strong roots in labour towards a pro-business orientation. Finally, in examining health policies between 1990-2000, the paper argues that the 'centrism' of the PDC combined its new-found faith in neoliberalism with a liberal use of rhetoric that clearly leaned to the left. The limits of this strategy were exposed by the end of the decade, suggesting that the 'centrism' of the Third Way can only succeed if real gains are made in addressing the so-called "social question."

Pyrz, Greg (pyrcz@acadiu.ca) - Demanding Deliverative Democracy and the role of the Representative - This paper re-asserts the regulatory ideal of demanding democracy that I employed in Democracy, Rights and Well-Being [2nd edition], identifies some of its intellectual roots, and illustrates what such a reading of democracy's promise would require in redefinition of the day to day work of the representative.

Quong, Jonathan (jonathan.quong@nuffield.oxford.ac.uk) - Are Identity Claims Bad for Deliberative Democracy – One of the key principles that emerges from the literature on multiculturalism is the idea that identity claims can be legitimate political demands. By identity claims I mean to specify a particular type of reasoning that can be used in political debate. Anything, on this definition, is an identity claim so long as it is a reason advanced for or against a policy proposal that appeals to the harm/benefit that the policy will have to an individual or group's identity as the principal normative consideration. As far as I can see, multicultural theorists have to believe that the claim, "this policy will be harmful/beneficial to my identity," is a valid political claim, and one which should weigh in our decision about the policy in question. Although I think this has to be true if one accepts the general multiculturalist position, I am interested in the impact this kind of reasoning has for deliberative democracy. Can the argument "because it's important to my identity," be a legitimate reason in public discussions governed by the normative principles of deliberative democracy? I believe the answer is yes. In order to defend this position, the paper examines and refutes two arguments which assert that identity claims are bad for deliberative democracy. First, I examine the view that identity claims are not *public reasons*, and therefore that they shouldn't be made in public deliberations. The idea here is that claims put forward in a deliberative democracy must meet the standard of public reason, which is to say that they must not be based on pure self-interest, or based on a religious/ethical doctrine which others cannot reasonably be expected to endorse. Identity claims, the argument goes, are just camouflaged versions of self-interest, failing to appeal to any widely shared values or principles, and so shouldn't count as good deliberative reasons. Second, I engage the argument that identity claims pose a *compossibility problem*, and therefore that they are incompatible with our civic duties in a deliberative democracy. This argument is advanced by Jeremy Waldron, who claims that when participants in public debate defend their position by appealing to their identity, they create a zero-sum situation where we cannot disagree with them without also disrespecting them. If multiple participants use this reasoning, this will paralyse deliberation and create scenarios where respecting the identity of all the participants is not compossible. After having examined and rejected two arguments that suggest identity claims are necessarily bad for deliberative democracy, the final section of the paper briefly explores how it might be possible to deliberate about identity claims.

Rao, Govind (govind@yorku.ca) - The Political Economy of Multiculturalism: Nation, Identity, Nationalism and the State - Since the founding of Canada, ruling classes and especially the apparatus of the state have painstakingly constructed the idea of the Canadian 'nation' (cf, Whitaker). This paper will argue that the Canadian identity has been formed with a careful eye on the requirements of the Canadian development project, and specifically the unique political and economic dependency which the Canadian state and capitalist class accepted first with the United Kingdom and later the United States. I will argue that the particular strategy of development - encouraging high levels of foreign investment - have required the creation of a mediated Canadian identity. Canadian nationalism must be sufficiently 'disorganised' and weak as to avoid presenting a challenge to the high level of foreign participation in the Canadian economy, yet remain strong enough to ensure that the basis of the Canadian state remains. It is from this context that I approach the development and propagation of multiculturalism policy in Canada. Multiculturalism has been seen by some as a significant break in the history of official identity policy, however, I argue that multiculturalism represents a continuity in the subordination of identity formation to the needs of the development project (cf, Mitchell). In the 1960s the common feature of Canadian history - the importation of foreign labour - took on a new twist in changes to immigration policy which opened the country up for the first time to immigrants from beyond Europe and the white settler colonies, requiring a new strategies for incorporating these newcomers and managing dissent. The state's role in creating a particular brand of non-threatening nationalism is reflected in the fact that multiculturalism policy is mostly smoke and mirrors, having had little difference on the lives of Canada 'cultural' communities when compared with those in the United States (in terms of language and cultural retention). This perspective conflicts sharply with both Taylor (1994) and Kymlicka's (1998) understandings of multiculturalism as based a policy which is relatively contained to, and explainable within, the political and cultural sphere. This project fits into my research for my dissertation which examines the political, economic, cultural and military links between Canada and the United States to explain the path of Canadian economic development. I already have a draft of this paper completed. Bibliography Mitchell, Katharyne (1993). "Multiculturalism, or the United Colors of Capitalism," *Antipode* 25:4, pp. 263-294. Kymlicka, Will (1998). *Finding Our Way: Rethinking Ethnocultural Relations in Canada*. (Toronto: Oxford University Press). Taylor, Charles (1994) "The Politics of Recognition," in Taylor, Charles ed. *Multiculturalism and the Politics of Recognition*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press). Whitaker, Reg (1977). "Images of the State in Canada," in Leo Panitch, ed. *The Canadian State: Political Economy and Political Power*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press).

Rioux, Jean-Sébastien (jean-sebastien.rioux@pol.ulaval.ca) - Influences on Canadian Foreign Aid Allocations Since the End of the Cold War - Since the end of the Cold War the aid and military sectors have been deeply cut while Canadian rhetoric has remain very engaged in international affairs. This paper will examine empirical patterns of Canadian foreign aid since 1991 to ascertain how various factor influence the decision to donate to various countries: media coverage; international organization membership; human rights, etc. These and other factors will be included in statistical analyses of Canadian foreign aid patterns in the 1990s to discuss the future directions and priorities of our aid dollars.

Ritchie Dawson, Laura (lritchie@ccs.carleton.ca) - The Role of the Bureaucrat in Trade Policy Creation - Studies of international policy tend to treat the policy development process as the product of relations among states. Analysts occasionally acknowledge sub-state level actors but their roles and behaviors are understood as more or less static reflections of their individual positions. According to this view, the actions of individuals in the policy process can largely be explained by Miles' Law which states "where you sit is where you stand". Nowhere is this more apparent than in discussions of bureaucratic influence on the policy process. Where the actions of public officials are considered at all, they are frequently

accounted for as the product of generalized bureaucratic or organizational culture. This project seeks to understand the ways in which the actions of individual public officials influence policy and what contextual factors constrain or enhance the Canadian trade bureaucrat's ability to influence policy. This involves developing a thorough understanding of the interests and activities of the bureaucrat and situating these interests and activities within a framework of political and institutional constraints and opportunities. Trade policy creation is particularly well suited to this type of investigation because it provides an excellent example of a technically-oriented environment where politicians must rely on more technically-experienced public officials to select and evaluate feasible policy options. The research program will use case-based empirical analysis, focused on Canadian trade negotiator, Simon Reisman, and his role in the creation of the 1965 Canada-US Automotive Products Agreement (the Autopact), and the 1988 Canada-US Free Trade Agreement. Extensive interviews with Mr. Reisman are supplemented by archival material and interviews with trade officials from Canada and the United States. The hypothesis put forward in this paper is that bureaucrats play a significant role in shaping the policy agenda and influencing final policy outcomes. However, the magnitude and effectiveness of bureaucratic influence is context-specific; a number of factors can enhance or constrain bureaucratic influence on the policy process. Regrettably, while this study can acknowledge the influence of macro-level events, it is beyond the scope of the project to examine all levels with equal scrutiny. Consequently, bureaucratic influence will be largely examined within the sphere of activity closest to actual policy development- from the agenda setting stage through development, negotiation, and ratification. During these phases, a number of factors can be identified with enhance or constrain bureaucratic influence. Among the most significant are: · the number of actors directly engaged in the policy process; · the alignment of actors' goals, · the time horizon for planning, development and negotiation; · the coordination of information and communication resources; · the issue optics, i.e. the public visibility and perceived significance of an issue; and · individual entrepreneurship, i.e. the interests and abilities of certain actors within the policy process to work strategically toward strategic outcomes.

Robinson, Fiona (Fiona_Robinson@carleton.ca) - Feminist International Relations: Normative and Transformative Potentials - This paper will explore the development of feminist approaches to International Relations and will argue that their future potential lies in research which explores normative questions and the possibility of ethical transformation in world politics. I will argue that feminist IR needs to move beyond critique and to develop research which reinvigorates important feminist goals of progressive social transformation. In particular, I will focus on three broad fields which promise to make the most important contribution to this type of research: feminist moral and political theory in the global context; feminist work on human rights; and feminist theories of democracy, civil society and global political economy.

Robinson, P. Stuart (stuartr@sv.uit.no) - Globalisation and Fortified Private Communities - The paper identifies a trend towards the privatisation of local politics and the provision of security by means of neighbourhood fortifications, surveillance technology, and private security-forces. The trend further weakens the already faltering social and political commitment to liberal and democratic practices. The chief causes are, first, general market concentration engendering more systematic marketing of increasingly large-scale building-projects and, second, the erosion of the public redistribution of wealth by internationalised capital. The latter has polarised society and bred an isolationist 'culture of insecurity'. The research goals are to uncover the character of such communities and the extent to which they represent a global rather than a peculiarly American phenomenon. Their economic roots and political character are explored by means of a review of available secondary literature and primary documents (including information made available by the Community Associations Institute and

individual homeowner associations). Interpretation of the key conditions of such communities facilitates the comparative assessment of such conditions' generality. This is corroborated by secondary and primary empirical evidence of the spread of comparable communities globally, and a more detailed assessment of Britain as a 'crucial case' (using mostly primary documents and interviews). This study of gated communities provides a revealing microcosm of globalisation's general erosion of the modern state-order, in undermining the public sphere and its protection of liberal and democratic freedoms. Existing literature neglects this important 'microcosm' because of conceptual bias towards all that is explicitly and unequivocally 'public'. The study builds on my research interests in the impact of globalisation on liberal democracy in general and the 'politics of space' in particular.

Rojas, Cristina (Cristina_rojas@carleton.ca) - Governing Welfare Regimes in Third World Countries: Argentina and Colombia in the 1940s - This paper examines the passage from private to public welfare regimes under populist regimes. I compare the constitution of identities that accompanied the political programs of Juan Domingo Peron in Argentina and Jorge E. Gaitan and Gen. Gustavo Rojas in Colombia. The paper links the constitution of political subjectivities and the solution to the 'social question' in developing countries. I examine racial, gender and hygiene metaphors of the political body supporting the passage of social programs from the private to the public sphere. I will draw the implications of the outcomes of this struggle over the social question for the conception of social rights as compared to paternalistic regimes of governance.

Ross, Stephanie (stephr@mcmaster.ca) - Is This What 'Democracy' Looks Like? The Politics of the Anti-Globalization Movement - In multiple ways, the anti-globalization movement invokes the democratic imaginary. A central element of the movement's critique of contemporary capitalism is that corporate power organized on a global scale undermines the capacity of citizens and national communities to make independent decisions about social, economic and political priorities. Anti-globalization activists challenge governments which enact international trade and investment agreements which enshrine the interests of multinational capital, arguing that both the means—the restriction of dissent and meaningful participation in decision-making— and the ends—the ordering of society according to the interests of the few—violate even minimal norms of democratic practice like majoritarianism and representativeness. Although by no means characterised by a coherent ideological approach, especially to the question of alternatives, the anti-globalization movement can be said to be united in their appeal to citizens' democratic sensibilities. Given the central ideological role of democracy in the movement, it is therefore worthwhile to ask: how democratic is the anti-globalization movement itself? The decision-making processes developed by activists—most notably the use of "affinity groups" and "spokescouncils"—are claimed to be more democratic than previous leftist or working-class organizations, such as the trade union or the political party. The key idea in this decentralized notion of democracy is autonomy from central leaders or structures. I will argue that the democracy character of autonomy is to be interrogated, particularly in terms of its deleterious impact on the creation of a space for sustained debate about strategies, tactics and visions. In the absence of a common, legitimate and widely accepted forum for decision-making, groups of activists are able to act as vanguards by default, thereby "leading" or directing the movement without structures of accountability. Through an analysis of the anarchist roots of a significant section of the movement, I will argue that the underdevelopment of democratic structures limits the effectiveness and inclusiveness of anti-globalization politics.

Roussel, Stéphane (sroussel@glendon.yorku.ca) - Assiégé dans la Forteresse Amérique : Le Canada et le périmètre de sécurité nord-américain après Pearl Harbor (1941) et New York (2001) - Résumé : L'objet de cette communication est de comparer l'évolution des relations de sécurité canado-américaines dans les mois qui ont suivi deux crises majeures, la première suite à l'attaque contre Pearl Harbor en

1941 et la seconde, soixante ans plus tard, suite aux attentats à New York et Washington. Dans les deux cas, le Canada a dû brutalement faire face à des pressions énormes pour qu'il renforce la sécurité de son territoire et adopte des mesures extraordinaires, même si les gouvernements canadiens et américains faisaient une évaluation différente de la nature de la menace et des moyens de s'en protéger. La comparaison entre ces deux cas visent à isoler les facteurs qui structurent la dynamique des relations de sécurité entre les deux États en temps de crise. Elle porte surtout sur les mécanismes institutionnels (formels et informels) bilatéraux, sur la perception des enjeux soulevés par la crise et sur les conceptions de la sécurité dans les deux États. Cette communication s'inscrit dans le cadre d'un programme de recherche que mène l'auteur depuis l'automne 2001 sur l'évolution des relations canado-américaines en matière de sécurité, en particulier dans l'optique de la création d'un périmètre de sécurité. Le texte produit à cette occasion devrait être le troisième portant sur ce thème produit par l'auteur.

Ruff, Norman (nruff@uvic.ca) - Political Mandate 2001: The Mandate Doctrine, Populism and the BC Liberal "New Era - The doctrine of a political mandate has assumed a prominent position in contemporary British Columbia policy debates. In the wake of the May 2001 general election which saw the BC Liberal Party obtain 58 per cent of the vote and 77 out of 79 seats, the new Liberal government initially launched a 90 day agenda implementing policies given priority from its detailed "New Era" electoral platform. This New Era Document (NED) is a point of reference for an ambitious program of policy and institutional reform making "What does NED say" is the starting point for a core review of all aspects of all BC governance. It has become commonplace to legitimize these changes in policy direction and processes by reference to the mandate obtained by the new administration from the electorate. This paper examines the origins of the mandate doctrine and the theories attached to its significance for accountability and party government within a parliamentary system. It compares the debate on the implications of general or specific mandates on constitutional principles and political practices, drawing on British, Australian, New Zealand, American as well as Canadian literature, and applies the emergent analytical framework to the current BC experience. The paper reviews the contemporary political discourse in policy statements, legislative debates, media accounts and public opinion polls for a reading as to how the mandate doctrine has come to be applied provincially. It is suggested that its currency not only reflects the contemporary state of party government but also may be rooted in deeper values in BC political life- notably populist tendencies.

