

## 2008 Abstracts / Résumés 2008

**Abboud, Samer**

*Teaching the Arab World and the West...as an Arab in the West*

In this paper I reflect on my experiences teaching the undergraduate course The Arab World and the West with respect to my own identity as a Canadian-born Arab. I draw on various sources of data, such as personal journals, student and peer reviews, and student work to analyze two semesters teaching this class in radically different contexts: the University of Exeter, a top tier research university in southwest England, and Susquehanna University, a small, liberal arts college in central Pennsylvania. I concentrate on the dual pedagogical challenges of teaching an area studies course. First, there is the challenge of understanding and negotiating the way my students position me, how I perceive their perceptions of me, and how my own positioning of students affects my pedagogical choices. Second, I am confronted with the challenges presented by divergent academic contexts. At Exeter, I taught the course in an interdisciplinary institute that trained its students in the language, history, and culture of the Arab world. In contrast, my Susquehanna University students all majored in Political Science, and for many this course represented their first academic exploration of the Arab world. These reflections lead to larger questions of how professors might approach pedagogy in a changing academic landscape. How do we transplant courses from one context to the next? Is it possible to transport the learning goals of interdisciplinary courses into the way we teach courses offered through disciplines such as Political Science? What do we sacrifice and what do we gain in this process?

**Abboud, Samer**

*The Political Economy of Resistance: Hizballah*

Hizballah, the Shi'a Islamist movement in Lebanon, has developed into a highly complex organization that links the activities of its armed wing, political apparatus and socioeconomic civilian support system with the ultimate goal of creating what its leadership calls a 'resistance society' (mujtamaa' al-muqawamma). This socio-political community revolves around armed resistance to Israeli occupation and the distribution of social and political services. As such, they have articulated a notion of community that seeks to empower the Shi'a of Lebanon in the face of the dual injustices of Israeli occupation and the Lebanese government's historical neglect of the country's southern regions. This presentation argues that the material support for the sustenance of this political community emanates not from Iran and/or Syria, as conventional wisdom holds, but rather through a highly complex network of legal and illegal economic activity that financially sustains the movement. This network links economic activity in local (Lebanese), regional (Middle East, West Africa) and global (Europe, North America) contexts. The movement thus draws on varied legal sources such as religious donations and commercial entities (e.g. gas stations, supermarkets, and construction companies) that operate in Lebanon and the wider Middle East region, as well as illegal activities like drug trafficking, particularly across the Israeli border. This study will shed insight into the complexity of Hizballah's activities and the financial sources that sustain them, demonstrating that Hizballah must also be seen as an economic actor deeply embedded in local/global, legal/illegal economic activity.

**Abele, Frances and Papillon, Martin**

*Tracing the Contours of Neoliberal Citizenship: Aboriginal Peoples and Welfare State Restructuring in Canada*

Social citizenship in Canada is undergoing a profound redesign under the influence of neoliberal ideas and more recent 'third way' perspectives. As Jenson (2004), Esping-Andersen (2001) and others have suggested, social policies today are less about promoting redistribution and universal equality amongst citizens as they are about fostering autonomy and "enabling" individuals and groups participation in the market economy. While a similar path might be emerging in different countries in this respect, the literature on welfare state restructuring also suggests the impact of these transformation is not uniform. Similar policy perspectives are implemented differently and have different effects in different contexts, depending on the institutional and policy legacies as well as the specific configuration of power relations in that given context. Pushing this argument further, we suggest similar welfare state reforms may have different outcomes for the citizenship regime of different groups in society. We test this hypothesis building on the case of Aboriginal peoples in Canada. To do so, we analyse federal social and economic development policies towards Aboriginal peoples adopted in the 1950s and 1960s with those of the last two decades, comparing the conception of social citizenship underlying them. We argue that while the shift in policy perspective and objectives is largely consistent with the broader directions of neoliberal-inspired welfare state reforms, the institutional and political contexts of Aboriginal politics and policies serve as mediating factors in shaping the specific outcome of the reforms adopted. The analysis allows us to trace the contours of a new (neoliberal) citizenship regime for Aboriginal peoples in Canada.

**Abu-Laban, Yasmeen and Bakan, Abigail**

*Palestinian Resistance and International Solidarity: The Israeli State, the Boycott/ Divestment/Sanctions Campaign and Hegemony*

In recent years an organized transnational movement has developed calling for a movement of boycott, divestment and sanctions (BDS) aimed to protest the Israeli state's illegal military occupation of Palestine. The movement also aims to expose and challenge a series of corresponding repressive policies including militarized violence directed against Palestinian men, women and children; the confiscation of land from Palestinians; the demolition of Palestinian homes; and the daily racism invoked by a series of policies directed at Palestinians which encumber their freedom of mobility, access to education and ability to earn a living. The BDS campaign, and in particular the call for an academic boycott of Israeli academics, has been highly controversial, and has been met by a concerted counter-response. The response been

associated with claims that the campaign is destined to be ineffective; that it is counter-productive to peace and/or security; that it is contrary to norms of academic freedom; and that it is in fact not motivated by progressive but reactionary sentiment, tied to anti-Judaism and anti-Semitism.

Adopting a Gramscian approach, and drawing from Charles Mills' concept of the racial contract, we will examine the origins and history of the BDS campaign and the debates it has engendered in the context of Israel/Palestine, and various international state and non-state actors. We argue that the effectiveness of boycotts as a strategy of resistance and cross-border solidarity is closely connected to the struggle for hegemony. The effectiveness of this particular boycott has been hampered by an international racial contract which, from 1948, has assigned a common interest between the state of Israel and international political allies, including Canada, while absencing Palestinians as simultaneously non-white, the subjects of extreme repression, and stateless.

#### **Adams, Christopher**

*Electing New Democrats: The Manitoba Provincial Elections of 1999, 2003, and 2007*

Since defeating the Progressive Conservatives in 1999, Gary Doer and the Manitoba NDP have held power in Manitoba with three successive majority governments. By studying the three most recent elections, the author shows how the NDP's victories have been based on intra-provincial regionalism, as indicated by its success across Manitoba's northern region as well as in the Winnipeg's downtown and North End, as well as by winning the support of the working class, women, Aboriginal people, and the middle class. In many ways, the elections of 1999, 2003, and 2007 reflect the same voting patterns that have existed in the province since the NDP's breakthrough in 1969, yet they also reveal how the province's middle class has undergone an electoral realignment since the late 1990s. This realignment has been caused by 1) the changing economy and occupational structure of the province's middle class and 2) strategies used by the NDP to capitalize on these changes. The research is primarily based on Elections Manitoba results and surveys conducted from 1999 to 2007 by the author's firm (Probe Research).

#### **Adjagbe, Mathieu et Banyongen, Serge**

*L'impérialisme américain et l'(in)sécurité humaine dans les Grands Lacs Africains*

Le retour de l'état de guerre suite au 9/11 ramène le débat sur l'impérialisme américain. Pour les uns, la guerre contre la terreur ou l'opération « liberté en Irak » n'est qu'un cheval de Troie et s'inscrit dans le projet de domination globale des États-Unis (Monthly Review 2002). Pour les autres, il s'agit d'une stratégie impériale pour s'assurer le contrôle des ressources énergétiques par l'installation des bases militaires dans des régions d'intérêts stratégiques pour l'hyperpuissance (Foukas et Gorkay 2005). Pour une frange de néolibéraux (Ikenberry 2006) et néoréalistes (Cooper 2002), l'impérialisme postmoderne vise la démocratisation et la construction des *failed states*. Néanmoins, la "sécuritisation" de l'Afrique qu'implique l'impérialisme américain soulève bien des controverses. Pour Keenan (2006) ou Abrahamsen (2004), le nouvel impérialisme renforce les dictatures et menace la sécurité des populations locales et des leaders d'opposition. Loin d'amener la démocratie et donc d'être porteur d'un projet d'émancipation au sens de Booth (1991), l'impérialisme américain est plutôt source d'insécurité et de sous-développement. À partir d'une étude diachronique de l'impérialisme américain depuis les années 1990 dans les pays francophones d'Afrique, mon exposé tient à démontrer les violences structurelle, symbolique et humaine qu'il a causées et cause aussi bien pour la France que pour les élites politiques pro-françaises et son corollaire dans la tragédie que vivent les peuples congolais et rwandais en particulier. En fait, le réalisme politique à l'aune de l'impérialisme américain montre qu'il ne soutient ni la démocratie ni la dictature mais bien défend l'intérêt national américain quoiqu'en soit le prix pour les populations locales.

#### **Adkin, Laurie E.**

*Democracy from the trenches: Environmental struggles and the meaning of citizenship*

The interpretation of environmental conflicts as having at stake the *meaning of citizenship* -- or the *democratization* of our political, economic, and legal institutions -- requires much greater attention than it has received so far in either Canadian environmental studies or political economy. I will review some of the limitations of environmental citizenship literature and argue for the articulation of environmental conflicts to democratic reform -- for a political discourse of social and ecological citizenship -- in lieu of the pacifying discourse of sustainable development.

#### **Ahadi, Daniel and Murray, Catherine**

*Urban Mediascapes and Multicultural Flows: Vancouver's Communication Infrastructure*

Media are critical for the construction of a functioning public infrastructure. This paper explores and adapts a "communication infrastructure model" in mapping the flow and meaning of so-called "ethnic" media in Vancouver. A communication infrastructure consists of media outlets which create and disseminate everyday conversations and stories to any given community within a specific geographical region. Access to a supportive communication infrastructure is crucial for the individual citizen or family to build their sense of orientation and belonging (Matei, Ball-Rokeach, Wilson, Gibbs, and Hoyt, 2000). Without the existence of a sustainable communication infrastructure, communities within the urban area cannot form and function. Presenting an empirical study which both maps and analyses media contents available to four language groups to local Vancouver citizens, this paper asks how well the media provide resources to construct "inclusion in the global city" (Saskia Sassen, address to the Union of Democratic Communications, Nov 2, 2007). A set of recommendations are made to expand the politics of inclusion and recognition of shared citizenship, belonging and civic engagement in Vancouver's mediascape.

### Ahern, Daniel

#### *Nietzsche's Critique of Democracy and the Politics of Nihilism*

Nietzsche's antagonism toward democracy and socialism is well known. It is also fair to say that his perception of the "politics of the future" hinge on that wider philosophical project he called "the revaluation of all values." The paper I am proposing looks into his initial encounter with ancient Greek culture as the occasion that led to his developing the criteria of both cultural health and decay. Nietzsche's interpretation of health relies on his view of the earliest warrior aristocracies, while that of decay, on the dissolution of this older, warlike nobility. To clarify these criteria, I briefly trace Nietzsche's perception of "virtue" as a value peculiar to a social order of rank determined by the warrior elite. This is done via explaining Nietzsche's approach to what he thought were the most significant events of Greek Culture; namely pre-Socratic thought and tragic art. I then proceed to the criterion of decay with a brief outline of Nietzsche's sketch of the emergence of Socrates. Here I illustrate how, with the emergence of what we now call "philosophy," he sees the earlier interpretation of "virtue" degenerate into a naïve valorization of the "individual" which, via Christianity, will result in the "decadent" politics of democracy and socialism. The paper concludes with how Nietzsche's perception of the "revaluation of all values" is not a nostalgic hankering after a dead age, but rather, the task of trying to excavate the earliest conceptions of virtue as a means to risking what he called "great politics."

### Ahorro, Joseph

#### *The Waves of Post-Development Theory and a Consideration of the Philippines*

Post-development theorists, as a whole, have argued that the development project was a ruinous endeavor. Tracing the theoretical debates, I identify two waves of post-development theory. While the first wave of post-development theorists have been criticized for their rejection of development without qualification, there has been a second wave of theorists who have responded and subsequently deepened the concept of post-development. Although there has been great strides to make post-development more inclusive and reflexive, the discipline has largely been rooted in experiences from Latin America, Africa, and India. What has been missing in the post-development literature is a consideration of counties in South East Asia. Acknowledging the diversity of culture, language, religion, heritage, and colonial experience, a case study examination into development experience of the Philippine can make a contribution to post-development theory. In this paper, I will address three unanswered questions. First, what led to the second wave of post-development theory? Second, why consider post-development theory from a Philippine perspective? Third, what contributions can an analysis of a Philippine perspective offer towards the furthering of post-development theory? I argue that categorizing post-development into two waves suggest that the theory has not stalled as a consequence of its initial shortfalls, but does have room for growth as demonstrated by the history and adverse development experiences faced by the Philippines.

### Aiken, Nevin

#### *Rethinking Transitional Justice: A Framework for Intergroup Reconciliation*

The last two decades have witnessed a sudden increase in the number of transitional justice institutions – those legal, quasi-legal, or community based institutions set up to provide accountability for past conflict – predicated on the underlying assumption that such mechanisms in fact help societies to come to terms with their violent pasts and are therefore crucial to processes of post-conflict peacebuilding and reconciliation among former enemies. Unfortunately, our understanding as to how these institutions might be causally linked to increased reconciliation remains unspecified and under-theorized in existing scholarship. Drawing on a synthesis of theoretical insights from political science, conflict resolution, and social psychology, this paper investigates how the specific institutional designs of transitional justice mechanisms might serve to impede or to impel positive intercommunal contact, intergroup communication, dialogue, trust, and collective identification – all of which have been identified as necessary, though perhaps not sufficient, causal conditions for intercommunal reconciliation. Utilizing the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission as an empirical example, this paper thereby explores the potential for institutions of transitional justice to act as catalysts of critical 'social learning' where groups can begin to challenge the divisions of 'Self' and 'Other' that informed past conflict and could otherwise incite future returns to violence. It is through this process of re-identification, I contend, that existing antagonisms may be transformed, bringing together Self and Other in superordinate identification as members of a shared moral and political community – a community that forms the necessary basis for reconciliation and for a positive, sustainable peace.

### Aitken, Rob

TBA

This paper orbits around the claim that conceptions of governance in most discussions of global financial regulation remain limited. To begin to expand these kinds of discussions, this paper adopts a Foucauldian notion of 'governmentality' to foreground the ways in which financial governance is not only a question of global structures and institutions, but also a field directly related to forms of knowledge and practices designed to govern the 'conduct of conduct' often at the everyday level. To accomplish an analysis in these terms, the paper draws on examples from one particularly interesting and rapidly growing domain of global finance: the spaces of fringe finance in the Anglo-American world. Fringe finance refers to a growing, and increasingly sophisticated, web of credit practices targeted to the marginal and unbanked populations. These webs of fringe finance typically include check-cashing operations, payday lenders and other forms of sub-prime credit. This paper argues that the forms of regulation

that are emerging in relation to fringe finance “a category of financial practice increasingly central to the Anglo-American world” entail a certain contradictory governmentality.

On one hand, and unlike the conventional image of self-governing neo-liberal citizens, the subjects of fringe finance are often governed in coercive ways. On the other hand, emerging modes of regulation are organized around a governmental rationality related to consumer protection. By examining, concretely, the knowledge and practices with which fringe finance has been constituted and governed, this paper contributes to a refiguring of the question of regulation.

#### **Akman, Bahar**

##### *Un Peace Operations: Identifying Sources of Human Insecurity*

The United Nations, being an organization founded to promote global peace and human rights, has been highly receptive to the concept of human security. A visible impact of this can be observed directly through its peace operations, which since the early 1990s have had a far greater focus on human security. UN operations, in fact, have assumed roles of peacekeepers, peace-builders, peace enforcers and even state-builders. I argue that influenced by the UNDP's approach to human security and also constrained by the lack of resources, the UN peace operations employ an all-encompassing view of human security. This conception of security does not prioritize any type of threats and aim at dealing with them simultaneously and comprehensively. I suggest that the dual goal of establishing order and improving welfare at once is problematic. Not only discerning the different sources of human insecurity is difficult in a situation where basic order is non-existent, but also the strategies implemented for improving welfare ultimately undermine the restoration of order. In this study, UN peace operations are categorized according their strategies and using data from the Uppsala/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset, the sustainability of peace is tested using cross sectional time-series analysis. To conclude, in order to avoid a lose-lose situation, operations should first devote all their resources and intelligence to secure a stable order. Only then, the sources of human insecurity can be seriously addressed and sustainable peace be acquired.

#### **Akopian, Marat**

##### *Testing the Democratic Peace Theory: Evidence from the 1902-03 Alaska Boundary Dispute.*

The paper is a critical case study of the democratic peace theory. It examines the last phase of the Anglo-American dispute over the boundary between Alaska and British Columbia in 1902-03.

I draw on extensive historical materials including all major monographs, biographies and memoirs of statesmen. The key question is whether the democratic peace theory can offer a good explanation of the fact that the two democratic countries resolved their dispute without a recourse to arms. The conclusion reached in the paper is that the tactics of President Theodore Roosevelt, which ultimately succeeded in bringing about the resolution of the dispute on the American terms and conditions, were exactly the opposite of what the logic of the democratic peace theory postulates. This paper is a continuation of a series of case studies testing the theory of democratic peace against historical evidence including the 1895-96 Venezuela boundary dispute between the US and Britain, which I presented at the last year's CPSA meeting.

#### **Allen, Nathan**

##### *The Second Election Effect: Party System Development in New Democracies*

One of the productive debates in the literature on electoral institutions has focused on the factors that determine the number of parties in a party system. The key institutional features that shape party systems – district magnitude and executive selection – have been identified and their effects have been demonstrated. Additionally, researchers have explored the complex way in which social heterogeneity interacts with these institutions to produce patterns of party fragmentation. Absent in the existing literature is an understanding of the distinctive patterns of party system development in new democracies.

I argue that party systems in new democracies are, in part, shaped by two previously unidentified variables: the legacy of the pro-democratic coalition and the decline of strategic uncertainty. The founding election is often marked by the legacy of the pro-democracy coalition. The second election is marked by the break-up of the pro-democracy coalition and, consequently, exceptionally high levels of party fragmentation. Political information increases with the number of electoral cycles producing a trend toward a consolidating party system; however, this consolidating effect tends to occur only after the second election. A quantitative analysis using Matt Golder's Election Dataset provides supportive evidence for the hypothesized 'second election effect.'

#### **Alvarez Béjar, Alejandro**

##### *NAFTA to SPP: The Predatory Deepening of Mexico's role as US energy supplier*

Under the competing pressure of alternative economic integration projects and the deterioration of US hegemony in the global economy, we have seen the rise of bio-fuels as a “green alternative” for energy restructuring in the developed world, focussed mainly on the transportation sector. Based on a wide domestic power bloc and searching for external alliances with Brazil to isolate Venezuela and Cuba's influence over the rest of Latin America, the US has proposed bio-fuels as an alternative. In reality, it is deepening the regionalization of North America. As well, this strategy is searching for a structural change in the mexican energy sector and opening it up to private investment without making any significant changes to the Constitution. The SPP is a new and sophisticated strategy that makes a detailed array of recommendations for all energy activities, including oil, gas and electricity. This comes at a time when we have seen a decline in domestic oil reserves and a rush to begin the exploitation of oil in the deep waters of the Gulf of Mexico. At the same time, Felipe Calderón's administration announced public financial resources under the Puebla Panama umbrella, to

promote the incorporation of Mexican southern states in the strategy of biofuels. All these policies put new pressures on land and water use, and more specifically, on domestic food production.

#### Anderson, Cameron

##### *Region, Policy and Citizen Preferences in Canada*

Among the many significant contributions to the study of Canadian politics made by *Small Worlds*, the findings of regional/provincial similarity in citizens' policy preferences (what citizens expect from government) are particularly important. Using public opinion data from 1949-1975, Chapter 3 of the volume detailed the relative similarity of citizens' preferences across regions as well as trends of convergence between regions through time. In light of strong decentralizing thrusts then, this central finding must have stood out as remarkably striking.

While the nature of citizen policy preferences appeared to be converging through the middle part of the century (1949-1975), have these trends continued during the last 25 years? From constitutional patriation to NAFTA to welfare state retrenchments to continued decentralization to the effects of economic globalization throughout this period, much has changed in Canada since the initial publication of *Small Worlds*. Given inevitable regional variation in the effect of these developments as well as in ability to respond, there may be good reason to revisit the central conclusions of regional similarity and convergence of policy preferences.

Using Canadian Election Study data from 1980-2006, this paper will reassess the three central questions motivating the original analysis: 1) are there regional differences in policy preferences; 2) are regional differences greater than differences created by other cleavages (such as age, gender or education); and 3) are these regional differences growing or declining? Updating our understanding of regional differences/similarities in policy preference will give us a renewed understanding of citizens' expectations of government as well as the ability to assess the original insights and contributions of *Small Worlds*.

#### Anderson, Cameron and Goodyear-Grant, Elizabeth

##### *Public Attitudes toward Referenda: The Paradox of Information*

Discussion of the public's role in political decision making has intensified in recent decades, particularly with recent experiences with 'citizen-centred' modes of political decision making such as direct democracy and deliberative democracy. Calls for access to the political process are linked to decreasing confidence in politicians, the development of a rights consciousness after the adoption of the Charter and the decline of deference to authority, among other factors. These kinds of attitudinal changes are most prominent among cognitively sophisticated voters (e.g. Fournier 2002), so support for greater direct citizen involvement in politics, such as the increased use of referenda – which is our focus – should be greater among informed voters. Informed voters have both the cognitive resources for and attitudinal precursors of high support for the use of referenda.

However, there may be equally compelling reasons to predict the opposite. The most informed may be sceptical about other citizens' knowledge resources, leading to less support for the idea that the electorate at large should directly vote on political issues. The most informed may also be more mindful of the trade-offs and compromises required of effective policy making. The most informed may also be more aware and critical of the fact that referenda can disadvantage minority groups – something akin to the classic 'tyranny of the majority'.

Using data from the 1993, 1997 and 2000 Canadian Election Studies, we analyze this potential puzzle to determine which of these accounts is the more accurate depiction of highly-informed citizens' attitudes toward the use of referenda.

#### Anderson, Christopher and Irvine, Sandy

##### *Canada in a New Canada-United States Migration Regime: Past, Present and Future*

There are various identifiable dimensions of Canada-US cooperation on migration, including control over different forms of labour mobility, regulation of cross-border visitor movements, management of refugee applications, and border enforcement. Further afield, the two countries work together to interdict unwanted migrants on their way to the continent and have even discussed the creation of a continental security perimeter. However, the degree to which these numerous forms of cooperation constitute an international migration regime is unclear. In fact, against the backdrop of a literature that remains fragmented and overly descriptive, a general consensus has emerged that the potential for the creation of a formal regime in North America is slight.

This paper refines this view by taking stock of the historical development and current state of Canada-US cooperation on international migration through a systematic examination of primary and secondary sources, supplemented by interviews with immigration officials. In doing so, it explores the forces that prompt greater continental integration with respect to international migration, not least of which being the acceptance of the appropriateness and necessity of such integration. Furthermore, it calls attention to the incremental and pragmatic pathways along which this has unfolded through inter-bureaucratic cooperation. Thus, it argues that the absence of a formal international migration regime does not preclude the institutionalization of particular norms and practices that operate in a regime-like manner. Indeed, this development suggests that the foundations for a particular form of Canada-US migration regime have already been laid.

#### Anderson, Lynell and Findlay, Tammy

##### *Citizen Engagement or State Replacement?: Federalism, Public Reporting, and Child Care Policy in Canada*

With the rise of the New Public Management (NPM), governments have expressed new interest in citizen engagement, including in the area of federalism. This paper is based on a recent experiment with citizen engagement in

intergovernmental relations. It draws on our work with the Child Care Advocacy Association of Canada on a three-year project, "Child Care Policy: Making the Connections." It was a community capacity-building project aimed at exploring the relationship between the public policy, funding and accountability mechanisms under the federal-provincial-territorial (FPT) agreements related to child care (i.e. the Early Childhood Development Agreement, the Multilateral Framework Agreement on Early Learning and Childcare, and the Bilateral Agreements on Early Learning and Child Care).

In the paper, we reflect on this accountability process under the FPT agreements. We argue that this NPM approach, which relies entirely on public reporting, departs significantly from the accountability mechanisms that have historically been applied to FPT relations in the realm of social policy (such as legislated standards, audited information and reporting to legislatures). We conclude that public reporting cannot replace traditional accountability mechanisms in Canadian federalism. While public reporting can be an important element of the accountability regime, it is not working in its current form. Furthermore, if citizen engagement is ever going to democratize intergovernmental relations, it will require a significant commitment to community capacity-building.

#### **Andrew, Blake**

##### *Behind the Headlines, It's a Different Story? Variations in the Supply of Mass-Mediated Political Information*

This paper develops and tests a series of hypotheses about variations in the supply of essential political information by mass media. Essential political information is defined as news about politics that disproportionately affects political behaviour. These are the so-called "cognitive heuristics" of politics: party signals, candidate signals, expert advice, and polling information (Lau and Redlawsk 2001). An analytical and empirical distinction between headlines and stories is central to this investigation. Three specific hypotheses emerge from the literature review:

H1: Headlines supply a greater proportion of heuristic signals about politics than stories.

H2: Headlines distort the pattern of heuristic signals printed in the stories.

H3: Heuristic signals supplied in newspaper headlines are similar in proportion and valence to headlines published on the Internet.

These hypotheses are tested using a unique dataset of media content from the 2006 Canadian federal election campaign. All headlines and stories published in seven Canadian newspapers (N=3766) and five Internet news websites (N=1229) have been separately content analysed for the presence of heuristic signals.

Preliminary results corroborate previous research showing that mass media headlines convey predictably different political information than the stories they introduce (Andrew 2007). However, significant differences between the content of online election news and news printed by large-circulation daily newspapers also emerge.

These results provide further evidence that people who rely on media-generated shortcuts such as headlines are exposed to a fundamentally different stream of information about politics than those who pay closer attention. They also suggest that the impressions people hold about this campaign are mediated by the mass medium they followed it in.

#### **Andrew, Edward**

##### *Images of Rome in the Eighteenth Century*

There were many reasons why Rome was highly esteemed in the eighteenth century; Stoicism provided an alternative ethos to Christianity, Roman military discipline was a central ingredient of civic virtue, the Roman patriarchal family was seen as an antidote to aristocratic licentiousness, republican ideals of citizenship were counterposed to monarchical corruption, etc. However, this paper will emphasize two central factors: 1-Rome was a model of an expansionist republic, and thus enthusiasm for Rome in England, France and America might lead one to question the current view (Muthu, Pitts) that Enlightenment thinkers opposed empire; 2-the recognition that the authority of the senate, and the security of patrician privileges, were essential to a healthy republic helps to account for the turn from the celebration of Athens in the English civil war to Rome in the age of Enlightenment.

#### **Angolano, Joseph**

##### *Participating and Conflicting Interests: Towards a Taxonomy of Political Participation*

This paper looks at some of the ways in which political participation and the principle of equal advancement and consideration of interests might come into conflict. The principle of equal advancement and consideration of interests is considered by some, most notably Thomas Christiano, to be the guiding principle and the strongest normative justification for liberal democracy. Political participation is usually understood to be a constitutive element of this principle; however there might be times when the two could come into conflict. This paper argues that while political participation has a critical value in a liberal democracy and should be guaranteed and promoted, it should yield when it comes into conflict with the equal advancement and consideration of interests. Also, this paper considers the definition of political participation itself. An activity should be considered a form of active political participation if it is a genuine attempt to assist in advancing the interests of a group or individual in the public sphere. From this, a taxonomy of various forms of political participation is created, where forms of active political participation are classified as expressive, policy, and supportive forms of political participation. This paper argues that this taxonomy is an improvement over previous taxonomies of political participation, most notably the one provided by Inglehart and Barnes (2001), and allows us to make a better assessment of the state of civic engagement in liberal democracies today.

#### **Antaki, Mark**

##### *The Subject of Political Theory*

The paper turns to Heidegger's thinking on sub-jectum so as to inquire into the seemingly widespread use of "subject" and "subjectivity" in political theory. The paper proposes to examine the sense these keywords - and the ways of speaking that come along with them - have for political theory so as to ask why political theory refuses to relinquish the subject.

**Antkiewicz, Agata, Cooper, Andrew F. and Shaw, Timothy M.**

*BRICs, Chindia, IBSA, BRICSAM – do acronyms make sense?*

The rising powers of the South tend to be grouped in different configurations, based on economic, political or diplomatic grounds. The original BRIC(s) grouping, created by business consultants and not by academia, can be easily challenged given the differences between the BRIC(s) economies. Yet, this commonly used acronym captured the imagination of many, finding its way to the financial lexicon (BRIC funds), and to media and a wider audience becoming the synonym of change.

From an economic standpoint, Chindia seems a more appropriate choice since it is China and India who already are major drivers of the global economy. A diplomatic perspective calls attention to IBSA, an increasingly important forum, and, potentially, a Southern equivalent to the G8. The BRIC(s) also doesn't capture the multiple personalities of the rising powers and their various roles in the global/international architecture: China in the P5, Russia in the G8 but not part of the WTO, India and Brazil-once champions of the developing world-no longer accepted as representatives by the global South.

This paper considers how contemporary IPE/IR should categorize the rising powers. Would a wider group of the G8 Outreach-5 or BRICSAM (including South Africa and Mexico) more appropriately reflect their ever important roles? What roles do private companies, civil societies, and diasporas play in each grouping? How do these groupings change the notions of national/human security? If China is in a class of its own, what would be the role for IBSA? What are the strengths and weaknesses of these categories?

**Arneil, Barbara**

*'Competing Models of Social Capital Building in Diverse Communities: The Girl Scouts vs. the Boy Scouts of America'*

Building upon previous research on the relationship between social capital and diversity, I wish to examine the very different models of civic association constructed by two traditional mainstream American institutions: The Girl Scouts and Boy Scouts of America and their relative success in recruiting new members. The Girl Scouts of America, (one of eleven women's civic organizations included in Robert Putnam's barometer of social capital building in America) alone bucks the trend of a decline in overall membership as described by Putnam in relation to a number of traditional civic associations. Conversely, in the same time period, and consistent with Putnam's social capital thesis, the Boy Scouts have experienced dramatic declines. The question is why the discrepancy and what might the different experiences tell us about social capital building in general?

In this paper, I proposed to analyze the Girl Scouts's specific policies to create an organization that embraced both gender equality and multicultural diversity; and compare it with the model of social capital building in the Boy Scouts of America that described itself as the defender of traditional American 'bedrock values'. These different models of association building with respect to issues such as homosexuality, religion, ethnic diversity and gender equality will be compared in detail. Ultimately both organizations have used fundamentally different approaches to try and build the size of their membership. I will also examine, through Annual Reports the changing membership numbers of each of these organizations. If the early evidence is accurate, it may be that the Girl Scouts of America not only embrace a changing understanding of American civil society but in so doing have been able to stem the collapse of civil society described by Putnam.

**Arnold, Samantha L.**

*Home and Away: Public Diplomacy and the Canadian Self*

This paper critically engages the traditional understanding of Canadian public diplomacy, according to which it is understood as being about the management of Canada's external relations through strategies designed to cultivate a favourable impression of 'brand Canada' abroad. This remains wedded to an understanding of Canada's engagement with the world as reflecting certain Canadian values and traditions. This is certainly a claim commonly made by observers and practitioners of Canadian foreign policy, and is consistent with the view that Canadians will support particular policies abroad to the extent that they are seen to reflect our collective self-image. However, the argument developed in this paper is that the articulation of these very values and traditions as the guiding principles of Canadian foreign policy operates performatively to create what is said to be merely reflected. Public diplomacy is thus understood in this context as a strategy whereby the Canadian government not only presents 'brand Canada' to the world, but also creates 'brand Canada' at home. It is often suggested that Canadian foreign policy is in fact intended ultimately to serve the agenda of national unity; what is interesting to consider in light of the argument developed in this paper is the extent to which public diplomacy is about the creation of national unity around a particular image of Canada with the purpose of serving Canada's foreign policy agenda. This possibility is developed with reference to the 2003 Dialogue on Foreign Policy, the Canadian International Policy e-Discussions, and the Canadian Heritage 'Celebrate Canada!' campaign.

**Arscott, Jane**

*Before NAC: Strategies for Interacting with the State During the RCSW Years*

Lobbying within, outside and alongside the federal state resulted in the creation of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in February 1967. In addition to the Brief and Lobby strategy used by the Committee for the Equality of Women of Canada the previous year, several other models for interacting with the state emerged. Among them were the

coordination of women's groups sponsored by a sympathetic provincial Cabinet Minister in Manitoba, leadership on the part of governmental agencies funded by governments in Alberta and Saskatchewan, extra-parliamentary coordination among lead organizations in the Maritimes, amplification of key messages by state-owned media in the North, and a concerted initiative undertaken by the emerging women's movement in Quebec. Taken together, these strategies worked effectively to provide comprehensive national coverage of matters of concern to women. The success of this mobilization prepared the way for further development of the women's movement in English Canada, not the least of which involved preparing the ground for the creation of a peak-level women's organization that reflected different relations of attachment to the state locally.

#### Ashour, Omar

##### *Democratizing Islam? Assessing the Bases of Democracy in Islam*

This paper attempts to assess some of the theoretical basis of electoral democracy in Islamic interpretations and to identify some of the obstacles to the concept of liberal democracy within Islamic interpretations. I shall address two main Islamic political concepts that could constitute grounds for democracy within Islam. These theoretical concepts are:

1. al-Shura (consultation)
2. al-Bay'a (conditional oath of loyalty to the new ruler)

Although these concepts were mentioned explicitly in the Qur'an and in the Sunnah, most of their detailed explanations were not. These details were products of Muslim jurists' ijtihad, political thoughts, creativity and interpretations. Given that, I shall also address some of the undemocratic interpretations of these concepts as well as the most salient, Islamic-based, undemocratic argument that has the rubric of "divine sovereignty." My research question is: what are the bases of, and obstacles to, democracy in Islamic interpretations. I shall limit my discussion to the aforementioned bases (shura and bay'a), a main obstacle (divine sovereignty versus popular sovereignty) and a discussion of the contemporary empirical evolution and variations of these concepts as understood by Islamic studies scholars as well as Islamist movements and thinkers. I shall argue that strengthening or weakening these bases and obstacles is dependant on interpretations, a function of human agency and I shall conclude with a general assessment of the relationship between Islam and democracy.

#### Asiskovitch, Sharon

##### *National Health Insurance Plans and "Health-Care Citizenship": Canada and Israel*

This paper analyzes how Canada and Israel's health-care systems shape "health-care citizenship" as a way for discussing democracy and democratization in health-care systems. The political-science study of health-care systems policies, politics and reforms focuses on institutions. However, rules of entitlement and the relations between health-care systems and individuals are perceived as dependent variables, not as factors according to which health-care systems are to be classified and analyzed.

Drawing on T.H. Marshall's concept of citizenship (1950), the paper proposes the concept "health-care citizenship". "Health-care citizenship" has three dimensions: "civil" – the option for individuals to choose between health-care insurance plans or medical services providers; "political" – the power of individuals to shape decision-making regarding finance, regulation and delivery of medical services directly or indirectly through their elected representatives; and "social" – to what extent a wide range of medical services is de-commodified. "Health-care citizenship" is useful to evaluate health-care policies, politics and reforms from the perspective of the individual and how they change her personal wealth. Canada and Israel are useful case-studies to evaluate how various dimensions of "health-care citizenship" are developed within different institutional settings. Both countries belong to the "national health insurance" group, share similar values guiding their health-care systems, and face similar economic and political pressures. However, the scope and nature of "health-care citizenship" in Canada and Israel have developed within different institutional arrangements of the political arena and the health-care system themselves.

#### Auger, Cheryl

##### *Sex Work, Sexual Regulation, and Autonomy*

The election of George W. Bush, the rise of the religious right, and the organization of radical feminist anti-pornography and anti-prostitution activists all precipitated moral panic on sex work and trafficking. In response to these organized interests the U. S. government passed a series of legislation that seeks to eliminate all sex work and spuriously links sex work with trafficking (Kempadoo 2005; Weitzer 2007). Drawing on the insights of sex workers' rights activists this paper will argue that the United States' anti-prostitution position as exemplified by the Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA), the Health and Human Services Rescue and Restore campaign, and USAID's anti-prostitution pledge, is a form of sexual regulation that constructs prostitution, and sex workers themselves, as moral, social, and political problems both in the United States and around the world. By undermining sex work as a legitimate employment choice among adults the US government silences and marginalizes sex workers. The paper will also demonstrate the importance of examining the gendered impact of anti-prostitution policies because these laws unequally target women and they seek to limit all forms of non-procreative sex reinforcing the heteronormative nuclear family as the ideal while denying some people's sexual autonomy. In addition, the US anti-prostitution policies are part of a larger neo-imperialist agenda that attempts to export American "values" to developing countries while simultaneously restricting access to the United States with "trafficking" regulations that seek to fortify national borders to keep American citizens safe from the threat of the promiscuous "other."

#### Auger, Cheryl

##### *Transnational Feminism: Democracy and Inclusion in an Age of "Difference"*

Post-colonial feminism, multi-cultural feminism, and Third World feminism (hooks 1984; Narayan and Harding 1998; Spelman 1988) have demonstrated that “woman” is not an essential category and that both commonalities and differences matter in feminist theory and in creating and sustaining feminist activism. These insights are especially important to transnational feminism because inequalities of power that contribute to essentialism and exclusion seem more evident in the global sphere where capitalism and colonial relationships influence interactions, even among activists for justice. (Jaggar 1998). In response, many feminist political theorists suggest democratic practice and discourse are key to fair and ethical organizing (Ackerly 2006; Benhabib 2002; Jaggar 1998).

My paper asks: what organizational practices influence the creation and maintenance of transnational solidarity and democratic practice? My paper involves a comparative case study of feminist organizations that are engaged in local and transnational forms of activism and have attempted to make their organizations inclusive and democratic, including Chez Stella in Montreal and The Global Strike for Women headquartered in London. I argue that transnational feminists are able to find commonalities that generate solidarity and cooperation by attending to difference through democratic practice providing an important framework to guide activists' strategies for global change.

### **Auld, Graeme**

#### *Evolutionary Implications of Private Regulatory Design: Comparative Lessons from Coffee, Fishery and Forestry Certification*

Across industry sectors, private social and environmental certification programs are forming as potential contributors to global regulation of market and government failures. Specifying appropriate social and environmental practices, they aim to offer market benefits to those companies, cooperatives, and small farmers that voluntarily participate and pass an independent inspection audit. In one view, they offer a territorially unrestricted form of social steering that fits the global supply-chain centered orientation of market activities, making them better suited to ameliorate trans-boundary environmental and social problems. The model, however, is not unconstrained. Programs must choose what problems to address (their scope) and which actors to regulate (their domain), and thus solidify new boundaries between, for instance, those actors that can participate and those that cannot. This paper examines programs in the fishery, forestry and coffee sectors to uncover factors influencing choices of scope and domain, and how these decisions influence subsequent program developments. The above-mentioned sectors have programs containing useful variation in scope and domain. Certain programs (e.g., fairtrade) restrict their attention to social-development challenges in trade and production. Other programs (e.g., the Marine Stewardship Council) began by only addressing ecological considerations and, again, only for certain producers (i.e., wild-capture fisheries). Forest certification, by contrast, addressed social and environmental issues within plantation forestry (analogous to fish farming) and natural forest management. Comparing these sectors and the programs they contain should, therefore, shed light on how new boundaries in private regulation are formed and what their short and longer term implications will be.

### **Bachvarova, Mira**

#### *Legitimacy and Non-Domination in Pluralist States*

This paper aims to contribute to a normative understanding of the demands of multicultural legitimacy. More specifically, it explores whether the legitimate political authority of a multicultural state can be conceptualized as grounded in a commitment to non-domination. My analysis is based in a critical reading of the work of prominent philosophical anarchist John A. Simmons. First, I examine the strengths of Simmons' conceptual distinction between justice, justification and legitimacy. I suggest that his focus on the history of the moral relationship between subject and state yields a fruitful approach to understanding the legitimation of authority between groups. Second, I point to a critical omission in Simmons' anarchist argument regarding individual consent as the only basis of legitimacy. Staying true to his approach, I show that the conceptual gap between moral duties and political obligation can be closed when we consider the mutual commitment to non-domination as a fundamental moral good. Finally, I differentiate non-domination as a conception of freedom (following Philip Pettit) from non-domination as a structural condition for legitimacy. I argue that the perspective of non-domination best captures the two dimensions of legitimacy in a pluralist society - between the individual and the state, and between groups within the state - and helps us conceptualize their mutual limitations. The paper is part of a bigger work concerned with the limits of pluralism for minority cultural and religious practices and the place of individual autonomy in theories of multicultural justice.

### **Ballamingie, Patricia**

#### *Democratizing Public Consultation Processes*

Critical analysis of the Ontario government's Lands for Life public consultation process elucidates various aspects of the political technology employed to effect a hegemonic discourse of Crown land, and to privilege industrial interests over all others. An ascending analysis of how power operated through micro-level practices generates significant insights into how future consultation processes might be further democratized, such that they would stand up to ethical scrutiny. This paper details several prescriptive suggestions and reflections as constructive input towards democratizing future land use planning processes, thus mitigating the paradoxes of power. Specifically, it addresses a number of considerations that might be taken into account when posing the following questions: Who should consult the public? Who should be consulted? What should they be asked? And how should they be asked? Moving along the continuum towards greater

inclusivity of marginalized social actors, representing a broader range of previously subjugated voices, and mitigating power differentials ensures at the very least a more robust democracy. This analysis challenges entrenched government-industry collusion, and explores how practices of ecological citizenship can be either promoted or constrained by the state.

#### **Baker, Roozbeh (Rudy)**

##### *The Enshrinement of Rights: Courts and Constitutional Power in Canada*

In 1982 Canada undertook to enshrine civil liberties protections within its newly patriated Constitution. The resulting document, the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, signaled a drastic shift in the attitudes of Canadian elites in regards to theories of governance and rights protection.

The shift, or rather something akin to it, had been attempted once before in Canada. In 1960, the Canadian Parliament had enacted a statutory Bill of Rights. The Canadian Bill of Rights proved largely a failure however. The judiciary, most notably the Supreme Court, was hesitant to enforce the rights contained in the document.

The reception of the Canadian judiciary to the Charter has been wholly different versus that received by the Canadian Bill of Rights. Since 1982, the Supreme Court of Canada greatly expand the scope and substance of civil liberties in Canada through its broad judicial interpretation of the Charter. Mainstream legal scholars pin this shift towards the fact that the Charter constitutionally entrenched civil liberties, thereby giving the Supreme Court the legitimacy and cover to dramatically expand and enforce said rights. Certain political scientists, on the other hand, have argued that the Charter was the end result, not the catalyst, of the expansion of civil liberties by the Supreme Court of Canada --- indeed, the point is made that it was the development of a "support structure" which expanded the "access to the Supreme Court" that in fact helps explain the push towards the extension of judicially enforced rights in Canada.

This Paper will test the validity of both of the competing theories regarding the origins of Canada's "rights revolution" post-1982. The validity of the two theories shall be tested via a survey of the civil liberties decisions of the Supreme Court of Canada in regards to those portions of the Canadian Bill of Rights not duplicated, (and thereby rendered moot), by the passage of the Charter in 1982.

#### **Bakong, Patrice Emery**

##### *Les choix étrangers des normes politiques domestiques : instruments stratégiques de sécurité nationale*

Deux questions ont soulevé d'importants débats dans le domaine des Relations Internationales et celui de la politique comparée. Dans le domaine des études de sécurité tout d'abord, certains auteurs ont souvent de la difficulté à admettre que la stratégie puisse porter sur des moyens autres que militaires dans la poursuite d'objectifs de sécurité. Dans le domaine de la politique comparée, en dehors des cas d'invasion ou d'occupation effective d'un territoire, les approches traditionnelles des democratization studies ont constamment insisté sur la primauté des facteurs domestiques pour expliquer l'origine et l'issue des transitions démocratiques et, d'autre part, habituellement supposé une contribution positive des acteurs externes lorsque ces derniers étaient finalement pris en considération. Deux exemples nous permettrons ici de revoir ces deux approches. Le premier concerne l'application de la "doctrine Bush" au Moyen-Orient et le second se rapporte aux choix politiques de la France dans les processus de démocratisation en Afrique subsaharienne francophone.

Après les attentats du 11 septembre 2001, la promotion de la démocratie au Moyen-Orient est clairement devenue pour l'administration américaine la solution à la stabilité de cette région et à la sécurité des États-Unis. Dans les années quatre-vingt-dix également, avec l'écllosion des conflits interethniques en Afrique subsaharienne, circonscrire les changements politiques initiés quelques années plus tôt a été pour la France, un choix de sécurité nationale. Ces transformations étaient en effet considérées comme la source de l'instabilité pour cette région et une menace pour la sécurité de la France.

#### **Balot, Ryan**

##### *Culture and Collective Memory in Ancient Republicanism*

Inspired by recent efforts to revitalize republican theory (Petit 1997, Viroli 2002), this paper suggests that a return to the ancient republicans will deepen our appreciation of culture and history in constituting healthy republican regimes. Cicero and Polybius assigned a critical role to historical understanding in developing their accounts of republican culture. Both were anxious to avoid triumphant militaristic accounts of the past, and laid emphasis on the struggle, hardship and suffering in the belief that such anti-triumphal recollections would engender moderation and realism in political practice. As republicans, Cicero and Polybius were as anti-utopian as their modern counterparts, but they emphasized the unifying, stabilizing, and moderating power of "learning through suffering". This teaching might well enrich contemporary republican theory.

#### **Banack, Clark**

##### *Rural Identity in an Urban Canada: Assessing the Family-Farm's Claim for Recognition*

One of the more remarkable aspects of the sustained interest in identity politics and cultural recognition in Canadian scholarship has been the absolute silence on issues pertaining to the rural/urban divide. Although recent controversies have sparked an interest in the perceived lack of ethnic or religious toleration in rural areas, very little work has been done with regards to understanding rural citizens as a "minority group" themselves, defending a substantive way of life within an increasingly urban Canada. Attempting to address this absence, this paper explores the legitimacy of a particular notion of collective cultural identity not often mentioned within Canadian "recognition" discourse, that of the rural agricultural West. Specifically, I move beyond economic analysis and consider the decline of the "family-farm" in Western Canada

through the lens of culture and identity. I suggest that the distinct agrarian consciousness that emerged so clearly within the political and cultural initiatives undertaken by Prairie farmers in the first half of the twentieth century remains a powerful stimulus operating at the foundation of contemporary agrarian struggles which seek to maintain a viable network of small-scale, multi-generational family farms in the face of deteriorating economic conditions. Situating this agrarian consciousness within the theoretical framework offered by multicultural theorists Charles Taylor and Bhikhu Parekh I argue that, from the perspective of a “cultural recognition” outlook, there exists compelling reasons for taking seriously the decline of the family-farm. This paper closes with some thoughts on the political implications of such a conclusion.

#### **Banfield, Andrew and Zekulin, Michael**

##### *The Supreme Court and Security Legislation in the Post-9/11 Era: The Case of Security Certificates*

In the aftermath of 9/11, the Parliament of Canada responded, in part, by passing Bill C-36 The Anti-Terrorism Act, and Bill C-27, an amended Immigration and Refugee Protection Act. One of the more contentious sections of C-27 dealt with security certificates (sections 33 and 77-85). The security certificate is the mechanism by which the Federal Government may detain and deport foreign nationals and non-citizens for having violated international human rights, being a member of organized crime, or is a perceived threat to national security.

In *Charkaoui v. Canada (Minister of Citizenship and Immigration)* [2007] the Court ruled that prohibiting the accused from seeing the evidence against them for the security certificate violated sections 7, 9 and 10 of Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. Based on this ruling, and the previous Supreme Court security certificate jurisprudence, this paper attempts to do two things. First, it examines, and explains the shift in judicial philosophy from deference to Parliament in *Suresh v. Canada (Minister of Citizenship and Immigration)* [2002], to one of a “dialogue” approach in *Charkaoui*. Second, we offer some preliminary observations, based on lower court decisions and public speeches of Supreme Court Justices, about how the Court may attempt to further reconcile public security and the Charter in the post 9/11 era. Specifically we ask whether the Court will continue this trend of deference to Parliament, or whether the Justices will take a more robust role in amending and striking down security legislation which violates the Charter.

#### **Banfield, Andrew**

##### *Prisoner Voting in Canada and Australia: The Construction of Constitutional Decisions*

In *Sauvé v. Canada (Chief Electoral Officer)*, the Supreme Court of Canada delivered a 5-4 decision ruling disenfranchisement of prisoners unconstitutional. Five years later in *Roach v. Electoral Commissioner*, the Australian High Court delivered a 5-2 decision ruling the blanket disenfranchisement of prisoners violated the constitution, while leaving room for Parliament to respond.

To understand the significance of these decisions, the cases must be placed in their respective legal and political settings. The Australian High Court decision was one of the most heralded since the retirement of Chief Justice Mason, indicating a potential return to the implied bill of rights doctrine. The Canadian decision was the final stage in a lengthy battle over prisoner disenfranchisement, and one of the most harshly criticized decisions of the Court’s democratic rights jurisprudence.

By comparing the decisions in these two cases, we are able to gain valuable insights into the nature judicial review in Australia. The decision may indicate that a “rights revolution” in Australia is beginning to occur, but the decision itself is far from being the catalyst. The main lesson of *Roach* is clear: without an entrenched bill of rights, Australian justices are less adventurous in rights litigation, less prone to judicial activism. Moreover, this case also indicates how political judicial decisions can be in Australia, even if the opinions of the justices are cast in a legalistic style.

#### **Baron, Ilan**

##### *International Relations, Obligation, War*

Using the concept of political obligation, this paper challenges the idea put forward by Martin Wight that political theory is not concerned with international relations. The paper introduces via the ethics of war the importance of the problem of political obligation, and demonstrates why political obligation is relevant in the study of international relations. A.P. d’Entrèves claims that, “The history of political theory is to me first and foremost the history of the attempts to solve the problem of political obligation.” The problem is about obeying the authority of the state and even though focused on the problems posed by life inside the state, it is not as if the problem of obligation is completely absent in international relations theory. For example, the idea that obligation is important in international relations has been used by way of the human rights, cosmopolitan, solidarist and intervention literature. Moreover, even the traditional understanding of political obligation is important for international relations, as illustrated by the moral and political problem posed by the obligation to risk one’s life for the state in war. Yet, there are remarkably few texts that explicitly address this obligation. For example, most ethics of war texts take this obligation for granted. Using this example of political obligation, what Michael Walzer calls the obligation to die, this paper demonstrates how political obligation is important in international relations, and offers an explanation of how this problem of obligation has come to be generally ignored in contemporary international relations literature.

#### **Bashevkin, Sylvia**

##### *Tracing the Impact of Women Party Leadership Candidates in Canada*

Theories of democratic representation dating from Pitkin (1967) suggest new groups of participants can potentially transform not only political organizations but also the larger systems of which they form a part. Since 1975, multiple

women have contested party leadership positions across the Canadian political spectrum. This background permits scholars to pose two important questions coming out of expectations in the conceptual literature, namely: Have leadership campaigns by female candidates shaped party politics? In particular, can we identify long-term shifts in patterns of party recruitment, internal policy debate or public attitudes that follow from these leadership efforts? To date, neither point has been probed systematically by researchers in the parties or gender and politics fields. Focusing on the period 1975-2006, which featured ten campaigns by nine women for top posts in federal parties, this paper draws on a variety of sources to ascertain first, whether female candidates drew meaningful numbers of new activists into federal party organizations, including new partisans who were significantly different in socio-economic or substantive policy terms than existing party members. Second, it considers the impact of federal party leadership campaigns by women on the specific campaigns and parties in which they were waged. How did the tenor and content of debate when women ran compare with those of previous and subsequent leadership races in the same party? Finally, the study explores public attitudes toward women party leaders. Did voters evidence more willingness to vote for parties led by women as more females contested leadership positions in Canada?

#### **Bashir, Hassan**

*"Delusions of Celestial Perfection": The Encounter between Jesuit Missionaries and the Chinese Literati in Early Modern China*

This paper focuses on the encounter between Jesuits missionaries and Chinese literati in the early modern period. Of particular concern, within this broad focus, are the life and works of Matteo Ricci who was the main strategist for the Society of Jesus in the region. Ricci has frequently been credited as the introducer of Euclid and Copernicus to China and as carrier of Confucian thought to Europe. The paper explores the basis for this claim and contrasts Ricci's observations and his methodological preferences for conducting missionary work with the ultimate Jesuit motive of winning China for Christ. This is followed by a discussion of Chinese criticism of the Christian faith in post-Ricci China and the arguments which fueled the Chinese rites controversy in the west. The paper concludes by highlighting implications of the analysis presented for the newest trend in western political theory which seeks a global/ comparative outlook on political theorizing.

#### **Bassett, Carolyn**

*Taking Care of Business: Corporate Codes of Conduct, Shareholder Value and Global Regulation*

The paper investigates the intersection of two realms of private regulation in the global economy: financial capital's ability to shape state policies as well as investment practices; and corporate self-regulation on ethical practices through corporate codes of conduct. Corporate codes of conduct rose to prominence in the mid-1990s, when firms producing consumer goods found themselves in the embarrassing situation of being accused of promoting human rights abuse by outsourcing production to firms and locations that ignored internationally-recognized labour rights. Their goal is to avoid state regulation by establishing norms for self-regulation. Though recognizing them as public relations exercises, concerned social justice activists have used these voluntary codes as the basis for public education campaigns to improve practices at off-shore factories. The rising emphasis on share-holder value and the desire to increase returns to investors also has been much noted since the 1990s. The paper argues that it was virtually inevitable that the push for higher share returns would trump initiatives to improve corporate behaviour in the area of human rights, because the power of investors over-rides that of corporate social responsibility programs, even in firms that seem highly committed. Yet, failure to incorporate some effective restrictions on the measures firms take to maximize short-term profits may jeopardize sales, corporate image and ultimately share prices should the firm be caught in an embarrassing scandal or expensive lawsuit.

#### **Bastedo, Heather, LeDuc, Lawrence and Baquero, Catherine**

*The Quiet Referendum: Why Electoral Reform Failed in Ontario*

Ontario's referendum on electoral reform, which resulted in the retention of the present first-past-the-post electoral system, was the culmination of a multi-layered exercise in deliberative and participatory democracy. In this paper, we examine this experiment from its beginning in the commissioning of a Citizens' Assembly, the process of deliberation, the Assembly's recommendation, the structure of the referendum campaign, and the voting outcome. Our analysis is based on interviews with members of the Citizens' Assembly, other actors in the process, media content analysis, and poll and survey data regarding opinion formation and change. A detailed analysis of this important experiment in deliberative and direct democracy can teach us much about the strength and limitations of citizen engagement in a process of institutional reform.

#### **Bastien, Frédéric and Loewen, Peter**

*Byelections in Canada: We Don't Know What We Don't Know*

Much anecdotal evidence is drawn from byelections. With seemingly every byelection victory or less, parties and pundits seek to draw some lesson, often with reference to (a) past byelection(s). However, given a lack of systematic knowledge on byelections, these inferences are often hollow and almost always self-serving. The goal of our paper is to empirically ascertain four facts about byelections. First, when is turnout in byelections lower than normal and when is it about the same? Second, are byelections a referendum about the government? Third, do candidates of the government party win byelections more or less often than candidates of the opposition? Fourth, do minor parties achieve better performances in byelections than in general elections? Fifth, do byelection victors face a different reelection rate than

those incumbents who won in a general election? To answer these questions, we consider all byelections in Canada since 1965 and specify a series of multivariate logit and OLS models.

### **Baum, Bruce and Lougheed, Devon**

#### *Black Skin, White Laughter*

What is happening when someone "white" laughs at a "black" comedian? When white comedians presume white audiences or challenge their presumed whiteness? When Black comedians presume Black audiences or challenge prevailing notions of Blackness? We examine the role of comedy (especially but not limited to stand-up) in constituting/challenging racialized narratives of peoplehood. We develop this argument by historicizing the project of 'empowering' comedy in the context of the post-WWII (especially post-colonial and post-Civil Rights era) U.S. and Canada. Stand-up comedy is the performance of a personal perspective, but also relies heavily on intersubjectively-shared social narratives, including, notably, racialized narratives of Canadian and US peoplehood; it feeds on and rearticulates broader accounts of ethnic and racial inclusion and exclusion. One such narrative is of the normative white citizen (or, sometimes, white Anglophone or "white Anglo-Saxon Protestant" citizen), which has long operated as an unspoken backdrop to comedy in Canada and the US. Yet, a certain brand of comedy, from Lenny Bruce to Sheryl Underwood, is distinctly subversive and counter-cultural in character. What is the emancipatory potential of comedy to challenge the racializing and norming of peoples? How can this inform the broader project to transform racialized narratives of peoplehood more generally?

Comedy in its challenging modes can be situated in relation to Nancy Fraser's notion of subversive, subaltern public spheres. The emancipatory potential of such comedy, however, is mitigated by the spectre of a "white" laughter – immediate, revelatory, and somatic – that works to reassert the normative white citizen.

### **Baxter, Paul**

#### *The Study of Political History in Canada*

The relationship between First Nations Peoples and Canada is one of the areas of Canadian politics and law in which the politics of history has been most pronounced. The stakes of the debate are high for both sides. For First Nations Peoples, the recognition and acceptance of their own "political histories" provides an immediate justification both for the settling of specific and comprehensive land claims, and for the quasi-constitutional acceptance of their "inherent right to self-government". For the rest of Canada, the recognition of the "political histories" of First Nations Peoples has different implications depending on one's ideological predisposition. Critical issues in the historiography of the nation-state and the political histories of peoples coalesce in the debate over the political history of First Nations Peoples. If we assume that history, and not just "political history" are political in so far as it is a normative exercise (Anderson, Bazowski and MacDermid), what does this debate over the "political history" of First Nations Peoples tell us about the relevance of political history to the study of politics and law in Canada? I use two comprehensive land-claims still under dispute in Ontario (the Mohawks of the Grand River and the Chippewas of Golden Lake) to concretize the theoretical issues, clarify the potential implications of the different views of history posed by the stake-holders, and to reflect on the methodological implications for those interested in the epistemological status of "political history".

### **Bedford, David**

#### *Practical Principles or Principled Practice: Lessons from Thucydides*

Pressing issues in international life induce us to revisit the question of the application of normative principles to international political practice. Should the principles which guide behaviour in the international sphere be derived from a recognition of the imperatives stemming from human nature and the logic of interstate relations? Or, are we better off in the long run to act according to theoretically established norms of justice, lawfulness etc.?

We can, with profit, turn to Thucydides for guidance as he carefully analyzed these options in his History. Straussians (Orwin, Forde), realists (Gilpin, Doyle) and classicists who stress the Sophistic-Hippocratic influence (Cochrane, de Romilly) agree in reading Thucydides as arguing that the prudent statesperson will accept fear, honour and profit as ubiquitous human motivations. Alternatively, Cornford, Rankine and Reeve argue that the tragic narrative structure of the text reveals the consequence of straying too far from the norms of proper conduct. Cities, like individuals, live well when mindful of the requirements of justice.

Focussing on the concept of *arête*, and building on previous work (Bedford and Workman) this paper will argue that those who see Thucydides advocating "practical principles" read the speeches and authorial statements as articulating Thucydides' understanding. Rather, expanding in Connor's notion of irony, the decline of Athens will be seen as resulting from their tragic and increasingly unprincipled practice.

### **Beiner, Ronald**

#### *John Rawls's Genealogy of Liberalism*

The debates surrounding the account of religion and liberal citizenship given in Political Liberalism have obviously been enormous. But one section of Rawls's argument has perhaps drawn less attention than is merited: his intriguing discussion in the Introduction of PL of the 16th- and 17th-century Wars of Religion as contributing to the birth of liberalism (both as a theoretical tradition and as a tradition of political practice). I call this Rawls's "genealogy." The purpose of this paper is to give more concerted attention to how the genealogy relates to the other leading themes in the political philosophy of PL.

### **Béland, Daniel and Myles, John**

### *Social Policy Reform in Canada: Three Policy Areas, Three Institutional Paths?*

This paper contributes to the contemporary debate on institutional change by comparing recent trends in three major policy areas of the Canadian welfare state: unemployment insurance, old-age pensions, and family benefits. As argued, powerful institutional factors largely explain major differences between these three policy areas, which have witnessed contrasted types of institutional change since the 1980s. First, the field of unemployment insurance has been subjected to comprehensive retrenchment that transformed the federal unemployment insurance programme according to the logic of "activation." Second, the field of public old-age pensions has maintained relative institutional stability despite the enactment of small-scale reforms in the 1980s and 1990s. Finally, the field of family benefits has witnessed profound institutional restructuring and, more recently, policy expansion. Taking into account institutional factors like federalism, but also regional inequality and the role of ideas in policy-making, this paper explains major differences between the three policy areas regarding the scope and the nature of institutional change they feature.

### **Béland, Martine**

#### *An Early Nietzschean Ethical Symptomatology*

My paper focuses on early Nietzschean ethical thought—and more precisely, on Nietzsche's interpretation of the Greek *ethos* as a way to understand, criticize, and cure what he saw as Germany's weakness. A close reading of two early essays—"Der griechische Staat" (1871) and "Der Wettkampf Homers" (1872)—shows that Nietzsche opposed the foundations of Greek ethics to the characteristics of modern Germany. Nietzsche's understanding of what he called the "Greek State" allowed him to propose measures against the symptoms of German civilization's sickness. My demonstration is threefold. I firstly circumscribe the notions of "agôn" and "eris" which are central to early Nietzschean understanding of Greek ethics. Secondly, I describe four modern ethical symptoms that Nietzsche distinguished when comparing Greek "State" and German civilization. Finally, I discuss the remedy to the German "ethical sickness" that can be derived from Nietzsche's assessment of the distinctions between Greek and modern *ethos*. This three-part discussion shows that early Nietzschean thought acts as a symptomatology developed to cure a civilization in a way that is incompatible with modern democracy.

### **Bélanger, Éric and Nadeau, Richard**

#### *Idéologie, malaise démocratique et appui aux tiers partis au Québec et en Ontario*

Les motivations derrière l'appui aux tiers partis au Québec et en Ontario aux élections provinciales de 2007 seront analysées, en particulier la dimension idéologique de ce vote et la dimension liée au cynisme à l'endroit des institutions politiques (ou malaise démocratique). Les données de deux sondages post-électorales menés par notre équipe de recherche seront utilisées pour examiner ce phénomène et offrir des pistes d'interprétation aux succès variés de ces partis. Au Québec, l'appui à l'ADQ, à Québec Solidaire et au Parti Vert sera examiné et comparé; en Ontario, le vote pour le NPD et le Parti Vert sera analysé. Des différences de culture politique entre les deux provinces pourraient aussi expliquer pourquoi les tiers partis ont généralement plus de succès électoral au Québec qu'en Ontario.

### **Bell, Shannon**

#### *Gad ben Aharon ve Rachel: Berlin*

Drawing on five of Gad's works - Repression, 'Is Liberalism All We Need? Prelude via Fascism' Difficult Justice, 'Aporia and Messiah in Derrida and Levinas' Difficult Justice, 'Emmanuel, Robert' Buddhisms and Deconstruction, 'Groundless Democracy' Shadow of Spirit, 'Global Pardon' Bad Subjects, – we did a 5-day video and audio-recorded event interview in Berlin Feb. 14-19, 2007.

The interview event is informed by and an application of what Alain Badiou, in *Being and Event*, refers to as event, that is, a rupture that opens up truths. What I am pursuing with Gad is new thought arising from his previous work on fascism, repression, Kabbalah, Buddhism, Levinas, Derrida, and Marcuse and from thinking on-location in a new location: Berlin. In a sense, the event-interview is work constituted by subject(s)-as-praxis: subjects materially in-action with works of art (particularly Joseph Bueys's Talon sculptures and Millennium boulders), historical relics (the Berlin Wall Memorial in Friedrichshain, on top of Hitler's bunker), the Holocaust memorial, events at the New Synagogue, the Otto Weidt Museum Workshop for the Blind in contrast to the Jewish Museum, and techno works.

### **Bellamy, Matthew**

#### *Pressure Brewing: The Canadian Beer Industry's Response to Prohibitionism, 1878-1901*

The politics of alcohol prohibition in Canada have been examined a number of times from the perspective of the prohibitionists. What is lacking is an examination of the political response of the Canadian brewing industry to the rise of prohibitionism at the end of the nineteenth century. The proposed paper will explore the brewing industry's attempts to influence politicians directly (inside lobbying) and its attempts to sway popular opinion (outside lobbying) and prohibitionism reached its zenith in Canada.

Judged by the results, the industry's response was wanting. During the first decades of the twentieth century, one province after another went "dry". In 1918 the federal government added to the brewers' plight by making it illegal to manufacture "intoxicating" drinks. In many ways this is a very un-Canadian tale. More often than not business has successfully lobbied the government. But in the case of prohibition, the brewing industry failed to persuade the government to do its bidding. By comparing and contrasting the lobbying efforts of the brewing industry with those of the apostles of teetotalism, the proposed paper will shed light on why, in this atypical case, Canadian business lost.

The work draws on the rich collection of corporate and personal papers located in archives scattered across Canada and the United States as well as the imagery (found in the newspapers, magazines and trade journals of the period) surrounding the brewers' anti-prohibitionist campaigns.

#### **Ben-Ishai, Elizabeth**

##### *Ascribing Autonomy: Resistance and the Politics of the Body*

This paper explores the theoretical and political implications of interpreting the body as a tool of resistance, especially with regard to dominant gender norms. In considering the various dimensions of embodied practices of resistance, I consider two "types" of bodies. First, I consider examples of "pathological" bodies that are interpreted by some commentators as signifying resistance, such as eating disordered bodies and addicted bodies. In this case, the individuals who "occupy" these bodies may not view themselves as engaged in such resistance. Second, I consider bodies that we see as willfully expressing some kind of resistance – self-constructed or at least self-interpreted bodies. I focus in particular on athletic or muscular bodies. I argue that although the resistance attributed to the pathological body does not usually accord with the intentionality of the subject, for the purposes of recovery and consciousness-raising, the ascription of autonomy to these bodies may prove to be resistance-generating in the future. Autonomy, I contend, is not only a capacity or set of capacities, but also a status which, warranted or not, carries with it certain benefits and opportunities, which may in themselves fuel resistance. With regard to the second category of bodies, I argue that although there are risks in turning to such bodies as tools of resistance – objectification, sexualization, and increased impetus for constraining bodily regulation – these potential dangers can also be interpreted as opening up space for the contestation of naturalized categories of gender and sexuality.

#### **Bentwich, Miriam**

##### *Liberty & Multiculturalism: Bridging the "unbridgeable" Gap?*

Multiculturalism, the paradigm that emphasizes multicultural group demands, is often taken to be a challenge and even a threat to the liberal individual's liberty. Consequently, while there are constant theoretical and practical efforts to accommodate such demands, liberals and multiculturalists appear to reach an "impasse" when these demands threaten the individual's liberty. The current paper attempts to overcome this "deadlock" by showing that the individual's liberty is not as alienated from multiculturalism as it is usually perceived to be.

First a possible theoretical foundation for resolving the tension will be sought in Philip Pettit's account of the neo-republican concept of liberty, emphasizing the linkage between political participation and liberty. However, due to shortcomings in Pettit's model, the latter will be remodeled by shifting it from republican thought to earlier liberalism philosophy, thereby potentially enabling a more fruitful reinterpretation of the linkage between political participation and liberty. Secondly, such a reinterpretation will be offered by focusing the attention on John Locke's conception of liberty and its interconnection to his complicated conception of political participation. Indeed a special intertwined linkage between these two concepts will be derived from a simultaneous reading of both the Second Treatise and Of the Conduct of the Understanding. Based on exploring this linkage and content, it will be argued that non-liberal multicultural groups are both obliged to respect the individual's liberty and have a keen and vivid interest to do so.

#### **Benz, Arthur**

##### *Comparing Democratic Legitimacy in Different Types of Multilevel Governance*

The paper intends to contribute to a differentiated comparative analysis of the democratic problem in multilevel governance. For this purpose, the first part outlines different modes of governance across levels. Usually, the debate in this field is focussed on policy-making by negotiations. In a multilevel context, we should distinguish between multilateral negotiations among central and lower-level governments (joint decision-making, Fritz W. Scharpf) and governance by a series of bilateral negotiations. What has so far been ignored in the debates on democracy and multilevel governance are modes of governance by competition. Again, at least two types should be distinguished: One is the standard model of fiscal federalism, based on tax competition among governments. According to the other model, elaborated by Albert Breton and Pierre Salmon, lower-level governments compete for best policies in a framework, which is defined by central institutions or intergovernmental agreements and includes standards or criteria for comparative evaluation. In the second part of the paper, these types of multilevel governance will be compared regarding to the role of parliaments or interests groups and the accountability of governments. Empirical evidence will be gained from research on Germany, Canada and the EU, although the paper will not provide data from a systematic comparative study. Seizing the suggestions by Liesbet Hooghe and Gary Marks, the aim is to broaden the perspective by considering variations in modes of multilevel governance and suggest an analytical framework for comparative research which conforms to the real complexity of the research field.

#### **Bergh, Andreas, Erlingsson, Gissur, Sjolín, Mats and Andersson, Staffan**

##### *How Corrupt is a Non-corrupt Society? Evidence From a Survey of Local Political Elites in Sweden*

Sweden consistently ranks among the countries perceived to have the least problems with corruption: In Transparency International's Corruption Perceptions index, Sweden ranked number 6 in 2006, ahead of both Norway and the Netherlands. Still, a number of scandals involving both Swedish companies and Swedish politicians have recently been reported. Sweden's clean image have been questioned. Still, little is known regarding on how representative the latest media reports are.

The aim of this paper is to describe in detail the nature of corruption in Swedish local politics. We report results from a web-based survey among local politicians and civil servants in all of Sweden's 290 municipalities. The survey responses, collected late in 2007, allow us to examine in detail what type of behavior that is considered ethical in a country normally said to have no problems with corruption. Importantly, we do not restrict attention to corruption as defined in a strict legal sense; Instead we define corruption broadly as reaping personal benefits at the expense of all inhabitants in the municipality. Our research design allows both qualitative and quantitative analysis of factors explaining variations in local corruption levels, as well as perceptions regarding the time trend in corrupt activities.

The paper is one of the first papers produced in a new research project supported by the Swedish research council. While corruption in developing countries has been studied intensively, very little is known regarding the situation in the countries that normally rank high in for example Transparency International's Corruption Perceptions index.

#### **Best, Jacqueline**

##### *Re-embedding Economic Development or Re-defining Politics? New Aid Strategies in Critical Perspective*

In the wake of development failures in the 1980s, and in response to critics' claims that stabilization and aid financing rely too heavily on a one size fits all approach, international financial institutions (IFIs), including the IMF and World Bank, major donor states and many NGOs have developed a series of new policies and practices that emphasize the importance of local context. In this paper, I take a close look at some of these recent policy shifts. Through interviews, archival research and document analysis, I focus in particular on three different but interconnected practices: the effort by World Bank and Fund staff to make conditionality country-owned, the harmonization of financing around Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs), and the mainstreaming of social development and accountability at the Bank. All three policies not only seek to respond to local differences, but also do so through a particular conception of politics, which they seek to institutionalize through practices of participation and consultation. This paper begins by examining what is driving these policy shifts, arguing that they are attempts to regain three principal governance objectives that have recently been under attack: efficiency, legitimacy and control. The paper then goes on to consider some of the effects of these new practices. I argue that these policies do not so much work to engage the political, or even to embed economic practices in social and political life, but rather to redefine the division between politics and economics.

Ironically, therefore the very strategies designed to respond to the particularities of national and local context, in fact, work to homogenize certain aspects of political life around a thin, universalist and economic conception of politics.

#### **Bhandar, Davina**

##### *My Son/Daughter the Fanatic: Regulating Familial Spaces and Sites of National Security*

In this paper I investigate the ways in which national security agendas and debates regarding multicultural tolerance are being resituated in and entrenched through the site of the family or through an extension of contemporary "domopolitics" (Walters 2004). I note the shift in familial relations by examining the domestic multicultural representations of masculinity and femininity in the recent past. I examine the public discourse of how feminine and masculine identities are being rearticulated, imagined and constituted in the shifting agenda of multiculturalism in Britain and Canada. In particular the international War on Terror, which has taken the project of rescuing women as its core mission, is refashioning this rescue mission within the domestic sphere. This project is a comparative analysis of the use of multicultural discourse in the context of family law, the public act of veiling, and its regulation, in both Canada and the United Kingdom. I examine the issues raised through the debate regarding the Arbitration Act in Ontario with particular reference to the Marion Boyd report titled "Dispute Resolution in Family Law: Protecting Choice Promoting Inclusion". By way of comparison I focus on the current context of the Task Force on Integration and Cohesion announced in 2004 in the United Kingdom.

#### **Bhatia, Vandana**

##### *Indo-US Civil Nuclear Agreement: Who Wins? Who Loses?*

The Indo-US civil nuclear cooperation agreement is historic in several respects, yet, has become highly controversial. Interestingly, in the west, concerns have been raised over the 'bending of rules' as well as neglect of the Non-Proliferation treaty in order to accommodate the so-called 'nuclear pariah', India. Contrarily, at home, the Indian government is facing crisis over moving ahead with the deal; as it is being viewed as a 'sell-out to America'. Thus, it makes for an interesting case for research, as to who gains? and who loses? Thus, my paper would seek answer to several questions that arise – the Indo-US agreement, in the midst of international uproar over Iran, affirms India as 'a responsible state' with a credible non-proliferation record, yet, binds it to the international safeguards. What are the implications of the agreement for the non-proliferation regime? What signals does it send to the other aspirant nuclear powers? Moreover, it recognizes India as 'leading state with advanced nuclear technology' thus, accords it the defacto nuclear status, but does not bestow the rights enjoyed by the nuclear weapon states. Thus, as perceived in India -is it an attempt to circumvent India -a defiant non-signatory of NPT? Has India compromised its principle of 'self-reliance and autonomy' in defence technology? Does it curb Indian objective to develop a credible nuclear deterrent, thereby, endanger its security needs?

#### **Bhatia, Vandna**

##### *Saving Medicare? Privatization and the Rights Discourse in Canada*

Policy discourses regarding privatization of some elements of Canadian Medicare – in this context meaning the private financing of at least some services that are currently publicly insured – have been debated since its inception in the 1950s. These discourses have, until recently, made very little headway in challenging the dominant paradigm governing health policy in Canada – publicly financed and administered medical and hospital services for all Canadians. In recent

years, a number of factors have increased the prominence of the privatization issue – the release of a number of reports and studies, growing public concerns and government attention to waiting times for necessary services, and of course, the Supreme Court of Canada's decision in *Chaoulli*. This paper argues that this most recent privatization discourse has greater potential to successfully challenge the dominant health policy paradigm. The current debate broadens the potential beneficiaries of privatization from a select, wealthy few to include all Canadians. It uses the language of rights to reframe the Canada Health Act as legislation that fundamentally undermines the very principles it was created to protect. This paper will demonstrate that the degree of consensus on privatization as a realistic solution to the various problems plaguing Medicare is wider than it has been in the past; that the current privatization discourse is more consistent with broadly held norms and values than previous discourses have been; and that the actors proposing privatization as a solution today are viewed with more legitimacy and credibility than those who came before them.