Rush, Mark (rushm@wlu.edu) - The Case Against SMP in Canada - The current challenge by the Green Party to the single-member plurality electoral system in Canada (Joan Russow v. The Attorney General of Canada) is grounded on the assertion that the Canadian Supreme Court's interpretation of the Charter mandates a conversion to some form of proportional representation. In this paper, I shall assess the case against SMP in Canada from two perspectives. First drawing upon previous analysis, I shall indicate that the Canadian Court's decision in Carter v. Saskatchewan does not suggest that the SMP system contradicts the spirit of the Charter. Second, while the Canadian Court's section 15 jurisprudence (most recently explicated in Law v. Canada) manifests a much more expansive view of equality than that set forth in American case law, it is not clear that the theoretical underpinnings of the Canadian jurisprudence can accommodate the realities of the interaction between electoral systems and voting behavior. Based on my current research on the impact of redistribution on Canadian voting behavior, I will demonstrate the extent to which the assumptions underpinning the Charter challenge in Russow do not resonate with the realities of Canadian voting behavior. References Joan Russow v The Attorney General of Canada, The Chief Electoral Officer of Canada and Her Majesty the Queen in Right of Canada Accessed: <http://www.law-lib.utoronto.ca/testcase/> Law v. Canada Rush, Mark E. and Richard Engstrom. 2001. Fair and Effective Representation? Debating Electoral Reform and Minority Rights. Rowman and Littlefield. Farrell, David. 2001. Electoral Systems: A Comparative Introduction.

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Salloukh, Bassel F. (bsallo@po-box.mcgill.ca) - Beyond Regime Control: The Struggle for the Naqabat in Jordan - Since the formation of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, the regime has deployed the kingdom's political-legal and coercive edifice, organized its relations with the tribes and the bedouin population, and selectively restricted political activity to inhibit the emergence of a kingdom-wide viable alternative to Hashemite rule. Yet despite its success in this latter objective, the regime was not able to spread its control over all the active segments of society. Indeed, what is most interesting about the organization of political life in Jordan is that whenever the regime prohibited party politics, or ensured the election of a pliable Parliament, the opposition channeled its resources and energies away from party or Parliamentary life to the realm of the professional syndicates (al-naqabat al-mihaniyya). Over the years, the naqabat became substitutes for political parties, amassing a political weight that the regime could not afford to ignore. The naqabat became vehicles for the expression of public opinion; their memberships and internal battles reflected the population's variable political affiliations. As such, and even under the shadow of martial law between 1967 and 1989, political life survived, and the regime's attempt to control all the active sectors of society was resisted successfully. This paper examines the struggle of the professional syndicates in Jordan to expand the parameters of political activity, and to defend their organizational autonomy from the regime's perennial quest to corporatize them. It explores the institutional, organizational, and sociological factors that have allowed the syndicates to remain beyond the control of the regime. This paper also compares the experience of the naqabat in Jordan with its counterparts in other states in the Middle East, particularly Syria, where in the early 1980s the organizational autonomy of the professional syndicates was smashed, their institutions were corporatized, and their objectives streamlined with those of the ruling Ba'ath Party. In this respect, this paper is part of a larger research agenda that explores the politics of contestation among popular organizations, professional syndicates, and labor unions in the Middle East. The paper concludes by addressing a number of comparative theoretical concerns: Will the growing fiscal crisis of the state further empower the professional syndicates in Jordan and in other parts of the Middle East? Will present corporatist controls give way to looser institutional arrangements? Or will the state oriented classical populism of the past be replaced by a new brand of market oriented populism, more amenable to neoliberal economic policies, à la Alberto Fujimori's Peru or Carlos Menem's Argentina? Such comparative explorations will help students of Middle East Comparative Politics better anticipate the future of state-society relations in the region.

Sampert, Shannon (ssampert@hotmail.com) - Saints, Sinners and Squaws: The Media Framing of the Jack Ramsay Trial - In November of 1999, Alliance MP Jack Ramsay went on trial for raping and unlawfully confining a 14-year old Cree girl in Saskatchewan in the late 1960s. The Camrose, Alberta MP and outspoken Justice Critic was found guilty of attempted rape. He appealed his sentence, but in a surprise move pled guilty in October 2001 to indecent assault. This paper will look at the media coverage of both of Ramsay trials in two Alberta newspapers: the Calgary Herald and the Edmonton Journal. I chose the Calgary Herald because Calgary is the city in which the Alliance claims its roots. I chose the Edmonton Journal because its subscription area includes Ramsay's riding. The media coverage of Ramsay was interesting from a feminist perspective because it had the main components in

which rape stereotypes are found: a powerful white man, an Aboriginal victim and a 30-year old rape complaint. Feminist theorists have argued that legal discourse constructs women's sexuality. In this study, I determine how the language of law is replicated in the media by conducting a critical discourse and content analysis of the Ramsay case. Within this analysis, I examine how the media reinforces stereotypical assumptions about rape, gender and race with their depiction of the rape trial and sentencing hearing. This type of analysis will help us understand how the media reinforce rather than challenge masculinist hegemony and thus revictimize the victims of rape

Samuel Alexandra (alex@alexandrasamuel.com) - Decoding Hacktivism: Purpose, Process, and Identity in a New Social Movement - Social movement theory defines social movements in terms of their common cause, and treats movement methods as purely instrumental. Hacktivism has emerged as a movement that is defined by its methods, which include Denial of Service attacks, web site defacements, computer viruses, and other electronically enabled disruptions. While hacktivists deploy these tactics towards a range of political ends, they nonetheless define themselves as part of a common movement. This challenges prevailing models of the relationship between purpose, method, and identity in social movements. A review of messages from the hacktivism e-mail list discussions of Echelon and the World Trade Organization provides a basis for a revised model appropriate to understanding hacktivism as a means-based movement. The revised model holds method as constitutive of the movement, and describes the contestation of movement methods as a process of consolidating and elaborating collective identity. Movement purposes are selected as opportunities for testing specific methods of action. This model encapsulates the distinctive character of the hacktivist movement, while raising crucial theoretical questions for the broader study of social movements.

Saraka, Sean (saraka@yorku.ca) - General Economy, Value and the concept: Towards and Economic Marxism – To come/à venir

Sasley, Brent E. (brent.sasley@mail.mcgill.ca) - State-Society Relations: The Regime-Societal Insecurity Loop - The traditional Realist focus on inter-state war, territorial borders, and state security must be shifted toward a more nuanced definition of security that examines more closely the relationship between state and society. In many developing countries, the regime, closely identified with the state, and society are often at odds with each other. As well, these regimes typically lack the widespread legitimacy gained from years of institutionalized effective government. Without this legitimacy, regimes cannot feel secure, particularly when they have a narrow base of support, rely on coercive state instruments, or fail to meet societal economic, social, and political needs. All this creates insecurities for society, as their standards of living are not advanced or, indeed, decline. In order to reverse this trend, societies make economic and political demands that underminethe regime's security, since such demands entail an opening of political and economic systems, which endangers a regime's position and even safety. Thus, regimes respond with greater repression, which in turn generates more insecurity for societies. This paper will fill a gap in the existing literature on both security and state-society relations. The former focuses more on war between states, while much of the latter explores the prevalence of the state or society in terms of state development. A better understanding of this insecurity loop would produce more effective policy solutions as well as shed light on the nature of state-society relations in developing countries.

Sasser, Erika N. (Erika.sasser@duke.edu) - The Certification Solution: NGO Promotion of Private, Voluntary Self-Regulation - This paper will examine the rise of support among non-governmental organizations (NGOs) for private, voluntary self-regulation of industry through certification. It will consider why NGOs are turning away from a traditional reliance on governmental regulation to advance private, voluntary initiatives, and how they are encouraging firms to participate in those initiatives. Building on recent research on firm motivations, including the transactions-cost approach developed by

Ronie Garcia-Johnson and the legitimation framework developed by Benjamin Cashore, the paper will consider how NGOs manipulate firm motivations and firm preferences. It will explain how strategic NGO campaigns around commodities such as fish, coffee, and forest products are forcing firms to participate in increasingly stringent certification programs. Using case-study data gathered through in-depth interviews with NGOs and firms in a variety of sectors, the paper will argue that NGOs are successfully employing sophisticated market tactics and targeting vulnerable points in the supply chain such as brand-name retailers. Echoing my earlier work on the forest products sector, the paper will investigate several key variables that determine how likely a firm is to be targeted by NGOs: market share, level of branding, and location in supply chain. A firm's decision to participate in certification depends on its vulnerability (market share, branding) and its ability to retain decision-making autonomy (either through manipulating the certification institution or through distance from implementation of certification conditions). Coercion of vulnerable firms may give NGOs access to hard-to-reach firms further up or down the supply chain, thus ensuring the spread of certification institutions throughout entire industries. Generally, NGO involvement seems to be promoting a ratcheting-up of certification standards, indicating (as much recent literature on global civil society indicates) that NGOs are indeed a powerful "third force" in international politics. This research is directly pertinent to the theme of Workshop #3 in that it considers the interaction of firms and NGOs outside the realm of government, and explains how these actors are finding common ground in the form of certification institutions.

Saulnier, Christine (saulnier@yorku.ca) - Striving for 'Innovation' When You 'Have-Less': A Postpositivist Analysis of Health Policy in New Brunswick, Canada - Before the late 1970s and early 1980s, the consensus on the approach to health and welfare was in line with Keynesianism. The breakdown in consensus called into question the nature of the 'problems' facing governments (Bacchi, 1999), and neoliberalism initiated pressures for 'innovative' changes. For the health care system, there appeared to be a new consensus that the changes needed must improve the health status of the population without requiring increasing investments in the health care system. However, because nation-states are being "hollowed-out" (Jessop, 1993), far greater policy variances across the subnational states could result. A postpositivist/social constructionist approach (Bacchi, 1999; Stone, 1988; Phillips, 1996; Torgerson, 1996; Hawkesworth, 1988; Howlett and Ramesh, 1998) to policy analysis is used to analyze health care reform in New Brunswick, and to highlight the dilemmas of making change by 'have-not' or 'have-less' provinces. According to this approach, "every policy proposal contains within it an explicit or implicit diagnosis of the 'problem'" (Bacchi, 1999). Following this approach, this paper considers whether the health policy proposals initiated by Premier Frank McKenna (1987-97) calls into question assumptions and presuppositions about the ability of these provinces to be 'innovative'. As such, a postpositivist analysis demonstrates how each interpretation of the 'problem' effects the programmatic orientation (Fraser, 1989) with respect to 'health' care and thus limits the degree of change possible or even desirable. References Jessop, B. (1993). Towards a Schumpeterian workfare state? Preliminary remarks on Post-Fordist political economy. *Studies in Political Economy*: 40, 7-39. Stone, D. A. (1988). *Policy paradox and political reason*. Chicago: Harper Collins. Phillips, S. D. (1996). *Discourse, identity and voice: feminist contributions to policy studies*. *Policy studies in Canada: the state of the art*. L. Dobuzinskis, M. Howlett and D. Laycock (Eds.). Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 242-265. Torgerson, D. (1996). *Power and insight in policy discourse: post-positivism and problem definition*. *Policy studies in Canada: the state of the art*. L. Dobuzinskis, M. Howlett and D. Laycock (Eds.). Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 266-298. Howlett, M. & Ramesh, M. (1998). *Policy subsystem configurations and policy change: operationalizing the postpositivist analysis of the politics of the policy process*. *Policy Studies Journal*, 26 (3), 466-481. Fraser, N. (1989). *Unruly practices: power, discourse, and gender in contemporary*

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Sayers, Anthony and Jetha, Inayat (assayers@ucalgary.ca) - Ethnic Minority Politicians in Canada - This paper explores the behaviour of ethnic minority politicians in Canada, and in particular, how they build and maintain political support. All politicians use scarce resources to maximize their election chances. Once elected, MPs and MLAs attempt to enhance their chances of re-election. This may involve targeting some voters for special attention, working to create a public image – including everything from working to become a cabinet minister to linking their name to a particular set of issues - or working to develop reputation as a good local member. For their part, ethnic politicians have an added and obvious strategy available to them – fostering support among a community with pre-existing information networks and loyalties. We consider the degree to which these politicians make use of this strategy and, to the degree they do use this option, how they go about building and maintaining this support. This involves consideration of how they build nomination and campaign teams, how they run their constituency office, and how they perceive their role in the party and parliament. In order to build a balanced view of this relationship, we also canvass the attitudes of ethnic community leaders towards members of their community who are MLAs and MPs.

Sayers, Anthony and Young, Lisa (assayers@ucalgary.ca) - Alberta Political Culture in the 21st Century - This paper uses a number of recent surveys to examine the character of political culture in Alberta, and the impact of in-migration on that culture. In so doing, it discusses the implications for our understanding of how political cultures congeal and how they evolve over time. We use results from the 1999 Alberta Civil Society and the 2000 Western Canada Survey to consider the several key aspects of political culture in Alberta: • basic political beliefs (trust and efficacy) • attitudes towards and identification with political institutions, federal, provincial and local • ideological orientations • differences between the Alberta and other western provinces • changes over time in provincial political culture • differences between new Albertans and longer term residents One of the influential approaches to the study of political culture in Canada has focussed on the implications of patterns of immigration for political culture (Horowitz 1966; Wiseman 1981). These accounts have treated immigration as an important influence on political culture, but have tended to focus on founding moments (although see Elkins and Simeon 1980; Blake, Carty and Erickson 1991). Given that Alberta has experienced exceptional in-migration from the rest of Canada over the last 10 years, this is an opportunity to broaden our understanding of how political cultures develop. To do this, we use the Alberta Civil Society data – which allows us to distinguish between those recent arrivals, and those who arrived in each of the two previous five-year periods – to develop a model of political acculturation at the provincial level.

Scala, Francesca (fscala@sympatico.ca) - The Waiting Game: Canadian Policy On Reproductive Technologies - The birth of the first 'test-tube' baby in 1976 represented the technological realization of an idea once confined to the imagination of science fiction writers – the conception of human life within the sterile confines of medical laboratories. The successful birth of a child conceived through the technology of in vitro fertilization (IVF) not only exemplified scientific and technological advancements in contemporary reproductive medicine but it also raised a number of ethical and social issues regarding the impact of these technologies on prevailing institutions and practices, such as reproduction, motherhood, parenthood, and the family. In Canada, the federal government appointed the Royal Commission on New Reproductive Technologies (RCNRTs) in 1989 to look into some of these issues. In 1993, the Commission published its report, Proceed with Care, which essentially approved the use of most reproductive technologies within a regulatory framework. However, almost nine years later, the federal government has yet to introduce legislation on the issue. This paper explores why Canada

remains one of the few industrialized countries that has yet to legislate and/or regulate genetic and reproductive technologies. Early research suggests federal-provincial jurisdictional concerns and resistance from professional associations representing the medical community may explain the lack of public policy on reproductive technologies in Canada. The intent of this research is twofold: 1) to advance knowledge in a relatively new policy field and 2) to explore the impact of institutions (i.e. federalism) on policy-making in Canada. The research will rely upon 1) open-ended interviews with stakeholders and federal and provincial government officials and 2) a review of official government documents. The article will also build on my research on the Royal Commission on New Reproductive Technologies.