#### **Bickerton, James**

##### *Intergovernmental Agreements and Trust Ties: The Case of the Atlantic Accords*

This paper will analyze the role of trust in mechanisms of intergovernmental relations in federal countries, through an examination of the controversial issue of the Atlantic Accords in Canada. These bilateral agreements affecting offshore resource revenues and equalization payments were signed by the federal government with two Atlantic provinces (Newfoundland and Nova Scotia), only to be unilaterally changed (in effect, abrogated) by a new federal government. The paper will first review the place of intergovernmental agreements in the operation of Canadian federalism and the role of trust in making these agreements both a viable and a reliable mechanism of intergovernmentalism. It will then examine the Atlantic Accords, including the political context within which the Accords were signed and the arguments used to justify their original form and intent, and the decision subsequently taken by a new federal government to overturn the Accords in conjunction with its implementation of a new formula for calculating and distributing equalization payments to provinces with fiscal capacities below the national average. The political calculus and motivations explaining the federal government's actions will be explored, along with the political implications of abrogation of the Accords. Finally, the impact of the federal government's actions on the utility and legitimacy of bilateral agreements as mechanisms of intergovernmentalism, particularly for politically-weak, and therefore more vulnerable, federation partners, will be assessed. Possible remedies, both short and long-term, will be explored, in the context of their functionality and political sustainability.

#### **Bilodeau, Antoine, White, Stephen and Neviite, Neil**

##### *Canadian Immigrants' Political Integration: A Regional Perspective*

The conventional wisdom is that successive waves of European immigrants who settled in each region of Canada had a significant impact on the founding "political cultures" of those regions, but little is known about the relationship between contemporary immigration and Canadian regional political cultures. This paper uses data from the 2000 and 2006 Canadian components of the World Values Survey and their large samples of immigrant (N=1,720) and Canadian-born (N=3,417) respondents to explore the question of how immigrants adapt to regional political norms and values in the short and long term. We look at two potential explanations for the dynamics of immigrant adaptation to regional political norms. The first possibility is that migrants take up attitudes resembling those of the local population because they face strong social pressures to conform to the dominant political norms of a given region (Glaser & Gilens 1997; McBurnett 1991; MacKuen & Brown 1987). The second possibility is that the particularities of immigrants' pre-migration experiences, and the shocks associated with the challenges of adjustment, induce political attitudes that diverge from those that prevail in the immediate regional environment. Each Canadian immigrant, after all, brings to their new host-region a unique stock of formative political experiences reflecting the environment in which they were socialized (Finifter & Finifter 1989; McAllister & Makkai 1992; Black 1987), and in the process of adjusting to new environments faces challenges and experiences that are profoundly different from those of the local population (Michelson 2001; Portes 1984).

#### **Binnie, Jon**

##### *Governing Intimacy within Mixed Martial Arts*

The now extensive literature on sexual citizenship (e.g. Bell and Binnie, 2000; Cossman, 2007; Evans, 1993, Richardson, 2000) has been valuable in mapping the ways in which the contemporary state has sought to regulate intimacy – particularly in relation to same-sex marriage in different national and local contexts. However this work has sometimes failed to do justice to the complexity of intimate formations and the wide range of everyday practices of sexual citizenship. This paper suggests that notions of both heteronormativity and homonormativity are blunt conceptually in that the battle lines between valued and deviant forms of intimacy are being drawn around classed, gendered and racialized notions of respectability and propriety that cut across established categories of sexual identity.

One contemporary manifestation of a de-valued or 'dangerous' form of intimacy is that produced through participation in the sport of Mixed Martial Arts (MMA) whose growing popularity is now challenging boxing as the most significant combat sport in popular culture. At the same time the legality of the sport has been challenged and numerous MMA events have been banned by local authorities.

The paper examines the particular forms of intimacies, kinship and solidarities produced through MMA and how they relate to notions of propriety, masculinity, authenticity and consumption. It considers how MMA is governed and how intimacy is regulated within institutions associated with MMA culture such as gyms, chat forums and print media.

#### **Birch, Lisa and Pétry, François**

##### *Quality of Public Opinion Research: The Case of Health Care Polling in Canada*

Conventional studies of the quality of public opinion research (POR) operationally define quality as the degree to which public opinion surveys meet the professional polling standards established by AAPOR to insure the transparent disclosure of polling information and the accurate and unbiased interpretation of the results. Some scholars have argued that AAPOR-based quality assessments of surveys are not enough because they do not raise the important issue of the quality of public opinion. For example, they do not look at how well polling questions are constructed, or whether the survey responses are contaminated (Schuman and Pressler 1995). Several ways of improving the quality of public opinion through mass polling have been developed and sometimes tested by these scholars (Althaus 2003, Bishop 2006, Price and Neijen 1997, Yankelovitch 1991). But these tests have remained almost exclusively experimental. In this research we look at how actual POR is conducted and whether it meets previously developed standards of the quality of public opinion (and not just standards of survey quality). We study over one hundred public opinion surveys conducted in the past decade on behalf of the government of Canada in the areas of tobacco control, biotech, and the future of Canadian healthcare. We compare the quality of observed public opinion across these policy areas, we document the variation in quality over time and we investigate to what extent these variations affect decisions regarding policy orientations and policy instruments by government officials. Finally, we discuss the challenges of measuring the quality of public opinion empirically.

**Bird, Karen and Turcotte, André**

*Running Visible Minority Candidates in Canada: A Survey Experiment*

In February 2005, Conservative MP Rona Ambrose made headlines after her remark in Parliament directed toward Social Development Minister Ken Dryden and the Liberals' proposed national child care plan. Ambrose exclaimed: "working women want to make their own choices, we don't need old white guys telling us what to do." Ambrose's visibility on this issue reflects a politically strategic choice by her party about who is the best MP to deliver a persuasive message on this issue. In many cases, these strategies incorporate so-called "descriptive representatives" (i.e., female and visible minority MPs), who are thought to be especially persuasive on issues where a party may not enjoy strong support among key voters. The proposed paper will investigate the persuasive power of descriptive representatives in delivering certain political messages. The design of the study is inspired by cognitive attribution theory in the context of persuasion. This theory suggests that people consider the attributes of a communicator, as well as contextual cues, in assessing the credibility of the argument. Subjects (university undergraduates) in an experimental design are exposed to two messages from an elected representative—one concerning women's rights, the other on ethnic accommodation—in which the gender and visible minority status of the speaker is varied. Overall differences in communicator persuasiveness are evaluated, as are variations in persuasiveness related to recipient characteristics (e.g., gender, visible minority status, political knowledge, attitudes towards gender equality, immigration, etc.). The findings should have potential implications for the prospects of mobilizing continued support for women's rights and for multiculturalism.

**Bittner, Amanda**

*Evaluating Party Leaders: How Demographics, Partisanship, Policies and Issues Affect Voters' Opinions*

While scholars may agree that to some extent, voters evaluate and consider party leaders when making choices on polling day, there is substantial disagreement about how it is that voters actually evaluate candidates. In particular, scholars have made very different conclusions about the types of "background" factors that influence voters' evaluations of leaders.

Existing studies, generally based upon the analysis of a single election year in a single country, point to divergent sets of factors that influence voters' evaluations of leaders. Some suggest voter demographics matter (Cutler, 2002), others point to the importance of partisanship and ideological leanings of both voters and leaders (Bartels 2002; Graetz & McAllister 1987), while others suggest that policy/issue related factors are key (Weisberg & Rusk 1970; Rusk & Weisberg 1972). Some studies note the importance of all of the above in different circumstances (Conover & Feldman 1989).

This paper will examine these competing explanations of leader evaluations through the analysis of national election study data from seven countries: Australia, Britain, Canada, New Zealand, the United States, Germany, and Sweden. By analyzing a total of 35 election studies, this study will provide both a broad and in-depth look at the factors affecting the evaluation of party leaders. This will facilitate a deeper understanding of the effects of this diverse set of factors, while also providing the means to determine the extent to which there is a common set of factors influencing leader evaluations across both countries and institutional environments.

**Bjola, Corneliu**

*Public Spheres and Legitimacy: A Conceptual Framework for Understanding conflict within Security Communities*

The main objective of the paper is to develop an analytical framework for understanding how conflict emerges within security communities and what impact that may have on their strength and effectiveness. To this end, I argue that the main source of conflict within security communities stems from periodical challenges to their external identity, that is, to the role the community is supposed to play on the world stage. Drawing on Jürgen Habermas' concept of the public sphere, I argue that security communities enter a legitimacy crisis when the opening of their public sphere to external conditions is not followed by a proper closing process, that is, when the impulses and potentials released by new circumstances remain unattached and in disequilibrium from an intersubjective point of view. The validity of this argument will be empirically probed against two case studies involving political crises within the transatlantic security community: the NATO intervention in Kosovo in 1999 and the US invasion of Iraq in 2003.

**Black, David**

### *Canada, the G8, and Africa: the rise and decline of a hegemonic project?*

At the Kananaskis G8 Summit in 2002, the Canadian government of then-Prime Minister Jean Chretien orchestrated a sustained focus on, and collective G8 plan for, African recovery and development. This G8 initiative was, in turn, a reaction and response to African leaders' "New Partnership for Africa's Development" (Nepad). This high-level, transgovernmental partnership can therefore be seen as an effort to orchestrate a hegemonic "new deal" for Africa, covering a comprehensive range of issues related to governance, security, social development, macro-economic development and infrastructure, and underpinned by an apparently unprecedented degree of normative consensus. More than five years on, Africa has continued to figure prominently on G8 Agendas, most recently that of the Heiligendamm Summit (2007) in Germany, but results have been disappointing and the degree of both policy and intellectual consensus has frayed. This paper sets out, first, to track and understand this trajectory. Why has the G8's 'Africa project' apparently failed to achieve the sorts of results its champions sought, or the sort of consensus and coherence it aspired to? Second, it isolates and analyzes Canada's role in this trajectory, seeking to explain the Canadian government's path from champion and orchestrator to also-ran, and reflects on how significant this country's Africa policy retreat may have been in the overall G8 result.

### **Blackwood, Elizabeth**

#### *Good Governance by and for Whom? Unregulated Extractive Industries in Africa and Latin America*

'Good governance' has been robustly adopted as a guiding principle of international development policy. It is both critiqued and promulgated as a response to the failure of the economic adjustment policies of recent decades. Proponents argue that the failure of earlier attempts at economic reform can be blamed on the inattention paid to important issues of governance, such as state capacity, corruption and insufficient social/human capital. Critics charge that this development model differs little in substance from previous adjustment models; economic (neo)liberalism remains the dominant pre-occupation, but is now viewed as indivisible from (but not a corollary of) democracy.

This paper examines the Canadian government's conceptualization of good governance, a key initiative in foreign and development policy, and argues that private sector development and privatization are seen as key objectives in enabling good governance in developing countries. This trajectory in development policy is juxtaposed against what I call Canada's 'governance gap'- the government's refusal, despite recommendations coming out of its own consultation process, to implement a legally enforceable regulatory framework for Canadian extractive industries.

A 2005 survey found that out of 24 Canadian companies active in six extreme-risk countries and 11 high-risk countries, only 4 of them had "comprehensive human rights policies, management systems, and disclosure mechanisms." In other instances Canadian extractive firms have been implicated in exacerbating violent conflict; identified by the United Nations as having participated in the illegal exploitation of natural resources; and responsible for toxic spills. Using two case studies from the extractive industry this paper will shift the reference of analysis of good governance by developing states to that of investor states.

### **Blais, André**

#### *Canadian Political Scientists' Judgments About Journals*

The paper presents the findings of a survey in which political scientists in Britain, Canada, and the U.S. were asked to provide their judgments about the quality of journals in the discipline. We compare the judgments provided by Canadians with those by their British and American colleagues, and we determine whether nationality has more or less impact than field of specialization and methodological orientation. Special attention will be given to evaluations of the Canadian Journal of Political Science.

### **Blake, Michael**

#### *Immigration and Cultural Particularism*

It is sometimes held that particularist theories of political life have an advantage in the area of immigration, in that such theories can be used to ground plausible principles of immigration selection. Liberal and cosmopolitan theories, in contrast, seem poorly situated to make the sorts of distinctions needed between potential immigrants, and are therefore often taken to imply open borders. In this paper, I want to give some reasons to challenge these conclusions. On my account, a liberal theory of political justice can serve to ground a robust account of immigration rights, one which does not mandate that a liberal government accept more immigrants than are consistent with its continued status as a community able to provide its citizens a just share of the means of self-development.

### **Blidook, Kelly**

#### *The Nature of Representation in Canada – The 'Focus' of MPs in Canada's Parliament*

This paper examines the existence and nature of policy representation in Canada by individual MPs. Specifically, it probes two possible types of substantive representation: 1.) MPs may act in manner representative of their electoral constituencies, or 2.) MPs may act in a manner representative of the interests of a larger partisan or national constituency. Much US literature on "dyadic" representation suggests that an "electoral connection" causes legislators to substantively represent their constituents. Canada's Single-Member-Plurality electoral system may similarly provide an electoral connection, though institutional incentives, including highly disciplined parties, indicate that much MP behaviour should be focused more broadly than the electoral constituency alone.

The analysis employs institutional, electoral, demographic and public opinion data, as well as a content-analytic database of Private Members' Business (PMB). PMB – the bills and motions that individual MPs introduce – should be an effective

measure of individual behaviour based on the degree of MP independence for this activity. The method relies on time series and cross-sectional regression models to estimate legislative behaviour.

PMB participation may provide evidence of both dyadic and national/partisan representation, where the degree to which either form of representation occurs varies depending upon the nature of electoral pressure experienced by the individual MP. For PMB participants with little electoral pressure, participation should tend to reflect partisan/national preferences, which would seem to serve both party interests and personal advancement interests more effectively than participation by MPs concerned with their own electoral fortunes, for whom the constituency matters most.

#### **Blouin Genest, Gabriel and G lineau, Francois**

*Macroeconomic Policies and Presidential Elections: Latin America, 1980-2006*

Prior work on the political business cycles (PBC) has found that politicians seemingly manipulate the macroeconomy through expansionary policies along the electoral calendar in order to ease their re-election. While the PBC hypothesis has found support in most of the literature focusing on OECD countries, research on emerging democracies generated mixed and even contradictory findings, leading some scholars to conclude that instead of inducing expansionary policy behaviour, elections provided an opportunity for politicians to act responsibly. Drawing on quarterly data gathered for 18 countries over the 1980-2006 period, this paper revisits the PBC model in the Latin American region. Beyond exploring the traditional hypotheses, the proposed model innovates by controlling for the effect of political institutions.

#### **Bogaards, Matthijs**

*Power-sharing Parties: Representation and Accommodation of Socio-Cultural Differences Inside Dominant Parties*

This paper draws attention to an under-researched and under-specified phenomenon in the study of party politics in divided societies: the consociational or power-sharing party. In classic consociational democracies, political accommodation is achieved by co-operation among the elites of segmental parties that represent a single segment of society. However, in the literature, several cases have been claimed as consociational that do not fit this pattern. In countries such as Canada, Fiji, Malaysia, India, Kenya, and Communist Yugoslavia, political representation and accommodation takes or took place within the main party. The Liberal Party (Canada), the Fijian Alliance (Fiji), the Alliance and National Front (Malaysia), the Congress Party (India), KANU (Kenya) and the Yugoslav Communist Party are what I would term 'consociational' or 'power-sharing parties.' Interestingly, all power-sharing parties are also dominant parties, whether democratic or non-democratic. This raises intriguing questions about the relationship between one-party dominance, democracy, and power-sharing. Therefore, the key question this paper seeks to address is: how successful are power-sharing parties in representing and accommodating socio-cultural differences and what are the consequences for social peace and democracy?

#### **Bonner, Michelle**

*Media and Police Violence in Argentina*

Police violence is a persistent issue of debate in the Argentine news media. On one side are supporters of iron fist policing and on the other are those who support democratic reform. Enrique Peruzzotti and Catalina Smulovitz (2006) argue that the media act as a form of social accountability on state actors and institutions such as the police. Yet the media also have their own interests which may affect how an issue is presented. Consequently it is important to ask: how do the media in Argentina present police violence? This paper draws on frame analysis and the history of the media in Argentina in order to answer this question. The paper compares three incidents of police violence between 2001 and 2007, and analyzes how the three major national newspapers in Argentina frame the stories.

#### **Boucher, Jean-Christophe**

*Afghanistan   vendre : Analyse des discours du Gouvernement canadien sur la mission en Afghanistan (2001-2007)*

Dans un sondage publi  r cemment par Angus Reid , seulement 23% de la population canadienne affirmait que le gouvernement Harper avait expliqu  de fa on efficace la participation canadienne   la mission en Afghanistan. Il semble donc y avoir une grande confusion au sein de la population quant aux raisons pour lesquelles le Canada participe   l'effort international en Afghanistan. Devant la croissance des co ts li s   cette contribution, tant en ressources financi res qu'en vies humaines, on ne peut gu re s' tonner de l'impopularit  grandissante de cette mission. Pourtant, depuis 2001, le Minist re de d fense nationale a d ploy  un ensemble de mesures visant justement   publiciser et rendre accessible l'information sur le r le du Canada dans cette mission.

Naturellement, si le message est pr sent, cela ne veut pas signifier qu'il soit v hicul  de fa on coh rente. En effet, au fil des ann es, il semble que le gouvernement du Canada ait modifi  son argumentaire face   la mission afghane. Le pr sent projet de recherche a pour ambition d'analyser l' volution de l'argumentaire des officiels du gouvernement du Canada afin d'expliquer et de justifier la pr sence canadienne en sol afghan depuis 2001. Pour ce faire, nous examinerons tous les discours offert par les Premiers Ministres canadiens (Jean Chr tien, Paul Martin et Stephen Harper), les Ministres de la d fense nationale (Art Eggleton, David Pratt, Bill Graham, Gordon O'connor et Peter McKay) ainsi que les Ministres des Affaires  trang res et du Commerce international (Bill Graham, John Manley, Pierre Pettigrew, Peter McKay et Maxime Bernier) ayant pour propos la participation canadienne aux multiples missions afghanes entre 2001 et 2007. Nous faisons l'hypoth se que les discours ont effectivement  volu    travers les ann es, transitant entre les axes de s curit  et de reconstruction, minant par le fait m me la coh rence du message gouvernemental   cet effet.

#### **Boutet-Lehouillier, Vincent**

*When Social Networks Undermine Democracy: Nazi Paramilitaries and the Fall of the Weimar Republic*

1923: Adolph Hitler joins a putsch whose aim is to overthrow the Weimar Republic. With his accomplices, he barely manages to recruit 2000 men. The putsch is a humiliating failure. Nine years later, when president Hindenburg hands Hitler the Chancellor's office, 425 000 storm troopers are under his command: his manpower has increased more than 200 times. The rest is history. According to the theory of social capital, social networks and associations are good for democracy. However, if anti-democratic groups get better at organizing thanks to social networks, democracy itself may be threatened; especially when these groups get to rule the streets. This is what Sheri Berman has called the "multiplier effect of social capital". Building upon her conclusions, I argue that we could gain analytic leverage by linking resource mobilization and theories of social networks. More specifically, to determine the net impact of a network we must identify three factors: (1) the organization's resources, (2) the associative structure of the society where the organization operates – the society's social capital, and (3) the strategic decisions made by political entrepreneurs heading the organization. The case of Nazi paramilitaries shows clearly how these three factors interact: paramilitary organizations based upon horizontal associative mechanisms may threaten democracy during times of political crises, when they are free to recruit within deeply embedded networks of cooperation.

### **Bow, Brian**

#### *Nationalism, Regionalism, and the 'Deeper Integration' Debate in Canada*

One of the most distinctive features of the Canadian nation-building project is the way that it has tended to define itself in terms of separation from, and opposition to, the United States. This "not-America" reflex has been a rallying point for opposition to continental integration. Proponents of the Canada-US Free Trade Agreement were able to overcome this nationalist impulse by playing up the economic risks involved in being kept out of US markets, and playing down the supposed political and social risks of supranationalism. Today there is a new (post-9/11) anxiety about access to US markets, and a new push for 'deeper integration.' Most proponents say the time is not right to move ahead, because the US is distracted by the War on Terror, but are still working to prepare the ground politically at home. But the barriers seem to be higher this time, because the new integration agenda calls for more extensive policy convergence and institution-building, the Canadian economy is doing well, and many Canadians are still caught up in the wave of anti-Americanism set off by the war in Iraq. This paper will review recent surveys on Canadian attitudes toward the US, the 'deeper integration' agenda, and the idea of a North American 'community.' It will then identify and analyze the various rhetorical strategies being used to cultivate support for 'deeper integration,' and to frame it in ways that resonate effectively with Canadian anxieties about political union and cultural absorption. Finally, it will gather as many clues as possible about how these arguments are actually resonating with the attentive public, and offer a preliminary assessment of the potential support in Canada for further North American integration.

### **Bower, Adam**

#### *"An Invitation to Struggle": Pro-Treaty Coalitions and the Domestic Context of US Exceptionalism in Arms Control*

I seek to provide an alternative account of "American exceptionalism" – that is, a tendency to avoid the specific entanglements of international legal agreements. Most explanations typically locate the source of US exceptionalism in a claim to unique historical development or current hegemony, or both. However, neither explanation is particularly convincing, as each fails to effectively address important historical variance in American international engagement. A more compelling account of the complex relationship between international leadership and aloofness focuses attention on domestic institutional structures which provide powerful constraints on US foreign policy. In particular, the requirement for a two-thirds Senate majority means that ratification can only be achieved with bipartisan support (a pro-treaty coalition), thus providing a high barrier to formal participation in international agreements. In demonstrating the utility of a domestic-level approach, the ratification processes surrounding the Chemical Weapons Convention and Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty are considered. I find that effective executive branch coordination is the most critical factor in achieving a successful ratification. Presidential leadership in forming a pro-treaty coalition, in conjunction with a spirited campaign from issue groups, was ultimately able to overcome substantial opposition to the CWC. The absence of both factors in the case of the CTBT meant that partisan politics was decisive in killing the treaty. Domestic political factors were central in both cases, suggesting that those interested in drawing the United States toward greater international engagement should begin by addressing the domestic origins of its behaviour.

### **Boychuk, Gerard**

#### *National Health Insurance in the United States and Canada: Race, Territory and the Roots of Difference*

The development of health insurance took radically divergent paths in the United States and Canada in the middle of the 20th century. While national public health insurance for hospital and physician services emerged in Canada, a system of public health insurance limited to seniors and those with low income developed in the United States alongside a system of private, primarily employer-provided health insurance. The paper argues that the politics of race in the United States and the politics of territorial integration in Canada together provide a powerful explanation of this divergent historical pattern of development. In the United States, health insurance became embroiled with the politics of civil rights and this linkage helped cement a powerful coalition in opposition to a universal national program and strongly shaped the future development of public health insurance. In Canada, the need for the national government to create direct connections with individual citizens in order to counter secessionist dynamics in Québec generated powerful dynamics auguring in favour of a national program of universal public health insurance. The paper concludes that the emergence of different systems of public health insurance in the United States and Canada was not predetermined by political culture, institutional configuration or path dependence but, rather, the key to these differences is that the development of public

health insurance in each country took place in a radically different social and political context – heavily shaped in one case by the politics of race and the politics of territory and language in the other.

**Boychuk, Gerard and Banting, Keith**

*The Canadian Paradox: The Public-Private Divide in Health Insurance and Pensions*

The relationship between private and public benefits in health insurance and pension in Canada stands in marked contrast to that in the United States. In Canada, public benefits came to dominate in health insurance, where private benefits were already well established before the state entered the field. The existence of established private benefits actually spurred rather than retarded the development of public benefits at critical junctures; and the constraining effects of private benefits – where they did exist -- were simply overpowered at key moments by more powerful political imperatives auguring for expansion of public benefits. Public benefits failed to dominate in pensions, even though the major expansion of private pensions followed the inception of public programs. In pensions, where private benefits were not initially sufficiently developed to act as a brake on public programs, other factors strongly constrained the role of public pensions, leaving space into which private benefits eventually grew. The paper explores the implications for the evolutionary model of policy development suggested by authors such as Hacker, suggesting it is more applicable to policy areas where private benefits already play a major role. The dominance of public programs in health insurance has restricted the scope for evolutionary change, producing a pattern of punctuated equilibrium with defining policy choices being followed by a long period of lock-in. Only in pensions, where private benefits have played a much larger role, does Canadian experience resemble the US pattern, with considerable evolutionary changes and a resulting trend towards the privatization of risk.

**Bradford, Neil and Andrew, Caroline**

*Rescaling for Regeneration? Canada's Urban Development Agreements*

In recent years many national governments in Europe and North America have institutionalized collaborative partnerships “joining-up” levels of government and public, private, and community sectors for urban renewal and neighbourhood revitalization. Collaborations like Britain's Local Strategic Partnerships and France's Politique de Ville have been celebrated in influential policy networks from the OECD to the World Urban Forum as creative governance arrangements adapted to the “wicked problems” playing out in cities today. At the same time, critics like Brenner and Jessop argue that such place-based rescaling is a highly constrained form of local crisis management within a broader state project of neo-liberal spatial restructuring. This paper joins the debate through analysis of Canada's most prominent expression of place-based rescaling, the tri-level Urban Development Agreements (UDAs). Focusing on UDAs in Winnipeg and Vancouver, the paper examines their respective origins, goals, and structures. The paper argues that the potential for such agreements to play a progressive role in urban regeneration depends on three factors: their openness to community representatives; their integration with macro-level social policies; and the role of the federal government in inter-scalar coordination and meta-governance. Across these criteria, the paper reveals significant variation between the Winnipeg and Vancouver models, and also considers future prospects for both UDAs with a Conservative government less inclined to join-up and meta-govern the federation.

**Bradshaw, Leah**

*Empire and the Eclipse of Politics*

In Western political thought, the organization of political communities has been conceived principally between two poles, Polis and empire. The Greek polis was characterized by a strong sense of citizenship, participatory assembly, encapsulating what Hannah Arendt called the *res publica*. In contrast to this picture, we also have a legacy from the ancient world of empire. Empires aim for growth, not self-sufficiency, they breed bureaucracy rather than deliberative assembly, and they eschew the slow and comradely process of public debate for the efficiency of rules and orders. Though ancient Greece certainly knew the experience of empire, we usually associate classical empire with Rome, famous for its dissemination of law over disparate territories and peoples. John Pocock distinguished two models of citizenship, one from the Greek polis and the other from the jurisprudence of imperial Rome. This paper applies the distinction to current champions of republican theory and imperial practice.

**Brady, Marie-Joie**

*Penser le politique du point de vue des acteurs : les Accords du lac Meech et de Charlottetown et la démocratie agonique.*

Les travaux qui portent sur les négociations constitutionnelles au Canada s'intéressent pour la plupart à l'analyse des documents qui résultent de ces négociations ou à l'analyse des dynamiques et circonstances particulières présentes durant celles-ci. Peu d'études portent sur le rôle et la pensée des joueurs (d'avant ou d'arrière-scène) qui participent aux négociations ou à la rédaction des documents. Par l'application de la méthode de l'École de Cambridge pour l'histoire des idées et en s'inspirant des travaux théoriques de Chantal Mouffe, William Connolly et Jacques Derrida, la présentation vise à conceptualiser une approche de la démocratie agonique qui utilise le conflit, l'hospitalité et l'amitié afin d'analyser les débats constitutionnels au Canada, particulièrement dans le contexte des Accords de Meech et de Charlottetown. Ceci nous permettra d'examiner la contribution théorique de quatre acteurs politiques de cette période, Joe Clark, Mary Ellen Turpel-Lafont, Gil Rémillard et André Burelle, afin de mettre en lumière leur façon de concevoir le politique, comment ces conceptions ont été reflétées dans les documents constitutionnels et ce que les échecs de ces négociations révèlent de la nature du politique au Canada. Il s'agit en fait de démontrer la pertinence de l'étude de penseurs dans

l'action pour la compréhension des rapports politiques et de développer l'idée de démocratie agonique comme horizon pour penser les rapports interculturels au Canada.

#### **Bramwell, Allison**

Under the Radar: workforce Development Networks in Hamilton, Ottawa, and Kitchener-Waterloo, Ontario. Cities have begun to attract a great deal of analytical attention as emerging strategic spaces where public policy plays out 'on the ground'. Variation in cities' efforts to fashion place-sensitive responses to the dual - and sometimes competing - exigencies of economic development and social welfare, are captured in the comparative urban governance literature that emphasizes network interactions between state and non-state actors at the local level. The concept of urban governance, however, has undergone relatively little empirical analysis, especially in the Canadian context. This study explores variation in cities' strategic responses to economic and social welfare pressures by examining workforce development networks in the three Ontario cities of Kitchener-Waterloo, Ottawa and Hamilton. Workforce development captures a broad range of training policies and programs, involves different levels of government, and state and non-state actors, and, in theory, balances the needs of firms for trained workers and the needs of workers for employment. The study addresses two central questions. First, do cities have the autonomy to chart their own courses for workforce development, or are their efforts precluded by larger institutional barriers? Second, do local governance structures reflect efforts to include a range of actors, or is the agenda dominated by narrow interests? Results indicate variation in local workforce development strategies, as well as the degree of social inclusion in local networks, suggesting that some measure of local autonomy does exist, and that communities vary in their efforts to coordinate economic development and social welfare considerations.

#### **Bramwell, Allison, Nelles, Jen and Wolfe, David**

##### *Locating at the Local*

Approaches to economic development policy have changed in the past decade as the locus of attention has shifted from the national to regional and local levels in conjunction with the shift to more knowledge-based forms of production. From a theoretical perspective, two major approaches in the literature situate this shift within a broad set of evolving relationships. One focuses on the dynamics of rescaling processes by which scalar relationships are reconfigured through intense socio-political engagement. It illustrates how scalar relations are reorganized in an era of global restructuring and how rescaling affects the changing geographies of state power and industrial location. A second approach focuses on the concept of 'nested scales'; it maintains that scale is fluid and multidimensional and delimits a complex set of interrelations between location, institutional and regulatory jurisdictions and the levels at which actors in the innovation system interact. The paper explores the implications of these perspectives for the current challenges of local economic development policy – particularly, the implications of each in identifying factors that support economic development policy innovation at the local level, as well as constraints on the scope for innovation. It explores the interrelated constructs of multi-level governance, associative governance, and the impact of civic capital on the process of strategic economic planning at the city-region level. Empirical support for the conceptual discussion is drawn from a range of case studies of Ontario city-regions conducted as part of ongoing research by the authors.

#### **Breux, Sandra et Freedman, Martine**

##### *Idéal, mythe et utopie : les clés de l'engagement public individuel à l'échelle urbaine ?*

Cette communication a pour but de comprendre en quoi la relation au territoire quotidien guide l'engagement politique individuel d'une part et motive les choix d'aménagement des personnes qui s'impliquent dans l'espace dans lequel elles résident, d'autre part. Deux enquêtes ont été menées à Québec, la première sous forme de 26 entretiens auprès de membres des conseils d'administration de conseils de quartier et la seconde par l'analyse de mémoires et de rapports de consultations publiques ainsi que par l'observation directe. Les résultats montrent que les idéaux portés par l'espace vécu et représenté des personnes qui s'impliquent motivent les choix de ces dernières.

#### **Brock, Kathy**

##### *Policy Windows and Policy Failures: Using Kingdon to Explain the Life Cycle of the Voluntary Sector Initiative*

In June 2000, the federal government announced the Voluntary Sector Initiative (VSI), an ambitious joint endeavour undertaken with representatives from the voluntary sector that was intended to investigate and strengthen their relationship. With the experience of the United Kingdom as a backdrop, representatives from the Canadian government and voluntary sector were optimistic that together they could develop a new framework for the inclusion of voluntary sector organizations in government policy and revamp the regulatory framework to enable voluntary organizations to function more effectively. Ultimately, the goal was to serve Canadians better at a time when these organizations were increasingly assuming functions that had been performed by government departments and agencies. Did the two sectors succeed in transforming their relationship into a more productive and effective one to the benefit of all Canadians? Did they achieve a comprehensive federal policy towards the third sector that was more responsive to its needs and reflective of the values of a sector held in such high esteem by Canadians? Two goals were particularly important to the work of the VSI in redefining the relationship between the two sectors. First, representatives of the government and sector identified as a key focus the development of a framework agreement or Accord to guide their future relationship. Second, the two sectors pledged to streamline the regulatory framework governing the voluntary sector. Using Kingdon's policy windows approach to examine the achievements in these two central areas of the VSI as well as the current state of relations between the third sector and federal government, this paper assesses the success of the VSI in transforming the relationship between the two sectors but also reveals the faultline built into the initiative.

### **Brodie, Janine**

#### *Security Discourses, the Security and Prosperity Partnership, and the Institutionalization of Private Authority*

In her recent book, *Territory, Authority and Rights*, Saskia Sassen argues that contemporary national states are undergoing foundational realignments in time-worn geographies of power. In particular, Sassen points to three ongoing tendencies that are novel in the history of national states – an inordinate expansion of executive power, the institutionalization of private forms of authority, and the denationalization of prerogatives that were once the exclusive domain of the national state. This paper demonstrates the ways in which the SPP embeds these tendencies in the governance of a North American security community. It argues that the emerging private institutional order has been set in place under the veil of security discourses which lend urgency to current transformations in governance, underwrite non-transparency, and marginalize popular participation and democratic debate.

### **Broschek, Joerg**

#### *Historical Institutionalism and Canadian Social Policy: Assessing Two Models of Policy Change*

This paper discusses the value of two distinct models of policy change that have emerged in the literature on historical institutionalism for analyzing Canadian social policy: the “path dependency” and the “process sequencing” model (cf. Howlett and Rayner, 2006).

The first model suggests a rather limited scope for policy change. Here, contingent initial conditions generate a path dependent, irreversible, and uni-directional sequence. Once they have become locked-in, early events in a sequence are reproduced and structurally constrain off-path policy variation. In contrast, the second model assumes that the contingencies of political life have more room to play out -- even if they occur late in a historical sequence. In this model, policy change results from an increasing mismatch between the ideational and institutional patterns entailed within a political order. The policy dynamic, thus, exhibits a different type of historical sequence which is characterized through swings and shifts rather than through the amplification of what happens early.

The paper posits that the empirical appropriateness of either model to the analysis of social policy development is subject to the degree of institutional rigidity inherent to the governance structure into which policies are embedded. Depending on their degree of rigidity, political institutions operate as either constraining or enabling entities. Since the combination of Westminster-style democracy and interstate federalism establishes an institutional framework more in accordance with the latter, the paper illustrates that the “process sequencing” model is better suited to describe Canadian social policy development than the “path dependency” model.

### **Brown, David C.G.**

#### *Designing the CCRA human resources management regime: insights for public sector modernization?*

On November 1, 1999, Revenue Canada became the Canada Customs and Revenue Agency (CCRA). This change involved the introduction of a new governance regime, implementing an Alternative Service Delivery model that was a hybrid of traditional ministerial responsibility in program areas and of Crown corporation governance in agency management. Probably the greatest changes were in human resources management, where the agency moved from the core public service to become a separate employer. The author led the internal task force that spent two years before the move to agency status developing and implementing a new human resources management regime to meet the needs of the agency’s employees and business environment. The regime sought to integrate all stages of the employment/career life cycle from recruitment through training, promotion and career development to departure, looking at these matters from the perspectives of the employee, the line supervisor and the agency. This permitted the development of a streamlined policy manual and re-structuring the personnel function. Two major challenges were the transition of 45,000 employees from the public service environment and managing ongoing linkages to the core public service. The paper will discuss the objectives of agency status, the design process that led to establishment of the agency human resources management regime, and the elements of that regime, notably the changes from traditional public service arrangements. A final section discusses elements of this experience that might be useful in current discussions about federal public service modernization and areas for further research.

### **Brown, Stephen**

#### *CIDA under the Gun*

This paper, forthcoming as a chapter in *Canada Among Nations 2007*, examines how recent trends have affected the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) in the context of changing motivations for foreign aid, greater integration of Canadian foreign policy instruments and new pressures on the agency from other Canadian actors. It finds that increasing budgets and interdepartmental coordination have created a sort of paradox: As resources increase and the agency gains importance, CIDA’s margin to manoeuvre is decreasing. Greater policy integration and the increased politicization of aid have reduced CIDA’s autonomy and capacity to fight poverty and actually promote development. This could be because as CIDA’s budget grows, it wields resources that are more attractive for “capture” by parties more interested in Canada’s own security, diplomatic or commercial interests than in development assistance that actually focuses on poverty reduction. Alternatively, this may be explained by that fact that CIDA’s policy subordination makes the government more willing to channel resources through the agency in order to achieve non-development-related foreign policy interests. If successful from the point of view of Canadian interests, increased politicization of aid could further increase CIDA’s importance and reduce its autonomy. If current initiatives fail, CIDA could see itself marginalized from the rest of government, regaining autonomy but enjoying more modest financial resources.

### **Brown, Steven, Kay, Barry and Perella, Andrea**

#### *Activating the local campaign: An experiment involving literature mail drops in the 2007 Ontario election*

Our experiment falls within the genre of research that seeks to answer a very fundamental question: Do campaigns matter? The results of our experiment suggest that they do. In our particular design, we focus on the extent to which a constituency candidate can raise voter support with door-hanger literature. Our experiment took place in the Ontario constituency of Cambridge during the 2007 provincial election. The riding's Green party candidate agreed to let us administer his literature mail drops. Several thousand pamphlets were printed. Out of 276 polls, we selected at random 80 treatment polls that would receive the literature. The candidate did not participate in the deliveries, nor was he told which polls were selected for the mail drops. Poll-level voting data was then used to determine if the mail drops yielded any effect. Preliminary results show a slightly higher Green vote in the experimental polls. We also note more "diversity" among the treatment polls, that is, voters in these polls spread out more among the five listed candidates. Analysis should be completed in the next few weeks. In particular, we would like to introduce a variable that reflects a poll's socio-economic status. These results can be interpreted in a variety of ways. First, the mail drops may have raised awareness that the Green party even has a candidate running in the riding. Second, the mail drops may have elevated the salience of the whole election, causing voters to become more politically engaged.

### **Bruera, Eduardo**

#### *Foundations, Public Health and Decision Making*

Private grant-making foundations like the Gates Foundation have become increasingly important players in public health, both domestically in the US and internationally. As organizations with enormous political, economic and social influence, foundations can choose to fund a wide range of health related activities that can positively impact for the well-being of thousands of people. Unfortunately, the decision-making processes within foundations are often kept secret and never subjected to public debate or analysis and so it is unclear if the interests of those who are to be affected by these decisions are ever really taken seriously or if the trade-offs among different projects are weighed in a principle manner. In this way, foundations raise fundamental questions about the tension between equality of influence and economic freedoms, including the freedom to give.

I argue that because the health-related activities foundations are encouraged by tax incentives and carry direct consequences for the well-being of so many and the direction in which development projects are conducted, they should be subjected to a process of greater scrutiny to retain their tax incentives. In laying out this case, I outline a process of public scrutiny and deliberation that should be employed to ensure that the decisions made by foundation personnel are accountable to those they affect and the public that subsidizes their activities. I also address arguments that restrictions on the behavior on foundations are illiberal and autonomy restricting.

### **Brunet-Jailly, Emmanuel**

#### *Building World City Amenities in Vancouver, and the 2010 Olympic Games*

In 2003 the "The Globalization and World Cities - Study Group Network" ranked Vancouver at the bottom of the top 80 of world cities. More recently, under the Campbell administration, Vancouver was successful in its bid for the 2010 Winter Olympic Games.

Mega-events, such as Olympic Games, are known economic development tools. Political entrepreneurs leverage out public funds to engage private investors to increase local employment and develop new infrastructures, which then serve the city long after the games are over. The development of new sport venues, athletes' villages and the city's upgrading of tourist accommodations also serve to overhaul and expand other public infrastructures, while media and advertising serves the world-wide public image of the city. This is not a new strategy. It is something Vancouverites implemented with great success when in 1986 they staged Expo 86 and turned downtown industrial wastelands into spiffy waterfront amenities and housing. With the 2010 Olympic Games, both Whistler and Vancouver are relying again on a "mega-events strategy" to attract public funding to serve corporate sector's interests and to further enhance their world image. Such mega-event strategies are not new to Canadian cities because they have been repeatedly used to change their world stage image. Montreal and Calgary, however, had very different experiences and results.

This paper, which is part of a large project on Vancouver World City, describes the bid for the Olympic Games, and analyses and questions the strategy. It asks whether such mega-events lead to better infrastructures and amenities, which in the Vancouver case, would strengthen its World City ranking.

### **Bruyneel, Kevin**

#### *Exiled, Executed, Exalted: Louis Riel, Homo Sacer and the Production of Canadian Peoplehood*

What would Canada have done without Louis Riel? If he had not existed, Canadians would have had to invent him. Actually, we did invent him. I argue that in politically significant ways Louis Riel was and remains a necessary invention for the production of Canadian political identity, or peoplehood, and the concomitant terms of membership and sovereignty intertwined with this production. I make this argument through the work of Giorgio Agamben, as I find his theorization of the concept of "bare life, that is, the life of homo sacer (sacred man), who may be killed and yet not sacrificed" applicable for realizing the constitutive function and implications of the often uncertain positioning and role of Louis Riel in Canadian politics. I argue that Riel represents a Canadian version of homo sacer, the figure that is "included in the juridical order ... solely in the form of its exclusion (that is, its capacity to be killed)..." In 1870 Riel fled for his life into exile in the United States after the Red River Rebellion. In 1885, the Canadian government executed Riel after the North West Rebellion. Beginning in 2008, the Province of Manitoba will exalt him with the nation's first ever statutory holiday in his name. Utilizing Agamben's insights, I argue that Riel's political identity has come to represent a 'limit concept' in which he is

perpetually exiled, executed, and exalted in ways that serve to mark out the boundaries and limits of Canadian peoplehood.

### **Bryan, Bradley**

#### *Revenge and Nostalgia*

In certain respects, contemporary political theory treats the politics of revenge with suspicion and disdain while celebrating, and employing, a politics that is decidedly nostalgic. And yet, if we follow Nietzsche's work regarding the inherent vengefulness of nostalgic political programs, we run into an impasse. This paper attempts to make plain for law and politics what is at stake in Nietzsche's concept of revenge, and how law and politics might navigate the distance between revenge and nostalgia. The paper brings the thought of Nietzsche and Heidegger together in a new way by asking whether and how Heidegger's thought could suffer from a hidden vengefulness, as well as pursuing the nostalgic pose that seems to haunt Nietzsche's own drive for overcoming. Through an elucidation of the difference between nostalgia and revenge I hope to show the kind of both nostalgic and vengeful possibilities that politics holds.

### **Burlone, Nathalie and Bourque, Mélanie**

#### *What Does "Family" Mean in Canadian Family Policies*

Since the 1980's, social policies have undergone a variety of alterations. In response to economic transformations and society's development, governments have changed the way they face social problems (Knight, 2004). Some even say that there has been a paradigm shift in the field of social protection (Jenson, 2006). Redefinition of social risks, now focused on long-lasting unemployment, aging, and knowledge economy, has directed future policies towards labor market integration (Hemjick, 2004). What about family policies? More targeted to specific needs, actual family policies seem to have drifted towards individual responsibility, leaving the question of collective responsibility open for discussion and, related to it the question of what does "family" mean in Canadian family policies. This presentation starts from the idea that, in order to understand the evolution of family policies, an examination of the social representations of the family, as held and conveyed by decision makers, is necessary. In a comparative perspective, we will attempt to provide a preliminary typology of social representations of the family conveyed through parental and maternity leaves and, early childhood day care policies in two governments (Ontario and Québec). This will allow us to reflect on the social construction inherent to those family policies as a way to better understand a paradigm shift in social policies.

### **Busser, Mark Paul**

#### *Just War Theory and Superman's Foreign Policy*

Starting from the premise that popular culture both reflects and informs thinking about international relations, this paper examines the way in which issues of 'humanitarian' intervention and non-intervention are navigated in the Superman mythos. As the embodiment of the ultimate asymmetric threat, the Superman character is a superpower unto himself. The writers of Superman comics have over time touched on the way Superman wrestles with his ability to perform single-handed regime change and his power to locate and engage even those enemies who lurk beyond foreign borders. Beyond the obvious parallels with the American hegemonic angst, an analysis of Superman's foreign policy reveals a complex negotiation of the same values of self-determination, sovereignty, sustainable development, right authority and just cause that have been central to contemporary Just War Theory. Of particular interest is the way in which Superman is portrayed to balance own identity, nationality and even 'species'; as an orphaned extra-terrestrial raised in the American heartland, he represents not only the ultimate incarnation of the American dream but also the ultimate 'outside agent' whose every engagement is an 'intervention' in a world's affairs. His occasional adventures in the realm of the 'global', therefore, represent a site for the theorization of the connection between power, violence, intercession, and the 'responsibility to protect.'

### **Byrne, Siobhan**

#### *Framing Post-9/11 Security: The Experiences of Canadian Muslim Women*

Since 9/11, Western governments have pursued national security strategies designed to protect the state and its citizens from the ubiquitous threat of global terrorism. Ironically, these so-called security strategies have not advanced the security of some citizens and residents and, in some instances, have contributed to their insecurity, leaving them vulnerable to stereotyping, racial profiling and acts of intimidation.

Muslim women face particular challenges since 9/11 that include the demand that they justify practices like veiling, documented acts of intimidation as well as profiling and searches at borders. The political and social construction of Muslim women as "oppressed" renders these women representative of the so-called anti-democratic and anti-liberal impulses of the "Islamic world."

This paper demonstrates how a feminist international relations approach can help us unpack post-9/11 national security discourses. Specifically, I assess the impact of Canada's anti-terrorism strategy on Canadian Muslim women, drawing on interviews and data from organizations like the Canadian Council of Muslim Women and the National Organization of Immigrant and Visible Minority Women of Canada. This study builds on the contribution of feminist IR theorists like Jan Jindy Pettman and V. Spike Peterson and argues that Canada's evolving security strategy perpetuates racialized and gendered conceptions of citizenship and jeopardizes political dissent.

My doctoral research examines militarized and gendered conceptions of security in Israel and the Occupied Palestinian Territories and Northern Ireland. This paper develops this theme and investigates the controversial and changing national security strategies in Canada, documenting the understudied experiences of Canadian Muslim women.

### Cairns, James

#### *Civic Ritual in the Era of Politics-as-usual: Newspaper Coverage of the Legislative Opening in Ontario, 1945-2007*

Contributing to political science research on media that goes beyond the study of elections, this paper draws on theoretical work from the field of media anthropology in order to analyze newspaper coverage of the Opening of the Legislature in postwar Ontario. Based on a framing analysis of coverage in four mainstream newspapers, the study makes three main arguments about modern representations of Ontario's key civic ritual. First, in contrast to the dominant news frame from earlier in the century, which gave prominence to the ritual's festive atmosphere, the politics-as-usual frame depicts the Opening as a day of a document—namely, the Speech from the Throne. Second, newspapers frame the event as an arena for partisan conflict, using front-page stories to describe reactions from opposition parties and opinion columns to analyze partisan disputes. And third, by including Throne Speech analysis by prominent interest groups, coverage of the Opening since the 1970s highlights the role of the citizen-stakeholder. While the results of the empirical analysis challenge some critiques of contemporary political journalism, they also raise questions about the tendency of coverage to naturalize the symbolic representation of a democratic politics in which: expert-citizen-stakeholders have come to represent citizens in general; the symbols of parliamentary tradition are ignored if not outright ridiculed; and the day that once served as a break from divisive political discourse has been transformed into a partisan battleground.

### Cairns, James, Cukier, Wendy and Thomlinson, Neil

#### *Implementing Canada's Firearms Act*

For more than ten years the name “Bill C-68” has held a prominent place in Canadian political discourse; however, despite popular interest in gun control there remains a paucity of academic work on the topic. Following the lead of public policy theorists who promote a broad definition of policy implementation, this paper builds on Yanow's (1993) interpretive approach to implementation research in order to better understand the underlying assumptions informing the various ways in which Bill C-68 has been interpreted by both supporters and critics of new controls on firearms in Canada. Offering a comprehensive overview of the key actors and ideas that constitute Canada's gun control “policy culture” the study examines Hansard, as well as stakeholder deputations at House committees; interest group publications; newspaper coverage; academic studies; and information on Government of Canada websites. Rather than providing an authoritative answer about the “right” way to interpret Bill C-68, the paper maps the significant features of Canada's continuing story of gun control policy, and points to several fundamental discrepancies among the ways different stakeholders conceive of and depict the Firearms Act. Stakeholder interpretations on Bill C-68 are divided into two categories: the first interprets it as an effective contribution to the health and safety of Canadian society, and a symbol of long-cherished Canadian values; the second interprets it as ineffective, a waste of money, and a reflection of an increasingly dangerous tendency toward state limitations of individual liberties.

### Cameron, Barbara

#### *Accountability Regimes for the Federal Social Transfer*

This paper evaluates and compares three different regimes of accountability for the federal social transfer from the perspective of how they reconcile the constitutional principles of responsible government and federalism, and how they mediate conflicting class, national (Quebec - Canada) and intergovernmental pressures. These three regimes are (1) the cost-shared agreements of the Keynesian era typified by the Canada Assistance Plan; (2) the Canada Health Act; and (3) the Public Reporting model of the intergovernmental agreements related to the Social Union Framework Agreement. The paper proposes an alternative regime of accountability that draws on the experience with each of the three regimes.

### Cameron, Gavin and Munroe, Doug

#### *Terrorism & Historical Sociology*

This paper will examine the evolving nature of terrorism within the international system, using the theory of historical sociology. Sedgewick and Rapoport, among others, have identified four distinct waves of terrorist violence, from the mid-19th Century onwards. Both argue that the state was the primary object of terrorist violence and the motivation for attacks, at least until the 1990s, was predominantly secular. Cerny has suggested Bull's neo-medievalism is a better model, where terrorism is representative of a breakdown in the Weberian concentration of coercive power, but is really just one of several alternative centres of violence. This paper will contest such constructions of the nature of terrorism, in part, by taking a longer historical perspective. With such a view, the term “terrorism” ceases to be an action perpetrated only against the state, but rather, with its origins in the French Revolution, by the state as well. Moreover, as an instrumental tactic, the secular violence of the 150 years from the mid-19th Century onwards is, motivationally, a historical aberration. Taking a longer view, most terrorism perpetrated by either type of actor was done for religious reasons and, in that sense, events from the 1990s onwards are not representative of a “new terrorism”, but rather a return to the violence of an earlier era. This paper will therefore trace the evolution of terrorism, using motivations and predominant perpetrators as the key dichotomies across time. As such, widespread current understandings of terrorism offer a narrow and historically partial definition of the phenomenon.

### Caragata, Lea

#### *Lone Mothers: Policy Responses to Build Social Inclusion*

There is an oppressive and powerful collective interest at play when it comes to lone mothers and, consciously or otherwise, we all contribute to its perpetuation. We do so through “sets of values and social practices that are insufficiently explored and explained, ‘stories’ we tell ourselves about who ‘these people’ are and why they can not meet their own needs. The problem with the policy and programs that currently impoverish and stigmatize lone mothers – by gender, race

and class – is that they are driven by certain discourses which remain embedded rather than consciously acknowledged and constructed. The pervasive negative public perceptions about lone mothers and the problems they encounter play out in myriad ways to socially exclude and marginalize them. And while not all of those who are vilified or ‘othered’ by prevailing discursive constructions come to assimilate dominant discourses through processes of subjective exclusion, many do and for those ‘resistors’ who do not, the policy response is to criminalize and stigmatize.

#### **Carter, Angela**

##### *Environmental Policy and Petro-Politics in Oil Dependent States: Comparing Alberta and Alaska*

The paper is a preliminary analysis of Alberta and Alaska, two cases in a dissertation project that compares environmental policy trends surrounding oil developments in four strongly oil-dependent, subnational governments in Canada and the U.S. and then attempts to account for these trends through an analysis of the political structures created by oil dependence. Section I provides a brief background on Alberta and Alaska in terms of fiscal dependence on oil and current environmental impacts. Section II analyzes the environmental regulation trends restraining or impeding a response to these impacts. Section III then offers an explanation for these trends by elaborating on the dominant “petro-political” system in each. I argue this system has resulted in an institutionalized development bias within the environmental regulation framework. The paper concludes with a brief consideration of the potential sources of change in the current regulatory system.

#### **Carter, Kimberly**

##### *Preaching Praxis, Producing Peace: The Role of Liberation Theology in Peace-building*

While the field of IR has long considered the interconnections between religious movements and violence, there is a similarly strong - yet largely overlooked - link between religion and peace-building. My research explores an important aspect of this question, demonstrating how Liberation Theology provides a site in which peace-building goals are accomplished through a combination of theoretical emphasis on preaching social justice with a significant practical focus on grassroots praxis.

Overall, I argue that Liberation Theology must be effectively incorporated into the growing body of peace-building research, as it is crucial to understanding how successful projects are unfolding in many post-conflict states. From its Marxist roots, to its current (yet under-developed) overlap with Feminist IR theory, Liberation Theology must be considered by IR scholars as a progressive and creative way to address inequity as the fundamental root of conflict in deeply religious, war-torn societies. As evidence, this paper uses the post-civil war cases of Guatemala, Nicaragua, and El Salvador, wherein many Catholic and Protestant churches are proving their influence as sites of state reconstruction and the re-distribution of socio-political power. In conjunction, both clergy and congregation are building stable peace as grassroots actors – whose contribution has been understudied in favor of institutional and “top-down” approaches to peace-building. Therefore, this paper illuminates the inextricable connections between Liberation Theology and peace-building, while asking important questions about whose knowledge is considered “valuable” in the field of IR, and critiquing how this valuation affects the scholarship we produce and the consequent attainment of peace-building goals.

#### **Carter, Kimberly**

##### *Catalysts and Cages: The Push-Pull Dynamics of Re-constructing Identity in Peace-building Projects*

This paper explores how exogenous shocks of war create “moments” of transition which are theoretically and practically relevant for both peace-building and feminism. Specifically, post-conflict social fragmentation opens a space for reconstructing new intersubjectively defined gendered power relationships as well as building the institutions and policies through which they must be entrenched and reified.

Overall, my research calls for a mutual dependence between feminist and constructivist theory in order to accomplish the practical, “real world” changes aspired to in peace-building projects. First, I show how “doing” constructivism through a feminist lens creates a theoretical nexus that is indispensable to the accomplishment of peace-building goals. Second, I argue that because women are “other” to a patriarchal, male-dominated system, their identity is necessarily political; yet there are different facets of femininity that can be used strategically with varying results. While traditionally feminine identities (mother, wife, widow, victim) provide a strong catalyst for political organization and recognition in formal discourse, they position women in terms of an “other” (who is typically male) which becomes engaging in its reinforcement of status quo power relations. Rather, women’s politicization of identities that challenge embedded hierarchies offers the best chance for reconstructing gendered identities and redistributing socio-political power during post-conflict moments of change. As empirical support, I use a cross-case and within-case analysis of Guatemala, Ireland and South Africa, to demonstrate how women experience similar challenges and successes in reconstructing new understandings of gender depending on their use of status-quo reinforcing or status-quo challenging identities.

#### **Cartigny, Florence**

##### *The 2007 Manitoba and Saskatchewan elections : Broken Electoral Destinies?*

Both Saskatchewan and Manitoba have traditionally been seen as social democratic provinces. But, over the past decades, there has been an increasing convergence in policy solutions and as a consequence the platforms of political parties have become more and more similar. What is the impact of this convergence on the 2007 provincial election in Saskatchewan and in Manitoba?

In November 2007, the Saskatchewan NDP lost the election, thus ending a 16-year NDP reign while in May 2007, the Manitoba NDP in power for 7 years was re-elected. The Saskatchewan Party won 38 seats out of 58 (65%), thus gaining 8 seats. In Manitoba, the NDP took 36 of 57 seats (63%). And yet, many commonalities appear in the policy platforms of

those political parties. In Manitoba, the NDP focused on universal health care, education, tax cuts, public safety, money for highways and on reducing pollution. But in Saskatchewan promises were very similar for the two rivals. Indeed, both the NDP and the Saskatchewan Party made promises on improved health care and tuition breaks for post-secondary students, on recruiting medical professionals and on reducing greenhouse gases. But those common points are not necessarily social democratic ideals.

Does this shift in electoral preferences signal the end of a common social democratic destiny between Manitoba and Saskatchewan? Do those election results signal an ideological continuum in Manitoba and a rupture in Saskatchewan? To answer those questions, policy platforms and debates will be analyzed in depth.

### **Carty, R. Kenneth**

#### *Dominant Party Decline in the 20th Century*

In the second half of the 20th century a number of democratic countries were dominated by political organizations or partnerships that came to be seen as the 'natural governing party.' One of the striking features of these political patterns is the systematic erosion of the electoral base of these parties over the period. Whether it be in majoritarian or consensual systems and apparently irrespective of the electoral system (for instance, PR in Sweden, MMP in Germany, STV in Ireland, AV in Australia, SNTV in Japan, or SMP in Canada), the secular decline has been relentless. Not surprisingly this has been accompanied by a general increase in the overall fragmentation of these systems. That said, most of the parties in question continue to be dominant players in the governments of the systems in question. The paper will explore these relationships.

### **Cashaback, David**

#### *Language Policy, Federal Design and Multinational Federalism in Canada and Russia*

This paper proposes a comparative study of the language policies of Quebec and Tatarstan, often referred to as the 'Quebec of Russia'. Claims for recognition of political status and jurisdiction – constitutional authority to devise language policy and capacity to implement it – are key elements of the politics in both states with respect to Quebec and Tatarstan. Leaders invoke two series of arguments – language as related to territorial autonomy and self-government, or as a matter of shared jurisdiction – in the design and promotion of their language policies.

Federal design – one of the main means of responding to national units' claims for recognition and jurisdiction – represents a balancing act between majority and minority; shared- and self-rule. Controlling for the differences in political circumstances in the cases, the paper examines the constitutional and federal designs in which language policy is rooted, and recent federal court rulings on language policies to determine the impact of federal design and whether it constrains regional claims for status and jurisdiction over language. The comparison seeks to develop conclusions about the nature of the balance between institutional design and multinationality and the stability of institutional arrangements. Also, it is intended to provide a view of the state of multinational federalism in contemporary Russia. While Tatarstan may be called 'Quebec of Russia', the limitations placed by federal legislative and constitutional designs make it far from being so with regards to its policy prerogatives over language.

### **Castorina, Emilia**

#### *Towards clientelistic democracy in Argentina*

For a long time it has been a common place to see poverty and social inequality as an obstacle for the consolidation of democracy in developing countries. However, the concept of "consolidation" has proved to be more complex in the comparatively short history of democratic performances in Latin America. The aim of my paper is to draw on a different understanding of democratization that goes beyond formal institutional design towards the more complex terrain of political strength. Focusing on a case study of clientelism in Argentina, I attempt to explore the extent to which: a) there is a new politics of poverty that is not incompatible with the formal functioning of democracy; b) poverty has not become an obstacle but a productive political business in the social reproduction of democracy; c) clientelistic democracy is compatible with a neo-liberal project of social exclusion.

### **Cattapan, Alana**

#### *Open Arms and Crossed Legs? Subjectivity and Trans-Inclusion in Canadian Feminist Organizations*

In the context of post-modern feminism, the notion of universal womanhood has long been contested and largely dispelled. Regardless, the emergence of a visible transgendered community in Canada has led to many questions for feminist scholars, namely: how do transgender women fit within the goals of feminist activism which has long organized around experiences conceived to be unique to women? If it is understood that 'women' are the subjects of contemporary feminism, this research examines whether this is true for Canadian feminism as conceptualized by its social movement organizations, and if so, who related notions of 'womanhood' include.

While research to date has discussed the theoretical arguments for inclusion and exclusion, by analyzing interviews conducted with volunteers and employees of Canadian feminist organizations, my research assesses what the practical implications of these theoretical arguments have been. Particularly, I identify how the post-modern, queer and transgender theory on deconstructing traditional notions of sex and gender by such authors as Judith Halberstam, Judith Butler and Iris Marion Young corresponds to real-life policies and operations of Canadian feminist organizations.

I contend that although most national feminist organizations have yet to establish formal policy regarding transgender inclusion, there is a desire for the extension of conventional 'womanhood' to include all those who identify as women. By examining the declining resources of feminist organizations, generational divides and the failure of feminist scholars to

move past the theoretical problems associated with transgender identity, this research proposes that trans-inclusion is not only theoretically plausible, but practically possible.

#### Chaarani, Hala

##### *"Stop Bugging Me": The Resurgence of Wiretapping in the United States*

Today, more than ever, surveillance is seen as the only tool intelligence officials have at their disposal to identify, locate and prevent terrorist activities. However, the increased use of surveillance also means that we are more engulfed in the "Big Brother" state, where, unlike Winston Smith in George Orwell's 1984, nothing escapes the all-seeing eye. This paper explores the resurgence of surveillance on the American policy agenda by studying wiretapping, in light of the 2007 new legislation expanding the reach of wiretapping, with a new legal definition of 'electronic surveillance'.

Wiretapping began as early as the 1860s when the telegraph became widespread. While legislation initially forbids the use of wiretapping techniques, wiretapping was also legalized for government officials targeting drug lords and political leaders. While concerns about wiretapping, infringing civil liberties and violating privacy, is predominant in the literature today, wiretapping as a public policy instrument is rarely tackled. Wiretapping is first and foremost an instrument of control. This instrument is not new, but the events of September 11 beg the question of its new role and how it fits in the apparatus of surveillance.

The following paper will distinguish the different elements of wiretapping as an instrument of public policy and how it evolved in times of crisis by focusing on its dimension of target population control, namely Arab Americans, and the political context in which it evolved. The case study presented will contribute to a more general reflection on this new surveillance apparatus, which is now globalized.

#### Chalmers, Adam

##### *EU Membership and Protracted Regionalization in Eastern Europe*

For many Eastern European countries (EECs) the last decade has marked an incredible transformation culminating in the 2004 and 2007 accessions to the EU. A central part of that transformation involved building regional level governments from the ruins of communism. Not only was this a key component of the exhaustive *acquis communautaire* but also, and perhaps more importantly, a prerequisite for receiving massive EU structural and cohesion funds. Surprisingly, the regionalization of some EECs was subject to intractable delay. In a number of cases, the real transfer of power from the central government to regions occurred long after codifying devolution. How, given the massive political and economic benefits that follow from complying with EU conditionality, can we explain these delays? Drawing on the recent work of Anna Grzymala-Busse, I will present a multivariate regression analysis explaining the central variables that affect protracted regionalization: (1) the existence of a "usable past" related to existing administrative capacities essential to the pragmatic issues of regionalization, and (2) the presence of robust party competition shortly after the transition from communist rule. By focusing on the structural elements of regionalization, my analysis provides an alternative to rational choice theories. Thus, delays in regionalization do not result from elites' unwillingness to part with power but rather from structural factors.

#### Chamberlain, Adam and Pyeatt, Nicholas

##### *Thermostatic Voters: Leadership and Economic Evaluations*

Voting behavior in Canada is often unfairly compared to voting behavior in the United States. In such comparisons, Canadian voters frequently appear less organized due to a relatively weaker sense of partisanship. However, in this paper, we argue that Canadian voters are highly organized about their preferences and balance several factors concurrently when making a decision about voting at the federal level. Specifically, we argue that economic evaluations can be separated out into retrospective and prospective components and that certain voters will place more weight on one perspective over another. Likewise, people will consider their opinions of the various party leaders and the party in power which will then operate with their party identification and their personal finances to shape final vote choice. As well, we believe that leadership and economic evaluations are highly interrelated and predictive of voter choice. Additionally, how one voter appraises the leadership should affect whether the voter uses economic performance retrospectively or prospectively. We estimate vote choice in this manner using multinomial maximum likelihood models based on a pooled cross section of data from the 2000, 2004 and 2006 Canadian Election Studies.

#### Chapman, Debra

##### *"Delinking": Current Strategies of the EZLN*

Using the concept of "disconnection," the paper discusses the current politics of the Zapatista movement and its relationship with the Mexican state. As used here "disconnection" is an extension of Amin's concept, "delinking." It refers to the conscious separating of one political or social force or organization from another. Whereas "delinking" is used to explain the severing of relationships between the state and the world system, "disconnect" is used to explain the severing of relationships between a grassroots organization and a nation state while still working within the current capitalist mode of production. In the case of the Zapatista movement the indigenous people have not only established their own autonomous governments but they have rejected all financial support and services from the Mexican state following the termination of all political negotiations with the state. Although indigenous autonomous communities are not a new phenomenon in Mexico, what makes this particular case distinctive is the Zapatistas' rejection of government support for basic services such as healthcare and education in favour of educating their own "healthcare promoters" and "education promoters".

Although the implications of “disconnection” and “delinking” are different for the social/political actors involved, I will argue that both are unsustainable over extended periods. I will equate this to Bukharin’s theory of “socialism in one country”, which is virtually impossible to sustain unless social actors submit to the established structures they are claiming to reject.

#### Chen, Zhiming

##### *A Theory of Power Parity - Is War between the US and China Inevitable?*

Is a war inevitable if China rises to rival the US? Balance of Power (BOP) predicts peace while Power Transition (PT) predicts war. They cannot both be right. The Power Parity theory I develop unifies them by correcting PT’s logical flaw. PT argues that alliances is fixed and cannot be used to improve national power; consequently, states won’t consider alliance in war initiation decisions. Yet empirical evidence forces PT to argue that alliance does affect war outcomes. These arguments suffer a breach of transitive rationality: if rational actors expect alliance to affect war outcomes, why won’t they consider alliance in initiation decisions?

For Power Parity, alliance is significant in both initiation and outcome. Dividing “war” into “initiation” and “escalation”, Power Parity argues that a Sino-US parity may make these countries more prone to disputes, but it will not make these disputes more likely to escalate to war. Conflict escalation strongly depends on the alliance involved. Empirical analyses using Selection Bias models and Duration Dependence models confirm these arguments. Thus if disputes break out between the U.S. and China at power parity, they need not automatically assume that war is inevitable. This is crucial because preparing for war can be a self-fulfilling prophecy. In addition, Power Parity predicts that as China rises, the U.S. is unlikely to launch a preventive war. Knowing this, Chinese leaders may believe that cooperation with the U.S. is viable and even desirable. Power Parity’s findings on alliances also have critical implications on both countries’ alliance policies.

#### Chénard, Kina

##### *Formal Fiscal Restraints, Economic Stabilization and Long-Term Debt Sustainability: Evidence From the Us*

This paper presents a simple model for discussing the impact of formal fiscal restraints on the stabilization and long-term debt sustainability functions of fiscal policy. In the EU context, fiscal policy restrictions are often criticized for limiting the ability of governments to react to business cycle fluctuations. This paper draws on the US experience at the State level to assess the pertinence of such claims. For this purpose, we have constructed a new and original dataset on 48 U.S. States over the period 1961-2002 to investigate how budget rules affect fiscal policy outcomes. For the first time, the impact of US States explicit fiscal restrictions is analyzed over an extended period of time, allowing to account for the changes in the design of these formal rules. The results indicate that balanced budget requirements and debt limitations have not affected fiscal policy outcomes. On the contrary, Tax and Expenditure limits do have an impact on fiscal properties. These results allow us to draw possible lessons for the EMU.

#### Cheng, Christine and Tavits, Margit

##### *The Invisible Hairy Hand: Explaining Informal Influence and the Low Proportion of Female Political Candidates*

This paper is about informal influence and its impact on the electoral success of women. We argue that the gender composition of party gatekeepers – those responsible for candidate recruitment – plays a crucial role in either encouraging or discouraging women candidates to run for office. Using an original dataset that includes constituency level information for all parties and candidates in the 2004 and 2006 Canadian national elections, we find support for this proposition. Women candidates are more likely to be nominated when the gatekeeper – the local party president – is a woman rather than a man. This finding is consistent across elections, party families and whether or not nominations are contested. The results underline the importance of informal factors in addition to formal institutions in determining minority representation.

#### Cheng, Christine

##### *Sharing Sovereignty and the Consequences of GEMAP*

This article argues that Liberia’s Governance and Economic Management Assistance Program (GEMAP) has set a new precedent for international intervention in two important ways: first, donor states are involved in the internal affairs of the recipient state in direct violation of the norm of non-intervention. Second, gross corruption and financial mismanagement now constitute grounds for external intervention, especially where corruption reinforces other problems such as a return to war or state failure. Against this background, Liberia’s new shared sovereignty initiative is discussed in greater detail. To provide context for the shared sovereignty discussion, this study offers a typology of six shared sovereignty options: shared sectoral sovereignty, peacekeeping, integrated governance, shared revenue management, supranational arrangements, and a security guarantee. This article offers the first academic analysis of what GEMAP is, how it evolved, and why it matters. The arguments put forward in this article have important implications for setting norms of state intervention, as well as addressing problems of corruption, state failure, and post-conflict statebuilding.

#### Childs, Sarah

##### *Feminizing Political Parties: The British Conservative Party*

This paper examines the feminization of the contemporary British Conservative Party. Feminization has two dimensions: the integration of women into political parties and the integration of women’s concerns and perspectives into party policies and programmes. Following the 2005 general election, Conservative gender equality activists recognized the opportunity which was opened up by the leadership election; the new Party leader similarly recognized that feminization could symbolize modernization. Under David Cameron, a series of reforms to parliamentary selection procedures and policy review were implemented. However, none of the new measures for parliamentary selection constitute equality guarantees

– this limits their effectiveness in significantly increasing the numbers of Conservative women MPs. There was also no corporate representation for women on the six Policy Review Groups; the self-appointed responsibility for gendering these rested with individual women within the party. Tensions between gender equality and liberal economics were also apparent in the wider debates that surrounded the review process.

This analysis of Conservative party feminization is informed by a new typology of feminized parties, one which recognizes that parties can choose to respond in a feminist – to – anti-feminist fashion along both dimensions of feminization. Accordingly, it can distinguish, inter alia, between political parties that are feminist on both dimensions (Responsive Party I); parties that are feminized on the first dimension and feminist on the second dimension (Responsive Party II); and those that are feminist on the first dimension but either neutral or anti-feminist on the second dimension (the Co-optive Party and the Anti-feminist Co-optive Party, respectively).

#### **Chiose, Simona**

##### *Stakeholder Agendas and Ideas in the Political Economy of Canadian Immigration: Two Case Studies*

This paper will adopt a historical institutionalist perspective to investigate two policy processes in Canadian immigration policy. The first will be the federal government's continuing adjustments to temporary worker programs in the past two years, adjustments which have made it easier to increase the number of temporary immigrant workers a firm employs as well as simplifying the process of doing so. The second will be the Conservative government's decision in 1993 to increase the numbers of immigrants entering the country in spite of high unemployment, a reversal of prior policy which had allowed immigration only when it provided a net economic benefit and during low unemployment.

The paper will depart from existing literature on the political economy of immigration in Canada, most of which is dominated by demographically-inclined studies into immigrant earnings. Instead it will examine for each case which stakeholders – labour, capital, civil groups, the state – were influential in each decision and what the balance of power between them can tell us about models of policy-making and agenda-setting. It will be based on interviews with stakeholders and archival research. The paper is particularly interested in looking at the impact of ideas, which a comparison between these two processes makes possible. In 1993, neoliberal ideas about liberalized labour markets were ascendant. Over ten years later, while those ideas have been accepted as mainstream, another Conservative government is still only changing immigration policy toward an employment-driven liberalized regime only at the margins.

#### **Chira, Gabriela E.**

##### *Taking Over Former Soviet Territory: The European Union Enlargement Policy*

The end of the Cold War has led the European Union (EU) to rethink dramatically its political identity. Now, some ex-Soviet republics are knocking on the EU's door. Except that the EU, in a painful search for its own soul, decided to reject these requests. I will compare the successful accession of central and eastern European countries (CEECs) to the EU with the failed attempt of the ex-Soviet countries to obtain the promise of EU membership. Why did the EU offer the promise of membership to the CEECs but not to the 'neighbourhood' Eastern European countries, despite comparable levels of political ambition and economic, legal and institutional reforms? What are the political conditions which led to these respective outcomes? I will examine two case studies: Romania, one CEECs EU member, and Moldova, a 'neighbourhood' country with membership aspirations. Romania successfully joined the EU, although for many years it faced similar difficulties in reaching that goal, as Moldova does now. Just like Romania in the middle of the 1990s, when its EU membership was not guaranteed, Moldova has embarked on the road of reforms to show its pledge to the EU. In spite of this, it only succeeded to be included in the EU's 'neighbourhood' policy, excluding the EU membership perspective. The question is whether or not it can get assurance from the EU that it may one day join. This study will seek to understand the causes of a differential commitment of the EU towards Romania and Moldova.

#### **Cho, Youngwon**

##### *The Ascendancy of Neoliberalism in South Korea and Its Unhappy Consequences: Toward (Latin) Americanization?*

This paper examines the ascendancy of neoliberal orthodoxy in South Korea and its socio-economic impact. Since the 1990s, South Korea has gone through profound economic transformation and systematically dismantled its developmental state, a process that was begun prior to the financial crisis of 1997 and radically accelerated in its aftermath under the IMF-sponsored adjustment program. The consolidation of the neoliberal hegemony in South Korea, made possible by the confluence of domestic political realignment and the influence of the US-dominated IMF, was essentially an attempt to "Americanize" the South Korean economy to conform to the ideals of the self-regulating market. This paper examines four distinct but interrelated, highly disturbing consequences of this remaking of the South Korean economy: truncated and lackluster economic growth, increasing penetration of foreign capital in the corporate and financial sector, deepening dualization of the labour market, and the concomitant rise of historically unprecedented levels of inequality and social polarization. These unhappy outcome are not only in sharp contrast to the past performance of the South Korean economy under the developmental state, but also strikingly familiar to other developing countries that have undertaken similar market-oriented reforms in the past two decades. Drawing a parallel to Mexico's experience in particular, I argue that although structural reforms in South Korea were undertaken to remake its economy according to the American image, they have in fact led to the "Latin" Americanization of South Korea characterized by slow growth, deep penetration of foreign capital, and growing and persistent inequality.

#### **Chong, Dennis and Druckman, James**

##### *Framing Effects Over Time*

Experimental studies of framing have concentrated on the effect of one-sided communications and paid little attention to competition. In the few studies of competition between frames that have been conducted, researchers have examined the effects of concurrent exposure to competing messages (e.g., Sniderman and Theriault 2004, Chong and Druckman n.d.). However, these one-shot studies have not examined framing effects when individuals receive streams of competing messages over time, as they would in an actual political campaign.

We found in an earlier study (Chong and Druckman 2007) that communications containing opposing views stimulated individuals to deliberate over alternatives and consider the applicability of contending positions. Individuals in competitive contexts were less likely to be unduly biased by the selective considerations raised in a one-sided communication. But what form must competition take for individuals to benefit from exposure to opposing positions? Must competing positions be juxtaposed in the same communication to allow individuals to compare their merits? Or is it sufficient for individuals to encounter each side's rationale separately, over the course of the campaign? In short, what role does time play in conditioning the effects of competition and repetition on framing?

We explore the effects of competition over time systematically using an experimental design. Our experiment addresses whether the impact of a series of frames depends on whether they are received simultaneously or across time, and whether earlier or later frames are more effective in moving opinion? We also analyze how knowledge and information processing styles moderate framing effects.

#### **Chowanietz, Christophe**

*Tough on Terror! How Terrorism Promotes Issue-Trespassing and a Blurring of the Ideological Gap Between Left and Right.*

Traditionally conservative parties have always owned security related issues, much like the parties from the left of the political spectrum have had over the years an advantage in social related issues. Likewise, conservatives have been regarded for a long time as better suited to deal with terrorism than their liberal counterparts. Parties from the political right were perceived by public opinion as tougher and more repressive than the left that was seen as softer and more open to dialogue with terrorists. The present paper based on a qualitative analysis of the impact of terrorism on political parties in five countries (France, Germany, Spain, Great Britain, and the United States) suggests that the situation is changing and that ownership of the terrorist issue is increasingly fiercely contested. For mainly electoral reasons, parties from the left are trying to appear more credible to electors on security related issues. As a result the difference between left and right in terms of agenda setting and public policy becomes blurred. This is not just a change in the rhetoric of the left but also in its practice of power once it is in government. In order to counter this issue-trespassing and regain the upper-hand on this crucial issue, right-wing politicians have no other choice but to toughen their own rhetoric and stance towards terrorists.