Schmidtke, Oliver (oliver@uvic.ca) – Boundaries in a Post-National Age: Renationalising Modes of Inclusion and Exclusion in European Societies – Much of the literature seems to agree that the globalized economy and the sheer magnitude of trans-border migration have undermined nationally based patterns of integration, forms of collective identity, and citizenship regimes. The basic assumption of scholarship in this field seems to be that of an unavoidable dissolution of the nation-state as the exclusive container for politics, collective identities and civic inclusion. Focussing on the issue of migration in Europe this paper argues that, although depicting an important aspect of the challenges to the nation-state, the underlying assumption about the quickly depleted relevance of the nation-state is misleading. On the contrary, what can be observed in European nation-states is the (partly aggressive) re-affirmation of national identities and patterns of exclusion. By analyzing current political debates and the media discourse on questions of citizenship and integration in Germany the paper will develop a theoretical argument about the salience of national boundary makers for European societies. Referring to Germany as an exemplary case the hypothesis will be developed that, as a seemingly paradoxical result of the decline of the nation-state, national identities play an increasingly important role in providing the ideational base for inclusion and exclusion. Given the lack of a credible citizenship regime at the European level, the narrative of the national community has gained new importance as a guiding device for policies in the field of immigration and integration.

Scholtz, Christa (cscholtz@princeton.edu) - Pushing Land Claims Negotiations Forward: Examining Judicial, Economic, and Political Factors in Canada and New Zealand - Literature on the politics of Indigenous land rights reports a strong causal link between the growing favourability of the judiciary to Indigenous rights claims and the willingness of governments to enter into a land claim bargaining process with Indigenous peoples. The literature also supports other causal arguments, particularly that governments are induced to negotiate land claims when the economic opportunity costs for the development of such lands are rising. It is unclear how important political variables interact with judicial and economic factors to produce negotiation outcomes. No quantitative analysis of progress in land claims negotiations tests the relative causal importance of these three sets of independent variables: judicial, economic, and political. This paper proposes a statistical analysis of land claims negotiations in Canada and New Zealand. The analysis will evaluate whether some variables do more causal heavy-lifting in one country versus the other. I propose a vector autoregression analysis of Indigenous claims filed under the Canadian federal Specific Claims negotiations policy and of the claims filed with the Waitangi Tribunal in New Zealand. An autoregression analysis will allow estimation of both direct and indirect effects of change in the independent variables on negotiation progress. This statistical approach addresses key methodological issues, such as the endogeneity of claim filing behaviour of Indigenous actors to changes in the judicial, economic, and political environments. This quantitative analysis is part of a larger study on the negotiation of Indigenous land claims in Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and the United States.

Seyd, Patrick and Whitely, Paul (P.Seyd@sheffield.ac.uk) - To come/à venir

Shaffer, William R. (shaffer@polsci.purdue.edu) - Party Coalitions Grounded in Devolved and Reserved Powers: The Case of the New Scottish Parliament - For the first time since 1707 Scotland convened its own parliament, in which devolved concerns included "domestic" policy matters such as health, education, housing and agriculture. However, areas reserved to Westminster (e.g. defense, foreign policy) may be directly influenced by actions in the Scottish Parliament for the following reasons: (1) Uniquely Scottish solutions to domestic policy matters may have very important implications for relationships with other nations, (2) discussion of international relations is not prohibited in the devolved Parliament, (3) legislation passed must be consistent with EU law and the provisions of the European Convention on Human Rights, and (4) some roll call votes address foreign affairs directly. For my proposed CPSA paper, my basic research question asks whether or not the coalitional structure embedded in "foreign policy" roll call votes is the same as that informing the various parties' actions on domestic policy. In other words, can we identify a "foreign affairs" dimension in parliamentary decision-making that is relatively independent of domestic position taking? Or, are actions taken on "external" relations driven by the same partisan political forces that produce parliamentary roll call voting coalitions on purely "internal" matters? A first-cut analysis of the 1999-2000 data set suggests that "foreign affairs" vote coalitions are not simply a reflection of coalitions that emerge for more purely domestic policy matters. A full empirical delineation of inter-party coalitions during the first two sessions of the new Scottish Parliament (1999-2000 and 2000-2001) would constitute the nucleus of my proposed conference paper. The study will rely primarily upon principal components analysis and multidimensional scaling.

Shaw, Eric (e.d.shaw@stir.ac.uk) - Private Finance Initiative, A Scheme for the Involvement of Private Sector Capital, Practices, Operating Ehtos etc in the Delivery of the Public Services in the UK - In Britain no issue is at present more controversial than the Labour Government 's advocacy of 'Public Private Partnerships' or the importation of private capital, managerial techniques and business practices into the public sector. The most important single policy measure here is the Private Finance Initiative, a scheme for the involvement of private sector capital and operating methods in the delivery of the public services, especially health and education. The great bulk of capital programmes in health and education since the Government was elected have been financed via the PFI). It has been described by the Blair Administration as 'a cornerstone of the Government's modernisation programme [for the public services]'. Regarded by many within the labour movement as 'creeping privatisation' it is causing a major rift between the public sector unions and the Government. The PFI has been presented as the main policy embodiment of 'New' Labour's 'pragmatism': its insistence that the public-private divide is outdated. I shall argues that the choice between public or private production of services is much more than (as the Government claims) a matter of choosing 'what works best.' It raises profound questions about the survival of the public service ethos, the balance between need and profitability in the delivery of public services, forms of accountability and governance and, not least, the survival of the trade union-party connection which has been of fundamental importance to the Labour Party since its creation a century ago. There is already a very considerable body of work in the area, though relatively little in Political Science. Though with a political science focus the paper will be avowedly inter-disciplinary in its definition of the major issues and the research materials used. It will draw upon specialist research in a wide range of disciplines, official reports and documents and interviews.

Siaroff, Alan and Jansen, Harold (alan.siaroff@uleth.ca) - Declining Voter Turnout in Canada, 1988-2000 - During the 1990s, Canada's voter turnout dropped substantially. Between 1945 and 1988, it hovered around 75%; by 2000, voter turnout reached a record low of 61%. A look at the aggregate voter turnout data reveals that voter turnout actually declined in two steps. From 1988 to 1993, turnout declined from 75% to 70%; from 1997 to 2000, it dropped from 67% to 61%. There have thus been two

major drops in turnout. In a previous paper (Siaroff and Jansen, 2001), we looked at the decline in turnout in the latter period. In this paper, we would like to do things. First, we will refine the analysis in the earlier paper. Second, we will analyze both periods of turnout decline (1988-1993 and 1997-2000). The decline in voter turnout in Canada has attracted increasing attention from academics (Nevitte et al, 1999; Blais, 2001; Pammett, 2001). Most of the research into this question relies on individual-level survey data. In our paper, we will be using an ecological analysis (Eagles, 1991; Eagles, 2001), treating constituencies as the units of analysis. Unlike previous studies (such as Eagles, 1991), we will use the change in turnout as the dependent variable, rather than the level of turnout. We will look at the impact of patterns of political competition, party mobilization through spending, and demographic characteristics of constituencies to explore the patterns of change in turnout in both of the major drops in turnout in the 1990s. We are submitting this to the Political Behaviour/Sociology section, but if there is a better fit in another section, the programme committee should feel free to move us as appropriate.

Siaroff, Alan and Jetha, Inayat (alan.siaroff@uleth.ca) - A Comparison of National and Land Electoral Outcomes in Germany - This paper will compare national political outcomes and Land election outcomes in Germany. Germany is interesting in this regard because the exact same parties run at both levels, chancellor-candidates are often state premiers, and consequently there is a general assumption that national and regional party politics are more 'fused' than in, say, Canada. Nevertheless, there are some key differences between the two levels in Germany. In particular, there have been relatively frequent single party (majority) governments at the Land level, whereas this has never happened nationally. One major work in this area is "Party System Change in West Germany: Land-Federal Linkages" by Geoffrey K. Roberts (1990). However, this is obviously a pre-reunification analysis which now needs updating and expansion. In this paper we shall thus examine various measures of party systems, as well as patterns of coalition formation, at both the federal and the Land levels. Using federal level data, we shall divide postwar Germany into four political eras. We shall then assess the nature of party systems in each Land in each era in terms of similarities or dissimilarities with the federal party system. We shall examine as well what Roberts called the issue of 'congruent' versus 'incongruent' coalitions; that is, whether these parallel or go at cross purposes to the federal coalition of the time. It will be shown that on both dimensions the closest patterns to the national ones have been found in the contiguous West-Central Länder of Rhineland-Palatinate, Hesse, North Rhine -Westphalia, and (at least since the 1960s) Lower Saxony. In contrast, the remaining Länder, including the Southern and Eastern ones, have shown greater variations from the national patterns of German party politics.

Siemiatycki, Myer – Media Representation of Transnational Communities: Recent Migration from Hong Kong to Canada – To come/à venir

Sigurdson, Richard (rsigurds@unb.ca) - Immigration, Integration and Canadian Multi-culturalism - As the population of non-English and non-French immigrants grows within the boundaries of the Canadian nation-state, questions about the meaning of citizenship and of society's obligations to minority communities have taken centre stage. Many experts are asking how the different identities presented by immigrants will challenge the existing national identities in Canada and Quebec, and what this will entail for the governability of the country. This theme is larger than a Canadian issue. The increasingly multicultural nature of Western citizenship, the rise of transnational communities, and other such phenomena strain older understandings of citizenship and nationality. On the public policy front, these same phenomena put pressure on national governments to devise strategies for the absorption and integration of immigrants. Western governments are pressed to respect and celebrate cultural diversity while at the same time individuals and groups within the state demand that immigration and cultural policies not undermine the traditional national culture. The nature of this paper is both theoretical and practical. It seeks to employ the findings of theorists in an examination of the real world of politics and

policy. This involves documenting the various ways that immigrant minorities are received by the Canadian federal and provincial governments and scrutinizing public policies on immigration, naturalization and integration. The intention is to examine the public philosophies and policy practices which have emerged in Canada to deal with the relationship between the dominant host culture and immigrant minority communities. Canada, as both a multicultural “immigrant nation” and a “multi-national” state, will serve as a primary case study and as a point of comparison with alternative citizenship regimes in Europe and the United States.

Simmons Levin, Leah (lsimmons@yorku.ca) - Historical Institutionalism as a New Perspective on Gender and Nationalism - University Feminist theorists have pointed out that hegemonic understandings of nationalism have not given consideration to the particular ways that nationalist movements integrate and affect women. Theorists of gender and nationalism argue that women in nationalist movements pass through at least four phases. First, women struggle for rights alongside nationalist movements. Second, women often participate in armed insurrections. Third, after the retreat of colonial powers ascendent nationalist movements either refute women's claims to equal status or undermine formal equality legislation by ceding to religious authorities control over key aspects of women's lives. Fourth, nationalist movements strive to eliminate the political independence of women's organizations and remove women from public office. But while theories of gender and nationalism offer insights into the ways that nationalist movements construct women, they have difficulty explaining how perceptions of women change during struggles for national independence. I propose historical institutionalism as a framework for understanding how women's political position alters within nationalist movements. In particular I examine the case of the pre-state Israeli women's movement as an example of the way in which specific historical processes can have the effect of reinforcing the deleterious effects of nationalism on women. Using the lens of historical institutionalism I argue that the withdrawal of the pre-state Israeli women's movement from electoral politics following more than thirty years of successful electoral campaigning was primarily the result of a number of intersecting internal forces which were pushed to the forefront by the pressures of nationalism.

Simmons, Julie M. (jsimmons@chass.utoronto.ca) - Language and Legitimacy in Intergovernmental Decision-Making - A rise in intergovernmental activity in Canada has brought renewed attention to the democratic criticisms of executive federalism, in particular, citizens' capacity to influence decision-making behind closed doors. Some ministerial forums like the Canadian Council of Ministers of the Environment (CCME) have responded by creating systematic opportunities for non-governmental consultation with “stakeholders”. Others, like the Ministers responsible for Social Services, generally leave consultation to the discretion of each government. This paper asks why, if in both the environmental sector and social services there are traditions of consulting with “clients” or “stakeholders”, these intergovernmental bodies have taken different approaches to including non-governmental actors in their intergovernmental deliberations. Drawing upon interviews conducted with social services officials and ministers involved in the negotiation of the National Child Benefit, this paper will argue that how organizations define policy problems significantly impacts their perceived legitimacy among governmental actors, directly effecting ministers' response to calls to “open” intergovernmental decision-making. Unlike the perceived legitimacy of national environmental organizations, that of childcare advocates is routinely questioned. This stems in part from the tendency for these groups to couch their criticisms of existing federal-provincial relations in terms of whether proposed policies will alleviate child poverty, rather than highlighting the tensions between ministerial responsibility and executive decision-making in intergovernmental ministerial settings. By focusing on the language of advocates and officials, and interpreting differences in how they define the policy problems, this paper departs from the more traditional theoretical approaches to the analysis of “pressure

groups” which examine the resources of organizations or the institutional constraints of executive federalism as determinants non-governmental access to intergovernmental deliberations. This paper is based on one of four case studies I am examining in my doctoral dissertation which assesses the democratic deficit of intergovernmental relations in the post-Charlottetown Accord era.

Simons, Jon (jon.simons@nottingham.ac.uk) - Visual and Verbal Popular Political Styles: Diana and Democracy – Communicative technologies govern the public by means of popular styles which combine visual and verbal elements in media such as film and TV. The style of TV and press coverage of Diana's funeral is analysed to demonstrate how a hegemonic public was constituted around Diana who functioned as an empty signifier (in Laclau's sense) to become, in Blair's words 'the people's princess'. Such hegemony was challenged by a minority who used elite verbal styles which constituted a marginalised critical public. I suggest that effective critical publics should use communication technologies to constitute themselves more broadly through visual as well as verbal styles.

Dr Jon Simons is a Lecturer in Critical Theory, University of Nottingham. He is the author of *Foucault and the Political* (Routledge, 1995), as well as other journal essays on Foucault, political theory, cultural theory, and feminist theory. He has edited and contributed chapters to *From Kant to Althusser: The Background to Contemporary Critical Theory* (Edinburgh University Press, forthcoming), and is currently working on a book project, *Critical Political Theory in an Image Culture*, to be published by Edinburgh University Press and New York University Press.

Slowey, Gabrielle (gslowey@ualberta.ca) - Understanding Aboriginal Self-Determination - Though subsumed to the point of near suffocation, self-determination has remained central to the survival of indigenous groups. Today we are witnessing a revival of self-determination that is commensurate to an increasing strength in Aboriginal peoples, socially, legally, politically and economically. The question this paper asks is: to what extent do external forces, particularly political and economic, shape as well as challenge the character of that self-determination? Aboriginal self-determination is not new – but its current character and form may be. Devolved authority and economic participation today characterize First Nation self-determination. While it is argued that First Nations are co-opted through self-determination, that it is a neo-liberal tactic designed to develop First Nations to serve broader capitalist and state interests, this paper also argues that government retrenchment and market dominance, which characterize the new Canadian political economy, provide space for Aboriginal agency, enabling them to, once again, be self-governing and self-sufficient. To understand how this occurs, this paper critically evaluates the neo-liberal approach to Aboriginal policy, in light of ways in which it affects other groups, including women (Brodie, Bakker, Trimble, Harder, Green). It further explores ways in which self-determination undertakes to “develop” and “modernize” Aboriginal economies in light of evolving Aboriginal-capitalist relationship (Angus, Abele, Asch, Adams, Graham, Watkins, Frideres). Finally, this paper draws upon doctoral field research to provide empirical examples of Aboriginal agency at work. Thus this paper develops a political economy understanding of self-determination.