#### **Chrétien, Lise, Tellier, Geneviève and Archand, Guy**

*Employees' Satisfaction Toward the Workplace: Investigating Quebec's Public Service*

Au cours des prochaines années, les administrations publiques canadiennes feront face à un défi de taille : recruter et retenir de nouveaux employés compétents afin de remplacer ceux qui auront quitté, massivement, la fonction publique. Cependant, cette main d'œuvre de choix se fera plus rare, en raison notamment d'un vieillissement généralisé de la population et d'une concurrence accrue avec le secteur privé pour attirer les meilleurs candidats. Quels sont les facteurs qui attirent et retiennent les jeunes adultes chez un employeur et plus particulièrement dans la fonction publique ? Nous fournirons des éléments de réponse à partir des résultats d'une enquête menée auprès de jeunes fonctionnaires (âgés de 35 ans et moins) à l'emploi du gouvernement du Québec.

#### **Clarke, Jeremy**

*Inverting the Dialogue: Government Argument and Supreme Court Response in the Litigation of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*

A debate surrounding the depiction of Charter interpretation as an inter-institutional dialogue has become an enduring feature of Charter scholarship. A recent trend in this literature is to broaden the definition of what constitutes "dialogue." As originally conceived, Charter dialogue was an exercise that began with judicial decisions, and continued with legislative responses. More recent scholarship has challenged this court-centric assumption and suggested that the inverse may also be true. Scholars have suggested that the judicial interpretation of Charter rights may be a response to actions of the elected branches such as: legislative preambles; rights-vetting in departments of justice; and decisions to appeal lower court defeats. These are valuable contributions, but they overlook another potential site of dialogue: government argument before the courts. Although leading scholarship suggests that the arguments tendered by advocacy groups exert considerable influence on judicial interpretation of Charter rights, the literature fails to contemplate a similar role for government.

This paper will correct this oversight, providing first, a systematic examination of government arguments in Charter litigation before the Supreme Court from 1996 through 2006. Borrowing the methodology of the advocacy group literature, the paper will then gauge the influence of these arguments according to their favourable citation by the Supreme Court, as well as the Court's use of governments' extrinsic evidence to support its own Charter interpretation. In so doing, this paper will shed important new light on the processes of Charter interpretation, and a richer understanding of the room for institutional "dialogue" in those processes.

#### **Cochrane, Christopher**

*Comparing Right-Wing Political Parties in Anglo-American and European Democracies: A Case of Conceptual Stretching?*

This paper examines the platforms and support patterns of right-wing political parties in Anglo-American and European OECD countries. Using content analysis data from the Comparative Manifesto Research Project (1945-2006), as well as survey data from the World Values Survey (1981-2002), the Comparative Study of Electoral Systems (1996-2006) and the European Social Survey (2002-2006), the paper addresses two questions: Are the differences between “far right” and “traditional right” political parties matters of degree or of type? And are these classification schemes sufficiently refined to facilitate systematic cross-national analyses? The paper argues that the analytical drawbacks of sub-dividing the political right considerably outweigh the benefits for comparative research.

**Cohen, Marjorie Griffin and Clark, Lisa**

*Gendered Experiences of Precariousness among Young Workers in BC*

Explorations of the intersections between age and work have revealed that young workers are heavily concentrated in precarious forms of employment in Canada. This paper draws on the data collected through interviews of male and female teenage workers in Vancouver. The paper analyzes the gendered differences in the experience of precariousness specifically with regard to issues of harassment, types of employment, and exposure to workplace hazards.

**Coletto, David**

*Nationalist Voting Behaviour in Quebec and Scotland: Voting for the Bloc Quebecois and Scottish National Party.*

In recent years, both the Bloc Quebecois and the Scottish National Party have won significant proportions of the vote in national elections in Canada and the UK. This paper analyzes the relationship between individual level feelings of national identity, support for independence, and protest behaviour with voting behaviour in Scotland and Quebec. Competing research suggests that nationalist voting can be a form of protest while others argue that it is a manifestation of national self-identification. Furthermore, the paper distinguishes between two conceptions of nationalism: ethnic and civic nationalism. By examining the history of the separatist movements in both jurisdictions and using survey data from 1997 to 2005, the paper demonstrates that voting for the BQ and SNP is driven by different factors. BQ voters are driven primarily by support for independence, along with ethnic considerations and national identity, while the SNP vote is determined less by national identity, and more by support for Scottish independence. Support for independence is a stronger driver for BQ support than it is for SNP support. In light of the recent election of the SNP as the largest party in the Scottish Parliament and weakening of support for the BQ in Quebec, this paper raises important insights into what the future may hold for these parties in their respective party systems and how these two cases, despite similar institutional settings, are considerably different.

**Collette, Benoît, Couture, Jérôme and Pétry, François**

*The Positioning of Political Parties in the 2007 Quebec Election: Different Techniques, Same Results?*

Among the theories that predict the behaviour of political parties, two are of a significant interest. The first one is the economic theory of democracy (Downs 1957). The second is the mandate theory (Budge and Farlie 1983). While the Downsian theory analyses the behaviour of political parties in a dynamic relationship with the median voter, the mandate theory suggests a static relationship by looking at issue saliency (or selective emphasis) within party manifestos. To analyse party positioning some techniques use words as data, while others use issues. In this paper we propose a comparative study of the positioning of political parties in the last Quebec election using four techniques. These four techniques can be placed in a conceptual frame with two dimensions. The first dimension (static-dynamic) refers to party positioning theories. The second dimension (semantic-thematic) is determined by the unit of analysis, words or issues. The CMP technique is thematic and static. The Wordscore technique is semantic and relational. The dictionary technique is semantic and static. Finally the expert survey technique is thematic and relational. Concerning the Quebec 2007 general election, many political commentators talked about a historical election with the rise of the ADQ as the main opposition party, from a third party that won 5 seats in the previous elections. With the help of these various techniques, we will try to better understand the dynamics of the political space in Quebec, test the validity of the two theories in this case, and the reliability of the techniques.

**Collier, Cheryl**

*“Into the Fire and Out of the Ashes? The Decline and Potential Re-emergence of NAC 1993-2007”*

In 1988, the National Action Committee on the Status of Women was considered the main “face” of the Canadian women’s movement – an umbrella organization representing approximately 600 member groups across the country (Vickers, Rankin and Appelle 1993:4). However, during the late 1980s and into the 1990s, NAC lost all of its federal Secretary of State’s Women’s Program funding, previously representing almost 100% of its operating budget (Scala, Montpetit and Fortier 2004). Shortly thereafter, NAC became almost entirely invisible in Canadian politics. In 2004, it did not have sufficient funds to staff its telephone at its Toronto headquarters (Canadian Press 2005). However, in 2007 there were reports that NAC had re-emerged and was representing over 700 member groups (Yuen 2006). This paper will seek to explain the decline and reported “re-emergence” of NAC from 1993 (the date of the last comprehensive study of NAC by Vickers et al.) to the present day. Using up-dated empirical data and drawing largely on the political opportunity structure approach, it will comparatively assess this decline and re-emergence against similar declines in women’s movement activity in other Western democracies including the United States, Britain and Australia (See Staggengborg and Taylor 2005, Epstein 2001, Nash 2002, and Chappell 2002). The paper will thus add to studies that have started to document what has happened to NAC since 1993 (including Scala, et al. 2004 and Chappell 2002) and to other comparative women’s movement literature that have documented movement decline under neoliberalism.

### **Collombat, Thomas**

#### *Several Souths: Assessing Latin American Involvement in a Renewed International Labour Movement*

Although it used to be divided into Western and Communist camps, the international labour movement (ILM) faced a political vacuum after the fall of the USSR. This paper will explore one of the hypotheses raised about the dynamics of the ILM after the Cold War, namely an increasing weight of unions coming from the Global South. These dynamic new members are often presented as supporters of a more radical political line and of an opening of the ILM to the perspective of the South when it comes to international trade.

Latin America is certainly one of the places of the world where the Cold War dynamics have had the strongest influence on organized labour. It is also where some of the "leaders" of this new Global South unionism come from. Hence, it is a relevant space in which to verify the reality of this supposedly increasingly influential Southern unionism. Brazil and Mexico, which are the first and second economies of the region and represent two very different types of post-authoritarian unionisms, will constitute the cases studied here.

This paper will review the contemporary involvement of Brazilian and Mexican trade unions in the ILM. By comparing these two experiences, it will assess the heterogeneity of Global South unionism and indicate the contradictory impacts of the end of the Cold War on Latin American international involvement. Variations will be identified between countries, economic branches and organizations. The necessity to take into consideration not only international changes but also domestic dynamics will be supported.

### **Comeau, Gina**

#### *Situating Consultation Processes: The Canadian Sport Policy*

Fiscal restraints, globalization and citizen trust have led to a proliferation of new governance mechanisms. One of these mechanisms, public consultation, is increasingly used by governments in Canada. As such, Canada has extensive experience in using consultation mechanisms in policy formulation. While municipal and provincial levels are very experienced in using these processes, this research is interested primarily in the role of these mechanisms in federal public policy formulation.

The academic literature focuses on the deliberative aspects of consultation and its implications for democratic norms whereas the literature published by research institutions examines the types of engagement. The literature on policy formulation, on the other hand, focuses on institutionalized relations or on agenda setting. This paper aims to bridge the gap between these research streams.

This research questions the role of consultation processes in policy formulation and will situate these processes and actors within the policy arena. It seeks to understand how these fit in broader policy communities as consultation processes introduce new actors and new ideas. This paper will use the consultation process of the Canadian Sport Policy as its case study. The innovative quality of this particular process was its inclusion of what the federal government defined as previously excluded participants. What new ideas did these actors bring to the table and how these can be situated into existing formulation frameworks? In addressing these questions, this paper argues that the level of inclusion was multi-tiered and did not meet the expectations of all.

### **Constantelos, John**

#### *Political Responses to Economic Structural Hypertransformation: A Multilevel Analysis of Business Strategies in Ontario and Michigan*

This project compares and analyzes the political responses of economic interests to rapid economic structural transformation in Ontario and Michigan. The case study regions, which lie at the epicenter of the current crisis in manufacturing, provide us with an ideal comparative case study of adjustment to global competition. In this multi-sector, multi-level project, I map interest group strategies to evaluate the impact of political decentralization. Building on the multi-level governance literature (e.g., Hooghe and Marks), I test the hypothesis that greater decentralization produces a more robust response to economic transformation. I also test the impact of several economic and organizational variables. The empirical analysis has two parts: 1) a survey of business associations at the provincial/state level, and 2) a comparative case study of the strategies of local interests in two similar cities, Kitchener and Grand Rapids. The project will provide original data and analysis for the benefit of policy evaluation, and it will contribute to our understanding of interest intermediation in multi-level settings.

### **Cookson, Ryan**

#### *The Impact of Individual Perceptions on the Opinion-Policy Nexus*

While the link between public opinion and policy outcomes is an important aspect of representative democracy, the mechanisms through which collective preferences influence policy are not always clear. Elections provide one means through which citizens' preferences can be expressed by changing the partisan composition of legislatures, but equally important is the degree to which policy-makers are responsive to public opinion between elections. In order to be responsive to public opinion, and thus achieve some level of policy congruence, government decision-makers must have accurate perceptions of public preferences in their jurisdictions. But how do policy makers know what public preferences are?

This paper examines the link between government policy and public opinion in Ontario by studying how politicians, political staff and members of the public service gather information about citizens' preferences following the 2007 Ontario provincial election. Using qualitative interviews, the paper explores the role of these actors as mediators who influence the level of policy responsiveness between elections. In doing so, the paper seeks to identify ways in which collective preferences may be imperfectly represented in the individual perceptions of key decision-makers. The implication is that

the opinion-policy link may become distorted, or at least subject to considerable variability. The paper also provides a provincial perspective on a phenomenon that has been more extensively studied at the national level.

#### Côté, Catherine, Fafard, Patrick and Rocher, François

##### *The Presence (or the Lack Thereof) of a Federal Culture in Canada: The Views of Canadians*

Beyond the cliché of the unification of “unity and diversity”, federalism constitutes a response to the underlying values present in a society, often ones characterized by diversity and pluralism. The result is several autonomous governments, and more generally a federal culture which reflect these values and implies both a double loyalty and a shared identity. However, for the federal experiment to function well, it is essential that the different federal components (states, groups, collectivities) abandon the idea that a concentration of power constitutes the best way to govern. Respect for the pluralism of identities also requires that, in a federal state (as compared to a unitary one), citizens and their governments allow for a certain level of ‘inefficiency’ or additional costs. The stronger the federal culture, the greater the acceptance of inefficiency and the possibility of higher costs.

This paper has two objectives. First, the paper presents the results of a pan-Canadian public opinion survey on knowledge and understanding of federalism and how Canadians understand the tradeoffs between efficiency and governance in a federation. We explore how federalism is understood by Canadians and assess the presence (or the weakness) of a Canadian federal culture and the associated willingness to accept a certain degree of inefficiency and additional costs. Second, we use the results of the survey to explore the limits of the contemporary focus on the needs of citizens as “clients” and consumers of government services. Our hypothesis is that the (variable) strength of an underlying federal culture means that at least some Canadians, as “federal” citizens, look to their governments to not only deliver services efficiently but to do so in a way that reflects and strengthens the diversity and pluralism that necessitated the creation of a federation in the first place.

#### Côté, Catherine

##### *The Canadian Federal Election of 2006: The Agenda-Setting Battle*

Election campaigns constitute a key moment in democratic life. Many citizens count on this period to get more information, assess electoral teams and better define their political preferences (Gelman and King, 1993; Finkel and Schrott, 1995). In this respect, influencing the way in which the media presents the political agenda is a fundamental goal of the various candidates vying for power. However, the media is also an independent force that has its own conception of which information to retain and diffuse (Ansolabehere et al., 1993). What role do the media play in this agenda-setting battle?

To answer this question, we shall evaluate the Canadian federal election campaign of 2006 using a two-dimensional approach: First, we will analyze the messages the political parties wished to diffuse (for example by examining party platforms, press releases and advertisements as well as interviews with strategists) and second, by probing how these messages were passed on by the media (for example by analyzing broadcast news media and interviews with journalists). These questions will guide a multi-design analysis of the way in which political strategists and journalists conceive of the public space in the broad sense. They will also verify the methods used and the stated objectives of these two sides of influence on the public sphere.

#### Couture, Yves

##### *Sur la polysémie du concept de peuple*

Le concept de peuple est l'un des plus fondamentaux mais aussi l'un des plus polysémiques de la pensée politique. Notre conférence portera essentiellement sur le statut de cette polysémie. Quatre distinctions principales paraissent la structurer. Le terme de peuple peut désigner l'ensemble d'un groupe humain ou une de ses parties. Il peut renvoyer à une idée ou à une réalité empirique. Il peut désigner un acteur politique ou un collectif saisi dans la « société civile ». Il peut enfin être conçu comme l'addition d'individus ou comme une totalité organique. Il y aurait bien sûr beaucoup à dire sur le statut de ces distinctions. Son appréciation me paraît néanmoins renvoyer à trois postures types. Pour la première il s'agit de distinctions strictement formelles, puisque le sens d'un concept dépend de celui qui le définit. La seconde suppose que les polarités qu'ouvre le concept de peuple renvoient bien à des réalités, qui ont toutefois varié selon les sociétés. La troisième considère que ces polarités renvoient à quelques grandes possibilités intrinsèques, actualisées ou non, de la condition politique de l'humanité. On peut alors supposer, par exemple, que la conception du peuple comme idée d'une totalité politique constituée à partir d'individus peut modifier ou voiler la réalité du peuple comme classe spécifique, mais non l'abolir. Notre propos sera de défendre une version nuancée de cette troisième option, en insistant sur les efforts d'articulation des divers pôles qu'elle implique. Pour ce faire, nous nous référerons tout spécialement aux œuvres de Locke, Rousseau et Tocqueville.

#### Crête, Jean

##### *Étude comparative des opinions des Québécois et des Ontariens sur le fonctionnement des institutions démocratiques*

Grâce aux données de sondages réalisés au Québec au printemps 2007 et en Ontario à l'automne, nous décrivons le degré de confiance que les électrices et les électeurs portent à leurs élus et aux partis politiques. Puis nous expliquerons ce qui sous-tend cette confiance en comparant le Québec à l'Ontario. Nous examinerons alors l'effet de la confiance sur l'appui aux politiques publiques. L'ensemble de la démarche s'appuiera sur une revue des écrits sur la confiance politique.

### Crimmins, James

#### *Bentham's Republican Politics*

Consistent with his father's Toryism, Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832) was a complacent monarchist in his youth and early manhood. However, in his later decades he became a guarded republican, by then educated in the vacillations and uncertainties of political life and utterly convinced of the utilitarian merits of political institutions sans the corrupting influence of kings, whether malicious or benign, perched at the apex of an invidious and disabling social and political hierarchy. The trajectory of Bentham's political development was the reverse of that traveled by the Romantics who, republicanised at the first news of the French Revolution, later reverted to a more or less benevolent Tory paternalism. Bentham's Tory inheritance first came to be questioned in the 1780s when he was introduced to the circle of political reformers gathered around Lord Shelburne. By 1789 he was engaged in an exercise in establishing the utilitarian logic of democratic reform, in manuscripts that have only recently been published. Starting in 1809 he became a public advocate of democratic reform, and this eventually led to the overt but pacifist republicanism of his later years. The latter period began with the publication of the Plan of Parliamentary Reform in 1817 and continued in a variety of writings on constitutions and constitutional law in the 1820s. This paper examines the relationship between Bentham's views on monarchy and democracy in the development of his political thought, and argues that his changing views on the political role of the monarch played a defining role in shaping his mature republican democratic theory based on utilitarian principles.

### Crowe, Lori A.

#### *Fantastic Freaks! Superhuman and Inhuman Embodiments: Transgressing or (Re)producing Normative Corporealities through the Superhero body*

Superhero icons in comic/film narratives with superhuman or un-human qualities have been sources of powerful and evocative imagery as well as embodiments of irony and ambiguity. Valorized as heroes with awe-inspiring 'super-human powers' in one sense yet simultaneously segregated or banished as mutants or monstrous 'abnormal' subjects, exiles from the 'human' world to live in seclusion in another; the superhero body in films and comics are often complex, contradictory and dichotomous. Interrogating images of human, robot, android, and animal superhero bodies through a queer critical feminist lens, I unpack the relationship between fantastical embodiments in pop culture and their congruity with and reflection of self-identity and broader social contexts. While tracing the transhistorical mutation of the controlled and regulated body to the amenable and malleable body in both superhero images and the social realm is significant in this analysis, there is a complexity beyond the temporal relationship of images of power and their reflection of desires and lack that begins to be revealed. The multifaceted approaches to the heroic narrative suggest the role for the superhero(human) body as sites of contestation and political confrontation. By challenging bodily boundaries and destabilizing idealizations of beautiful, powerful, heteronormative bodies, this paper asks whether there is room in these (re)presentations for a (super-)empowered body that transgresses normative corporealities.

### Curry, Dion

#### *Multi-Level Governance and the Urban/Rural Divide in British Columbia*

This paper aims to develop the concept of multi-level governance in Canada by examining policy networks in urban and rural contexts and seeing whether policy processes actually differ in a larger, urban context or whether it is the same as rural politics, just writ large. If differences exist, how are they manifested in policy networks and actors and what affect do these differences have on the policy process? This research is important because it allows for a finer tuning of whether structures differ in urban and rural settings, an important facet of political processes in Canada. In addition, this work, part of a broader research project on types of multi-level governance and its relation to the policy cycle, aims to look at differences that may occur not only between levels (vertical), but also within the particular level (horizontal) of local governance. This is distinctive from more federalist-oriented work on Canadian governance and further refines the European model of multi-level governance in a non-European context. It contributes to the debate in Canada on the nature of governance in an increasingly complex system, the role of governmental and non-governmental actors and how this develops in certain policy areas. This work will use network analysis to identify and examine what actors and processes take place in the development of policy in the service delivery sector and what similarities and differences exist in urban and rural contexts. The specific cases examined will be the Greater Vancouver Regional District and the Skeena-Queen Charlotte Regional District.

### Curtin, Jennifer

#### *Reconciling Gender, Feminism and Party Identity: Women and Political Leadership in New Zealand and Australia*

Women's descriptive representation has increased cross-nationally in recent years, suggesting that political careers including access to party leadership are becoming a real possibility for women. However, success is dependent on a wide range of variables. Mainstream literature on political elites highlights the importance of: election in a safe seat to ensure incumbency; professional development through strategic service within party executives; performance in parliamentary committees and the chamber; party in government and intra-party political machinations. In addition, feminist scholars have revealed how parliamentary work is gendered; how important networks and separate institutional spaces are to women's careers; and of the need to think strategically about the (in)visibility of a 'feminist' positioning and the 'preferencing' of party identity over other identities. This paper is part of a broader comparative project on women's political leadership, but here is limited to a cross-national analysis of women's political leadership in Australia and New Zealand over the past 20 years. These two countries are politically and culturally similar, and in both it has been Labour

parties that have most actively promoted women's representation. Yet New Zealand has had two women prime ministers consecutively since 1997 while Australia is yet to elect a woman prime-minister (although after November 2007 there may be a woman deputy prime-minister). In an attempt to explain this divergence, the paper focuses on the extent to which (feminist) institutional mechanisms are significant in enabling women to 'reconcile' their multiple identities or 'positionings' while aspiring to, attaining and ultimately performing political leadership.

#### Cutler, Fred

##### *Political Worlds in Federal Systems*

Canadian scholarship over a quarter-century ago called attention to the possibility that citizens could separate the "political worlds" defined by a federal system. While some of their propositions and empirical findings have held up with subsequent analyses, others have not been questioned. This paper revisits the notion that Canadians by-and-large can differentiate the functions of their governments and take that differentiation to their separate voting decisions. Much has changed since Simeon and Elkins made their arguments. First, it is possible that the nationalization of information has eroded Canadians' compartmentalized, provincial view of their government. Or, that provincial policies and policy discourses have converged. Examining survey data collected over the intervening 30 years allows for a more detailed, nuanced, and up-to-date assessment of the "Small Worlds" of Canadian politics. In particular, my own federal-provincial panel surveys include numerous questions unavailable to Simeon and Elkins regarding Canadians' awareness of the division of powers, the responsibility of each government in various policy areas, awareness of and attitude toward different policies in other provinces, as well as all of the material required for analysis of voting behaviour in provincial elections. I will use this data to provide up-to-date answers to some of Simeon and Elkins' important questions about the role of voters in Canadian federalism.

#### Cutler, Fred, Matthews, Scott and Pickup, Mark

##### *Polls, Voters, and the Quality of Electoral Democracy: Evidence from the 2007 Ontario Election*

Do reports of poll results during elections matter to the vote decision? If so, how do they matter? And, what implications might this have for the nature and quality of electoral democracy? Using data from the 2007 Ontario Referendum and Election Study, our paper will speak to these questions with uncommon precision. We take advantage of unique survey instruments, designed by the authors, that tap a wide range of attitudes and perceptions relevant to the processing and evaluation of poll information. Our analysis will run the gamut of concerns involved in the poll-vote relationship, including: who pays attention to polls, and how much attention do they pay?; does the progress of the campaign improve the accuracy of perceptions of party standings as informed by polls?; do voters form meaningful perceptions of party momentum, and do these perceptions matter to vote choice?; how do voters evaluate the polls—and the pollsters—themselves, and do these evaluations mediate the impact of poll information?; and finally, do reports of poll results influence the vote decision? Addressing many of these questions presumes a general model of the vote itself. Consequently, the paper will also venture an explanation of the election outcome, taking account of issues, leaders, and critical campaign events.

#### Danjoux, Ilan

##### *Securitization and the Political Cartoon*

This paper explores the insight that cartoon analysis offers for security studies. As a form of visual satire, political cartoons represent a breadth of opinion often absent from other forms of public discourse. Their ability to capture the exaggerated fears and unapologetic accusations make them useful indicators for pending security policy change. This work demonstrates how the artistic devices of condensation, domestication, opposition and transference used by cartoonists provide insight into the nature, intensity and durability of a conflict. As a part of the daily newspaper, cartoons also chronicle the personification of threat that reveals the likelihood of security policy change in international politics.

#### Dasovic, Josip

##### *The Geographical Logic of Violence in Inter-ethnic Violence*

The use of computer mapping techniques and GIS-type analysis has grown dramatically in political science over the last few years. One area in which these techniques have not been used much is in the analysis of inter-ethnic violence. Using data culled from the Yugoslav wars of the 1990s, this paper will analyze the important role of geography and the influence of spatial interdependence on the location and intensity of inter-ethnic violence in the 1990s war in Croatia. Using statistical analysis and GIS-mapping, it can be demonstrated that there is systematic variation--both temporally and spatially--in levels of violence across the area that are consistent with prevailing theories of inter-ethnic violence.

#### de Larrinaga, Miguel

##### *The (In)securitization of Development and Global Governmentality: Canadian Foreign Policy and the Security-development Nexus*

From the initial explicit institutional articulation of the conceptual relationship between security and development in the 1980s through the Brandt, Palme and Brundtland commissions; to the post-Cold War development and popularization of the concept of human security in the early 1990s through the UNDP and supportive States; to the subsequent post-9-11 narrowing of the concept of human security through R2P and the explicit linking of security and development priorities on Western states' agendas in regards to the "war on terror", the security-development nexus can be seen as having been

fundamentally marked by, while simultaneously contributing to, transformations in global order. The way in which both security and development are conceptually defined and how the relationship between them is envisaged can be understood as a central indicator of transformations in global order and the forms of governmental rationalities that underpin it. What will be argued in this paper is that from an attempt to increase the importance of development issues in state's agendas at its outset, through the transformations in global order over the past two decades the linkage between security and development has led to the (in)securitization of development instead of a developmentalization of security. This paper will focus on a particular case of this contemporary nexus by addressing how the relationship between security and development has been redefined in regards to Canadian foreign policy. In other words, I will trace the way in which the (in)securitization of development has had an impact on the formulation of Canadian foreign policy through the various actors, networks and institutional linkages involved therein while, concurrently, how these transformations have contributed and continue to contribute to the particular form of global liberal governmentality associated with the "war on terror."

#### de Soete, Francois

*Rousseau, Condorcet, Voltaire, and Man: The Idealized "Man" and the Muddled "Other" in Enlightenment France*  
France's recent riots in its heavily immigrant-populated suburbs received international attention and highlighted the growing tensions between the French of European descent and the recent generations of French from France's former colonies. The controversy surrounding the ban on prominent religious symbols in public schools, which most heavily affects the wearing of headscarves, further revealed the tensions between these two groups. While the demographic source of such tensions is recent, the ideational origins likely are not. In particular, this paper will look at the French Enlightenment and examine how the idealization of "man" as a single and general category intersected with conceptualizations of the "other" in works by prominent authors like Voltaire, Rousseau, and Condorcet. As this paper will look to demonstrate, the inclusive language and vision found in conceptualizations of "man" in prominent French Enlightenment tracts are based on a "muddled" conceptualization of the "other," one that focuses on a potential to Europeanize and thus excludes the potential for toleration in a multicultural context.

This paper primarily engages in textual analysis, focusing on works by French Enlightenment authors like Voltaire and Rousseau, and will examine conceptualizations of humanity in statements such as "the future condition of the human race," "civilized nations," and "human nature." This paper will then relate this analysis to contemporary debates on multiculturalism and demonstrate how this Enlightenment discourse may relate to the current situation in France, which has been marked by significant resistance toward integration/toleration.

#### de Souza, Bruno

*Tobacco Policy in the Southern Cone region— A comparative analysis between Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay and Chile*

This paper presents an analysis toward Tobacco control policy in five countries that are part of the Southern Cone region. Those countries share similarities in their economies and political history, but their policy toward tobacco control are completely different among each other. The main research question is why those countries adopted different patterns in Tobacco and what are the consequences of this policy individuality in a region that has consolidated unilateral positions through Mercosur.

#### de Souza, Bruno

*The Interference of a Crisis in the Implementation and Agenda Setting Model – A Draft About the Airspace Crisis in Brazil*  
This paper will analyze the airspace crisis in Brazil. The analysis will cover from the policy of the Airspace system in Brazil before the accident with the Gol airline and the Legacy Jet at the Amazon Jungle in September 2006, the reasons for the first crash, the public policy after the discover of the radar system after the accident, the investigation situation (airforce and civilian congress), approaching the parliamentary commission of investigation (CPI do Apagao Aereo), the conflict between the air force staff and the political system with consequential strike and delay at the airports, the reforms of the implementation after the first gol crash, the second crash with TAM plane in Sao Paulo, the reasons of the second crash, The implementation of an extra airport in Sao Paulo 3 days after the second crash and the main actual situation of the airspace system in Brazil. The objective of this conference paper is to analyze how a short view of policy implementation and a poor conduct of public policy can produce consequential damage in the public system, and how actors such as media, public institutions and organizations can interfere in the airspace public policy.

#### DeBardleben, Joan and Hurrelmann, Achim

*Democratic Dilemmas in EU Multilevel Governance: Untangling the Gordian Knot*

This paper analyzes how the multilevel character of the European Union (EU) contributes to the difficulty of securing its democratic legitimacy. It argues that the EU's legitimation problems are largely due to the incongruence between (a) the political problems that the citizens would like the EU to address, (b) the Union's existing political competencies, and (c) the structural constraints imposed on its policy-making by the economic and cultural characteristics of European society, most importantly the economic disparities between the old and new member states, the divergence of national visions of European integration, and the weakness of an overarching European identity. In response to these forms of incongruence, the EU has devised a highly complex system of multilevel governance in which various decision-making procedures, channels of participation, and logics of representation coexist. Yet this complexity is precisely one of the core democratic problems of the EU, since it blurs lines of accountability and creates opportunities for blame shifting and forms

of policy making that circumvent the citizens. The failure of the EU Constitution indicates that the potential for grand reforms to solve this dilemma is limited. Rather, the greatest chances for democratization lie in devising more explicit linkage mechanisms between the various modes of democratic decision making in the EU. Focusing both on external and internal policies, the paper discusses various options for strengthening existing linkages and expanding them in a more democratic fashion.

#### **Dembinska, Magdalena**

*Lorsque les pratiques de la liberté politique intègrent la diversité culturelle*

Partant du constat que la représentation politique ethnique est souvent «symbolique», deux questions guident notre recherche : quand est-ce que les minorités participent-ils au processus décisionnels?; quelles sont les pratiques politiques permettant l'intégration des groupes autrement divisés?

Pour le partage du pouvoir dans les sociétés divisées, l'accent est mis sur la nécessité de la représentation politique ethnique, suivant les variations du consociationalisme de Lijphart. Un autre courant suit l'argumentation de Horowitz : les règles électorales devraient briser le vote ethnique empêchant ainsi la formation de ces partis. Nous empruntons un chemin alternatif: nous démontrons les limites de la représentation politique ethnique mais également l'importance de créer des mécanismes propices à l'expression des perspectives/intérêts ethniques. La prise en compte de perspectives différentes sert de principe intégrateur.

Quand est-ce que les partis ethniques participent-ils à l'intégration? Lorsque les perspectives et intérêts traverseront les lignes ethniques et convergeront vers celles des groupes sociaux d'intérêts/idées non-ethniques. Outre les clivages intra-ethniques, la participation du parti Minorité allemande (Pologne) dans les politiques régionales non-ethniques, ou la transformation du parti turc de Bulgarie en un parti programmatique, constituent des indicateurs de l'intégration.

Comment les perspectives/intérêts des minorités non-représentées peuvent-ils faire parti de l'agenda politique? La capacité proactive des minorités n'est pas signe de l'intégration (minorités juive et biélorusse en Pologne). C'est l'existence des mécanismes de consultation «from above» pour les sans-voix qui sont signes d'une volonté de connaître et de comprendre les perspectives et les intérêts des minorités, ce qui permet d'élaborer des politiques intégratrices, sur mesure.

#### **Denholm Crosby, Ann**

*Canada-U.S. Defence Relations: Weapons of Mass Control and the Praxis of Mass Resistance*

In their post-9/11 efforts to address continental security issues, the governments of Canada and the United States established the Bi-national Planning Group consisting of Canadian and U.S. military personnel and representatives from U.S. defence contractors to recommend 'the way forward.' The Final Report, issued in March 2006, recommended the creation of a Canada-United States Comprehensive Defense and Security Agreement designed to "bring unity of effort and direction to each of the defence, security and foreign policy organizations" of the two countries. Subsequently, the Canadian Minister of National Defence stated that a number of organizations are now prepared to take up that work. Historically, Canadian/U.S. cooperative military planning, working to U.S. exigencies, has played a significant role in constructing Canadian continental defence interests by producing defence plans that have come to fruition, compromising previously held Canadian policy positions in the process. A nuclear weapons role for Canadian air defence forces during the Cold War, the testing of U.S. cruise missiles in Canada's North, and Canada's participation in the U.S. Missile Defence Program through the NORAD Command are cases in point. The implications of the latest bi-national military study are equally portentous. Consolidating the defence, security and foreign policy interests of Canada and the United States, in the context of contemporary U.S. efforts to define the security environments of the world's peoples, is tantamount to establishing a bi-national partnership in that endeavor under the guise of continental defence. Resisting these efforts involves resisting the dominant theoretical discourses on Canada/U.S. defence and security relations and their understandings of the implications of alternative practices.

#### **Dhamoon, Rita and Hankivsky, Olena**

*Why the Theory and Practice of Intersectional-Type Approaches Matter to Health Research and Policy*

This paper seeks to illuminate the ways in which intersectional-type theories are essential and can be applied in practice to health research and policy. Drawing on the work of such feminists as Rosemarie Garland-Thomson, Patricia Hill Collins, and Ange-Marie Hancock, we argue that intersectional-type theories bring to light the specific experiences of marginalized subjects, and provide a way to address broader power differentials.

First, we evaluate various intersectional-type approaches and models. While intersectionality-type analysis has tended to focus on race, class and gender, our analysis also extends to include theories on the interactions between modes of sexuality, ethnicity, nationality, disability, and age. From a theoretical perspective we will outline a) the central features of intersectional-type approaches; and b) the contributions and challenges that an intersectional-type approach presents for theory and practice.

Second, we will explore how intersectionality is currently applied in health research and policy. While applied examples are in nascent stages of development in the Canadian context, we will present examples that illuminate the paradigm shift occurring in health research among those who prioritize furthering understandings of the social determinants of health. From a policy perspective, we will outline a) specific challenges relating to intersectionality and research design; and b) methodological innovations in representing multiple groups and reflecting significant variations and health disparities within those groups across ethnicities, genders, socioeconomic statuses, social classes, and sexual orientations. In the final part of the paper, we will weave together the theoretical and practical considerations of applying feminist intersectional-type approaches to a health policy and research context.

### Diels, Janie

#### *Belief in a Just World, Television, News and Support for Arab and Muslim American's Civil Liberties*

Since the 9-11 terrorist attacks on the U.S. there has been a great deal of debate about the balance of national security and civil liberties. This debate is like most of modern American political discourse, highly polarized along party lines. The polarization of discourse in general, and the debate surrounding national security and personal rights in particular, has led many scholars to consider the role of media beyond its influence on public opinion and to explore its influence on social cognition. The psychological construct called belief in a just world (BJW), measures the extent to which an individual believes that people get what they deserve, and deserve what they get. Much of the research surrounding the BJW focuses on how it shapes the attributions we make for others and ourselves. Findings indicate that those with high BJW were more likely to advocate seeking revenge against groups of people associated with the attacks of September 11. Lerner suggests that television is a likely factor in maintaining the belief that the world is just into adulthood. It is possible that constant reinforcement of the BJW through the common narratives in television programming leads to chronic activation of just world beliefs, making those beliefs more available in making social judgments. In this paper, I summarize content analyses of prime-time entertainment television and television news, and explore the relationships between entertainment television viewing, BJW, news media consumption and support of reduced civil liberties for Arab and Muslim Americans in post 9-11 America.

### Dimitrov, Radoslav

#### *The Global Politics of Climate Change: Negotiating the post-Kyoto Agreement*

When countries negotiate, how do they argue and what information do they use to persuade others? The proposed paper examines global negotiations on climate change policy. The current international treaty, the Kyoto Protocol, expires in 2012. Negotiations on the successor agreement are currently under way and are proceeding in two parallel processes. The paper is based on participant observation and explores the political dynamics in the first year of these negotiations. The main analytical goal is to examine argumentation during negotiations on post-Kyoto climate policy, and identify what kinds of expert information governments utilize in argumentation. Previous negotiation research explores the role of leadership, coalitions and changes in national positions -- but says little about what countries actually say to each other. As a result, our knowledge of argumentation and persuasion in world politics is poor. I examine the micro-dynamics of negotiations and the actual communicative exchange during deliberations. The paper will illuminate techniques of persuasion in international relations, and the selective use of information in political arguments.

### Dinsmore, Greg

#### *Human Rights as Good Manners*

Rights have traditionally been understood as political, legal sanctions designed to prevent the social mores of majority groups from being imposed politically on minorities or individuals that may not share them. However, in contemporary human rights practice, the distinction between rights and manners has blurred almost to the point of indistinction. In effect, human rights have come to function as social sanctions. The work of constructivist political scientists such as Thomas Risse and Kathryn Sikkink show the 'power' of human rights norms to change the social identity of states. Charles Beitz has deliberately distanced his conception of human rights from the more restrictive understandings of rights of the classical liberalism in order to take into account the more socializing function that human rights serve in contemporary international politics. Adopting human rights norms has become a means for states to achieve standing in the international society. The paper will argue that very little is left of human rights when they shift from political to social sanctions and that this shift is in part responsible for the difficulties that well-known problems that the human rights regime has faced since the Universal Declaration in 1948.

### Dobrowolsky, Alexandra

#### *Beyond Winners and Losers? What has happened to Women's Equality after 25 Years of Charter Struggles*

Women and other collective actors ensured that the Charter contained more than individualist rights, and mobilized for much more than formal equality. As a result, women have often been identified as Charter "winners".

If this is the case, what explains the question posed by the late Bertha Wilson and shared by many feminist academics and activists, "why...are so many dissatisfied with the way things have worked out? Why do they feel that they expended a great deal of effort and cherished such high expectations to so little avail?" While feminists grow increasingly distressed and discouraged with the passage of time, most Canadians appear simply disinterested, assuming that equality is a given. These perceptions have been reinforced by a Harper government that considers equality to be a *fait accompli*. This paper outlines and evaluates the more complex and challenging consequences of interest and identity mediation vis-à-vis the Charter, the courts and Canadian women. In short, the position taken here is that: to suggest that women have been either "winners" or "losers" is too simplistic an assessment. Rather, it is more fruitful to carefully examine a significantly changed socio-economic, political, legal and cultural context. The methodology for this paper will include the use of secondary sources, as well as government documents, and pivotal Supreme Court cases having to do with the equality.

### Dombowsky, Don and Cameron, Frank

#### *Nietzsche's Invisible Seventh Party Of The Reichstag And Its Relation To The Political Parties Of Imperial Germany*

Was Nietzsche a nomad thinker who perpetually occupied the faultlines of the political discussions of his time, who never took a side in a policy debate nor exhibited any consistency of conviction on any particular social or political issue? In this paper we will explore the politics of Nietzsche's New Party of Life, its positions and policies regarding the major political events of the Bismarckian era, such as the Kulturkampf and the Anti-Socialist Laws, anti-Semitism and universal suffrage, and compare them to the positions on these issues taken by the six major political parties of the German Reichstag, drawing alignments where they can be demonstrated. Thus we will situate Nietzsche in the political culture of his era and argue that he was acutely aware of and actively interested in the political events of his day and in the political future of Germany and Europe.

We will also argue that Nietzsche had a political vision; however plagued by the recurrent problems of normativity and legitimation; where the political and cultural are fused in the momentous encounter between Goethe and Napoleon, the moment where the cultural is no longer anti-political and the highest hopes are on display.

#### **Donais, Timothy and Barbeau, Erin**

##### *Local Ownership and the Afghan Peace Process*

Local ownership is increasingly recognized as a key element in the long-term sustainability of post-conflict peacebuilding. Yet local ownership has been conceived primarily in terms of domestic actors taking on progressively greater responsibilities for the implementation of key elements of what has come to be known as the 'liberal peace'. In other words, peacebuilding can be viewed as a socialization process through which various international actors 'teach' domestic counterparts in post-conflict environments how to construct and manage the key institutional pillars of the liberal democratic state. Using Afghanistan as a case study, this paper will argue that the 'peacebuilding as social engineering' model dramatically over-estimates both the ability of the international community to re-make post-conflict societies along Western liberal-democratic lines, and the willingness of domestic actors to take ownership over external models of reform. It will suggest that while in Afghanistan (and elsewhere) local ownership is exercised in myriad ways by a diverse range of actors, the poor record of peacebuilding to date in Afghanistan has much to do with the failure to generate a broad domestic consensus behind the liberal democratic peacebuilding project, and local ownership has thus impeded peacebuilding as much as it has advanced it. This paper will contribute to the evolving literature on peacebuilding by highlighting key tensions in the relationship between 'insiders' and 'outsiders' in post-conflict situations, and is part of a multi-year, SSHRC-funded project on local ownership in peacebuilding processes.

#### **Donaldson, John**

##### *Grasping the Small: The Political Economy of Growth, Poverty and the Role of the State in Two Chinese Provinces*

How do we reduce rural poverty? Most mainstream economists argue that economic growth generally reduces poverty, a hypothesis that offers few alternatives for economies that are unable to grow, or those in which economic growth fails to reduce poverty. This research project examines alternative solutions by investigating cases that have defied this relationship, and comparing them to theoretical models on poverty reduction derived from the development and state-market literatures. Data from two of China's poorest provinces reveal a puzzle: Guizhou's rural poverty rate declined despite stagnant growth, while Yunnan's high economic growth rate largely failed to reduce rural poverty. Based on the findings of Western and Chinese scholarship, statistical data from a variety of organizations, Chinese experts and government officials, and fieldwork in the two provinces, four factors – roads, migration, tourism, and coal mining – appear to be crucial in explaining this puzzle.

This paper argues that differences in how these four factors are distributed and structured in the two provinces explain their disparate patterns of economic growth and poverty reduction. Yunnan's case reveals that an outwardly-oriented developmental state, one that focuses on large-scale, urban-oriented development, failed to reduce poverty, even though it stimulated economic growth. The way the factors were structured in the province largely precluded participation of poor people in the benefits of that growth. By contrast, Guizhou reveals that a "micro-oriented" state that promotes small-scale, relatively low-skill economic opportunities can reduce poverty even without rapid economic growth by allowing poor people access to such opportunities.

#### **Donner, Wendy**

##### *Autonomy, Tradition and Community in John Stuart Mill*

John Stuart Mill's utilitarianism and liberalism are influenced by the philosophical tradition of virtue ethics and politics. Mill's liberalism champions democratic social and political institutions that have as one major goal to provide institutional support for life-long pursuits of the mental and moral excellences.

Autonomy and individuality have pride-of-place in Mill's conception of human excellence. His arguments for autonomy furnish positive grounds for its merits, but also warn of those who try to undermine autonomy by appeals to questionable forms of belonging that corrode well-being.

Mill provides a case study for these questions in *On Liberty*, namely the example of polygamy within Mormon communities. Mill characterizes the treatment of Mormons as persecution, because in his time there were calls to force Mormons to end this practice. In this paper I examine Mill's liberal arguments for whether Mormon women can be characterized as autonomous when they participate in polygamy. He characterizes their conduct as "voluntary" while admitting that the institution is an infraction of the Liberty Principle "being a mere riveting of the chains of one-half of the community, and an emancipation of the other from reciprocity of obligation towards them".

The purpose of liberty is to defend each individual's right to autonomy within their culture. Yet Mill regards the group stereotypically, as all having the same "voluntary" choices. Mill exhibits an apparent failure of empathy. However, I argue, his theory provides the remedy for this lapse.

**Doucet, Marc and de Larrinage, Miguel**

*Sovereign Self-exceptionality and International Intervention: Reading Security Council Resolutions as Acts of Declaration*  
The mid-1990s, saw the emergence of a growing body of literature that attempted to theorize global governance through the examination of the biopolitical strategies of sovereign power centred on the state of exception as a principle of formation. While much of the evidence for the analysis of this return to sovereignty as a form of power generated through self-exception is taken from the series of changes in domestic and foreign policies of certain key Western states such as the United States and Great Britain, there has been little research on the manner which this principle of formation has been articulated via the imagined space of the international. This paper proposes such an analysis by exploring how recent Security Council resolutions have maneuvered their way through conventional inter-state law in view of enabling its suspension in the name of international interventions. At play here, we argue, is a form of sovereign self-exceptionality that relinquishes part of its formal moorings within the inter-state system in order to articulate itself from the vantage point of the globe. In particular, what we want to examine is how this sovereign self-exceptionality must function through acts of declaration and in doing so, to reveal how sovereign self-exceptionality is caught in the aporia of self-authorization insofar as this self-exceptionality can never be enacted on behalf of its own logic.

**Dragojlovic, Nicolas**

*Source Cue Effects and Transnational Advocacy in International Relations*

I will argue that constructivist work on persuasion and on the strategies pursued by transnational norm entrepreneurs stands to benefit from importing the concept of source cues from political psychology and political behaviour. A source cue effect refers to the way in which the perceived attributes of the source of a persuasive message influence the response of the target audience. While some work in International Relations takes the legitimacy, reputation, or credibility of actors into account when considering their rhetorical influence, and a lot of recent work describes the use of "strategic framing," the marginal effect of source attributes on the relative success of transnational advocacy has not been studied in a systematic fashion.

This paper will integrate the concept of source cue effects into existing constructivist models of transnational advocacy, focusing in part on how to adapt the literature on source cue effects to corporate actors such as countries. The effort is part of the author's broader interest in using insights drawn from political psychology and political communication (such as framing, priming, or agenda setting) to advance the theoretical specification of constructivist theories of transnational norm advocacy. Developing on recently published accounts of the use of religious arguments by transnational entrepreneurs in the United States, the paper will analyse data drawn from a national survey experiment to empirically illustrate the relevance of source cues to IR. Notably, it tests for the possibility that attempts at persuasion by religious leaders can backfire when directed at a secular audience.

**Driscoll, Jim**

*Some Reflections on Contextual Reasoning in the Supreme Court of Canada*

"Contextual" reasoning in the jurisprudence of the Supreme Court of Canada assumed increasing prominence after the appointment of Bora Laskin to the Court in 1970. Laskin insisted that adjudication must go beyond the letter of the law and the intent of Parliament to include a wider range of social, economic and political factors which affect the application of the law. Since then, the term 'contextual' has not only been deployed as a justification for either extending or restricting the scope of legislation but has more recently served as an aid to the interpretation of the rights and freedoms proclaimed in the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. This paper will focus on some interesting shifts in how the Court has characterised its position with respect to the rights of the accused and the policy objectives of legislatures: the preferred alternative increasingly is to read into the Charter an appropriate "context" of justification for assessing the scope and boundaries of the protection of rights and freedoms. While some legal scholars have suggested that "[w]e need not look abroad to other jurisdictions or to academics for new epistemologies in order to fulfil the contextual turn . . .," we will argue that judicial reasoning with respect to classical liberal rights and freedoms should be read in conjunction with recent developments in liberal political theory. This paper will focus on an interesting parallel between this trend in the Supreme Court's jurisprudence and what one critic has called the "contextual turn" in liberal political theory.

**Duchesne, Érick, Parent, Geneviève and Gervais, Jean-Philippe**

*Le traitement différencié des soutiens internes agricoles à l'OMC : prescriptions exagérées ou interventionnisme à outrance de l'organe de règlement des différends ?*

Agriculture has always been granted a "special status" in multilateral negotiations at the GATT/WTO. The conclusion of the Uruguay Round led to first specific legal framework that encourages trade liberalization in the agri-food sector. As demonstrated by the stalled negotiations associated with the Doha Development Round, extensive trade liberalization in this fundamental sector of activity is not for the near future. Our central argument is that a lack of an (inter)national agreement on international competition policies is one of the principal causes for the collapse of the negotiations in the agricultural sector. This paper borrows for the "endogenous tariff" literature to explain how and why Canadian pressure groups do not speak with one voice in regards to competition law in the agri-food sector. This phenomenon provides an explanation for the reason why the Canadian government seems to hold an ambiguous, if not contradictory, position in the current round of negotiation.

**Dufour, Caroline**

*The Style of the Expenditure Budget of the Ontario Public Administration (1961-1985): A Path-Dependent Model?*

Despite numerous studies regarding the impacts of the adoption of different styles of expenditure budget by public administrations, there is very little systematic research to explain why these styles of budget are adopted at a specific moment. Three elements are noteworthy in the literature regarding this topic. The first, scholars believe the choice is influenced by institutional factors, including the development of information technologies (Dull 2005: 195) and values changes in the environment (Kelly 2005). Another, budget reforms appear to bring refinement of the model already in place (Premchand 1981: 75). Finally, textbooks as well as articles invariably present styles of expenditure budget sequentially (e.g. Kernaghan and Siegel 1999: 621-629). These three elements, which convey institutional and temporal factors, converge towards a path dependent view of the style of expenditure budget. A path dependent process is one in whereby institutions “encourage the next step to be in a similar direction” (Gains and al. 2005: 27) through self-reinforcement mechanisms. The moment a choice is made is crucial because the institutional settings determine not only the choice itself, but future ones through a path that will be followed. This stability is broken when new conditions disrupt or overwhelm the mechanisms that reproduce the path (Pierson 2000: 76). Based on this review of the literature, three questions guide the study of the case of Ontario: 1) What was the institutional setting that gave place and characterized the style of expenditure budget between 1961 and 1985? 2) What were the reproduction mechanisms that allowed it to remain in place? 3) Was a pattern of stability broken and if so, when and how? The communication presents a preliminary analysis of data collected through interviews and content analysis of archive documents.

#### Dunn, Christopher

##### *Explaining Canada's Open Federalism/Federalism of Openness*

This paper seeks to explain the origins, meaning and likely future of the working theory of federalism adopted by the Canada's new Conservative

Government. Called the “Open Federalism,” it is a collage of approaches and policies with deep roots in the debates regarding Canada's intergovernmental

relations. Its origins lie in the coalitions that Conservative politicians have had to cobble together in order to take power away from the centrist Liberal party. With some exceptions, the Harper Coalition is a coalition of outsiders, groups who have traditionally felt ignored on the intergovernmental and fiscal plane. Its present manifestation is in the two budgets that the

Conservatives have issued since being elected to a minority government in 2006.

Its future depends on whether the Government continues to be pragmatist instead of ideological. The indications so far are that pragmatism reigns and the Open Federalism is an important part of that pragmatism. The paper reviews successive waves of theories of Canadian federalism, the electoral calculus involved in modern Canadian intergovernmentalism, and other factors to appraise the future of the Open Federalism.

#### Dupeyron, Bruno

##### *Border Governances in Latin America*

This presentation aims to focus on debates related to border governance dynamics in Latin America.

It will start with a literature review, trying to capture new perspectives from current research, emphasizing in particular findings from Latin American countries (e.g. in English, Spanish and Portuguese).

Additionally, it will offer a thorough understanding of processes of boundary materialization, border dynamics and types of border governances that structure Latin America.

Finally, avenues of reflections will be drawn from this analysis regarding what is at stake in this heterogeneous continent: the potentialities and asymmetries of Mercosur (especially Brazil and the Southern Cone), oligarchies that are challenged in the Latin American-Indian area (from Sucre, Bolivia to Barinas, Venezuela), and the crystallization of an English-Spanish area or ‘Northern Latin America’.

#### Dyczok, Marta

##### *What Role Is the Mass Media Playing in Ukraine's Electoral Process?*

The mass media is generally considered a key feature of modern election campaigns. This paper looks at the last three election campaigns in Ukraine, (presidential 2004, parliamentary 2006, and parliamentary 2007) and poses the question: what role did the media in fact play? It presents an argument that contrary to what elites believe, the mass media has actually played a rather ambiguous role in influencing voters' electoral preferences. This has implications for analyzing the relationship between media and politics in a democratizing state.

The theoretical framework for this analysis is a combination of a political economy approach and cultural studies, which reflects recent trends in media studies (Curran and Morley 2006; Gunther and Mughan, 2002). Such an approach enables an analysis of both structural factors, such as legal and regulatory frameworks, ownership structures, broadcast reach and circulation statistics, as well as more subjective factors such as audience response to media messages, individual effects of political communication.

Empirical data from all three elections will be used, including survey data, audience research, content analysis, and an overview of innovations in advertising produced by Ukrainian and international media NGOs. This will be supplemented with data collected through interviews as well as reports prepared by international organizations such as the OSCE.

Curran, James and David Morley (eds.) *Media and Cultural Theory* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006)

Gunther, Richard and Anthony Mughan (eds.) *Democracy and the Media. A Comparative Perspective* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002)

#### Eagles, D. Munroe and Coletto, David

### *The Implications of Canada's New Regulatory Regime for Local Party Organization*

This paper presents an analysis of the first financial data for the electoral district associations (EDAs) of Canada's federal political parties that was produced in compliance with the reforms introduced in 2004. Utilizing this newly available data it provides a descriptive overview of the state of EDA finances and activities in fund-raising and expenditure from 2004 to 2006 and attempts to analyze the impact of the reforms on local party organizations over the past three years. In general, the EDAs of most parties (the Greens are a partial exception) are financially solvent and capable of maintaining themselves as organizations. They raise considerable sums from donors, and receive and send substantial amounts from/to other levels of the party. Canadian parties are at the core election machines and the analysis reveals substantial inter-party differences and equally substantial intra-party disparities between electorally successful organizations and their counterparts that failed to win the local seat. However, it is surprising to find that the financial strength of the EDA is only modestly related to the performance of its candidate at the 2006 election. This analysis is particularly significant in light of the recent debate surrounding the transfer of funds to and from EDAs and the role they play in electing candidates across Canada.

### **Earles, Kimberly**

#### *Women in the Swedish 'People's Home': Gender and the Social Democratic Welfare State*

While social democracy is a much-analyzed area of political science, there remains a gap in our analysis and understanding of how women and gender relations fit into the realm of social democracy. Since Sweden is often viewed as the best example of a social democratic welfare state, and is also regularly named as the most gender equal country in the world, it is crucial to explore the relationship between the two. While it is clear that Sweden has not achieved full gender equality, there remains something unique about Swedish social democracy that has led to many advancements in women's emancipation and in gender equality as a whole. Of course, there is not one simple reason why Sweden has achieved a greater measure of gender equality than other countries. It is a combination of many factors, from the Swedish model's interrelated goals of full employment and equality, to the dominance of the Social Democratic Party since the 1930s, the unique path of the Swedish women's movement since the 1960s, particularly its' strategy of state feminism, as well as the state's encouragement of women's entry into the labour force in greater numbers to fill a labour shortage during the 1960s and 1970s, and the dominance of the dual-earner model in Sweden which has followed as a result. It is also the sum of all of these factors, representing a certain path pursued by Sweden in the post-war era. These factors, as well as the recent emergence of Sweden's first feminist political party (Feminist initiative), will be explored to determine women's place in the 'People's Home.'

### **Edge, Jessica and McKeen-Edwards, Heather**

#### *Light Bulbs and Bright Ideas?: The Global Diffusion of a Ban on Incandescent Light Bulbs*

In April 2007 the Canadian federal government announced it would ban incandescent light bulbs in favour of compact fluorescent light bulbs (CFLs) by 2012. Incandescent bulbs are considerably less efficient than CFLs, which have been touted as a way for individual households to cut back on their energy use and combat global warming. Similar policies have been introduced in Australia and China and are under consideration in New Zealand, Great Britain, the European Union, and California. The growing popularity of a ban on incandescent bulbs indicates that policy harmonization is occurring around the issue of CFLs.

This paper will look at the Canadian decision to ban incandescent bulbs in relationship to action being taken in other jurisdictions. It will argue the diffusion of this policy has been facilitated by two features. First, it has been encouraged by support from both the manufacturers and retailers of CFLs and members of the environmental movement internationally. Secondly, the ban offers a relatively painless yet visible way for governments to illustrate their commitment to fighting global warming, as the cost of this shift is mainly consumer-based. However, despite the considerable environmental benefits, the improper disposal of CFLs can be environmentally harmful as they contain mercury. Yet this significant issue has largely yet to be addressed by governments potentially due to considerable regulatory costs associated with such a program. Overall, this ban fits with broader trends in environmental policy towards market-based initiatives and highlights the importance of neoliberal norms in its international diffusion.

### **Edquist, Kristin**

#### *Globalizing Pathologies: Epistemic Communities and the Worldwide Spread of Eating Disorders Diagnoses*

This article explores the geographic spread of eating disorders diagnoses and its implications for our understanding of globalization. The article links this trend in diagnoses to global-level processes of governmentality, particularly in the area of mental health research and diagnosis. Discussion of eating disorders' apparent geographic spread should attend to the politics and power involved in designing and applying diagnoses across borders. Heightened worries in non-western, less-developed, and indeed non-white settings about the "spread" of eating disorders suggests that while globalization may involve westernization of non-western cultures, such "westernization" involves not just the spread of western popular media images and concepts, but also the systematic, professionalized application of behavioral typologies to social environments.

### **Elias, Angelo**

#### *Party Identification and Heterogeneity in Canadian Elections*

We know that all citizens do not reason the same way about politics: they rely on different considerations, or give different weights to similar considerations. Studying heterogeneity, past researches have focused on education, media

attentiveness, and political sophistication, interest, knowledge. In this paper, we propose to explore the effects of party identification – a neglected factor in the literature. Using cognitive psychology, we develop a rationale in which partisans are less likely to take issues and leaders evaluations into account. Hypotheses are tested in all Canadian Election Studies since 1988.

**Elmose, Linda**

*“The Power and Effect(iveness) of ‘Projecting Canadian Values’ in Foreign Policy: The Case of Afghanistan”*

Canada’s national security interests and its altruistic desire to assist developing countries are two foreign policy goals aligned with the “projection of values” strategy. The aim of this paper is to subject this values approach to closer empirical scrutiny by identifying and critically assessing its core underlying assumptions. Principally addressed are the assumptions that Canada is exhorting and exporting unique values, and the notion that the main effect of values projection is to normatively appeal to the national pride, self-confidence and sensibilities of the home audience. The supposed uniqueness of Canadian values – democracy, rule of law, peace and order – does not comport with the reality that these universal values have ascended to the status of a “global norm” under the current Good Governance development model (GGDM). Second, by dint of being enveloped in the GGDM, Canadian values not only lose their uniqueness, but also gain in very real power to alter, for better or worse, developing countries’ institutional reforms. The tools of political conditionality and selectivity of aid “partners” based on “good governance” compliance evidence this power. Given the very real external effects of a values approach, it simply does not suffice to concentrate on the normative appeal of values to the Canadian sense of national pride (illusory or not). The analysis is applied to a case study of war-torn Afghanistan, which serves as crucial “test case” of the viability of Canada’s values-projection strategy in the context of the newfound integrated “3D” (defence, development, diplomacy) approach.

**Elson, Peter**

*Institutional Asymmetry and Critical Junctures in Voluntary Sector/ Government Relations in Canada*

Voluntary sector organizations actively seek out relations with government, reluctantly relate to government due to regulatory requirements, or have a relationship with government thrust upon them. Of no doubt is the impact of government funding, policies, and regulations on the lives of voluntary organizations and the voluntary sector as a whole. This paper identifies and analyses the long-term impact of three critical junctures in voluntary sector/government relations in Canada.

Historical institutionalism advances the idea that policy makers and advocates act within institutional arrangements. The institutional nature of an organization is the principal factor which structures collective behaviour and generates distinctive outcomes. I contend that the understanding of the structure and function of voluntary sector/government relations is significantly enhanced when examined from a historical institutionalism perspective.

The three historical critical junctures which continue to impact voluntary sector/ government relations in Canada are: 1) the 1930 Amendment to the Income War Tax Act which established the context for the designation, regulation, and allowable deductions to charitable organizations; 2) decisions between 1978 to 2003 regulating the advocacy activities of registered charities; and 3) the systematic and sustained funding cuts to voluntary sector organizations which started in the 1990s.

This paper makes a contribution to understanding the importance of critical junctures and institutional regime type on the nature of voluntary sector/government relations in Canada. However, the paper also presents a number of preliminary implications for both the theoretical and practical relationship between the voluntary sector and governments across developed countries in general.

**Erk, Jan**

*Substate Nationalism on the Left-Right Spectrum: Canada, Spain, Britain, and Belgium*

Québec, Catalonia, the Basque country, Scotland, Wales, Flanders and Wallonia are often grouped together as examples of substate nationalist movements in the industrialized West. These movements share common characteristics in terms of their demands for political recognition and autonomy together with the parallel project of internal cultural rejuvenation. But despite almost identical issues facing them, the common discourse of past grievances finds expression in different political colors. So how do otherwise similar nationalist movements acquire their position on the left-right spectrum? This paper proposes an explanation based on critical junctures. It is argued that the alliances forged at the critical junctures of modern mass politics set these substate nationalist movements on certain paths along the left-right spectrum. But even after the disappearance of the initial terms, the left-right alignment persisted due to mechanisms of continuity. The patterns were reinforced initially through the formative politicization of the voters, and later, through the party system. The empirical investigation has two parts: 1-) Examination of the formative moments in the history of each substate nationalist movement. Archival research aims to reconstruct the political landscape during the formative moments through an examination of the statements made by political leaders in parliamentary meetings, party documents, and newspapers. 2-) The second part is an investigation of the mechanisms that ensure the continuity of the choices made during the formative moments. The paper thus moves beyond a single concentration on the critical junctures and seeks to expose the mechanisms through which the initial choices were reproduced.

Erlingsson, Gissur

*How corrupt is a non-corrupt society? Evidence from a survey of local political elites in Sweden*

Sweden consistently ranks among the countries perceived to have the least problems with corruption: In Transparency International's Corruption Perceptions index, Sweden ranked number 6 in 2006, ahead of both Norway and the Netherlands. Still, a number of scandals involving both Swedish companies and Swedish politicians have recently been

reported. Sweden's clean image have been questioned. Still, little is known regarding on how representative the latest media reports are.

The aim of this paper is to describe in detail the nature of corruption in Swedish local politics. We report results from a web-based survey among local politicians and civil servants in all of Sweden's 290 municipalities. The survey responses, collected late in 2007, allow us to examine in detail what type of behavior that is considered ethical in a country normally said to have no problems with corruption. Importantly, we do not restrict attention to corruption as defined in a strict legal sense; Instead we define corruption broadly as reaping personal benefits at the expense of all inhabitants in the municipality. Our research design allows both qualitative and quantitative analysis of factors explaining variations in local corruption levels, as well as perceptions regarding the time trend in corrupt activities.

The paper is one of the first papers produced in a new research project supported by the Swedish research council. While corruption in developing countries has been studied intensively, very little is known regarding the situation in the countries that normally rank highly in for example Transparency International's Corruption Perceptions index.

#### **Esselment, Anna**

##### *Fighting Elections: An Example of Cross-Level Political Party Integration in Canada*

To this point, conventional wisdom on the structure of political parties in Canada has emphasized their confederal nature. In other words (and with the exception of the New Democratic Party), parties with identical partisan affiliation at the federal and provincial levels still operate in "two political worlds" and, as a result, have few integrating links. This may be true in terms of certain organizational aspects of the Liberal and Conservative parties. For instance, finances, headquarters, constitutions, constituency associations, and even decisions on policy are often kept strictly separate from their political "cousins" across the federal divide. However, this chasm is not maintained in other aspects of party structure and operations.

From research gathered in four provinces, this paper will argue that a key integrating link between political party affiliates can be found in the way they fight elections, particularly in terms of shared activists (the party professionals, campaign managers, strategists, paid organizers, and party staff) and expertise (especially technological expertise). Left unstudied by most academics, the way in which political parties engage in electoral battle reveals a fair extent of cross-level collaboration, accommodation, and cooperation. In defiance of popular thought, then, political parties that share the same label, and the activists that work within them, have a common goal to help their "party" win government, whether that be at the federal or provincial level. This has the effect of shrinking the space between partisan affiliates and challenges the notion that Canada's federal system has led to increasingly disentangled political parties.

#### **Fafard, Patrick and Rocher, François**

##### *The Evolution of Federalism Studies in Canada: from Dependent to Independent Variable*

For much of the late 20th century in Canada federalism and constitutional change were a major preoccupation among Canadian scholars. This reflected, at least in part, the fact that the dominant issues of the day included intergovernmental conflict over natural resources and the successful efforts to patriate the constitution and the equally unsuccessful effort to find a constitutional answer to the place of Quebec in Canada. In the early years of the 21st century when the headlines are dominated by events taking place often well beyond the borders of Canada, what is the contemporary nature of federalism studies in Canada? In an effort to provide an answer to this question this paper reports on a review of the federalism literature in Canada published from 2000 to 2006 and on a series of interviews with federalism specialists. The paper will explore two hypotheses: first, that in recent scholarship, federalism is often an independent variable and the earlier lack of studies on the policy impact of federalism has been addressed; and second, that studies of federalism in Canada are increasingly comparative.

#### **Fairey, David**

##### *Eroding Worker Professions: BC's "Flexible" Employment Standards*

This presentation will provide a comprehensive review of the changes to Employment Standards Act and regulations in British Columbia since 2001 and evaluates their impact on the system's ability to provide effective minimum protections for workers in BC. It will also focus on the policy recommendations for employment standards and enforcement that would better meet the economic security needs of vulnerable workers.

#### **Fairie, Paul**

##### *The Ontario Schools Question: Religion, Voting and the 2007 Ontario General Election*

The 2007 Ontario General Election appeared to turn on one of the oldest questions in Canadian politics: religious education. Since the late nineteenth century, religious-based schooling has provoked countless political and partisan struggles. John Tory and the Ontario Progressive Conservatives proposed the extension of public funding to non-Catholic religious schools. Since such explicit discussion of church and state is rather rare in contemporary Canadian elections and religion in an important determinant of federal voter behaviour (see Blais, 2005), this election provides an excellent opportunity to study the role of religious cleavages in shaping voting behaviour at the provincial level. Ecological analysis of voting patterns in this most recent election suggests that the Progressive Conservatives received decreased support from ridings with high Roman Catholic and non-religious populations, while enjoying increased support among ridings with non-Christian religious inhabitants. This paper provides further evidence that religion remains a salient cleavage in Canadian electoral politics, even at the provincial level.

#### **Farney, James**

### *The Benefits of Office: Canadian Conservatives, Same-sex Marriage and the end of the Tory Syndrome?*

Canadian conservatives have long been a divided lot. Even during the heyday of the Progressive Conservative (PC) party, damaging internal debates over leadership lead some to argue that the party suffered from a 'Tory Syndrome'. The last twenty years have seen Canadian conservatives even more divided, as they split, realigned, and finally re-united in a number of different configurations over questions of regionalism and ideology. This paper asks whether the benefits of office are enough to help the new CPC avoid this historical divisiveness. It uses the recent debate within the party over same-sex marriage as a test-case to examine whether or not the party has reconstituted itself in a sufficiently robust way to contain deep ideological differences amongst its members. It concludes that the party has done so as, at a more basic level than their ideological disagreements or regional differences, Canadian conservatives have reasserted their commitment to a brokerage strategy.

### **Farnsworth, Stephen, Lichter, S. Robert and Schatz, Roland**

#### *CBC News Coverage of Canada's 2006 Liberal Party Leadership Candidates*

Content-coded CBC evening newscasts are used to examine reports on the eight candidates for Liberal Party Leader in the weeks before the party's 2006 convention. In a sharp contrast news reports on U.S. presidential nominations, "The National" provided coverage balanced between the horse race and more substantive matters, including policy discussions and a candidate's personality and leadership qualities. But like US nomination coverage, "The National" largely ignored trailing candidates, focusing nearly all of its attention on the likely and plausible nominees. In terms of tone, "The National" provided "compensatory coverage," where front-runners were more treated more negatively than the candidates further back in the field.

### **Farrelly, Colin**

#### *Taking People For What They Really Are*

The conception of the person (or self) which a political theory is premised upon can greatly influence the content of a theory. This is perhaps most evident in the social contract tradition, where theorists (ranging from Hobbes and Locke through to Rawls) have emphasized different features or traits of human beings (e.g. our purported social or asocial nature). But recent advances in molecular biology (especially genetics) present political theorists with new and important insights concerning the kind of biological organisms we actually are. Over the past decade scientists have made many important discoveries concerning the role genes play in the development of different phenotypes (like health and intelligence), why we develop cancer, why our capabilities decline with age, etc. And as this veil of ignorance is lifted, and we begin to really understand the kind of creatures we are (and could be), our moral and political sensibilities we no doubt shift in significant ways. And this will require the theorist to re-think what the content of a social contract for the 21st century ought to be.

In this paper I examine how the genetic revolution will compel political theorists to revise the details of the social contract in significant ways. In particular I emphasize three important considerations. The first two issues relate to substantive components of the social contract- (1) who we identify as the least advantaged and (2) the importance of retarding human aging itself (and thus postponing all age-related disadvantage). And finally, I conclude by addressing some methodological issues concerning how political theorists can transcend the limitations which currently constrain our ability to Take People for What They Really Are.

### **Fenwick, Tracy**

#### *Can the Local affect the National: The Role of Municipalities in Brazil and Argentina in Comparative Perspective*

The Study of Comparative Federalism is a rapidly growing area of research. A priori federalism is believed to matter for government effectiveness in the Latin American Region because of its decentralized nature. The goal of this paper is to move beyond the concept of government decentralization and evaluate if local politics contribute to the performance-based legitimacy of the federal centre or impede it? What factors enable the local to affect the national? Structured as a paired comparison the case of Brazil and Argentina are particularly suited for exploring this question as they are both highly decentralized federations, but with varying political institutional designs. The paper will provide both a cross-national paired comparison of federalism in Brazil and Argentina and a focussed comparison of two similar federal initiatives taken by each government which led to varied outcomes. I will first describe the political institutional variations, then analyse the politics of social inclusion in each country, and then test the outcomes. Both countries have undergone institutional transformations since their transition to democracy that has affected all three levels of government. What is the effect of these newly emerging relationships operating among different levels of government upon the federal centre? Comparative scholarship on federalism conceives of the subnational as an aggregation of states/provinces and municipalities/cities. This has led to conceptual and measurement shortcomings that automatically disable the ability of local and urban politics to impact either politics in the middle, or the federal centre's.

### **Ferguson, Janna**

#### *Gendered Accounts: Transnationalism, States, and the Politics of Remittances*

The recent prominence of discussions of transnationalism has done little to remedy the circumscribed nature of these accounts, which tend to be either focused tightly on social relationships between migrants and 'home' or be concerned only for the implications of transnationalism for migrant assimilation. These academic focuses have obscured important questions about the meanings of gender, citizenship and the role of the state within transnational relationships. The increasing interest of scholars, politicians and international organizations in one particular transnational relationship - the sending and receiving of remittances - makes it all the more urgent that this lacunae be addressed.

Mainstream tallies of remittances flows leave out the more complicated but deeply relevant questions of what these financial exchanges, and increasingly, the efforts of many states to encourage, channel, and control remittances, mean for the people who send and receive them. Gender, in particular, has been strangely absent from these discussions, though studies of remittances specifically and transnationalism generally incorporate issues that have long held feminist attention: familial arrangements, representation in the state, economic development, globalization and nationalism all are implicated in remittances. In this paper I attempt to gather these threads together, arguing for an understanding of remittances and transnationalism that exposes the gendered (re)configurations of power which have accompanied state efforts to increase and control remittances, both among senders and receivers. Drawing on accounts of Mexican and Salvadoran state projects, I examine what the gendered politics of remittances means for our understandings of states, citizenship and power in transnationalism.

**Fischer, Martin Gerald**

*Statue Failure, State Break Down and State Collapse in Sub-Saharan Africa: Structural Challenges to Democratization and Consolidation*

Much of the literature on failed states suggests that state failure implies general institutional weakness. More specifically, failed states can be understood to lack the institutional capacity to protect civilians. Sudan is commonly classified as a failed state, yet it continues to exert effective control over large portions of its territory and can wreak havoc and terror on some of those individuals and groups who contest its authority in Darfur. The Sudanese example highlights a disjuncture between the theoretical assumptions about state failure and the empirical reality of the Sudanese state's capacity to project territorial control and exercise the monopoly on violence.

The paper will ask the following research question: to what extent does the Sudanese government's ability to project extreme violence in Darfur defy the classification of Sudan as a failed state? This paper will argue that in internal conflicts such as the one in Darfur, the state's armed forces are not organically linked to their populations, but are likely instead to be associated with one particular section of the population, or with the attempt to impose the control of an autocratic regime. The paper proposes the following hypothesis: the crisis in Darfur illustrates a reversal of the linkages between conflict and state effectiveness: the larger the ideological and political disassociation between a regime and its population, the more likely it is that internal conflicts such as the one in Darfur make a strong state less rather than more likely.

**Fitzsimmons, Dan**

*Executive Scorn: The George W. Bush Administration, news media, and the influence of groupthink in the Iraq War, 2003-2007.*

This paper provides an analysis of the role of the news media on American military strategy in the 2003 Iraq War. It argues that American policy makers, displaying the symptoms of Irving Janis' theory groupthink, had more autonomy in decision-making because of barriers setup by the group to ignore external sources of criticism and taking action to limit doubts within the group on the strategy being employed. As a result, the US executive had more freedom of action than is frequently perceived by scholars supporting the notion that news media organizations possess extensive agenda-setting power, commonly known as the "CNN effect." The arguments of scholars supporting the agenda-setting power of media organizations are discussed and evaluated to determine if US military strategy was affected by the largely negative media presence in this conflict. This paper is unique because it shifts focus away from the field of foreign policy, and specifically the decision making process surrounding engagement and extraction from war zones, and instead focuses the news media's role in influencing strategic direction of a war. It concludes that the negative tone of the news media did not have a significant effect on military strategy due to strong cohesiveness of American elites throughout the conflict, and the inability of news makers to force any noticeable changes to military activities.

**Fitzsimmons, Scott**

*Guns, Plans, or Norms?: The Determinants of Military Performance in Asymmetrical Conflicts*

This paper seeks to establish the relative influence of military culture, strategies, and material resources on the performance of military forces in asymmetrical conflicts. Specifically, it tests neorealist offence-defence theory, asymmetric strategic interaction theory, and a constructivist theory of military performance against the empirical record of four asymmetric conflicts involving mercenary forces to determine which theory provides the most convincing explanation for the outcome of battles between armies of significantly different numerical size. It concludes that the interplay between the military cultures adopted by opposing military forces is the primary and most consistent determinant of their fortunes on the battlefield. It also concludes that offence-defence theory and asymmetric strategic interaction theory do not provide consistent explanations for the battlefield performance of combatants in asymmetrical conflicts.

**Fitzsimmons, Scott**

*The Neo-Medievalization of Warfare: Prospects for the Future*

This paper addresses two related questions. First, how has the recent rise in the participation rates of private armies in wars across the developing world changed the nature of modern warfare? And, second, taking the performance of private armies that operated during the latter half of the twentieth century into account, what are the prospects that these actors will be able to enhance stability and security in Iraq, Afghanistan, and Africa? It argues that the warfare in the early twenty-first century is transitioning toward a form resembling the medieval period in Europe, where in territorially-based military forces are not the exclusive or even the primary military actors in many conflicts. It also argues that private armies can enhance security and stability in developing countries but only if employed with strict political oversight to prevent and redress the abuses that characterized their behaviour during the medieval era. Ultimately, this paper concludes that if

private armies are to reestablish themselves as major and helpful players in national and international security, then the international community must establish a robust global regulatory regime to manage and control these actors.