Smith, Miriam (msmith@ccs.carleton.ca) - Has the Charter Made any Significant Difference to Politics in Canada? – To come/à venir (with Hiebert – Harrison section)

Smith, Patrick (psmith@sfu.ca) - Cascadia: Lessons From an Emerging Global City Region - This paper explores a variety of iterations known as Cascadia. It concludes that the Global City Region definition is the most sustainable and assesses the institutional and policy determinants of this emerging bi-national, sub-national, international city region - Mainstreet Cascadia. The direction of this new city region challenges more traditional views of 'local' and raises questions about the significance of traditional borders. While not at Ohmae's borderless world, the emergence - in North America, Asia and Europe - of such city regions, does provide a new prism for understanding post city politics and the increasing significance of the urban tsunamai of the 21st century.

Smith, Travis D. (smith28@fas.harvard.edu) - Unlimited Inequality: The Ambition of Baconian Medicine - Medical science is on the verge of changing human nature itself. Liberal thinkers hope to render such changes compatible with our commitments to justice and equality (Buchanan et al., 2000). Critics argue that liberalism is too complicit in the problems of medical progress to assess it impartially (McKenny, 1997). I am interested in the fundamental yet uneasy alliance between liberal democracy and modern science, exemplified by the dilemmas arising from the advancement of medicine. Recent studies of Francis Bacon have observed the significance of medicine within his project (Gaukroger, 2001; Jardine and Stewart, 1998; Zagorin, 1998; Rees, 1996; Faulkner, 1993; Lampert, 1993; Wormald, 1993; Box, 1989; Weinberger, 1985). There remains a need, however, for a close reading of Bacon's texts that emphasizes the moral and political dimensions of the conception of medical science that is central to his vision. In this paper I argue that Bacon's natural philosophy, in which classical formal and final causes have been abolished, is principally directed towards the transformation of humanity, for the manufacture of new species possessing superhuman minds and bodies while enjoying indefinitely long life. I demonstrate this through an exposition of Bacon's ideas regarding and proposals for the study of physiology, disease, alchemy and related subjects. He considered these inquiries to be of great interest to the state. The pursuit of this project, successful or not, is difficult to reconcile with democratic principles and purposes. It also threatens civil peace, which I indicate Hobbes recognized.

Smythe, Elizabeth (esmythe@concordia.ab.ca) - Technology, Transparency and Legitimacy: The World Trade Organization (WTO) in an Era of Contentious Trade Politics - Post war trade liberalization has been facilitated by the development of international rules designed to limit state discretion in regulating the flow of (initially) goods, services and capital as well a set of processes to resolve trade disputes. As these rules and their interpretation reach ever more deeply into areas of domestic regulation questions arise about the legitimacy of the decision-making process as the chain of accountability between citizens and their trade rule negotiators lengthens. The growth of non governmental organizations (NGOs) and changes to information and communication technology have led to challenges to this traditional multilateral club (Keohane and Nye, 2000) model of trade rulemaking. The increased participation of developing countries in the rulemaking process, as reflected in WTO membership, has also raised questions about the internal decision making process. We examine these pressures for more internal and external transparency in processes of the WTO and argue that a lack of transparency is increasingly seen as illegitimate. The paper analyzes the role and use of information technology in increasing the capacity of groups who seek to influence the process and creating pressure to increase transparency at the WTO using interviews with NGOs, WTO staff and state negotiators. We argue that efforts to date to increase transparency on the part of the WTO and member governments have not been sufficient and moreover have further raised expectations. (Note: This paper may also fit with the global governance workshop. I could not check both options above, but we would certainly be happy to be part of that if it is seen to fit.)

Sokolon, Marlene K. (msokolon@niu.edu) - Why Are We Afraid to Discuss the Emotions in Politics: An Analysis of Fear and Confidence in Aristotle's Political Theory - Contrary to the argument that Aristotle understood reason and emotion to be opposing aspects of the human psyche (Cope 1867, Robinson 1989), he argues that rational action requires congruity between the rational and non-rational (Arnhart 1981, Sherman 1997, Koziak 2000). This paper focuses on the third set of emotions discussed in Aristotle's Rhetoric: phobos (fear) and tharsos (confidence). Fear and confidence, like emotions in general, are intentional states or judgments; emotions involve mental activities such as hope and imagination. He defines fear as a pain due to an apparent future, but impending, destructive evil. Confidence, in opposition to fear, is a hope accompanied by the imagination that destruction is non-existence or far off (Rhetoric 1382a20 -1383a25). Political life requires the proper orientation of our

fear. Even though fear can be individualistic (as in Hobbesian self-preservation), it also has a social context of protecting others and is affiliated with emotions such as shame and pity. The proper habituation of fear is an essential component of virtuous action, especially courage. The importance of fear for politics goes beyond its simplistic role in motivating one to avoid political punishment. In the Politics, fear is an element in regime change, the overthrow of tyrants, “in-group/out-group” conflict, and war. The significance of Aristotle’s discussion of fear/confidence emphasizes the importance of emotions and the necessity of understanding the role they play in political speech and actions.

Sondhi, Sunil (sunilson@bol.net.in) - Canada and the Third World: The Role of Canadian Organizations in Supporting Good Governance and Development in South Asia - The body of theoretical and empirical research that objectively addresses the issue of governance and development has grown considerably in recent years. (Coston 1998, Rhodes 1996, Kooiman 1993, Stokke 1995, ADB 1994, CIDA 1994, 1995, ODA 1993, World Bank 1992,1994, USAID 1991, UNDP 1995). Canadian organisations like the Canadian International Development Agency have adopted a broad reform strategy to strengthen the institutions of civil society, and make government more open, responsive, accountable and democratic in South Asia. In 1994, CIDA included human rights/democracy/good governance among the interim programming priorities to guide allocations, pending the outcome of a major foreign policy review. The government's subsequent policy statement confirmed human rights/democracy/good governance as one of the six program priorities for Canadian Official Development Assistance. In the light of the prominent role that Canadian organizations like the CIDA and SAP are playing in supporting and promoting good governance and development in South Asia, the current paper focuses on the following key issues: 1. To what extent the Canadian organizations have been successful in achieving and advancing their stated policy objectives, e.g., poverty alleviation, and accountability. 2. How far these objectives are in consonance with the foreign policy objectives of Canada as declared by DFAIT? 3. What has been the impact of these governance and development projects on the countries concerned, beyond the specific area of the project? 4. What are the lessons from these projects for similar efforts being made in other parts of the developing world, e.g., South-East Asia, Latin America, and Africa? The paper focuses primarily on institutions of governance and development support which are typically categorized in the following sectors: legal system; public service; democratic institutions; civil society; and economic markets. Many of the international cooperation activities in the field of governance are institution-focused and specific and most Canadian governance organizations tend to specialize in one or the other of the sectors. (Research for this paper was conducted during 2000-2001 under the Canada Asia-Pacific Award)

Soron, Dennis (dsoron@yorku.ca) - The Moral Economy of the Canadian Anti-Poverty Movement – To come/à venir

Sossin, Lorne and Smith, Charles (lsossin@yorku.ca) - Hard Choices and Soft Law: Ethical Codes, Policy Guidelines and the Role of the Courts in Regulating Government - This paper is part of a broader SSHRC funded project investigating the legal regime regulating government decision-making in Canada. Its aim is to go beyond the typical sources of administrative and constitutional law (e.g. the Charter of Rights, the scope of statutory authority and common law doctrines of procedural fairness) to the less scrutinized but often more problematic constraints imposed by "soft law". All statutes grant to some government official a measure of discretion to interpret and apply criteria for government decision-making. The problems to grants of discretion give rise include the risk of arbitrary, inconsistent or subjective decisions, and the difficulty in developing coherent approaches to the exercise of such discretionary authority. To address such problems, virtually all aspects of government adhere to ethical codes, policy guidelines and other internally imposed constraints or guidelines on the exercise of discretion. One of the most common methods to structure broad discretion, and ensure uniformity across

a vast network of officials, is to develop manuals which guide officials in the exercise of discretion, and which set out certain ethical protocols more generally. Sometimes, these ethical codes or policy guidelines come in the form of statutes or regulations - more often, they are issued in the form of administrative rules, training materials or internal codes of conduct. Together, these quasi-legal instruments may be characterized as "soft law". While statutory authority may be vague, "soft law" is concrete and often purposive. Too often, however, "soft law" is developed and applied behind closed doors, with little opportunity for those affected by government decision-making to have a role in shaping it. While the social science literature is nearly uniformly supportive of such measures to structure discretion (as discussed, for example, by Kenneth Kernaghan in "The Emerging Public Service Culture: Values, Ethics, and Reforms" *Canadian Public Administration* 37:4 (1994): 614-630.), the question of how such rules and codes may be meaningfully enforced, or how they reflect or reform administrative practice and administrative culture, has rarely been raised. This paper will build on the small but significant literature which has addressed these questions, mostly devoted to the regulation of professions (see, for example, Angela Campbell and Kathleen C. Glass, "The Legal Status of Clinical and Ethics Policies, Codes, and Guidelines in Medical Practice and Research" *McGill Law Journal* 46 (2001): 473-489; and G. Mackenzie, "The Valentine's Day Card in the Operating Room: Codes of Ethics and the Failing Ideals of the Legal Profession" *Alberta Law Review* 33:4 (1995) 859-873). This paper will also explore the concern that "soft law" might unduly fetter or distort the discretion that was intended to be left to the individual judgment of government decision-makers. To illustrate and elaborate upon these concerns, the paper will consider recent Supreme Court case law, particularly the cases of *Baker v. Canada (Minister of Citizenship and Immigration)* (1999) and *Little Sisters Book and Art Emporium v. Canada (Minister of Justice)* (2000). This paper seeks to combine political science and law methodological approaches, analyzing primary sources such as policy manuals and ethical codes, as well as the case law which has considered their legal status. The paper will be divided into three parts. The first part of the paper will trace the rise of "soft law" and the trend towards codifying the decision-making process. The second part will examine the enforcement of "soft law" and the role of the Courts in the decision-making process. The third part will analyze the rationale and effectiveness of soft law, and conclude with a suggested approach to rendering it more coherent, accountable and capable of enhancing the discretionary judgments of government decision-makers.

Spearin, Christopher (cspearin@interchange.ubc.ca) - Patrons, Clients, and Privatized Security - In order to understand fully the implications of the Private Security Company (PSC), a new, non-state security actor, this paper, "Patrons, Clients, and Privatized Security", places the PSC in the context of patron-client balancing. This framework is relevant because patron-client balancing can explain the current appeal of PSCs, the problems they pose for some states, and the trajectory of the PSC industry. The paper's three sections provide the background on patron-client balancing, offer the examples of Sierra Leone and Papua New Guinea, and predict the future motives for regulation of the international PSC industry. Taken together, these sections make clear how PSCs can allow governments of weak states in the developing world to alter post-Cold War patron-client balancing in their favour by either manipulating patrons or by overcoming patron demands. To date, the majority of the academic work on PSCs has employed explanatory and descriptive research designs. These studies, in their impetus to facilitate general understanding through description, historical comparison, legal analysis, and categorization, have served to set the base for more structured studies pertaining to policy and theoretical implications such as the one proposed above. This paper fits into my dissertation research on the increasing trend towards the privatization of security and its impact on the pursuit of the human security agenda. Specifically, it will provide the contextual framework for the larger study.

Stan, Lavinia (lstan@is.dal.ca) - Who, Where, When, How: Unresolved Issues Regarding Securitate

Files – To come/à venir

Steenbergen, Candis (candis.steenbergen@sympatico.ca) - Changing Lanes and Keeping Score: Engendering Social Capital in Robert Putnam's *Bowling Alone* – “Are boomers and X'ers really less engaged in community life? After all, it was the preceding generation that was once scorned as "silent." Perhaps the younger generation today is no less engaged than their predecessors, but engaged in new ways” (Putnam, 2000, Chapter 1). From his latest text, *Bowling Alone*, Robert Putnam makes a number of interesting and timely remarks. While his question reveals that the generational descant of the 1990s (sparked by novelist Douglas Coupland and debated by countless others) has not yet been exhausted, his premise – that the recent decline in “social capital” can be attributed to generational differences – although attractive, is inherently flawed. Not only does he dismiss the ardent activism and dramatic influence of mid to late twentieth century activism; he also ignores the intense debates concerning that very issue within current feminist discourses. Putnam's comments, when applied to the women's movement, uncover an entirely new narrative worthy of discussion. The last decade has witnessed an increased - and often heated - discussion of women's relationship both with and within the women's movement. From the cover of *TIME* magazine (*Is Feminism Dead?*) to the emergence of anti-feminist texts in Women's Studies sections of bookstores, to the chronic adoption of postfeminist rhetoric by popular media, there is an uneasiness about the engagement of younger women and a sense of uncertainty surrounding feminism's future. My discussion seeks to disrupt and challenge prevailing discourses by addressing Putnam's final comment: that the younger generation is perhaps engaged in *new* ways. Interested in the spaces where feminisms lurk, my paper will examine the interplay between and influences of feminism, sexuality, and pop culture on the complicated and often paradoxical politics of women of my "generation." Three assumptions guide my paper. First, emerging third wave discourses largely exist outside of the more traditional sites for feminist activism. Second, many of those dialogues reveal a disinterest in certain feminist strategies (and sometimes the label “feminist”), particularly those involving organizational motivations. Finally, there is a revival (albeit altered) of the early second wave maxim “the personal is political,” and a renewed interest in individual women's experiences, problems and concerns. Through an examination of the prominent variables that have contributed to the changing context in which we have come to understand, know, and “do” feminism, I will identify and address the multiple ways in which “feminist,” feminism, and feminist politics have become ambiguous, complicated, and full of possibility. Putnam's analysis of “civic and social life in American communities” is more about differences between men like him and the people (interestingly, many of them benevolent women of the “Progressive Era”) who came before. An examination of feminism's “generation gap” provides one way in which feminist activism can be explored, critiqued, and redefined, and creates a space where theories can expand to accommodate them. My paper endeavours to not only provide a counter-narrative to Putnam's work, but also to envision a framework through which “social capital” – and “politics” more generally – can be discussed.

Stetson, Dorothy (stetsond@fau.edu) - Challenges in the Conceptualization and Operationalization of Women's Movements in Comparative Politics – To come/à venir

Stevenson, Garth (stevensn@spartan.ac.brocku.ca) - 1798 and 1837: The Birth of Anti-Colonial Nationalism - Much has been written about the origins of nationalism, the circumstances in which it arises, and the conditions under which it succeeds in mobilizing the population for political action. This paper is part of a larger project comparing the origins, development and consequences of nationalism in Ireland and Quebec. It is hoped that the project, when completed, will contribute to the understanding of these two cases and also of the phenomenon of nationalism in general. The paper looks at two formative events that have a number of parallels: the rebellion against British rule in Ireland in 1798 and the rebellion in Lower Canada (now Quebec) in 1837-1838. After a preliminary discussion of the literature

on nationalism, the largest section of the paper will discuss the rebellions themselves: background conditions, precipitating events, the role of the main leaders (Theobald Wolfe Tone and Louis-Joseph Papineau) including a discussion of their political ideas, the expectations of foreign assistance, the roles played by the Protestant minority in Ireland and the Anglophone minority in Lower Canada, and the conditions leading to defeat. The next section of the paper will examine the short and long-term consequences of these events: the British response (which in both cases included the abolition of the local parliament through an Act of Union), the temporary eclipse of nationalism, and the subsequent emergence of a somewhat different type of nationalism, which I will argue was more conservative, exclusive and "ethnic" than the earlier type. The paper will also discuss the long-term impact of 1798 and 1837 both as formative events which influenced the evolution of the two societies and as political symbols which were interpreted in various ways and used for political purposes by later generations of nationalists.