#### **Flanik, William**

##### *A Theory of Metaphorical Framing and Foreign Policy, Applied to US National Missile Defense*

Scholars increasingly use metaphorical analysis to understand how shared meanings of foreign policy are constituted. Few authors, however, take the next step and explore \*causal\* mechanisms that link metaphor to foreign policy processes and outcomes. Meanwhile, causal theories of foreign policy largely ignore metaphor. The paper addresses both lacunae by developing a theory of metaphorical framing and showing empirically how metaphor causally shapes policy processes and outcomes. The approach synthesizes insights from cognitive linguistics, theories of persuasion and argumentation, and the agenda-setting literature. It assumes that when policy windows appear, policy entrepreneurs frame their arguments metaphorically. Successful metaphorical frames: (1) promote \*understanding\* by simplifying complex policy ideas into easily grasped language; (2) make policy ideas \*salient\* by prompting emotional responses to them; (3) promote \*persuasion\* by highlighting positive aspects of policy ideas while hiding unpleasant ones, and (4) by connoting shared beliefs, symbols, narratives, and experiences, make policy ideas \*resonate\* with audiences' existing causal and normative beliefs. In public battles for policy legitimation, successful frames tip the 'rhetorical balance of power' toward entrepreneurs' arguments, raising the costs of opposition and increasing the likelihood that policymakers will endorse entrepreneurs' positions. The paper shows the plausibility of the theory with a case study of US national missile defense (NMD) policy. Cognitive discourse analysis and process tracing are used to show how, after the logic of mutual assured destruction became institutionalized in the early 1960s, NMD advocates' success has hinged on metaphors equating the US with a 'vulnerable' 'container' requiring a 'defensive' 'shield.'

#### **Fletcher, Joseph, Bastedo, Heather and Hove, Jennifer**

##### *Political knowledge and public attitudes toward Canadian military participation in Afghanistan*

Public support for Canada's military participation in Afghanistan has become a hot-button issue, yet there is little research investigating factors that influence support amongst the general public, how they may differ between sub-groups of the population, and how overall support has changed over time. In this paper, we look specifically at the role of political knowledge, which we measure across a number of dimensions, in order to assess the relationship between political sophistication and evolving support for Canada's military presence in Afghanistan. Our analysis is based on national survey data collected by Strategic Counsel measuring Canadian attitudes toward participation in Afghanistan, the necessity of continued engagement, and willingness of Canadians to bear casualties. Preliminary investigation reveals an interesting puzzle: although we find that Canadians who demonstrate greater levels of knowledge are more likely to support Canada's presence in Afghanistan, support for participation has decreased over time. Does this suggest a shift in public perception? What role might knowledge play? Further examination into these patterns will provide insight into the relationship between political knowledge and attitude formation, and perhaps into the underpinnings of opinion change.

#### **Flynn, Greg**

##### *Revisiting the Electoral Policy Mandate: An Examination of the Factors that Contribute to Election Promise Fulfillment in Canada*

Models of democratic and responsible government, as expressed by the "mandate theory", posit that parties have a policy-making role through the offer of policy commitments during election campaigns that they will implement if elected. However, the study of the policy-making process has omitted parties from consideration or viewed them as having a minimal or indirect impact (Howlett and Ramesh, 2003). Specific attempts to determine the implementation of election promises has been mixed, with some finding support for the mandate theory (Rallings, 1987; Budge et al, 1990, 1993; Royed 1996), while others indicate that the model does not apply (Winn and McMenemy, 1976; Petry 1995) and others dismiss it entirely (Clarke et al, 1991, 1996). In addition, there is limited analysis in all of the literature of the factors that contribute or interfere with promise fulfillment.

The paper will challenge the notion that parties do not fulfill election promises and thereby demonstrate that parties play a key role in policy making in Canada. It examines a sample of election commitments from each Canadian federal election from 1984 through to 2006 in conjunction with government policy to determine levels of promise fulfillment. It employs a regression analysis in combination with interviews of party and government officials to determine the institutional and policy environment factors that promote or inhibit the ability of parties to fulfill their election promises. The paper will show that the strategic actions taken by parties to address voter cynicism have also increased the likelihood of promise fulfillment.

#### **Fossum, John Erik**

##### *Explaining Constitutional Failure: The EU and Canada Compared*

Why did the efforts to strike a constitutional agreement in Canada and the EU fail? The European Laeken process (2001-2005) is compared with the Canadian Charlottetown process, both efforts at democratizing constitution making. I set out a framework to explain failure through deriving causal factors from (a) rational choice; (b) neo-institutionalism; and (c) deliberative democratic theory. Each of these has its own distinctive position on constitution; on what constitutes constitutional failure; on the actors and factors that drive the processes; and on the democratic implications that we can discern from the analysis. Does 'failure' survive across theory? If constitution is understood as a contractual arrangement, entered into by a fixed set of partners, and binding arrangement requires common consent, then inability to reach agreement constitutes failure. Reasons for failure can be extension in the number of actors, inclusion of actors with non-

negotiable stances etc. If alternatively constitution is understood as a particular 'living tradition', as a bundle of principles, norms and practices that is shaped through a society's operation rather than through a time-fixed agreement, then what matters is whether society's members adhere to the norms and traditions. If constitution is understood as a provisional arrangement, which is and should be open to contestation, then what matters most is where the disagreement lies not necessarily disagreement as such.

The main concern in this paper is to outline the three theoretical frameworks. This also includes drawing on the cases to offer a first assessment of their relative salience and explanatory value.

**Fossum, John Erik**

*Can the Notwithstanding Clause be Understood as a Case of De-juridification?*

The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms has been frequently labeled as a case of 'legalisation of politics' in Canada, or as a way of sidelining legislative bodies.

I am interested in how the notwithstanding provision can be understood in terms of the broader international debate on juridification. Blichner and Molander define juridification in the following manner: "Juridification ... takes place within a legal order or a legal order in the making, be it at a national, international or supranational level. It is a process in the sense that something increases over time. If the process is reversed we speak of dejuridification." Their point is that this is a multifaceted phenomenon, with five core dimensions.

The purpose of this article is first is to draw on the five categories identified by Blichner and Molander to clarify juridification; second, is to discuss whether the notwithstanding clause can be understood as a case of de-juridification. If so, which dimension(s) out of the five associated with juridification is 'de-juridified'? Which is the dominant one? I believe this framework can offer novel insights of value to the Canadian debate and may also help to clarify what is at stake in the Canadian case to a wider academic and policy-making audience.

**Fournier, Patrick, Turgeon, Mathieu, Blais, André, Gidengil, Elisabeth, Nevitte, Neil and Everitt, Joanna**

*Deliberative Attitude Change: Changing Your Mind Within an Interview*

We argue that certain conditions in a traditional cross-sectional survey can improve the quality of survey responses. More precisely, we contend that positioning a summary political judgement question after a lengthy and balanced series of relevant items can increase the breadth of considerations activated, thereby producing answers that are more closely related to individuals' underlying predispositions and more predictive of their eventual behaviour. By manipulating the location of the vote intention question in two separate national election campaign surveys, we find evidence of a new question order effect which we label the deliberative effect. Our results carry important lessons for understanding the quality of survey results, of citizen decision-making, and of the democratic process.

**Franke, Mark F. N.**

*The Politics of Neutrality, the Neutrality of Politics: Rethinking Red Cross Humanitarian Responsibility Via the Philosophy of Roland Barthes*

The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) attracts strong challenge over the value and efficacy of its humanitarianism, as it is increasingly seen to comply with a fundamental and acritical humanism. Such authors as David Campbell, Jenny Edkins, Peter Nyers, and Daniel Warner contend that this principle of neutrality, while permitting highly valuable emergency relief in times of disaster and conflict, actually contributes to the modern impression that concerns for the human may be addressed outside of the political, ignoring the conditions under which people are made vulnerable and suffer degradation and violence. This paper is sympathetic to this line of criticism, but I argue that such scepticism of ICRC's role in international affairs too easily dismisses and neglects the very character of what it means to be neutral. Drawing significantly on the reflections of philosopher Roland Barthes, I contend that the principle of neutrality, even as framed by ICRC, does not constitute a state of irresponsibility and inaction with respect to the politics of human suffering. Rather, neutrality in international affairs provides the possibility of responsible action. ICRC can and does often function internationally to constitute these conditions of possibility, and greater understanding of the force and power of neutrality within the organisation and other communities in the world will only lead to greater political responsibility to the question of the human and the suffering of humans. Where the work of ICRC functions to depoliticise human suffering and degradation it has really only suspended its adherence to neutrality.

**Frederiksen, Erica**

*Reconstituting Political Community: Truth Commissions, Restorative Justice and the Challenges of Democratic Transition*

The problem of transitional justice—how emerging democracies should deal with the legacy of human rights abuses perpetrated under a previous regime or in the course of violent conflict—is often depicted in terms of tradeoffs: justice or peace, truth or justice, reconciliation or retribution. Discussions of the moral appropriateness of truth commissions as an institutional mechanism for addressing past wrongs, for example, have frequently followed these lines. While these dichotomies draw attention to many of the moral and political compromises that distinguish periods of transition, they fail to capture the complexity of the relationship between the ethical and the political in the transitional context. The emergence of "restorative justice" in efforts to justify alternative approaches to transitional justice such as truth commissions and community-based tribunals provides an opportunity to examine this relationship more closely. Incorporating elements of truth-telling, forgiveness and reparation, restorative justice is primarily victim-oriented and reparative, aimed at societal healing and reconciliation. While it has drawn critical attention for its concern with the psychological dimensions of dealing with the past, its downplaying of retributive demands and advocates' appeals to theological concepts, the political implications of this model have yet to be adequately explored. The question "what does

restorative justice seek to restore?” is revealing in this regard. This paper seeks to identify and evaluate the contributions of restorative justice discourse to transitional justice, focusing especially on the challenges involved in reconstituting political community in the wake of violent conflict or authoritarian rule.

#### **Froese, Marc**

##### *Regulatory Friction in the North American Marketplace: The Canada-US Agriculture Disputes at the WTO*

Government intervention and regulation in North American markets for agricultural products is frequently cited as the single largest barrier to trade – both within the continent and at the global level. Government support for agricultural producers has the double-bladed effect of protecting the incomes of rural voters and exacerbating the impasse in the World Trade Organization where developing countries point to agricultural support as a prime example of Northern intransigence in multilateral trade negotiation. This paper examines the concept of regulatory friction in the context of the Canada-US wheat disputes at the WTO. It argues that the friction between national modes of market governance is the inevitable byproduct of a multilateral trading system. In the agriculture context, friction between trading partners frequently arises because sovereign states set market parameters according to particular economic need and in relation to existing policy and political conditions. Ultimately, regulating the standards for fair competition cannot take place outside of the political environment. Nevertheless, the clash between national regulatory frames is played out in WTO dispute settlement through charges of protectionism and the use of industrial policy for unfair market advantage. However, strategic public policy initiatives are a rising reality in an increasingly interdependent and global marketplace. Managing the friction that results when regulatory frames collide is more appropriately the job of national governments, rather than that of the World Trade Organization.

#### **Frost, Catherine**

##### *The People Have Spoken: Opening and Closing the Political Project Through Speech*

The people represent a tension between the definite and indefinite elements of collective life, between fluid and stabilizing practices in politics, and between opening and closing the political project. The concept can be associated with a founding act (“we the people”) and it can represent an act of sovereignty (“the people have spoken”). This echoes the tension between performative and pedagogical elements of the nation identified by Homi Bhabha. But what process governs the movement between these elements? And can we give a moral account of this process? This paper will focus on this elusive dynamic and the related tasks of the people, in an effort to determine how the movement between the two elements of the concept unfolds. Speaking is a critical element in the concept of the people. The people can speak the political project into being, and they exercise authority through speech. Speaking together is also a central concept in discourse and deliberative concepts of justice, as well as in an Arendtian concept of political life. But these approaches generally understand speech as originating with individuals so the collective speech acts of the people present something of a challenge. These approaches also call on us to pay close attention to the conditions for speech, because the moral authority of the outcome depends on those initial conditions. Should the speech acts of the people be subject to the same scrutiny? And more ambitiously, can we harness this dynamic – between the opening and closing functions of the people’s speech – to direct forms of transformation in politics or will the people, once founded, always tend towards closure in an effort to stabilize an otherwise ambiguous and fluid collective life?

#### **Furlong, Kathryn**

##### *Sustainability, Neoliberalism and Governance: An Examination of Relationships in Ontario’s Water Sector*

This paper examines the interaction of political-economic restructuring, sustainability, and the governance of municipal water services in the province of Ontario, Canada. Since the early 1990s, political-economic restructuring in Ontario predominantly reflects processes and policy orientations consistent with neoliberalization. Two strands of research posit particular relationships between neoliberalization and sustainability. One (associated with political ecology) asserts that neoliberalization yields negative outcomes for environmental policy. The other (ecological modernization) asserts that neoliberal restructuring leads to environmental improvements.

Through an examination of sustainable infrastructure management in the water sector, this paper complicates both sets of claims. Specifically, neoliberalization does not necessarily induce improved programming for sustainability and can, hinder its development. Neoliberalization, however, is not the unique hindrance to progress on sustainability. Rather, a techno-physical approach to service delivery combined with governance arrangements that neither empower nor compel a variety of necessary actors presents a key barrier to sustainability.

In these relationships, governance emerges as an important variable; interactions within and between governance organizations and scales are important. Utility staff assigned to supply and demand management programming, for example, need to work with provincial and municipal governments, other departments and divisions within the municipality, as well as their own water divisions. As such, analyses of how governance relationships are changing are central in understanding how drivers and constraints for supply and demand management programming are shifting as well. The primary data are derived from a province-wide expert survey, archival research, a one-day expert workshop, and seven municipal case studies.

#### **Gabriel, Christina**

##### *The Care Circuit: Migration and the Political Economy of Globalized Carework*

The feminization of migration has prompted feminists to consider the dimensions and consequences of transnational carework. While large numbers of women are on the move in the global economy – the ways in which they move, the types of jobs they undertake and their ability to move – is underwritten by social relations of gender, class and race. To

date much feminist scholarship, while very important, has been directed at the labour of migrant women workers in occupations constructed as 'low-skilled' including nannies, cleaners. However, carework also encompasses the work of migrant women in the 'skilled' sectors – nursing and teaching. In many countries in the global economic north, in the wake of public sector restructuring and demographic changes, state organized sectors, such as health, are increasingly reliant on migrant women's labour. This paper addresses the issue of carework and globalized social reproduction by considering the case of internationally educated registered nurses (RNs) in Canada. Using an intersectional approach it maps an aspect of the global care circuit by examining how national migration policy, labour market regulation, as well as sector related practices, are implicated in the process of (de)constructing the skills of internationally educated nurses. This issue is of significance as more and more countries in the North recruit skilled women migrants to address care shortages. Additionally it forces a consideration of the ethics attached to this form of recruitment.

#### Gaenzle, Stefan

##### *New Modes of Governance and the European Neighbourhood Policy*

In this paper I argue that the development of the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) can be understood as a form of 'externalization of EU governance'. In 2004 and 2007, the EU enlarged to encompass twelve new member states and thus acquired a new neighbourhood, notably in Eastern Europe. Russia, Ukraine, Belarus and Moldova now share a common border with the EU. Since 2001/02, the EU has been developing the ENP to cope with the challenges resulting from this new political landscape, and as such, the ENP is now the primary instrument through which EU governance is externalized. With the exception of Belarus and Russia, the European Union's Eastern neighbours are intent on acquiring EU membership. The EU, in turn, is keen on maintaining its Eastern borders safe and secure from external risks such as illegal migration, environmental degradation and economic crisis. In order to meet these objectives, the EU promotes democratic and economic reforms in the countries located along its Eastern border and in doing so strives to foster political stability and security in the wider Europe. While hierarchy and negotiation constitute the dominant modes of governance in enlargement, this paper will demonstrate that coordination and competition – albeit in the shadow of hierarchy – are the most central modes of governance discernible within the European Neighbourhood Policy.

#### Gammer, Nicholas

##### *Political Leadership and Shifts in Canadian Foreign Policy: Interventions in Yugoslavia and Afghanistan*

Canada's interventionary stance in the former Yugoslavia signalled a shift in Canadian foreign policy from a reliance on peacekeeping to an acceptance of an interventionist form of peacemaking as a means of bolstering multilateralism and protecting human rights. A second major intervention in Afghanistan now places Canada on the doorstep of a second shift that would further distance Canada from its peacekeeping tradition. Guided by my earlier study, *From Peacekeeping to Peacemaking: Canada's Response to the Yugoslav Crisis* (2001), and informed, in part by the earlier work of Von Riehoff, Cox and Stein on the role of political leadership in shaping Canada's foreign policy, this paper examines the practices and policies of political leaders in analyzing their central role in presiding over these shifts in policy.

In the Yugoslav case, it will be argued that the Prime Minister's power was fully exercised in challenging the doctrine of non-intervention and broadening acceptable parameters of intervention. As in the case of the Yugoslav intervention, the role of political leadership in Canada's Afghan intervention will be examined as the central determinant of another imminent shift in Canada's foreign policy. By exploring the management of Canada's Afghanistan policy by Chrétien, Martin and Harper, conclusions about the pre-eminence of a prime minister over policy-making will be drawn. Tensions between those forces which attempt to exert influence on the Prime Minister and the policy-making process will be highlighted. This paper argues that the Harper government's Afghan policy represents an effort to reposition Canadian policy to a more aggressive, militarily-directed intervention in zones of international conflict, thereby confirming another significant shift in Canadian foreign policy.

#### Gaon, Stella

##### *Democracy in Crisis: Violence, Alterity, Community. Introduction*

This paper diagnoses an apparent impasse between various continental thinkers on the radical left (Wolin, Hardt and Negri, Laclau and Mouffe, Rancière, Nancy, Agamben, eg.) – who are grappling with what Alan Keenan and Wendy Brown call, respectively, the uncertainty of democratic legitimacy and the anxiety associated with calls for self-legislation – and analytical thinkers based largely in North America (Iverson, Eisenberg, Benhabib, Parekh, Carens, Kymlicka, eg.) who are working actively to justify a political agenda of rights enhancements in the name of that "Other" or on behalf of that "culture" that historically has been oppressed. I argue that this impasse stems from an understanding of democracy as inclusion based on identity, and that we can overcome it by beginning with a different question. Rather than asking how we can achieve more substantive democracies \*despite\* their excesses, their alterities and their infinite vulnerabilities to deconstruction, I propose investigating how these excesses and these alterities contribute to something called "democracy" to begin with. I then overview a series of innovative responses to this question, drawn from both the analytical and the continental traditions, that will be published in the forthcoming volume (Manchester UP 2009). The paper thus provides the theoretical context for the three specific contributions – those by Glowacka, Kellogg and Ziarek – that follow on this panel. Taken together, I conclude, the authors suggest a formulation of irreducible difference ("alterity") as valuable insofar as it is a provocation and thus a condition for – rather than an obstacle or an impediment to – radical democratic praxis.

#### Garon, Francis

##### *The Environmental Movement and the State in Québec: The Dynamics of Inclusion and Exclusion*

Environmental concerns are nowadays among the most prominent issues facing democratic governments. The issues, and the responses to them, are often carried by environmental groups who try in different ways to influence collective policy-making and decisions. The States respond to these pressures through a selection process that legitimize some groups and de-legitimize others. This in turn will influence the ways in which inclusion and exclusion operate. One of the most interesting models available to capture and explain these dynamics is developed by John Dryzek (2003). He proposes that relationships between groups and State's actors and institutions can fit into a four cells model: inclusive/active; inclusive/passive; exclusive/active; exclusive/passive. The idea behind this model is that the relationships vary according to a series of characteristics specific to state organization: prior institutional arrangements and the organization of "states imperatives", i.e. "the functions that governmental structures have to carry out to ensure their own longevity and stability".

Building on Dryzek's model, this paper proposes to explore the dynamics of inclusion and exclusion and the processes of legitimization and de-legitimization of groups in Québec environmental policy-making. A detailed empirical analysis of the Québec's case shows that it is possible to refine Dryzek's model in order to include more of the inter-groups dynamics to understand the ways in which the State integrates the environmental movement. We will show that ideological, organizational, and strategic differences between groups, and hence the competition between them, have an important effect on how the State reacts to demands of inclusion.

#### **Gaudreault, France**

##### *Droits humains et constitution de l'ordre international*

Depuis la fin de la Seconde guerre mondiale, les droits humains sont généralement acceptés comme étant un discours moral légitime au sein de la communauté internationale. A priori, la notion de droits humains se présente comme étant essentiellement émancipatoire chez les cosmopolites libéraux. En effet, on présume généralement de la nature intrinsèque morale de ce discours ou encore de son caractère naturel. Dans le cadre de cette communication, nous souhaitons explorer la dimension politique des droits humains non pas en termes de politique étrangère, mais plutôt à travers le rôle constitutif qu'il joue dans la production et la reproduction de l'ordre international. Nous souhaitons démontrer que celui-ci transporte également une charge politique contraignante qu'il importe de considérer dans l'analyse et la compréhension de ce discours.

Les écoles réaliste et marxiste sont riches d'explications quant à l'existence d'inégalités sur la scène internationale. Toutefois, leurs interprétations sont souvent limitées à l'étude des capacités matérielles des acteurs et les valeurs idéelles y sont assujetties sans qu'elles puissent jouer un rôle indépendant et dans le maintien de ces mêmes inégalités. Nous proposons une approche qui devrait nous permettre de mettre en relief le caractère contraignant d'un discours moral. Notre objectif est d'avoir une meilleure compréhension du discours des droits humains en tant que force de maintien du statu quo d'une part. D'autre part, nous visons à démontrer que le projet émancipatoire véhiculé à travers un tel discours en apparence moral peut parfois avoir un effet contraire, c'est-à-dire jouer un rôle contraignant sur l'individu.

#### **Gecelovsky, Paul**

##### *Catching Mercury: Money Laundering and Canadian Financial Statecraft*

The paper will examine the initiatives adopted by Canada to combat the problem of money laundering. The paper will argue that the measures undertaken to date to counter money laundering have met with limited success. The paper will be divided into three main sections. In the first section, the concept of money laundering, the objectives of money laundering, and the stages of the money laundering process, will be discussed. This will be followed by a look at the emerging international financial regime to counter money laundering activities. Included in this discussion will be the measures adopted by the relevant states to fight money laundering, as well as initiatives undertaken by the UN, the IMF, the Financial Action Task Force (FATF), the Egmont Group, and the Financial Transactions and Reports Analysis Centre of Canada (FINTRAC). Also included will be a discussion of the Wolfsberg Principles agreed to by the major international private banks. The third part of the paper will assess the effectiveness of the above measures in combating money laundering among the relevant states. It will be shown that the current measures in place suffer from a number of serious problems, including disagreement about what constitutes a legitimate/illegitimate financial transaction, a lack of state capacity, or willingness, to enforce agreements, and a reliance on domestic governments to enforce measures (i.e. a lack of an international body with enforcement capability).

#### **Ghanbarpour Dizboni, Ali**

##### *IR Theories and the Emergence of Shi'a Crescent: A Tentative Explanation?*

This presentation will deal with the following key question: Is it possible to explain the Shia Crescent as a geopolitical force in terms of Realist theory? Or is a combination of different approaches including Pluralist and Constructivist theories necessary to understand this phenomenon? The critical role played by the Iranian government and its close cooperation with regional non-state actors like Hezbollah in a context of American hegemony in Middle East point to the necessity of theoretical synthesis. Key concepts of contending approaches must be integrated in order to understand the nature of balance of power, cultural linkages and transnational actors. These interdependent variables can help us to understand the Shia Crescent as both a homogenous and evolving force. The sophisticated interaction between ideological similarities and dominant political interests determine the force and the weaknesses of Shi'a movements.

#### **Gidengil, Elisabeth, O'Neill, Brenda and Young, Lisa**

##### *Her Mother's Daughter? The Influence of Childhood Socialization on Women's Political Engagement*

Women are typically less interested in politics than men are; they are more likely to think that politics is simply too complicated for them to understand; they pay less attention to news about politics; and they have smaller stocks of political knowledge than men. These gender gaps cannot be explained by differences in women's educational attainment or material resources nor by the greater demands that child care responsibilities continue to make on many women's time. They have persisted despite the massive movement of women into paid employment and dramatic gains in women's educational attainment. It seems that many women are still socialized to believe that politics is a man's world. The proposed paper uses data from a survey of 1,264 women sampled from across English-speaking Canada to examine whether early exposure to politics in the home can serve to counteract the effects of female socialization. We will examine the impact of political discussion in the home and parents' political and civic engagement on adult women's political interest, political self-confidence, political knowledge, and propensity to be involved in conventional (e.g. party membership), unconventional (e.g. demonstrations) and market-oriented (e.g. boycotts) political activities. We will be paying particular attention to the influence of the mother's political and civic engagement in order to determine whether there is a role-model effect (net of other factors, such as education, age and income that might affect a women's level of political engagement)

**Gilbert, Liette , Sandberg, L. Anders and Wekerle, Gerda R.**

*Bioregional Citizenship and Environmental Justice in the Greater Toronto Region*

In the last twenty years, the Oak Ridges Moraine on the northern fringes of Toronto's metropolitan region has changed from a scarcely noticed landscape feature into an icon of environmental conservation. In efforts to "save" the Moraine from urban sprawl, it has been constructed as a bioregion. We identify and explore three currents in bioregionalism in relation to the Moraine. We observe that the mobilization around the Moraine as a bioregion has brought together unlikely allies whose interests were once mutually exclusive and even opposed. We identify bioregionalism's role as a major political tool to both resist and support urban sprawl. We conclude that the favoured currents of bioregionalism are shallow, focusing rhetorically on ecocentric values, pragmatically on science and managerialism in setting aside public and private protected spaces, but maintaining the political and economic status quo on the Moraine and in the surrounding Toronto region, thereby failing to adequately address environmental justice issues.

**Gildiner, Alina**

*Disability Policy in the European Context*

Many OECD member countries are substantially reforming their disability policies (OECD 2003, Hvinden 2003, OECD 2007). The incentives for doing so range from high and growing disability costs to demographic changes, especially the aging of populations and the push to extend retirement ages and prolong the working years. Earlier policies aimed at pensioning individuals who have permanent or temporary partial disabilities are being replaced by policies that focus on work retention, and labour market re-entry (or even initial entry) strategies. These range from legal measures such as anti-discrimination laws to public policy measures such as wage subsidies and job quotas (Mabbett 2005a, 2005b). In the past, countries had tended to cluster around one or other of these strategies. More recently, "internationalization" is also occurring as a result of policy learning between jurisdictions (Prinz, interview, 2007).

While a certain amount of convergence in policies is being seen, especially given European Union juridical frameworks, the differing past policies, programmatic features, and policy communities that developed historically continue to result in significantly differing approaches (Hvinden 2003). This paper will analyze and compare data from interviews conducted in Sweden and France in early 2007 regarding disability policy changes in those countries, within the context of the European Union. (Interviews may also have been conducted in two other northern European countries in time for inclusion in the paper.) It will pay particular attention to implications of these reconfigurations in law and public policy for the direction of welfare states in a shifting economic, demographic and institutional environment.

**Gingras, Anne-Marie**

*Freedom of Expression and Trash Radio*

Hosts of trash radio rely on freedom of expression to justify their discourse. But what makes trash radio? In this communication, I will demonstrate that freedom of expression, a major symbol of democracy, lends respectability to trash discourse because the latter has many components we cherish in a democracy: lively debates and individualism, among others. In fact, trash radio thrives on lively debates, confrontation and controversy, often combining harsh denunciations with libel. Trash radio mixes lively debates and individualism with slanderous discourse and populism, so their hosts can claim that their debates are useful in a democracy. Since trash radio exploits feelings of alienation and anger towards the political class, this phenomenon might very well prosper in the future if some political parties support trash radio in their conflict with the CRTC and in judicial disputes.

I use the case of Quebec City CHOI-FM for explaining trash radio. This station had many administrative and judicial conflicts from 2001 to 2006. The CRTC decision not to renew the license was confirmed by the Federal Court in September 2005 and the Supreme Court refused to hear the matter in 2007. The CRTC decision has not been implemented and the station was sold. Politicians thus avoided a major confrontation with populist leaders of Quebec City. This communication expands on my 2007 CJPS article (*La question de la liberté d'expression dans les démêlés judiciaires et les revers administratifs de CHOI-FM*) with an analysis on how the political class deals with populism and slander.

**Glowacka, Dorota**

### *From Fear to Democracy: Toward the Politics of Com-passion*

The context for this paper is J. T. Gross' book *Fear* (2006), concerning the pogrom of Holocaust survivors in Kielce on July 6, 1946. This and other anti-Semitic incidents signaled Poland's moral failure and the lack of a common frame of civic reference that would allow Polish and Polish-Jewish victims to contextualize and to begin to deal with their sense of loss: of life, identity and human dignity. The prevalence of violence in situations where many would expect the exercise of compassion and the Christian precept of loving one's neighbor led me to examine articulations of affect in recent debates about democracy. I consider two opposing, dominant discourses within these debates: that of fear (e.g., in Z. Bauman, W. Soyinka, and J. Kristeva) and that of love (e.g., in M. Hardt and A. Negri, J-L Nancy, bell hooks and L. Irigaray). I begin by noting an underlying instability of the classical dichotomy of fear and love. Both fear and love emerge from these opposed discourses as "shattering" sentiments that signal one's exposure to the Other at the limit of the self-possessed, self-identified subject. I then examine the implications of that tension for democratic politics, and insist on the need to rethink fear and love as political passions. Drawing on Chantal Mouffe's influential critique of liberal democracy (in *The Democratic Paradox*), I argue that her model of agonistic pluralism in democracies must also entail a constructive tension between the countervailing affects of fear and love to inform a radical democratic project.

### **Godbout, Jean-Francois**

#### *The Influence of Electoral Competitiveness on House Legislative Behavior*

This paper evaluates how electoral demands are affected by legislative behavior using a dataset of House election results and incumbent legislative behavior (1972-2000). The findings demonstrate that previous roll-call extremism in the House of Representatives reduces the incumbent's electoral security. This relationship is explained by past legislative records: either the incumbent's own record or that of his/her predecessor. An important exception to this rule is found when we focus on freshmen representatives who entered the House by defeating an incumbent (or the incumbent party's candidate). In such cases, moderate incumbents are more likely to be replaced by extreme candidates, and extreme incumbents are more likely to be replaced by moderate candidates. The analysis presented in this paper highlights the role of competitiveness as a moderating influence on the voting record of House members.

### **Goldstein, Joshua D.**

#### *From the Idea of Marriage to the Boundaries of Sex in New Natural Law Theory*

The so-called 'new natural law' theorists (NNL) use a philosophic inquiry into the nature, or good, or marriage to derive a wider sexual ethics that includes claims about the moral impossibility of: same-sex marriage, sexual activity outside of marriage, as well as a great many forms of sexual activity within marriage. Bridging the idea of marriage and the wider sexual ethics, is an under-explored series of arguments for an exclusive connection between the moral concept of marriage and the physical facticity of sexual relations. This paper argues that this exclusive link, however, stands in tension with NNL's own moral theorizing in two important ways. First, this link articulates an inversion of the moral movement in which the NNL gathers up features of our facticity within universal normative categories, transforming this facticity into an instance of a practical, moral project. Second, this exclusive link is only sustainable by a transference of the moment of unity of concept and action in the world from participation in an institutional unity (e.g., marriage) to that of an 'organic unity' (e.g., a particular form of heterosexual sex) in a way that destroys the necessity of that institutional unity. This paper suggests that solutions to both problems can be found within the very logic of moral theorizing that defines the NNL. The result of correcting these problems is to remove the exclusive link between sex and marriage underpinning the NNL's controversial sexual ethics, allowing it to comprehend same-sex marriage as wholly congruent with the demands of the good of marriage while simultaneously strengthening its insight into morally transformative power of the marriage.

### **Gomez, Victor**

#### *Breaking Up the Party: Poland's Political Parties Since 1990*

A predictable and stable system of political parties is an important component of a healthy democracy. The extent to which a country can establish a stable political party system is, then, a marker of the quality of that country's democracy. My paper examines this issue in Poland. Even in the context of post-communist countries of East-Central Europe, which have featured relatively high degrees of volatility in political party systems since 1990, Poland stands out. The Polish party system has been formed and reformed several times since 1990, as individual parties fell apart, merged, split, disappeared or were replaced by new parties. In general, the literature attributes such political party fragmentation to electoral systems or underlying social cleavages. In contrast, my paper suggests that deep historical divisions between Poland's parties as well as the dynamics of inter-party competition in the 1990s and 2000s created constraints and opportunities for political entrepreneurs that encouraged the creation of a fluid political party system. My paper traces the origins of Poland's parties to either the anti-communist opposition or the communist regime, and subsequently looks at their development in the post-communist era by dividing the years after 1990 into three distinct phases in order to focus on the competitive dynamics that led to the repeated fragmentation of Poland's parties between 1989 and 2004.

### **Good, Kristin**

#### *The Politics of Multiculturalism at the Local Level: An Exploration of the Social Diversity Hypothesis*

In Canada, multiculturalism is a highly concentrated urban phenomenon as close to three-quarters of the country's immigrants settle in its three largest city regions. Given their similarly high levels of ethno-cultural diversity, why do municipalities in these city regions vary so significantly in their multiculturalism policy-making processes and efforts? The paper addresses this question through engagement with the "social diversity interpretation" of American politics (Hero

1998). The social diversity interpretation argues that the ethnic configurations of political units affect their policy outcomes, policy processes, and institutional development. The paper explores the relationship between multiculturalism policy development and the ethnic configurations of seven municipalities located in English-speaking Canada's most numerically significant immigrant-receiving city regions: Toronto, Mississauga, Brampton and Markham in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA) and Vancouver, Richmond and Surrey in Greater Vancouver (GV). It introduces two categories of ethnic configurations in these municipalities – biracial and multiracial – and examines whether there are patterns in their policy outputs in multiculturalism policy, changes in the political dynamics of their communities and the nature of governance arrangements. It argues that although the patterns are not perfect, there is indeed strong evidence of a relationship between a municipality's ethnic configuration and the local politics of multiculturalism. Thus, the paper asks whether the social diversity interpretation might offer a cross-national comparative framework within which to study immigrant and ethno-cultural minority incorporation into urban governance concluding that the enterprise would offer many rewards but that the social diversity framework would have to be adjusted and refined.

#### **Gordon, David and Speers, Kimberly**

##### *Making the Link: Climate Change, Accountability Frameworks, Planning, and Measuring Performance in Local and Provincial Governments in Western Canada*

In the past several years, all levels of government in Canada have addressed climate change to some extent. For a variety of reasons, a policy window was recently opened that forced governments to examine their policies, their jurisdictional responsibilities, their performance frameworks, and their overall plans to address climate change. There has been much written on climate change from a public policy perspective, but there appears to be a gap in how the issue of climate change is addressed from a public management perspective. In other words, instead of focusing on the content of policies and policy instruments, the public management approach, and the approach used in this paper, will address how climate change as a policy issue translates to planning, measuring performance, and publicly reporting.

This paper will identify the types of plans, performance measures, targets, and reporting mechanisms that relate to climate change in each of the four provinces and six urban centres in Western Canada (Vancouver, Victoria, Calgary, Edmonton, Winnipeg, and Regina) from 2004 onwards. A comparative analysis will address the similarities and differences in the following relationships: between the urban centres, between the provinces, and between the relevant province and its urban centres (e.g. British Columbia, Victoria, and Vancouver).

Through an analysis of provincial and municipal websites, professional associations and governmental networks and through telephone interviews with key policy actors, we intend to present the argument that there is a gap between policy and procedure concerning climate change.

#### **Gore, Christopher**

##### *Governance, Political Change, and Public Sector Reform in Uganda: The World Bank at a Crossroads*

Since the late 1980s, the World Bank has enthusiastically promoted 'governance reforms' in sub-Saharan Africa. The Bank's 'governance agenda' has typically focused on improved public sector management, accountability, and transparency, suggesting that improved governance will lead to improved development outcomes. Many scholars of Africa, however, challenge this agenda. They argue that the Bank's use of governance should be more accurately understood as a means for it to promote a political agenda and a particular type of state. Moreover, that the Bank's use of governance distorts the analytical utility and neutrality of the concept. In this paper, the Bank's analytical and operational use of governance in Uganda is examined. Because of Uganda's reputation as a reform leader in sub-Saharan Africa, on the surface, the Bank's operational approach to governance seems to have been successful. However, Uganda's ongoing problems improving and reforming its electricity sector, and the dramatic implications of these problems for economic and social development seem to be challenging the Bank's reform advice. Indeed, Uganda continues to have one of the lowest levels of electricity access in the world. In this paper, I argue that the problems in Uganda's electricity sector are due to an overemphasis on reform outcomes and an underestimation of the direct and indirect political effects of the World Bank's 'governance agenda'. In turn, the paper considers the implications of these problems for development in Uganda, and uniquely, for what this also means for future World Bank operations in Uganda and sub-Saharan Africa generally.

#### **Gore, Christopher**

##### *Local Governments and Climate Change Advocacy in Canada: Reflections on Network (In)effectiveness*

Today, approximately 65% of Canada's population lives in municipalities that have formally committed to reducing greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions. Indeed, as early as 1988 some Canadian municipalities were working to reduce their emissions. In the United States, in early February 2007, 398 mayors representing 50 states and over 58 million citizens had committed to the US Mayors Climate Protection Agreement – an agreement that formally commits local governments to emission reductions and that advocates for more national action. While the breadth of this municipal action is impressive, what makes it even more significant is the fact that it has occurred and grown in the absence of strong and effective national action in both countries. Nonetheless, despite the fact that research suggests that municipalities have direct influence over 50% or more of national GHG emissions, and long-standing national and international networks of local governments committed to climate change action, it remains that municipalities in Canada are not considered prominently in national climate strategies and are not a strong political force in climate policy. Indeed, municipal actions and advocacy have not proven convincing nationally. In this exploratory paper, the breadth and depth of Canadian municipal response to climate change in North America is reviewed. In doing this, the paper considers various reasons why local governments in Canada have not been more effective at shifting national action on climate change, particularly

by examining the role, strategy, and effectiveness of municipal networks and comparing them to similar networks in the United States.