Stewart, Kennedy (k.stewart@ucl.ac.uk) - Comparing Local Government Restructuring in London and Toronto - Driven by economic conditions, social trends or merely the whims of local or upper-tier politicians, institutional change is a constant theme in local governance studies. Much of the literature investigating local government reform centres on the pros and cons of particular local or regional governmental forms. In contrast, through comparing HOW institutional reform has been conducted in two world cities – Toronto and London – this paper investigates if the process itself can have an impact. While the structural form differs in each case, it is argued that the ‘Big Tent’ approach through which the new Greater London Authority was brought to the British capital has had the important effect of unifying citizen within the city, while the ‘Big Stick’ strategy used in Metropolitan Toronto has greatly undermined the city’s civic spirit. The paper concludes by proposing that when viewed from a broader perspective, reform processes ultimately may be more important than structural form as consensus building helps transform big cities into great world centres.

Studlar, Donley T. (dstudlar@wvu.edu) - Federalism and Public Policy: Tobacco Control in Canada and the United States - Tobacco control policy has achieved a high agenda status in both the United States and Canada over the past two decades and has operated at several levels---federal (central), state/provincial, and local. Based on documentary records and interviews, this paper shows how tobacco control policies have been transferred through a variety of methods both within and between the United States and Canada in terms of instruments, agents, directions, and content. In addition to what might be expected, within-country transfers from the top-down but also bottom-up transfers within the same country, there have also been cross-border transfers, both from the same level, (e.g., federal to federal, state to provincial), but also bottom-up, especially from states in the U.S., especially California and Massachusetts, to the federal government in Canada. In contrast to the usual situation in Canadian-U.S. policy transfer, however, the Canadian federal government has acted as a transfer agent to the federal government in the United States.

Summerville, Tracy and Smith, Heather (summervi@unbc.ca) - Constructing the North: Bridging the International Domestic Divide in Constructions of the North - The proposed paper will investigate the competing constructions of the North arising out of different subdivisions of what is traditionally understood to be political science. We will draw on constructions of the North as they are found in the literature on federalism, the literature on regionalism, and the literature in Canadian foreign policy. Unquestionably we cannot address all the themes that may arise in these diverse bodies of work but we want to be able to compare and contrast the definitions of the North than infuse each of the three respective areas. We undertake this investigation with a hypothesis that is a reflection of the authors own scholarly backgrounds. That is, while both trained as political scientists, one was trained as a Canadianist and the other in International Relations. And while it is obvious that the disciplinary lines

are rather arbitrary and do not reflect present realities we believe that where we situate ourselves in the discipline matters in terms of how we study issues such as 'the North'. We hope to see whether or not this hypothesis stands in the face of the investigation. In spite of our expectation to find contrasts based on the author's location we also expect to find similarities in terms of the themes of alienation and identity in the definitions themselves. "The North" assumes some sort of boundary and thus, inevitably, there will be those who are included and those who are excluded in terms of public policy or foreign policy decisions. This will have implications for sovereignty for the territories, the provinces, the federal government and the Canada state. This paper will contribute to growing discussions in the areas of Northern Studies and may contribute to ideas about breaking barriers in the study of political science. We also believe that the paper will contribute to the growing body of work on internationalizations of domestic policy and in turn, the domestication of foreign policy.

Sutcliffe, John B, Soderlund, Walter C. and Lee, Martha F. (sutclif@uwindsor.ca) - Gender and Crisis Reporting: Television News Coverage of Political Crises in the Caribbean - This paper examines U.S. network TV news coverage (ABC, CBS, NBC) of seven political/military crises occurring in the Caribbean basin from 1990-1996: Trinidad and Tobago, 1990; Haiti, 1991, 1993, 1994; Mexico, 1994; and Cuba, 1994 and 1996. First, the extent to which coverage of these crises involved women is documented. In this case, in line with existing research, women are under-represented in all major on-air media coverage. The paper then explores the impact of this under-representation on the actual content of media reporting. There is, at the very least, a possibility that those doing the reporting affect the subject of the report, who is chosen to be on-camera and/or quoted as a source. Using the method of "paired comparison," the paper compares news stories dealing with four of the seven crises (those occurring in Haiti in 1993 and 1994, and Cuba), filed from the same location, on the same day, by male and female reporters representing at least two networks. It examines how these news stories might deal with events differently. The major finding of this research is that there is a reasonable consistency in male and female reporting. Nevertheless, there exist subtle differences in how stories are framed. As well, female anchors and reporters tend to include slightly more female sources in their stories.

Tarnopolsky, Christina (chtarnop@midway.uchicago.edu) - Plato and the Contemporary Politics of Shame and Civility - I argue that Plato's use of shame in the Gorgias presents a deeper view of the resources and dangers that this emotion presents for a democratic politics than the current notions of shame utilized by the proponents and opponents of the politics of shame and civility. I argue that the current debate relies on a binary logic of public/private, shamelessness/shame, mind/body, outer/inner that overlooks the more complex logic of emotional life.

Telford, Hamish (telfordh@qsilver.queensu.ca) - Canadian Political Culture(s) in Transition - Taking the transformation of the federal party system in Canada in 1993 as their point of departure, the authors seek to provide an analysis of the shifting political culture(s) in Canada in the 1990s. The authors will suggest that the traditional centrism of Canadian political culture has rotated on its axis, such that it has moved to the right on economic questions and to the left on social issues. The authors believe this shift goes along way in explaining the success or failure of the major federal political parties in the last three general elections. The authors will attempt to demonstrate that Canadians across the country have to a greater or lesser degree have shifted in this manner. To this extent, there has been a significant convergence amongst Canadians on basic political values. On the other hand, the authors will suggest that there has been a divergence of political identities in Canada. In other words, the authors contend that as Canadians have become more similar in terms of political values, the different identities exhibited by Canadians have deepened. In general, the authors will attempt to situate their analysis within the scholarly literature on political culture in Canada. More specifically, the authors will draw their conclusions from a series of 13 papers commissioned by the Institute of Intergovernmental

Relations at Queen's University that analyzed different aspects of Canadian political culture in the 1990s. These papers, which were written by authors spread across the country, employed a diversity of research methodologies, including normative and statistical analyses. They thus provide a rich body of material to substantiate the proposed paper.

Tellier, Geneviève (tellier@admin.uottawa.ca) - Provincial Public Spending: An Politico-Economic Interaction Explanation - Bien que l'analyse des dépenses publiques des gouvernements provinciaux canadiens reçoive une attention de plus en plus grande au cours des dernières années, il subsiste encore de nombreuses interrogations à propos des causes susceptibles d'expliquer leur taille. Afin de parvenir à une meilleure compréhension du phénomène, nous croyons qu'il convient d'analyser plus en détail un phénomène négligé ou seulement abordé partiellement par la plupart des analyses : tenter d'expliquer pourquoi les dépenses provinciales varient d'une année à l'autre et pourquoi ces variations annuelles ne sont pas les mêmes dans le temps chez toutes les provinces. Jusqu'à maintenant, la majorité des études se sont penché sur à l'analyse du phénomène de la croissance des dépenses publiques sur une longue période. Il existe dans la littérature un modèle théorique qui semble convenir particulièrement bien à l'analyse des variations annuelles des dépenses publiques. Il s'agit du modèle des interactions politico-économiques développé par Frey et Schneider à la fin des années soixante-dix. Depuis sa présentation, ce modèle a été utilisé pour l'analyse empirique du cas provincial canadien, mais seulement partiellement. En fait, aucune des études effectuées sur ce thème n'a tenu compte d'un élément clé du modèle qui est celui qui suppose que la popularité des gouvernements auprès des électeurs exerce une influence déterminante dans le processus de décision menant aux choix budgétaires. Notre intention est donc d'utiliser des données encore jamais employées jusqu'à maintenant, les résultats de sondages d'opinion provinciaux canadiens, afin d'effectuer une analyse empirique sur la variation annuelle des dépenses des gouvernements provinciaux. Plus globalement, nous emploierons comme cadre d'analyse le modèle des interactions politico-économiques dans son ensemble pour expliquer ces variations. Ce faisant, nous sommes d'avis que nous obtiendrons une meilleure compréhension du phénomène des dépenses publiques chez les provinces canadiennes. Cette communication se base sur mes recherches menées pour ma thèse de doctorat. Elle présente le résultat final de ces recherches.

Temelini, Michael J. (temelini@sympatico.ca) - A Civic Humanist Critique of Integration Theory - The aim of this paper is to correct a misunderstanding about Europe's post-war grand compromise. From the early research of Mitrany and Haas to recent contributions of Moravcsik, discussions about European integration have revolved around variations of functionalism, neofunctionalism, rational choice institutionalism or intergovernmentalism. A common assumption uniting these theories is what Sandel and Taylor call procedural liberalism. Following the Hobbes-Locke tradition, the assumption is that institutions are collective instruments established by individuals to obtain benefits through common action they could not secure individually. Accordingly, Europe's post-war compromise is conventionally understood as the erosion of sovereignty by ramification, spillover or elite trade-off bargains. What explains integration is the convergence of self-interest. Civic humanism offers a far richer explanatory framework. This tradition assumes that an essential condition of a free regime is that its citizens have a deeper patriotic identification. Distinguished from its despotic manifestations, patriotism is the solidarity of a shared conception of the common good, be it in language, culture, identity or governance. Accordingly, Europe has to be based on a common good out of a stronger kind than functionalism or institutionalism allow: not an aggregation of individually beneficial things, but based on citizen attachment to an historical community; founded on certain values; that safeguards their dignity as citizens and not simply their economic interests. In the ontology of civic humanism we find a stronger connection and balance between community and individual identity, between justice and efficiency.

Temelini, Micheal J. (temelini@sympatico.ca) - The Puzzle of Multi-culturalism and the European Identity - Over fifty years ago European integrationists sought to build unity and peace after centuries of war. Yet in his recent publication the President of the European Commission, Romano Prodi, suggests that these goals remain stubbornly elusive. Among the most urgent questions to which European politics must find innovative and effective answers, he claims, is how to deal with fear of diversity and the anxieties relating to individual identity. The challenge, as Prodi sees it, is that Europe with its wide variety of traditions, cultures, ethnic groups and religions requires understanding, warmth and integration. A prominent scholar agrees. James Tully claims that one of the most difficult and pressing questions of the political era we are entering is whether a modern constitution can recognize and accommodate cultural diversity. Accepting the challenge posed by these authors, my paper seeks to answer two related questions: can a multinational federation like the European Union reconcile multiculturalism? And how can 'understanding, warmth and integration' be constituted in a federation founded on diversity? This puzzle of multiculturalism constitutes a conceptual challenge - to acquire the ability, in Wittgenstein's words, to 'see differently' - but also a practical challenge, namely to accommodate irreducible plurality. Yet the possible frameworks for recognition and accommodation are unclear. Some claim that no such frameworks exist; partition and separation are the only options. Others promote culturally invariant or uniform frameworks that risk ethnocentricity. My paper will survey solutions that avoid this impasse.

Thibault, Jean-François (thibaultjf@cyberus.ca) - Order and Justice in Post-Realist Politics: A Critique of Liberal International Relations - In post cold-war international law and relations, liberal practices and institutions have come to occupy a prominent position, in which democratic governance, human rights and market economics are depicted as building blocks of a "post-realist politics". Despite all the attention these practices and institutions has received, and beyond the peace rationale that is often presented as the liberal end-all recipe for a just international order, our understanding of the nature of "post-realist politics" is still unclear. This paper contends that although both "order" and "justice" are integral to liberal ideology, the internally complex relationship between these themes - a polemical relationship that I contend is constitutive of the essentially contested realm of politics - has not receive the attention it deserves. Focusing on contemporary liberal attempts to build analytical bridges between international law and international relations and using a poststructuralist method of critical analysis, it will be argued in this paper that because the liberal perspective is cast in strictly rationalist terms, it lacks the reflexive impulse to problematize this relationship between order and justice. Therefore, liberal engagement within international law and relations theory tends to obscure the question of power and to expel normative/cultural considerations. The result is a complacent reconciliation between international law and international relations that conceals the conservative biases of the liberal point of view and overestimates the desirability of the status quo.

Timpson, Annis May (a.m.Timpson@sussex.ac.uk) - Aboriginal Approaches to Representative Bureaucracy: the Case of Nunavut - From its inception the Government of Nunavut (GN) has declared its commitment to the creation of a representative bureaucracy that not only reflects the ethnic make up of the new territory but integrates traditional Inuit knowledge – Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit – into its policies and practices. As a result, Nunavut is unique in the way that governments in Canada have approached the issues of developing representative and responsive bureaucracies. Drawing on a range of interviews with politicians and bureaucrats in the GN, this paper will assess the extent to which the Government of Nunavut has been able to realise these policy goals. While the first of these two issues will assess the progress of human resource strategies across the government, the second will pay particular attention to the work of task forces and interdepartmental committees, as well as policy innovations in the departments of Education, Justice, Sustainable Development and Culture, Language,

Elders and Youth. The paper will assess where the policy has been most/least successful and analyse the patterns identified. This paper will contribute to scholarship on the creation and development of representative bureaucracies in Canada, showing how the Nunavut experiment moves beyond the established approaches of bilingualism and employment equity. It will also contribute to an emergent literature on the governance of Nunavut which, to date, does not include scholarship on the development and implementation of Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit. The paper forms part of a broader project on the development of governance in Nunavut with which I have been engaged since the inception of the new territory in 1999.

Torres-Ruiz, Antonio (Antonio.torres.ruiz@utoronto.ca) - HIV/AIDS: A Catalyst for Democratisation in Mexico? - My paper reflects upon some of the findings of Ph.D. dissertation research, which focuses on the health policymaking process in Mexico, and the governments' and international actors' response to the HIV/AIDS pandemic. My objective is to determine whether the response to the pandemic functions as a catalyst for political mobilisation and increased political participation. Of particular interest to me are the effects of HIV/AIDS on sexual minorities, who are highly stigmatised in Latin American societies. I am exploring the extent to which international organisations (notably the World Bank and UNAIDS), international/domestic civil society networks and HIV/AIDS activist groups create opportunities for the incorporation of sexual minorities in the process of public policymaking. To date, very little work has been done on the process of health policy development and the politics of HIV/AIDS in Mexico. Setting my research within the context of the literature on international policy networks and good governance, the study of this policy area will shed light on the Mexican process of democratisation. In addition, this study's findings should be generalizable to larger changes in the Mexican political system and in public policymaking in health. The fieldwork entails extensive archival analysis and interviews: in-depth interviews with health government officials in Mexico, leaders of political parties, representatives of international organisations and AIDS activist groups, as well as local organisations working in the area of HIV/AIDS prevention and care; as well as access to various key libraries and governmental archives in Mexico.

Tossutti, Livianna S. and Najem, Thomas P. (tossutti@ucalgary.ca) - Minority Representation in Nomination and Election Contests - The ethnic populations of Canada and other multi-racial societies have access to political citizenship rights in Marshallian terms, but the franchise does not ensure the numerical or substantive representation of minorities in national politics. The parties which have dominated electoral competition in western democracies have not always viewed ethnic involvement in "mainstream" politics as vital to their interests. As immigration from non-traditional source countries continues to transform the cultural fabric of western societies, the issue of whether minorities face barriers to participation beyond the voting act has become increasingly salient. Consequently, we have chosen to investigate the relationship between fourth party system competition and minority representation in federal nomination and election contests held between 1993 and 2000. We have adopted both quantitative and qualitative research techniques to identify the facilitators and barriers to the numeric and substantive representation of minorities in Canadian political processes. After gathering secondary data on party affiliation, riding location, party competitiveness in the riding, the cultural heterogeneity of the district, campaign spending, and the presence of ethnic competition, for 3,630 candidates, we used maximum likelihood techniques to estimate which factors were associated with positive outcomes for ethnic candidates in nomination and election contests. In addition to national models, we developed regional models for the West, Ontario and Quebec. Since political outcomes cannot be reduced to quantifiable factors, we have also conducted confidential interviews with minority candidates from across Canada, representing four of the five parliamentary parties. These discussions revolved around their perceptions about the impact of constituency and national party politics, their

ethnic heritage, their cultural communities, and media coverage, on their prospects. The interviews also tapped into their potential to represent new perspectives in federal politics. This study is located with the broader research interests of the authors. Both Dr. Najem and Dr. Tossutti have collaborated on a previous study examining the civic engagement patterns of Britain's Muslim community.

Trevenen, Kathryn (Kathryn_trevenen@hotmail.com) - Cultural Translation and Cosmopolitan Possibilities - Following work done by Gayatri Spivak and Judith Butler on the question of cultural translation and (post)colonial politics across national and cultural divisions, this paper examines how critical feminist conceptions of cosmopolitanism, and an examination of the international alliances and strategies pursued by First Nations women (using the Sandra Lovelace UN Human Rights Case to embarrass the Canadian government for example) could add to discussions of women's issues within First Nations struggles for land settlement and self-government in Canada. The paper asks particularly how critical cosmopolitanism could disrupt the notions of status, citizenship, and sovereignty that often place native women in conflict with both the Canadian federal system, and their local band governments. The paper first argues that First Nations women's politics in Canada reflect the troubled relations that many women's groups and movements have had with movements for nationalism or postcolonial independence. It then contends that the national or multicultural frame for debates over land claims and tribal government often fail to disrupt gendered inequalities and exclusions that deny Aboriginal women participation in band government, and perpetuate racist representations of their political activity and agency. In response to the failings of traditional liberal and feminist conceptions of citizenship, culture and sovereignty, the paper argues that practices of careful cultural translation must be adopted by feminist groups working together with indigenous women. These practices of translation will both lead to effective partnerships among women in Canada, and to the cultivation of international alliances in these political struggles.

Triadafilopoulos, Phil (triadafilos@sprint.ca) - Domestic and External Sources of Change in the Politics of Immigration and Citizenship - After a long period of neglect, international migration and the politics of immigration and citizenship policymaking have emerged as lively areas of research in the fields of political science and political sociology. This interest has produced a growing range of publications, theories, and analytical frameworks. Within the field, a deepening division between scholars emphasizing domestic sources of change and those citing external factors has come to the fore. Whereas "internalists" focus on domestic institutions and processes, "externalists" look beyond the state, citing the influence of international human rights conventions, economic interdependence, and other elements of globalization. In the proposed paper, I survey this literature in order to shed light on what is at stake in this debate. I then propose a framework that unites internal and external levels of analysis. The framework combines the insights of historical institutionalism and more recent works dedicated to tracing the impact of ideas and norms on politics. I argue that new ideas pertaining to race and national identity do not achieve political prominence on their own but must be championed by individuals and groups operating within specific institutional milieus. Borrowing from the work of public policy specialists, I point out that domestic "advocacy coalitions" are the prime actors in the diffusion of norms and reform of immigration and citizenship policies. A focus on advocacy coalitions allows us to trace the diffusion of new norms and ideas over time, in different political contexts. Reference to immigration and citizenship politics and policymaking in Germany and Canada is used to defend my argument and analytical framework.

Trimble, Linda (ltrimble@ualberta.ca) - Who's in the Game? Framing of Election 2000 by the Globe and Mail and the National Post - Our paper presents the results of a content and discourse analysis of election-related headlines appearing in English language national newspapers, the Globe and Mail and National Post, over the course of the 36 day 2000 national election campaign. Our overall finding is that

while both newspapers embraced a horserace frame to the neglect of issues and ideologies, there were key differences in issue emphasis, leader portrayals and party evaluations, and these differences reflected the unique editorial stances, organizational needs and news values of the two media organizations. Our method was as follows: we examined all front section and special section election-related headlines in both newspapers from the day after the writ was dropped to the day after the election, for a total of 1141 headlines. Headlines were coded according to their location in the newspaper, the type of news story, main and secondary topics, overall frame (game or issue), the first, second and third actor mentioned in the headline, and the nature of party evaluations (positive, negative, neutral, mixed). We also coded any photograph accompanying the headline, identifying the type and news frame of the photo, as well as the presence of party leaders in the picture. The analysis had two purposes. The first was to determine the prevalence and impact of the strategic, or game frame for electoral reporting. Studies conducted in the U.S. and Canada have found that the strategic "meta narrative" emphasizes polling results, election ploys, leader personalities and campaign gaffes and thereby obscures ideas and public policy issues. We measured the dominance of the game frame and evaluated its impact on the portrayal of election issues, parties and leaders. The second purpose was to determine whether ideological and/or organizational differences between the two papers would lead them to cover the election differently, by emphasizing different issues, giving greater attention to particular political parties and leaders, and evaluating the parties differently. The 2000 election was the first federal campaign reported by the National Post, and we wanted to find out if the Post staked out unique discursive territory in an attempt to attract readers from the Globe and Mail.

Tucker, Eric – Newspaper Carriers for the Toronto Star – To come/à venir

Turcotte, André (atrs@aol.com) - The Chretien Years and Their Impact on Canadian Political Behaviour - By winning his third consecutive majority, Jean Chretien has ensured that he will leave his imprint on the Canadian political scene. It is undeniable that after 40 years in the House of Commons; the last ten as Prime Minister, Jean Chretien has earned the right to be judged as a significant Canadian political figure. Prior to becoming Prime Minister, he played a central role in some of the most controversial debates in our recent political history. Since then, he has led the country through the contradictions of a period of economic prosperity, increased regional affirmation, voter apathy and relative political stability. As his retirement probably nears, it is time to start looking at the impact of the Prime ministership of Jean Chretien. This paper will focus on the impact of the Chretien years on the main dimensions of political behaviour in Canada. In specific terms, I will look at the evolution of key determinants of voting behaviour in this country since 1993. Hence, factors such as party identification, perception of competence in handling important issues, leadership traits, socio-economic characteristics, political interest will be examined. This essay will rely on CNES data for the period between 1988 and 2000. It will contribute to our continuing understanding of political behaviour in Canada as well as shedding light on the most recent political era.

Turenne Sjolander, Claire (cturenne@uottawa.ca) - To come/à venir

Valentin, Jérémie (jeremie.valentin@sympatico.ca) - L'animal politique deleuzien: Éthique et politique dans la philosophie de Gilles Deleuze - L'animal politique deleuzien nous servira de point d'ancrage pour mener à bien notre raisonnement. De nombreux animaux sont présents dans la philosophie de Gilles Deleuze et le devenir-animal que nous expliquerons dans notre première section est la porte d'entrée pour une compréhension de sa philosophie. Le problème principal que nous avons à résoudre est le suivant: Comment définir de façon positive ce qu'est un animal politique deleuzien ou encore une politique chez Deleuze quand ce personnage n'apparaît pas de façon claire et distincte dans sa philosophie? Cette politique semble suivre un mouvement asymptotique à l'ontologie deleuzienne sans pour autant l'épouser complètement. La question du politique chez Deleuze est entourée d'un halo

d'incompréhension. Elle soulève l'étonnement d'un Mao lors d'une conversation avec Foucault et n'est étudiée que dans le cadre de l'anti-Œdipe et Mille plateaux où elle se révélerait complètement. Nous croyons, au contraire, que ces deux ouvrages de philosophie politique, selon Deleuze, ne constituent en rien des objets d'analyse privilégiés de cette dimension politique. C'est par le versant de la posture et de la perception que nous avons choisi d'étudier la politique chez Deleuze. Gilles Deleuze est, selon nous, un mécanicien des fluides. Il est à l'écoute du réel et s'est donné pour tâche de nous en indiquer les moindres manifestations. Il "écrit la peinture", écrit à l'encre de la sensation ou encore écrit la sensation pour lui restituer toute son immédiateté. Pourquoi sommes-nous émus devant un tableau, pourquoi réagissons-nous à certains sons? Qu'est-ce qui fait vibrer notre âme? Ces questions ne sont pas propres au domaine artistique, elles sont tout aussi bien politiques. La politique n'a pas vraiment de spécificité ou plus précisément elle les a toutes. Tout est politique et rien n'est vraiment politique.

Vander Valk, Francis (fvander@hotmail.com) - Lend Me Your Ears: Treatments of the Concept of Friendship in Political Theory - The idea of friendship has played an important role throughout the history of political theory. The understanding of friendship held by individual thinkers, and the communities in which these thinkers were situated, reflected, and in turn impacted upon, the form that political activity assumed. Archaic Greece, for example, saw a ritualized form of friendship (xenos) that set both the theoretical and practical bounds for a wide range of political interaction. In classical Greece, where the very understanding of virtue (arete), political and otherwise, was in transition, first Plato, and then more fully Aristotle, struggled to better understand friendship. I argue that the classical use of philia as a central term to describe friendship, as well as Aristotle's tripartite division of the concept of friendship, represents a corresponding change in the understanding of ideal political relationships. This intertwining of theories of politics and friendship continues through the Christian tradition, where a stress on "friendship with god" universalizes impulses that were previously directed toward interpersonal relationships. I will argue that the Christian universalization of friendship broke apart elements of friendship that had previously been conjoined in the Greek model. Whereas Greek ideals of friendship were both character-building and supportive of the political regime, post-Christian conceptions of friendship promote either a stable democratic political order or a regime which allows for meaningful self-creation. The former approach, very broadly speaking, is characteristic of French and American writers, while the latter is more characteristic of German scholars, especially in the work of Nietzsche. I will conclude my paper by briefly examining attempts to reintegrate the political and personal elements of theories of friendship in a certain strand of democratic theory.

VanNijnatten, Debora L. (dvannijn@wlu.ca) - Science and Air Quality Policy: From Policy Feeder to Policy Entrepreneur - With respect to the science policy relationship, three models have been suggested in the literature. In the first, referred to as the "science bank" model, scientists perform research independently of the policy process. Policy-makers presumably go to the bank for information when needed, although it is not necessarily the case that policy-relevant information is available. In the second, referred to as the "feeder of information" approach, policy-makers sponsor research for specific policy solutions. Here, policy-makers and scientists are linked, with policy-makers "pulling" on the science. The third model may be termed the "assessment for policy" approach, whereby scientists define the policy questions themselves and then seek to inform policy-makers of the answers. Thus, these three models differ in terms of the amount of interaction between scientists and policy-makers as well as the amount of leadership exercised by scientists, with the third model envisioning a pro-active or policy-entrepreneurial role for scientists. The evolution of air quality policy over the past two decades illustrates the changing nature of science-policy relations. Using a case study approach, this paper will show how the science-policy relationship has evolved through discussions on acid rain (in the 1970s through the 1980s), ground-level ozone (in the 1990s), particulate matter (late 1990s) and mercury (late

1990s). In acid rain debates, scientists were active in trying to generate political action but the focus was on basic research. Discussions of the ground-level ozone problem resembled more the feeder of information approach, whereby policy-makers sponsored research for specific solutions. Most recently, the PM and mercury cases show scientists taking leadership by defining policy-relevant research agendas (in consultation with policy-makers) and then producing scientific assessments in such a way that they feed into a specific stage in the policy process.

Vengroff, Richard and Allen, James (Richard.vengroff@uconn.edu) - Are Canadians Becoming More 'Duvergerian'? - Evidence from the 2000 Federal Election By James P. Allan and Richard Vengroff Department of Political Science University of Connecticut Despite many predictions to the contrary, the Canadian Federal Elections of November 2000 did not produce a change of government, and all the major federal parties retained their official status in the House of Commons. While the Liberals retained an overall majority, however, vindicating Jean Chretien's decision to call an early election, the electoral map of Canada shows signs of an ever-increasing polarization of the Canadian party system along regional lines. While Stockwell Day may rue the Canadian Alliance's failure to make a significant impact within the Liberal stronghold of Ontario, he can, on the other hand, draw comfort from the Liberal Party's failure to improve its own position in the western provinces. In this paper we consider the implications of the 2000 elections for the future of Canada's federal party system(s). As parties consolidate their positions within their regional strongholds, are voters contributing to the so-called 'East-West divide' by voting strategically and punishing parties operating outside their 'natural' areas of strength? Is this producing a trend toward two-party systems at the Riding level throughout Canada? In short, are Canadians becoming more 'Duvergerian'? By examining district-level election results from the last three federal elections and survey data from across Canada, we develop and test hypotheses aimed at answering these questions.

Vergara-Camus, Leandro (leandro@yorku.ca) - The Specificity of the Zapatista Experience of Resistance - The experience of the Zapatista Army of National Liberation (EZLN) in Chiapas has been analysed from Marxist, post-Marxist, post-modern and post-structuralist perspectives. In many cases, this revolutionary experience is presented as a direct response to globalization and as an example for the radical left or subaltern forces to emulate. The zapatista ideology is hence often evaluated more on the basis of its relation to current radical political trends (socialism, radical democracy, feminism, post-modernism) than on the basis of its social origins and context. The objective of this paper is to highlight the specificity of the zapatista experience by understanding it as an original response to a particular regional historical context. The zapatista experience has to be understood within the reconfiguration of social relations of domination, exploitation and resistance in Chiapas, triggered by the restructuring of regional, national and global processes. The paper will analyse some of the main zapatista ideas and positions and will show how they correspond to concrete struggles for land, recognition and democracy of Mayan peasants as well as to a complex process of reconstruction of their identity. Theoretically, following the work of Ellen Wood and George Comninel, the paper will emphasize the necessity to entrench the analysis of political discourse within a concrete historical materialist analysis that dynamically encompasses social, political and cultural dimensions. The analysis will thus highlight the need to adopt a multidisciplinary approach that combines insights from political theory, comparative politics, social anthropology and history.

Vosko, Leah F. (lvosko@yorku.ca) - Re-Regulating the Employment Relationship: Challenges to Labour Law and Policy in Canada – The Case of Free-Lance Editors - This panel will examine the pressing need to re-regulate the employment relationship in Canada by adapting labour laws and policies taking the standard employment relationship -- the full-time full year job with benefits -- as the norm. There is growing evidence that contingent work is spreading in Canada, with significant

consequences for women, people of colour and other groups of workers at the margins of the labour market. Consistent with this trend, panelists will discuss four cases where labour policy has failed to cover workers engaged in contingent employment and explore prospects for re-regulating the labour market. Cases to be examined include the case of newspaper carriers for the Toronto Star (Tucker); rural route mail carriers; home caregivers for the disabled (Cranford); and free-lance editors (Vosko). The papers prepared for this panel are the product of a community university research alliance on contingent work.

Waisberg, Peter (pwaisber@ccs.carleton.ca) - Transition in the Russian North – The past decade of post-communism in the Russian Federation has been broadly characterized as a period of transition based on the twin pillars of political democratization and economic marketization. While much attention has been paid to the questions of whether the transition to democracy has been completed and its consolidation begins or whether the economy can truly be called market-based, there has been little attention paid to the types of discourses and knowledges which underpin this transition and how they are implicated in the exercise of power and the governing of the state, the population, and the self. These processes are evident particularly starkly in the Russian North, as its relative isolation and vulnerable populations are increasingly subject to policies and projects to integrate it into the emerging post-communist political and economic regimes. The problem of governing the North has been simultaneously constructed as a problem to be solved and a potential to be utilized. This paper seeks to examine the shifts in how the Russian North is governed through these knowledges and practices and how they combine 'liberal' and coercive techniques. Of particular interest are how Northern populations and the idea and location of the North itself being transformed and reconstituted through governments, international institutions, specialists through such policies and practices as economic development planning, migration policy and nationalities policy.

Walters, William (wwalters@ccs.carleton.ca) - Beyond Institutional Approaches to the Welfare State: Governmentality and Social Citizenship - While governmentality has become an important research programme in many areas of political sociology it has had little impact in comparative politics. This paper explores the promise of governmentality for the study of a central question in comparative politics: regime shifts in social citizenship. It introduces governmentality by comparing it with a paradigm that has had a significant impact on the subfield, namely historical institutionalism. While both approaches are historical in their orientation, the paper will argue that governmentality's use of history is quite different from historical institutionalism. Governmentality seeks to write 'histories of the present' where the aim is to denaturalize the political forms and identities - such as 'the state' and 'society' - which historical institutionalism still takes for granted. The originality and the promise of governmentality research will be illustrated in terms of a particular case: accounting for recent shifts in the government of poverty and unemployment in the United Kingdom. The paper will explore how welfare reform entails not only particular assumptions about the social identity of its subjects, but particular governmental technologies - such as the jobseeker 'contract' - which seek to shape the ways in which those subjects govern themselves. This concern with the subjectification of the unemployed does not figure in historical institutionalist research. A problem with the latter, it will be argued, is that it works with a rather fixed and essential conception of social identity.

Ward, Ian (I.ward@mailbox.uq.edu.au) - Local Campaigning in Australia – To come

Warren, Mark E. (warrenm@gunet.georgetown.edu) – What Can Democratic Participation Mean Today? - The number of democratic countries has increased dramatically over the last fifty years, contributing enormously to basic human welfare. As democracy has spread, however, democratic expectations have diminished, from the view that democracy means equal chances to influence collective judgments to the sparse view that democracy exists wherever there is a universal franchise

with institutionalized opposition. It is often said that the progressive view that democracy ought to involve broad participation by an engaged citizenry must give way to limitations imposed by the scale, complexity, differentiation, and pluralism of modern societies. I shall argue in the first two sections of this article, however, that the political landscape is now more favorable to participatory ideals than in the recent past. But to capitalize on the emerging realities in the post Cold War world, progressive democrats will need to rethink what democratic participation can mean today within large scale, complex societies. In the final section I suggest eight guidelines for a progressive democratic theory that would rise to the challenges.

Webb, Kernaghan (webb.kernaghan@ic.gc.ca) - Private Regulation, Innovation, Public Policy and the Law: Structural Heretics or New Models? - Drawing on the work of Harvard Business School's Clayton Christensen, the paper applies the concept of "disruptive innovation" to recent efforts by industry and non-governmental organizations to develop private regulatory "voluntary code" initiatives pertaining to environmental protection, human rights and worker protection, and consumer protection. Christensen's research suggests that disruptive innovations (which are the real breakthrough innovations) typically enable a larger population of less skilled people to do things previously performed by specialists in less convenient, centralized settings. Although Christensen's concept of disruptive innovation was initially developed in relation to conventional commercial activity (e.g., eBay, as a challenge to conventional off-line auction houses like Sotheby's), in this paper, it is suggested that it applies equally well to public policy-oriented private regulation. The position taken in the paper is that, in a growing number of contexts, voluntary codes are acting as sources of both market and social norm (public policy) disruptive rule innovations. As market-disruptive rule innovators, voluntary codes are increasingly being used by NGOs, businesses, and governments as "voicing mechanisms" for articulating and implementing rules of acceptable corporate conduct. Particularly when the voluntary codes are spearheaded by NGOs, the "demand side" of the economy is aggregating, and "talking back" to the supply side of the economy in a way it has never done before. Building on Christensen's language, voluntary codes have become tools for empowering comparatively disorganized and disenfranchised demand-side interests and thereby challenging the conventional method of supply-side/demand-side discourse. At the same time, many of these voluntary code initiatives are acting as disruptive public policy (social norm) rule innovators. Law – the conventional mechanism for articulating social norms – is a very formal, technical, centralized process, filled with experts (elected politicians, judges, government officials, lawyers) who effectively act as guardians as to what is the subject of rules, how those rules are articulated, how they are interpreted, and how they are implemented. Voluntary codes, on the other hand, are almost invariably developed and implemented through open, informal, decentralized processes, by "non experts" (in the legal sense) who are located in individual firms, business associations, and NGOs. The public policy impacts of a shift in social norm-making activity of these groups from a singular focus on the conventional political system to one which encompasses use of voluntary codes is difficult to predict. Even though voluntary codes can be seen as challenges to the conventional law making and implementation process, in other ways codes can be seen as precursors of laws, supplements to laws, and alternatives to law which address the weaknesses of the conventional legal system. At the same time, the law variously frames, constrains and facilitates the development and use of voluntary codes. The paper explores the complex interactions between codes and the law through the lens of the characterization of such codes as "disruptive rule innovations".

Weibust, Inger (iweibust@ccs.carleton.ca) - Canada's Record of Environmental Treaty Compliance: Are Provincial Governments To Blame? - Greater transparency about Canada's international environmental commitments has revealed that our record of compliance with international and bilateral environmental treaties is not particularly good. For several commitments, such as the Biodiversity treaty or the

NAFTA environmental side agreements, Canada's failure to comply results from persistent inaction by the provinces, who have jurisdiction over the issue in question and who must pass legislation in order for Canada to comply. This paper asks: Is there a systematic relationship between treaty compliance and the role of provincial governments in complying with a particular treaty? The paper will examine Canada's current compliance with environmental treaties and correlate it to a coding of the treaties in terms of the extent of provincial action required for compliance. In the absence of a systematic relationship, there will be no difference in compliance between treaties largely under federal jurisdiction and those where the provinces are essential for compliance. The topic addresses the literature on compliance with international environmental treaties. The literature has focused on factors such as lack of technical capacity, treaty ambiguity and lack of transparency as explanations of poor treaty compliance. The first two of these seem inadequate in explaining Canada's lack of compliance or a possible difference in federal/provincial patterns of compliance. Other than level of economic development, domestic political factors have received less attention. The topic builds on the author's dissertation, which found that, in federal systems with high levels of concern about the environment, greater centralization was associated with greater and more stringent environmental protection.

Weldon, S. Laurel (Weldon@polsci.purdue.edu) - Challenges in the Conceptualization and Operationalization of Women's Movements in Comparative Politics – To come/à venir

Wellen, Richard (rwellen@yorku.ca) - 'Value-Added' Communication in the Networked Polis: Implications for Democratic Theory - The proposed paper deals with the problems of the communicative ethics of democracy in the light of developments associated with the Internet and interactive communications. Drawing upon Castell's characterization of the 'network society' as well as more recent arguments about the depreciation of 'deliberative' culture by Cass Sunstein and others, I attempt to highlight some of the democratic paradoxes of the networked polis. In particular, there is a need to reexamine the political meaning and function of the growing customization and channel-multiplicity in our emerging universe of communications. Part of this problem can be described in quasi-economic terms: the new technologies allow more information richness, with the result that 'value-added' strategies of communication take the form of deepening the focus and (non-elitist) specialization of discourse. New resources for creating meaning are thereby fostered, as individuals and informal publics become less constrained by traditional intermediaries and can even be said to enjoy greater opportunities for owning cultural capital. But there is a democratic tension at work here as well. Some have argued that the democratic benefits of the 'openness' of the Internet are offset by some of the disaggregating practices and priorities that are rewarded by the more self-controlled communicative relationships. As a result, and depending upon other elements of the social context, opportunities for self-definition may come at the expense of a deliberatively rich exposure to the problems of others. This paper explores the possible trade-offs between expressive and deliberative goods in the context of our current age of information and social disaggregation, and builds on the author's previous work on the dilemmas of modern democratic thought. Selected Bibliography: Castells, Manuel. The Information Age 2nd ed. (2000) Sunstein, Cass. Republic.com (2001) Shenk, David. The End of Patience (1999)

Wheeler, Ron (wheeler@usask.ca) - Targeting Others in the UN Commission on Human Rights, A Study of Chinese Voting, 1982 to 2000 - Since the Tienanmen Incident in 1989, China has been subjected to widespread criticism, particularly from Western states, for failure to adhere to international human rights standards. A major forum for articulating these criticisms, often through draft resolutions, has been the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, which is the principal international body for setting and clarifying these standards and for demanding that states and other international actors respect them. Many works have demonstrated that China has raised various arguments to challenge or limit the role of the Commission to "target" member states for human rights violations, and that these

arguments have varied over time and according to circumstances. Common to these works is an implicit assumption that China's principal motivation is to mute criticisms of itself - that is, its advocacy of sovereignty, national self-determination, non-interference in internal affairs and the like is primarily a strategy of self-defense. The research presented in this paper challenges this view ? or, at least, suggests that it provides only a partial explanation of China's position. Through an analysis of China's voting on resolutions which have targeted other states for human rights violations, this paper demonstrates that China has been remarkably consistent since joining the Commission in 1982. Secondly, through an analysis of ideological discussion and decisions within China, it argues that internal ideological changes offer a fuller explanation for China's consistent defense of national sovereignty in the Commission.

Whitson, David (dave.whitson@ualberta) - Globalization, Provincial Governments, and the Transformation of Rural Economies - In the aftermath of the recent federal election, it has become common to hear from self-appointed spokespersons that the results reflect the alienation of Western Canadians from a government - indeed, from a political system - perceived to represent the interests of Ontario and Quebec. The paper will propose that this analysis ignores significant rural-urban differences in voting patterns across the West, obscuring a fissure between urban and rural Canada that has widened appreciably in the last fifteen years. Partly, this follows from the increasing concentration of Canada's population in large cities, and the economic importance that cities like Calgary and Edmonton, Vancouver, and Winnipeg have assumed in their respective provinces. Differences in interests are sharpened, moreover, as our cities become markedly different, demographically, than their adjacent rural regions. The issues that will be the focus of this paper, however, follow from the 'entrepreneurial' role adopted by provincial governments, in a post-NAFTA environment. In the 'new' economy, to be specific, provincial governments, like state governments in Mexico and the US, are competing to attract capital-intensive development into rural regions, rather than acting as defenders of traditional regional livelihoods or ways of life. In this context, Canadian provincial governments of all political stripes have offered official support to massive industrial forestry developments, to intensive livestock production and agricultural biotechnology, and to major oil and mineral developments. Meanwhile, many of the redistributive policies that helped to sustain rural communities through several decades have been sacrificed: in the name of free trade and debt reduction, as well as pressure from 'entrepreneurial cities' to assume a greater political role. As traditional regional economies decline and rural populations diminish, the paper enquires into whether provincial governments have real policy choices? Could a different policy agenda assist rural people who so wished to remain 'in place'? Or are provincial governments limited to managing the transition from 'old' to 'new' economies so that rural residents are not hurt too badly?

Whitworth, Sandra – Myths, Masculinities, and Soldiers – To come/à venir

Williams, A. Paul, Baranek, Patricia, Deber, Raisa Lum, Janet and Daly, Tamara (paul.Williams@utoronto.ca) - Mapping the "Front Lines" of Canadian Medicare: Institutional and Structural Determinants of Health Care Reform in Ontario - While "inside" Medicare, governments have found it difficult to make changes which substantially reform the way in which care is provided, extend universal entitlements, or overtly erode such entitlements, "outside" Medicare, change has often been rapid and far-reaching. In this paper we compare parallel attempts to reform community-based care in two proximate health policy fields. The first (situated outside of Medicare) focuses on home and community care which in addition to a range of personal support and homemaking services, includes medically necessary care for patients discharged earlier from hospitals. This reform, which substantially changed the field by establishing a network of regional Community Care Access Centres (CCACs) and introducing market competition, was accomplished quickly against little concerted opposition. In contrast, the second attempt (inside Medicare) to reform the way in which community-based family

physicians organize their practices through the establishment of a provincial network of primary care organizations, continues to flounder. We suggest that the relative success of these two related government reform initiatives must be understood in terms of the interplay of institutional and structural factors: in the case of home and community care, the provincial government faced few legislative constraints and a policy community comprised of relatively small providers and vulnerable consumers; in the field of primary care, however, government reforms were constrained by Medicare itself, which institutionalizes the clinical and economic autonomy of physicians, and by the concerted opposition of the Ontario Medical Association. Current health system “reforms” in provinces like Ontario thus demarcate an important “front line” for analyzing the directions and capacity of the post-war state.

Williams, A. Paul, Spalding, Karen, Deber, Raisa B. and McKeever, Patricia (paul.Williams@utoronto.ca) - Prescriptions for Pediatric Home Care: Moving From Universal Entitlements to Managed Competition – To come/à venir

Williams, Melissa (mwilliam@chass.utoronto.ca) - To come/à venir

Wilson, Gary N. (wilsong@unbc.ca) - Reforming the Russian Federal System: Consequences for the North - Over the past decade, students of Russian federalism have argued that the reform process has been hampered by the weakened state capacity of the federal government, a situation resulting from the uncontrolled process of decentralization that has taken place during the transition period (Stoner-Weiss). The inability of the federal government to deliver basic services and coordinate the reform process has had been felt throughout Russia. Its effects, however, are particularly evident in the Russian North, a region that had traditionally relied on assistance from the central government. In 2000, the Putin government introduced a series of reforms designed to strengthen the capacity of the federal government at the regional level and restore the vertical chain of authority within the Russian federal system. This paper will explore the consequences of Putin’s federal reforms in the Russian North by examining the relationship between the Siberian Federal District Administration (SFDA), the new coordinating body for federal activities in central Siberia, and the northern regions in this district. Although a certain level of central coordination is necessary, this paper argues that recentralization will not only be difficult, given the experiences of the transition period, it may also prove counterproductive. Instead of recentralizing and reestablishing a vertical hierarchy of authority, the Russian government should experiment with more flexible federal models that seek to strengthen the capacity of local governments and encourage effective and interactive intergovernmental relations.

Winfield, Mark and Whorley, David (dwho706504@apl.com) - Competing Narratives and the Walkerton Inquiry - In June 2000, the Ontario Government established a commission to inquire into the circumstances that caused hundreds of people in the Walkerton area to become ill, and seven others to die, while e-coli bacteria was present in the town's water supply. The commission was also asked to examine the effect, if any, of government policies on these events. Through 2000 – 2001 it heard testimony from expert witnesses, bureaucrats, ministers, and the premier. Witnesses framed the tragedy in a variety of ways. Various, Walkerton might have been about: bureaucratic incompetence; speaking truth to power; the problem of accountability in restructured services; the shift from neutral to responsive competence; diminished public service capacity; the impact of neo-liberalism on public administration; or the changing relationship between the provincial and local governments. The list goes on. The presentation will examine key narratives that emerged during testimony, and will review how the commission itself eventually chose to understand Walkerton. Trying to resolve competing narratives is crucial, since, as Emery Roe suggests, to the extent there are conflicting stories about a given crisis, that crisis continues. The paper will employ narrative policy analysis. This approach seems particularly promising in the case of Walkerton given that it works best in the context of uncertainty and complexity, and where views are quite polarized – circumstances that seem relevant in this case. This

proposal fits within the broader research interests of the authors. Mark Winfield is Director of the Environmental Governance Program at the Pembina Institute for Appropriate Development, and an Instructor in environmental studies at the University of Toronto and York University. He appeared as an expert witness on Ontario environmental law and policy before the Walkerton Inquiry, and was also author of an Issue Paper for the Commission. He has published widely on environmental law, policy and regulation in Canada. David Whorley is presently completing a Ph.D. thesis that evaluates new public management initiatives in selected provinces, has published recently on public-sector reform, and contributed to a study commissioned by the Walkerton Inquiry.

Wishlow, Kevin (kwishlow@sk.sympatico.ca) - To come/à venir

Wolfe, David A. (david.wolfe@utoronto.ca) - Knowledge, Learning and Social Capital in Ontario's ICT Clusters - Recent approaches to the study of innovation stress its grounding in dense networks of geographically proximate firms engaged in related types of activity. Several studies prescribed the elements essential to stimulate cluster formation and sustain its continued growth. A.T. Kearney prescribes six such factors: - strong, diverse and tech-savvy talent pool; - 'pillar' companies in the core industries of the cluster; - risk-tolerant venture capital and angel investors; - specialized support services; - universities that supply talent as well as commercializable research; - strong government programs that support cluster dynamics. Ontario is home to three strong and dynamic clusters in the information and communications technology sector - Ottawa, the Greater Toronto Area and Kitchenor/Waterloo, Canada's Technology Triangle. This paper documents the current dimensions of these clusters and examines the role that the various factors listed above contribute to their continuing growth and dynamism. The data is drawn from existing public sources and in depth interviews conducted in the sector. Local economic authorities and policymakers regional levels of government are interested in is the process by which clusters take hold and expand. This paper sets out to explore what we know currently know about this process and lays out a research agenda to further our collective efforts in the field. The paper is part of the author's ongoing research under a SSHRC MCRI grant.

Wong, Joseph (joewong@chass.utoronto.ca) - Comparing the 'Left' in Democratizing Latin America and East Asia - The comparative study of the 'left' in countries from Latin America (Brazil and Chile) and East Asia (Taiwan and Korea) offers new theoretical insights into the interaction between transnational change, democratic reform and social politics. Over the past two decades, the 'left' in both Latin America and East Asia have undergone tremendous transformations in terms of ideology, mobilization strategies and policy objectives. Indeed, neoliberal economic reform and the fragmentation of civil society during democratization pose external and internal challenges that have consequently forced the left in both regions to continually re-define itself into the present era. The four cases examined share a common history of labor and leftist repression, an increasingly segmented labor market (and working 'class') structure, and similar patterns of elite-driven democratic transitions. Yet, despite these political-economic constraints, a new 'left' has emerged in all of the cases during the post-democratic breakthrough era, and one that has enjoyed some degree of influence in legitimating new social democratic ideas. Drawing from my own extensive field research in Taiwan and Korea, in addition to the wealth of secondary literature on the Latin American cases, this paper examines (a) the ideational conflation of leftist ideology and the notion of 'deepening democracy', (b) new strategies in societal coalition building, and (c) emerging linkages that bridge the left in civil society and the formal institutional political arena (i.e. parties). This paper adds both empirically and theoretically to emerging debates surrounding the relationship between the introduction of 'political democracy' and the promotion of 'substantive democracy'.

Xu, Yi-Chong and Weller, Patrick (xuyi@stfx.ca) - International Civil Servants and Multilateral Trade Negotiations - It is accepted while civil servants serve their political masters, they influence the

direction and shape of policies. This paper intends to show that international civil servants play a similar role as their domestic counterparts in influencing the outcomes of multilateral negotiations through their unique position, identified strategies and their skills and expertise by examine the impact the support staff and the secretariat of the GATT, OECD, UNCTAD and other international organizations had on negotiating trade in services during the Uruguay Round. It is argued that like bureaucrats everywhere, international civil servants, driven by the same incentives as domestic officials, have the knowledge and skills to have an impact on those to whom they provide support and give advice. Where the officials in the secretariat intercede, how they shape their advice and the degree to which they seek to promote a common philosophy or agenda are matters for empirical research. The paper will 1. identify these international civil servants, their patterns of careers and formal qualifications to show whether and how the recruitment may lead to a common set of assumptions about the negotiations and the directions for the organizations; 2. identify the roles and contributions made by the staff in the negotiations; 3. assess where and when they choose to provide support, what was the nature of that support and what impact it might have had on determining the content and maintaining the momentum of the negotiations; 4. identify the available strategies by which staff were able to contribute to the negotiations; and 5. ask whether the outcomes could have happened or been different without the contributions of the staff. The significance of this paper is to provide a broader understanding of the relationship between international civil servants, national delegates and states in multilateral negotiations.

Yoshinaka, Antoine and Grose, Christian R. (anty@troi.cc.rochester.edu) - Electoral Institutions and Voter Participation: The Effect of Felon Disenfranchisement Laws on Voter Turnout in the U.S. States - This paper examines the effect of electoral institutions on voting participation. Early scholars of voter turnout identified numerous behavioural and demographic variables that explained differential levels of voting turnout between states (e.g., Rosenstone and Wolfinger 1980). More recent work has focused on electoral laws (such as early registration) as other possible explanations (Highton 1997; Highton and Wolfinger 1998). Only recently have scholars begun to look at the impact of felon disenfranchisement on turnout rates (McDonald and Popkin, forthcoming). Missing from this literature is a direct examination of the effect of felon and ex-felon disenfranchisement laws using multivariate regression models of turnout. Some of the scholarly conventional wisdom regarding voter turnout and participation has been that race can be an important predictor of turnout. However, the disproportional effect of felon and ex-felon disenfranchisement laws on African-Americans in some states suggests otherwise. This electoral institution—the disenfranchisement of felons and ex-felons—is an important omitted variable in models of state-level aggregate voter turnout, which might result in biased inferences pertaining to minority citizens' level of participation. We hypothesise that this electoral institution, and not race as demonstrated in previous models, helps explain lower levels of voter turnout in states with large African-American populations.

Young, Shaun (shaunpyoung@home.com) - The Role of Reasonableness in Political Liberalism - The concept of "reasonableness" has played a significant role in the history of liberal political theory. Indeed, it has been argued that "public reasonableness is at the centre of liberalism" (Moore 1996: 167); this claim is especially true in relation to the idea of a purely political liberalism. Inherent in the concept of political liberalism is the expectation that the majority of citizens will faithfully act in a "reasonable" manner, whatever that may entail; it is suggested that only by doing so is it possible to secure the conditions that will enable the establishment and perpetuation of a just and stable liberal democracy. Satisfying such a caveat necessarily requires that individuals be able to differentiate between reasonable and unreasonable demands and somehow guarantee that decisions related to questions of political justice - questions concerning constitutional essentials and matters of basic justice - are justified by reference to only those demands that all "reasonable" individuals can "reasonably" be expected to

support; failure to secure such a differentiation or surety will effectively preclude the possibility of adequately insulating the political from the nonpolitical and thereby prevent the development of a conception of justice which can offer the basis for a public agreement that can secure the degree of stability required to establish and sustain a well-ordered democratic society. Hence the viability of the concept of political liberalism is dependent upon its providing an unmistakably clear distinction between the "reasonable" and the "unreasonable" and somehow ensuring that responses to questions of political justice are not "contaminated" by "unreasonable" views. This paper will explore the role of reasonableness in political liberalism and argue that not only do existing conceptions of political liberalism fail to provide the aforementioned distinction and surety, but, indeed, such objectives are, practically speaking, impossible to secure and this fact critically undermines the viability of the idea of a purely political liberalism. The paper presents an exegetically-based normative analysis that centers upon a close reading of primary sources. Specifically, the examination focuses on a comparison of the arguments presented in John Rawls's Political Liberalism, Charles Larmore's The Morals of Modernity, and Judith Shklar's "The Liberalism of Fear." Given the threat to social unity and political stability that is posed by the ever-increasing sociopolitical cleavages in contemporary liberal democracies, and in light of theorists' continuing efforts to develop a theory of justice that can secure the conditions needed to establish and sustain a just and stable polity, one cannot underestimate the importance of the question of whether political liberalism represents a viable concept: the answer to this question may put into serious doubt the validity of an expanding volume of literature and necessitate that a number of prominent theorists seek an alternative approach to responding to the query "how can we develop a conception of justice that can effectively accommodate the wide diversity of competing and irreconcilable views likely to exist in contemporary societies?" This paper is part of a larger study (to be published in the Fall of 2002) that analyzes the viability of the concept (as opposed to a single conception) of political liberalism.

Zahar, Marie-Joelle (marie-joelle.zahar@umontreal.ca) - A Peace That Lasts: Foreign Intervention and the Strength of Post-Conflict States - Peace building frequently runs into a predicament. Ethnic accommodation is vital to the short-term sustainability of peace agreements; paradoxically, the power-sharing institutions devised to this effect result in the entrenchment of weak states. However, weak states provide fertile ground for civil conflicts. The international community's role in the emergence and deepening of this conundrum has not been scrutinized; for while it acknowledges the need to rebuild strong states in post-conflict societies, the international community promotes institutional solutions and specific peace building policies that tend to perpetuate weak states. This research holds foreign political and economic assistance to post-conflict societies to a different evaluation criterion. Taking a longer-term perspective than is common in the literature, I compare and contrast the policies of outside actors to evaluate their impact on the strength of post-conflict states. I ask whether those policies help build state capacity, whether they increase the legitimacy of the central authorities in the eyes of various segments of the population. I also ask whether the policies provide incentives for citizens of all stripes to participate in re-building of the state and complying with its new laws. Drawing its empirical material from the experience of postwar Bosnia and Lebanon, the proposed paper argues that durable peace settlements can only be achieved if the international community engages in a conscious attempt to compensate for the weakness of the state.

Zaslove, Andrej (azaslove@yorku.ca) - Is Their Bark Bigger Than Their Bite?: Radical Right Wing Populism and Immigration - The rise of radical right populist parties in France, Norway, Denmark, Austrian and Italy has sparked considerable debate amongst academics about the origins, the nature and the potential influences that these populist, anti-immigrant, anti-crime, Euro-skeptic, free market but also anti-globalization political parties have and will have on European politics. In the following paper I

will examine the immigration politics and the immigration policies of the Lega Nord and the Austrian Freedom Party. Even though I agree with Cas Mudde that it is incorrect to view these parties as single-issue parties, I contend that anti-immigration, anti-multicultural political stances are key to their electoral success. In light of the recent inclusion of the Lega Nord, after the Spring 2000 elections, in the governing Italian coalition and the Austrian Freedom Party political coalition with the Christian Democrats after their strong showing in the Fall 1999 Austrian national elections, I will examine how and whether the anti-immigrant, exclusionary rhetoric of both these radical right populist parties have affected or has translated into actual government policy. In the first part of the paper I will briefly outline the ideological and philosophical underpinnings of their exclusionary political platforms. This will entail summing up the position of these two radical right populist parties in regards to their claims surrounding immigration and exclusion as outline in party documents, party newspaper and national newspaper articles. In the second, and key part of the paper, I will then examine whether these political views have translated into changes in the laws, legislation or policies in Austria and Italy. The central question influencing this analysis will be whether the strong rhetoric concerning the need to control the flow of immigrants, their desire to clamp down on illegal immigrants and their contentious claims concerning the need to favor local and national citizens over non-European residence has in fact effected legislation, law, political policy or the enforcement of existing laws.

Zhang, Zhiyao (Ozz1@qlink.queensu.ca) - Globalization and its Political Consequences in China
Outlines: Globalization Redefined - It is time to clear up the mess in defining globalization. It is one of the most vague and woolly terms, as Susan Strange said, but it is just doesn't make sense to simply dismiss it, as she suggested. So we need to review some philosophical rules of defining, and put globalization back to where it belongs to in terms of its connotation and extension, let it serve for us in understanding and explaining the world in front of us and in the future better. Its political consequences. In general to the whole globe, and in particular to the third world, specifically in China. 1, globalization and sovereignty, how it changed the ideas of nation-state sovereignty; 2, globalization and institutional changes, the institutional political reforms in China; 3, globalization and political culture, traditions revived, its confrontation with modernity; 4, globalization and social and political stability, incoming anarchy? The paper will try to provide a live picture of the relationship between the development and reforms of China and globalization, and to draw some conclusions that will also be meaningful to the more general topic in discussing globalization.

Zhu, Yucha (yuchao.zhu@uregina.ca) - Migrant Workers in China's Labour Intensive Foreign Investment Enterprises: Theoretical and Practical Implications for China's State-society Relationship - During China's market-oriented economic reform, foreign investment enterprises (FIEs) play a pivotal role. In most of China's labour intensive FIEs which are dominated by East Asian capital (e.g., Hong Kong, Taiwan, and South Korea), rural migrant workers are the major labour force. But as a newly emerged and highly unregulated labour force, migrant workers in most cases have inadequate protection. Meanwhile, China's trade unions, still in a difficult transition from official unions to independent labour organizations, often fail to provide migrant workers with sufficient support. The phenomenon is the central concern of this research. This research will do two things. First, through examining the issue of migrant workers in China's labour intensive FIEs, we will analyze how this issue has challenged China's industrial relations. Second, we will explore this issue's theoretical and practical implications for China's state-society relationship. Theoretical discussions will be placed on two separate but interrelated areas: development studies mainly the argument of "developmental state," and industrial relations studies mainly the argument of "corporatism-pluralism" dichotomy. The practical meaning of this issue will be explored in the context of two potential trends in China's labour movement: transitional trade unions and civil-society oriented informal labour organizations. There are

two possible perspectives for developmental state theory: China may follow the East Asian Newly Industrializing Economies (NIEs) examples, i.e., moving from oppressive state's exclusion of labours in implementing export-oriented growth to a more accommodating approach to labour's demand in the light of civil society development. Pluralistic politics and democratization would become the main prospect for the changing nature of developmental state. Or, as China has been entrenched with a state-socialist, centralized and authoritarian developmental state within which official trade unions are part of the political establishment, challenge from unregulated labour force such as migrant workers may lead to further fragmentation of the developmental state. How China's state response to the diversified labour situation and how China's transitional unions make necessary adjustment and reform will be examined. In either perspective, China's developmental state is in a process of change. There are also two possible perspectives for industrial relations research: corporatism and pluralism. As official trade unions may attempt to strengthen their presence in FIEs, and particularly strengthen their protective function for migrant workers, they would become relatively independent labour organizations. This might lead to "corporatism." However, where the trade unions could not meet the demand of migrant workers, they would rely on their own informal organizations for protection. This might lead to "trade union pluralism" and challenges the unitary unionism. From both developmental state and industrial relation perspectives, this research intends to develop a better descriptive and prescriptive view of China's industrial relations and labour movement, therefore shed some light on China's state-society relations in the transition from socialism.