**Gorton, William**

*Too Much of a Good Thing? Freedom, Individualism, Autonomy and the Decline of Happiness in Liberal Democracies*  
Liberal democracies are defended partly on the ground that they foster the happiness of their citizenry. The freedom and autonomy that liberal societies grant their citizens is said to be the principle means through which they promote this happiness. Individuals are presumed to be the best judges of their needs and interests; therefore granting them freedom to pursue those needs and interests should make them happy. However, while it is true that liberal societies are generally happier than other societies, findings from the field of positive psychology suggests that happiness in these societies has been declining in recent decades. Perhaps more troubling, they are experiencing rising suicide rates and an epidemic of depression. Some evidence suggests that, in certain contexts, an abundance of freedom is the culprit behind the loss of happiness. The paper closes with some suggestions for how liberal democracies might combat declining happiness without compromising liberalism's fundamental and necessary commitment to freedom and autonomy. One option considered is so-called soft paternalism. The goal of soft paternalism is to skew individuals' choices towards particular outcomes, rather than directly coerce individuals towards those ends, when some kind of skewing is inevitable anyway.

**Grace, Joan**

*NAC, Policy Advocacy and Federalism: Why Ideas and Institutions Matter*

As I have previously argued, because institutional imperatives (federalism, the Charter, Parliament and the public bureaucracy) frame and transform policy debates, a feminist-institutional approach to analyses is required because it is an integrated approach which fastens the links between policy institutions and political discourses with revealing the multiplicities of women's structural discrimination. Canadian political science, however, has largely ignored the gendered aspects of institutions and the way in which a feminist understanding of institutions interjects political and contextual substance to political analysis. This is a serious oversight, for we are left with many questions such as why, and why not, women's organizations have been able to successfully realize policy outcomes.

This paper seeks to add to this knowledge by analyzing NAC's participation in a critical policy event, the Social Security Review, which took place from 1994 to 1995. The SSR is analysed to also study the current policy context and how federal structures in Canada have structured and influenced the NAC's political agenda and feminist policy.

**Graefe, Peter and Levesque, Mario**

*Impediments to Innovation in the Canadian Social Union: The Case of the Labour Market Agreements for People with Disabilities*

Attempts at renewing social policy following the retrenchment of the 1995 Federal budget are now a decade old. While considerable effort has gone into negotiating new agreements and elaborating new reporting and accountability mechanisms, the results in terms of expanding social rights or developing innovative policies have regularly been seen as thin and limited (Cameron 2004; Day and Brodsky 2007). One standard explanation for this outcome is that accountability and policy learning have been fused in recent agreements: provinces are required to prepare annual plans and reports, both as a form of accountability, but also to allow for the exchange of information and best practices (Phillips 2003). As the provinces have successfully limited their reporting responsibilities (Kershaw 2006), innovation has been stunted. Our paper considers labour market agreements for people with disabilities, an area that has seen little bold policy innovation. It is based on a corpus of bilateral agreements, provincial reports, and interviews. We find that the linkage of accountability and learning means that learning gets caught in long-standing jurisdictional disputes, leading to perverse forms of learning. But, more significantly, we also find significant barriers to innovation in federal funding, which neither provides incentives for "have provinces" to expand their programming, nor provides sufficient funds for "have-less" provinces to transform their programmes. It is not unthinkable that failures in the accountability/learning nexus have as much to do with funding problems as with provincial resistance.

**Graham, Katherine and Stoney, Christopher**

*Creatures of the Provinces? The impact of the Federal Government on Municipalities and Urban Affairs.*

As part of a five year MCRI project examining public policy in Canadian municipalities, this research paper is intended to inform analysis of the federal-municipal machinery developed to facilitate urban policy and development. Our research timeframe begins with the period leading up to the creation of the Ministry of State for Urban Affairs (MUSA) in 1970 and continues through four decades to include recent events of note such as the 'new deal' for Canada's cities and communities and the gas tax transfers for transport and municipal infrastructure.

The focus on federal-machinery during this period reflects our belief that the structure of intergovernmental relations provides a crucial variable in explaining municipal policies and yet, since the dismantling of the MSUA in 1978, it has remained a relatively under-researched and neglected area. This neglect appears increasingly inappropriate at a time when federal-municipal interaction and direct federal funding for urban centres are rising sharply.

We explore the key drivers of change in the federal-local relationship and assess the timeliness and quality of the outcomes they have produced. Drawing on documentation, relevant literature and about 40 interviews with academics and key government players from the last four decades, we set out the scope of federal instruments used to structure municipal affairs. In the process we address a number of key research issues concerning the reasons why federal governments intervene in an area of provincial jurisdiction and the effectiveness of the policies they adopt to do this.

**Grant, J. Andrew**

*Transitional Justice, Foreign Aid, and the Prospects for Post-Conflict Reconstruction in Liberia*

The provision of justice and foreign aid are important components for rebuilding post-conflict communities. The need for transitional justice initiatives has gained much credence in recent years and truth and reconciliation commissions are considered to be cost-effective 'restorative' justice mechanisms that promote societal healing among not only victims, but also perpetrators. Following the provisions of the August 2003 Accra Comprehensive Peace Agreement, Liberia's parliamentarians passed legislation mandating the creation of the Liberia Truth and Reconciliation Commission (LTRC) in 2005. The United Nations, bilateral donors such as the United States, transnational non-governmental organizations, and international aid agencies have been instrumental in providing much-needed external assistance to Liberia since the end of its civil war. The paper argues that although foreign aid in its various forms is a welcome source of external support for post-conflict reconstruction efforts, it is finite like any other resource. Iron ore, rubber, timber, and diamonds hold potential as internal sources to spur economic growth and reconstruction. However, as the paper illustrates, many obstacles remain such as the government's inability to properly regulate natural resource extraction. Furthermore, post-conflict reconstruction must also address intangible issues such as corruption and the healing of society. Although the LTRC was launched with great fanfare in 2006, funding constraints and training issues have hampered its effectiveness. Ultimately, this paper seeks to contribute to the literature on transitional justice and foreign aid and provide insights on the broader policy-relevant questions of how best to advance societal healing and economic development in post-conflict settings.

**Greene, Ian**

*The Impact of Social Science Evidence on Supreme Court of Canada Decisions*

In 1975, the Supreme Court of Canada decided that it would admit evidence from social scientists, if relevant to legal issues being considered in particular cases. The assessment of the impact of social science evidence on Supreme Court decisions is a major research undertaking that must be conducted in stages. As the first stage, the use of social science evidence in the *EI* Case (2003) will be compared with that in the *Sauvé* case (2002). In the former case, social science evidence for both the winning and losing sides was presented by social scientists who had studied judicial decision-making in detail. In the *Sauvé* case, social science evidence was provided by leading political scientists, but their area of expertise was not judicial behavior. The paper will argue that expertise in judicial behaviour makes a difference, and this knowledge is potentially useful to other social scientists who serve as expert witnesses in litigation.

**Greffet, Fabienne et Bastien, Frédéric**

*Plus ça change, plus c'est pareil?*

*Une comparaison de l'usage d'Internet par les partis politiques au Canada et en France*

Une littérature académique abondante sur les «cyber-campagnes» existe. Dans ces travaux, les chercheurs s'intéressent notamment aux pratiques interactives offertes sur les sites des partis et candidats, et aux possibilités de transformations de la compétition électorale que recèlerait ce média. Cependant, ces études ne permettent que partiellement d'apprécier l'impact du contexte institutionnel et médiatique national sur l'usage d'Internet par les partis. Cette communication propose de s'orienter dans cette direction en menant une analyse comparative du contenu des sites web des partis lors des campagnes électorales tenues au Québec et en France en 2007. Tout en reconnaissant que les grands partis disposent de ressources plus importantes pour développer des sites web sophistiqués, nous testerons deux hypothèses: (i) une hypothèse sur la «standardisation» des contenus web, ou tendance à ce que les sites de partis se ressemblent; (ii) une hypothèse selon laquelle, malgré cette standardisation, les spécificités du contexte médiatico-politique national «jouent» sur certaines caractéristiques des sites des partis en campagne. Ainsi la question de la complémentarité médiatique sera envisagée: les partis qui, dans leur contexte national, ont un accès réduit aux autres médias (les nouvelles et les publicités télévisées en particulier) exploitent davantage les potentialités d'Internet que ceux qui y obtiennent une plus grande visibilité. Les candidats bénéficiant en France d'un temps de parole égal à la télévision pendant la campagne officielle, et de spots gratuits, ce qui n'est pas le cas au Canada, nous nous attendons à ce que les petits partis français exploitent moins l'Internet que les petits partis du Québec.

**Grey, Sandra**

*The Political Opportunities for Feminist Dissent in Aotearoa/New Zealand*

During the 1970s and 1980s feminists in Aotearoa/New Zealand, like their sisters internationally, worked to open up spaces within the state and civil society for the voices of women to be heard. Over the two last decades, however, the spaces for dissent, critique, and the expression of alternative visions of society have been eroded. This paper uses social movement theory to examine the political opportunities for activism and dissent in New Zealand. It is argued that police raids under the Terrorism Suppression Act in October 2007 were a very public expression of the narrowing of spaces for dissent, though most of the regulation of oppositional voices has been more subtle. Signs of the narrowing political opportunities for women's organisations and other civil society groups include: accountability mechanisms foisted upon the non-government sector; changes to electoral laws; the rise of neo-liberal and public choice thinking; changing employment legislation, the casualisation of the labour force, and the decimation of unions; and new modes of public sector and local level governance. Even increased public consultation by state agencies, including those agencies established in response to feminist demands, limit the field of what is seen as 'acceptable' dissent. The regulation of dissent which has occurred over the past few decades should worry those interested in radical and deep democracy.

**Grieve, Malcolm and Turnbull, Lori**

*Politics and Pinot Noir: An explanation for the privatization of wine sales in Nova Scotia*

The Nova Scotia Liquor Commission was created under the Liquor Control Act of 1930 with a monopoly over sales until it was transformed into a crown corporation in 2001. Since that time the corporation has allowed more leeway for private sales of alcohol, at first restricted to a few breweries, wineries and four independent wine vendors given a five year sales permit in 2002.

Given that original concerns about responsible and regulated alcoholic beverage distribution and sales remain a justification for the public monopoly, the recent concessions to independent sales are an interesting public policy development. Why did the province agree to share sales revenue with four private retailers and with wineries? What lobbying or other pressures were involved in the decision? What are the implications of the private retailers for product selection and revenues to the province? The paper analyses the causes, consequences and prospects for privatized wine sales in the province through interviews with administrative personnel in the NSLC, the minister responsible (Carolyn Bolivar-Getson) and the pioneer owners of private wine stores. We examine the controls still in place over private wine importers and their experience in dealing with the bureaucratic machinery of the NSLC. In making this analysis we will sketch the "policy community" of wine in Nova Scotia and assess how alcohol control goals coexist with marketing, employment and revenue objectives. We will compare the cautious approach of Nova Scotia to the full privatization of alcohol sales in Alberta in 1993.

#### **Grinspun, Ricardo**

##### *Deep Integration in North America and the Fusing of Trade and Security*

The context of Canada-United States relations was dramatically altered by September 11, 2001 and the U.S. policy shifts that followed, which also brought about a transformation in the process of deepening integration between the two countries. A comprehensive approach to transforming the Canada-U.S. relationship, already taking root in the Security and Prosperity Partnership of North America (SPP), differs fundamentally from the strictly economic arrangements that defined the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement and the trilateral North American Free Trade Agreement. Canadian business leaders have abandoned past claims that free trade deals are strictly about economics and now admit that long-standing Canadian positions on a variety of issues have to be reconsidered in order to achieve economic objectives. Their post-9/11 logic has been that if Canada would respond favourably to Washington's heightened defence, security, and energy concerns, then the Bush White House would respond by rewarding Canadians with economic and trade security. Business proposals have reflected the fusing of trade and security matters, and appeared to be the blueprint for the SPP launched in 2005 by the three governments, including Mexico. For the Canadian advocates, the plan is for Canada to increase military spending, support U.S. strategic interests in Afghanistan and elsewhere, and harmonize its immigration and security policies in return for secure access to the U.S. market. In this paper I describe and assess this radical change in the logic of North American integration and explore its implications from a Canadian perspective.

#### **Grinvalds, Holly**

##### *The Influence of OECD Ideas: Labour Market Policy in Canada, Denmark and Sweden Compared*

This paper will investigate an understudied dimension of globalization, namely, the international diffusion of policy ideas and the role that international organizations play in that process. To explore these factors at work, the paper will examine the influence of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), and the OECD Jobs Study in particular, on labour market policy in Canada, Denmark and Sweden. These countries are interesting cases for comparison because the OECD directed a similar number of recommendations for reform to all three countries; in all cases, the recommendations pointed towards more flexible labour market regimes; yet Denmark and Canada showed more follow-through (implementing 60 percent of OECD recommendations) while Sweden showed less (around 30 percent). Canada and Denmark are, however, different welfare state types (liberal and social democratic respectively), while Sweden and Denmark are similar (both social democratic). Explanations at the level of welfare state regime, therefore, does not appear to be adequate. The puzzle, therefore, is why two countries with very different political and policy configurations responded similarly to the OECD Jobs Study, and why similar countries responded differently. To answer this question, the paper examines how interactions with the OECD, and domestic conditions and institutions affected the transfer, acceptance and impact of OECD ideas. Evidence from document analysis and interviews with OECD and domestic officials is used. The framework for analysis draws upon, and integrates, several literatures that highlight the role of ideas in public policy and the transfer of ideas from one context to another.

#### **Grönlund, Kimmo and Setälä, Maija**

##### *A Comparison of Face-to-Face and Online Deliberation with Voting and Common Statement Treatments*

Ideally, consensus is regarded as the goal of deliberative discussions, although most deliberative democrats consider voting necessary in real-world decision-making. The Citizen Deliberation field experiment described in this paper studies the impact of different decision-making methods on the deliberative process and its outcomes. The face-to-face experiment took place in November 2006 in Finland. The topic was: "Should a sixth nuclear power plant be built in Finland?". A random sample of 2500 people was first polled and invited to take part in the deliberation experiment. Eventually, 135 people took part in the actual experiment. The participants were randomly allocated into two treatment groups. In the first treatment, the small group decisions were reached through a secret ballot. In the second treatment, the groups were asked to formulate a common statement reflecting the group's opinion. Otherwise the deliberative procedures were identical. Additionally, an experiment replicating the face-to-face deliberation is held online in February 2008. The recruitment of participants in this virtual experiment will also be based on random sampling and the aim is to achieve full comparability between the offline and online experiments. In this paper, we compare how the participants' energy preferences and knowledge developed by treatment, both in the face-to-face and online deliberations. Especially

we focus on the potential of the virtual environment to facilitate a discussion where people can trust each other and where the norms of deliberation, such as mutual respect, are followed.

### Grundy, John

#### *'Manpower' Expertise in Canadian Labour Market Policy*

This paper draws upon governmentality scholarship to examine labour market policy in Canada. Specifically, it addresses how the 'Manpower' policy framework adopted by the federal government in the mid-sixties gave rise to a distinct mode of social welfare expertise known as 'Manpower' counseling. The paper examines how 'Manpower' counseling constituted a technology of social citizenship, one that sought to make known the aptitudes and potentialities of the social citizen and to shape these in accordance with 'Manpower' requirements of the national labour force. It addresses the strategies undertaken by the federal government to promote the benefits of 'Manpower' counseling for citizens and to elevate the status of the 'Manpower Counselor' as an expert of the social. The second section of the paper describes the contestation of 'Manpower' counseling in the 1970s by equity seeking groups, and by government officials seeking to impose performance and accountability measures on the work of employment counselors. This study is based on qualitative research methods including analysis of policy documents and interviews.

### Gutterman, Ellen

#### *Domestic Sources of State Compliance with International Law*

This paper develops a theory to explain the conditions under which advanced, industrialized states will be more or less likely to comply with their international legal commitments. The central proposition is that where an international treaty embodies a norm that will proscribe existing behavior, compliance will follow when the proscribed behavior is framed in such a way that the state must address it and cannot publicly justify non-compliance. This happens when the norm resonates -- meets a high level of public sensitivity -- in the domestic political context.

Four explanatory variables at the domestic level of analysis explain when states will comply with their obligations under certain types of international law:

- (1) Legitimacy of domestic advocates for compliance
- (2) Access of domestic advocates to important policy-makers
- (3) Framing of the international norm within the domestic policy context
- (4) Resonance of the international norm within the domestic political context

"Norm resonance" introduces a new concept to the compliance literature and the literature on the domestic impacts of international norms. It suggests a range of normative factors involved in the operation of international norms on compliance, including the domestic political risks of transgressing against the norm, the ease or difficulty of justifying non-compliance, and the effect of resonance on the impact of international sources of pressure. Drawing on qualitative, comparative research in the international regime of anti-corruption, this paper develops the concept of norm resonance in the context of compliance and suggests applications for further research.

### Guven, Ali Burak

#### *Post-Washington Consensus in Action: Lessons from Turkey*

A controversial paradigm broadening has occurred in the mainstream of development thinking since the late 1990s. Called the "Augmented Washington Consensus" (Rodrik) or more commonly "Post-Washington Consensus" (Stiglitz), this policy reorientation has advocated an ambitious set of macro- and micro-regulatory reforms, complementing but also supplanting a neoclassical orthodoxy which had dominated development policy advice during the previous two decades. General critiques of the Post-Washington Consensus are plenty; but comprehensive, multi-sector country studies of how it is put into practice are few. This paper undertakes this latter task, drawing on evidence from Turkey—a country with a vivid record of IMF and World Bank-guided institutional reforms in several policy areas in the wake of its economic collapse in 2001. Six areas of reform are compared: banking, agriculture, central bank, public finance, social security, and anti-corruption. I arrive at two main findings. First, evidence supports critiques' concerns about the feasibility of such a comprehensive reform agenda. Acting upon the premises of the Post-Washington Consensus, even under relatively favorable circumstances, has proved politically and organizationally challenging, which in part explains the striking contrasts in reform compliance across different policy spheres. Second, and perhaps more importantly, the complexities involved in these reforms opens up a new terrain for analysis with questions and problems that were less salient during the era of crude neoliberalism. Studying the politics of "augmented" Washington Consensus thus ironically requires an "augmented" analytical toolkit, which can engage such diverse issues as lesson drawing, regulatory harmonization and institutional complementarity.

### Guzina, Dejan

#### *Between Empowerment and Dependency – Challenges of External State-Building in Kosovo and Bosnia*

Signing of Dayton Peace Agreement of November 21, 1995 not only meant the end of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina but also the emergence of the new international consensus that emphasized a much more active role of the international community in fostering the process of democratization in internationally run, conflict-torn societies. The central elements of this consensus revolved around the idea that the current wave of external state-building is primarily about fostering institutional choices that are conducive to achieving two interrelated goals: first, developing politically stable, liberal-democratic states, and second, recognizing and integrating ethnicity as an unavoidable political ingredient into the fledgling democratic structure of such states according to the principles of democratic management of ethnic diversity. However, no more than ten years after achieving consensus on the content and forms of external state building, it became

apparent that many, if not all, externally-supported countries ended up in a limbo of perpetual economic, political and administrative dependency upon international agencies. The analysis of this paradox will be conducted on a specific example of selected post-communist Southeast European states (Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosovo). The following questions will be asked: 1. what does the international toolkit of state and nation-building contain and what philosophical and ideological principles are being used to justify it? 2. What is the gap between the current Western standards of nation- and democracy building in conflict-torn societies (parliamentary democracy, human rights, and minority protection) and the concrete results achieved in the past 10 to 15 years? 3. Finally, does (and to what extent) the politics of external state-building undermine the principles of self-determination and state sovereignty that are traditionally being understood in terms of the right of people to self-government?

#### Haderer, Margarete

##### *Whose Space of Appearance? On Visibility and Plurality in the Public Sphere*

In her "On the Human Condition" Hannah Arendt famously noted that "visibility creates reality". Arendt's conception of the public realm underscores the importance of a "space of appearance", a man-made world that enables and fosters civic engagement. Seyla Benhabib understands Arendt's notion of the public as an appeal for public deliberation. However, as Dana Villa and Richard Sennett argued, deliberation itself depends on the existence of human artefacts, and therefore cannot explain the meaning of Arendt's "man-made world".

Relying on this analytical framework, I explore in this paper the idea of urban public spaces as contemporary manifestations of "spaces of appearance". Cities have often been construed as loci that accommodate plurality and foster public culture by allowing for common action regardless of individual differences. However, privatization and commercialization have resulted in severe curtailment of these urban functions. Democratic and social theorists have therefore unsurprisingly turned to Arendt's work as a resource for articulating what has been lost by the disappearance of "spaces of appearance": visibility and public culture.

In this paper I ask whether visibility indeed creates reality, as Arendt suggested. Does exposure to plurality really foster a public culture that facilitates interaction among strangers, as Sennett and Young argued?

As part of an ongoing research on public space, I discuss homelessness as a phenomenon that does not attract public awareness despite its visibility and enquire whether the type of diversity that is embraced by the mentioned theorists encompasses those whose very existence is not secured.

#### Haji-Yousefi, Amir

##### *Whose Agenda is Served by the Perception of a Shi'a Crescent?*

After the American invasion of Iraq in 2003, it became certain that Iraq's Shia majority would dominate the future government if a free election was going to be held. In 2004, Jordan's King Abdullah, anxiously warned of the prospect of a "Shia crescent" spanning Iran, Iraq, Syria, and Lebanon. This idea was then picked up by others in the Arab world, especially Egypt's President Mubarak and some elements within the Saudi government, to reaffirm the Iranian ambitions and portray its threats with regards to the Middle East. In this article, we seek to unearth the main causes of promoting the idea of a revived Shiism by some Arab countries, and argue that it was basically proposed out of the fear that what the American occupation of Iraq unleashed in the region would drastically change the old Arab order in which Sunni governments were dominant. While Iran downplayed the idea and perceived it as a new American conspiracy, it was grabbed by the Bush administration to intensify its pressures on Iran and to rally support in the Arab world for its Middle East policy in general, and its failed Iraq policy, in particular. Thus, to answer the above mentioned question, a close attention will be paid to both the Arab and Iranian agendas in the Middle East after the overthrow of Saddam Hussein in order to establish which entities benefit the most from the perception of a Shi'a crescent.

#### Hale, Geoffrey

##### *Working With rr Around Elephants – Managing the Politics of Trade-Commercial Relations with the United States*

This paper examines Canadian efforts to influence U.S. trade-commercial policies towards Canada as a multi-level game carried out on four different levels of analysis: global-hemispheric, North American, sectoral, and micro (firm and issue-specific). It suggests that Canadian trade policies have been largely reactive since 2001 rather than being part of a strategic plan to further "deep integration" within North America or the Western Hemisphere.

It notes the diverging tracks of U.S. and Canadian policies in global/multilateral trade policies under the Bush Administration, efforts to maintain policy discretion within North America while exploiting close bureaucratic linkages between the two governments, key factors affecting sectoral initiatives (both proactive and defensive), and the day-to-day business of managing micro-policy opportunities and challenges in dealings with the Administration and Congress. It concludes that successive Canadian governments have lacked the strategic vision necessary to exercise effective leverage in engaging U.S. global-hemispheric strategies in an emerging era of multi-polar trade regimes. Canadian North American policies are characterized as "incremental" and "opportunistic" – seeking to maintain policy discretion in managing broader trends in North American integration, with exploiting opportunities for sectoral collaboration which reflect the priorities of individual governments and key industry sectors. Finally, it explores emerging challenges arising from the current Presidential election cycle.

This paper builds on the author's research on Canada-U.S. relations. It is based on detailed reviews of the U.S. and Canadian trade policy literatures, along with extensive interviews with Canadian government officials in Ottawa and Washington carried out between 2005 and 2007.

#### Hanlon, Robert

## *Constitutional Democracies or Authoritarian Regimes: Dysfunctional Law and Human Rights in Cambodia, Sri Lanka and Thailand*

This paper will explore the nexus between dysfunctional rule of law and human rights violations in Cambodia, Sri Lanka and Thailand. Moreover, it will argue that authoritarian agendas in these states have promoted distorted judiciaries, dysfunctional security mechanisms and corrupted concepts of state management.

The Cambodian government declares itself a constitutional democracy; however, it also shows clear authoritarian tendencies. While the international community continues to pour money into the country, corrupt officials squander it by manipulating the law for their own advantage.

Meanwhile, Sri Lanka is a constitutional democracy engulfed in civil war and a decaying legal structure. With a national conviction rate of 4 per cent, human rights violations are rampant. The judiciary, police and military continue to erode civil society through authoritarian measures that are in total violation of domestic law.

Thailand also claims to be a constitutional democracy; however, the recent coup has proven otherwise. While the 'Emergency Decree' in the south of the country has shown the government's authoritarian side, the policing and judicial system remains weak and it is unlikely that sustainable democracy will ever surface until the country's legal apparatus is functioning.

This paper therefore contends that foreign aid must be strategically repositioned to place greater emphasis on building the capacity of legal institutions if true sustainable development is to be achieved. Although current theoretical debates surrounding human rights call for strengthening international law, this paper will attempt to show that state sanctioned violence is a consequence of dysfunctional domestic law.

### **Hanniman, Kyle**

#### *The Emergence of 'Soft Federalism' in Canada? A Comparative Perspective*

A growing literature documents the development of a variety of soft law mechanisms for coordinating European social policy. Rather than implementing binding and uniform European legislation, member states are free to implement policies as they see fit provided they participate in European forums for developing common objectives, pooling information, and comparing policy performance. This pattern of 'soft federalism' seems uniquely suited to the EU, a supranational polity in which member states desire a European profile in social policy, but not one that seriously challenges their sovereignty. This paper challenges assumptions of EU exceptionalism with a case study of emergent patterns of soft federalism in the Canadian health care sector. I also develop a theoretical framework to account for varying degrees of soft federalism across three federal systems: the EU, Canada and the US. I argue that the variance depends, in large measure, on the distribution of legitimate political authority across federal and sub-federal levels of governance. Federal authorities can play a dominant policy-making role where authority is concentrated federally, as in the US. Federal authorities employ softer forms of intervention where authority is concentrated in lower units, as in the EU. Canada represents a complex intermediate case, in which the distribution of authority is subject to more intense and regular contestation. It varies considerably across time and sector, generating a wider range of policy-making patterns. Nevertheless, soft federalism may represent an increasingly pervasive and viable pattern, a useful mechanism for reconciling increased provincial autonomy with weakened but stubborn federal authority.

### **Harell, Allison**

#### *Social Diversity and the Development of Political Tolerance*

Advanced industrialized democracies have seen an increase in the ethnic and racial diversity of their populations, and the impact of this diversity for democratic politics has received increasing attention. In this paper, I examine the impact of increasing social diversity on young people's attitudes about speech rights in two countries: Canada and Belgium. In particular, this paper will examine how socially tolerant young people respond when asked to extend civil liberties to exclusionary groups, such as racists and skinheads. Drawing on a unique comparative dataset composed of close to 10,000 young people in these two countries, the results suggest that social tolerance, defined as a lack of prejudice toward minority groups, increases political intolerance of exclusionary speech. Using multinomial logistic modeling and path analysis, the results indicate that the mechanism linking these two values is increased disagreement with exclusionary speech. In other words, young people who value social tolerance are far more likely to see exclusionary groups as offensive and in turn deny civil liberties to them. Importantly, this targeted intolerance does not seem to extend to other types of objectionable speech. I argue that this willingness among young people to censor exclusionary speech reflects the legal environments in these two countries as well as the demands of citizenship in diverse contexts. The implications of these findings are then discussed in relationship to the larger literature on political tolerance.

### **Haslam, Paul**

#### *The Global Governance of International Investment Agreements*

This paper analyzes the global governance of international investment agreements (IIAs) and bilateral investment treaties on developing countries in the Americas. In particular the paper will answer major substantive questions about the development and effect of the regime created by overlapping international investment agreements: does negotiating modality (bilateral, regional, or multilateral) affect the content of IIAs?; does power asymmetry affect the content of international investment agreements in developed and developing country dyads?; has there been a global convergence or divergence in the content of international rules on investment over time?; does the content (more or less liberal) of specific provisions found in IIAs affect FDI inflows. Previous studies have proven largely inconclusive because they have either followed a content-sensitive legal methodology (UNCTAD 2003; Kantor 2004; Gantz 2003-4) that cannot be generalized, or a statistical approach which does not take account of the differences in content among IIAs (Halward-

Driemeier 2003; Neumayer and Spess 2005; Salacuse and Sullivan 2005; Tobin and Rose-Ackerman 2005). This paper uses a methodological innovation to bridge the divide between the 2 approaches. The Flexibility for Development Index (Haslam, 2007) codes the legal language of investment agreements, making it possible to differentiate between the content of IIAs, while retaining the advantages of large-n studies.

#### Hausegger, Lori, Hennigar, Matt and Riddell, Troy

##### *Exploring the Links Between Party and Appointment: Canadian Federal Judicial Appointments from 1988 to 2003*

In 1988, in response to criticism that patronage was pervasive in the appointment of Canada's s.96 and Federal Court judges, the Mulroney government introduced reforms to the appointment process by creating provincial "screening" committees that would rate nominees forwarded to them by the Federal Commissioner for Judicial Affairs.

While a study by Russell and Ziegel (1991) revealed significant levels of patronage in the Mulroney government's appointments from 1984-1988, there has been a lack of a thorough follow up to this study in the years since the appointment process was changed. We began to try to fill this gap by studying patterns of previous political donations made by the approximately 1000 federal judicial appointees of the Mulroney (between 1988 and 1992) and Chretien governments (from 1993-2003) (Riddell, Hausegger and Hennigar, forthcoming).

This paper seeks to build on that work by developing a more comprehensive profile of federal judicial appointees within that time span, which would include a more nuanced and detailed examination of potential patronage links. This will be accomplished through surveys and interviews with knowledgeable legal and political "insiders." In conducting this research, we hope to gain a better understanding of how the judicial appointment process works "on the ground."

A careful assessment of the judicial appointment process is important because patronage calls into question the fairness and integrity of the process and, by extension, potentially undermines the credibility of the judicial system as a whole, highlighting the relationship between judicial appointments and judicial independence. As courts come to be perceived more as "policy-makers" rather than as "adjudicators" we hear greater demands for judicial accountability and a more representative judiciary, and greater concern that such demands potentially could interfere with judicial independence and merit (Morton 2002).

#### Hausman, Melissa

##### *The Patriarchal Politics of "Faith" and the Plan B Story in the US and Canada*

This paper compares the politics used by right-wing groups in the US and Canada to delay approval and implementation of the Plan B formulation of emergency contraception. In the US, President Bush filled the federal Department of Health and Human Services with "pro-life" evangelicals in all key posts having to do with approval of contraception and US population policy. Similarly, a "faith-based" office was installed in HHS the first week after the Presidential inauguration in January 2001. Thus, while FDA approval had initially been granted for ecp as a non-prescription formulary in 1999, it did not make it through the HHS bureaucracy on this basis until 2006, after numerous fights by physicians' groups and Senators Hillary Clinton (D-NY) and Patty Murray (D-WA). Ultimately, the "pro-family" veneer of the right, ensconced in HHS denied over the counter approval for those below 18 years old-a policy never followed on contraception previously. Similarly, Health Canada approval was delayed due to politics for one year from 2004 to 2005.

At the subnational level, right-wing groups, headed by Catholic groups in the US have worked to make ecp unavailable through Catholic hospitals, some states' largest providers. Also, physicians belonging to conservative groups have substituted their own beliefs for their professional oaths in both countries, leading to provision problems. Some of the strategies used by women's groups in both countries to combat this will be detailed. One egregious example of right-wing control in Canada was the censorship of a 2005 Canadian Medical Journal article which was going to publish stories of young women denied ecp (there is no age requirement in Canada). The editor and deputy editor of the journal quit in protest. It shows the persistence of right-wing power in Canada as well.

#### Havercroft, Jonathan

##### *Skepticism and Sovereignty in 17th Century Political Thought*

In recent years political theorists and international relations scholars ranging from Giorgio Agamben to Stephen Krasner have put a renewed focus on the concept of sovereignty. While these studies have looked at contemporary applications and critiques of the sovereignty - aside from the occasional throw away line referencing Hobbes or Bodin - far less attention has been paid to how the concept of sovereignty was first articulated and what alternative conceptions of political order this new concept displaced. Drawing on recent work in intellectual history by Richard Tuck, Quentin Skinner, Richard Popkin and Jonathan Israel as well as my own historically sensitive readings of Thomas Hobbes and Benedict Spinoza my paper will examine the original political purpose of the theorists who first developed the concept of sovereignty. I will argue that the concept of state sovereignty was articulated as a response to a set of epistemic and moral problems raised by 16th and 17th century skeptical philosophy. Political theorists, particularly Hobbes and Spinoza, saw skepticism as not merely a speculative problem for philosophers but as a political problem that threatened the stability of their own states. As such, they each developed a justification for the right of the sovereign to use its power to resolve political disputes that displaced earlier constitutional theories of political order that had informed European political thought since the 13th century. Through examining this history, I will develop a broader argument that sovereignty is a political response to the philosophical problem of skepticism. This argument will help us to understand the role skepticism continues to play in contemporary theories of sovereignty and what alternative articulations of political order exist that are not entangled with skepticism.

#### Heinmiller, Tim

### *Managing Water Scarcity in the Prairie Region: The Role of the IJC*

The Canada-US border is so long and spans so many ecosystems that the range of transboundary environmental issues confronting the two governments and the IJC is broad and exceptional. Among these ecosystems, the Prairie region is distinctive for its preoccupation with the management of water scarcity. Since a 1921 IJC Order of Approval, a set of transboundary rules has governed how Canada and the US apportion their shared Prairie waters, but a number of developments in the past few decades have strained the viability of these rules. On both sides of the border, water use has grown steadily – mostly due to the expansion of irrigated agriculture – creating rivalries amongst water users and contributing to periods of acute scarcity and environmental decline. Furthermore, environmentalists have continually demanded that more water be left in the rivers to protect riverine ecosystems, and scientists have begun to explore the implications of climate change, suggesting that future water supplies in the region may be much lower than in the past due to the melting of Rocky Mountain glaciers. In this vein, this paper will explore the growing concerns about water scarcity in the Prairies, examine how domestic and international institutions have governed water scarcity in the past, and assess the adequacy of these institutions for the future.

### **Hellstrom, Mikael**

#### *The State and the Immigrants*

This paper will discuss the question of to what extent Canadian forms of public administration might be said to hinder or facilitate the development of ethnic communities, that has the capacity to provide a social space where newcomers relatively quickly can access the social networks needed for economic establishment, as opposed to the entrenchment of ethnic minorities that are characterized by a high degree of socioeconomic marginalization.

The theoretical foundation of the essay consists of a discussion of the cognitive mechanisms that establishes 'otherism', and how it might affect policy outcomes produced through the four typologies of public administration presented by Christopher Hood, with a special emphasis given to New Public Management, NPM, a model commonly associated with neo-liberal governance which Canada is said to have adopted. The empirical part discusses policy processes that encompass newcomers which could be said to corroborate Canada's adherence to NPM to some extent. There have been discussions about ethnic identity and objectification and racialization as well as models for public policy implementation and civil society mobilization. My doctoral dissertation, to which this paper contributes, will synthesize these three separate areas of inquiry, which opens up new possibilities to highlight the impact of structural discrimination on the dynamic of the relationship between state and civil society actors representing immigrant groups. The conference presents an opportunity to refine this work further for the purpose of publication.

### **Hendershot, Chris**

#### *Hegemonic Slayers and Subversive Vampires*

Through a critical reading of such vampire-slayer comics and graphic novels as Blade, Anita Blake and 30 Days of Night, I scrutinize War on Terror narratives and spectacles that (re)produce 'terrorist bodies' as depraved, deformed and despicable. While the plot of these comics/graphic novels most readily maps onto and with War on Terror narratives regarding the supposed 'threat', 'horror' and 'inhumanity' of 'non-western others', I maintain that vampire-slayer comics/graphic novels do more than simply 'manage' fear, terror, and threat. By focusing on the horrifying embodiment of the vampires, rather than the narratives of the comics per se, I suggest that the post-human and 'queer' embodiments of graphic-vampires offer significant instances that can be seen to contest hegemonic-domination narratives of fear, terror and threat. Furthermore by privileging an analysis of bodily composition and constitution I am also able to pursue a notion of bodies and corporeality that further exposes how the normalization, naturalness and hegemony of individuated, whole, functioning human bodies, that War on Terror narratives and spectacles portend to protect, continues to require the material-discursive disciplining and control of non-normative sexual practices and sexualities, disabled/crippled and/or raced as non-white bodies and non-human animals.

### **Henderson, Ailsa**

#### *Small Worlds as Predictors of Generalized Political Attitudes*

Research seeking to account for general political attitudes such as trust and efficacy often look to evaluations of state-level parliaments and politicians. Similarly, research on sub-state political cultures suggests that distinct political cultures reinforce variations in political attitudes and behaviours created by regionalism within the state. There is far less attention to whether sub-state political cultures can provide distinct socialization processes. This paper explores the small worlds of sub-state political cultures and asks two key questions: first, whether sub-state political cultures can be distinguished from regional variations in political culture within the state, and second, whether such small worlds can be seen to contribute towards the formation of generalized political attitudes and behaviour. The paper relies on cross-national survey data from Canada, Germany, Spain and the United Kingdom and is part of a larger project on regional and sub-state political cultures in federal and multi-national states.

### **Henderson, Sarah**

#### *Shaping Civic Activism: International and Domestic Policies towards Russia's NGOs*

Since the 1990s, scholars have noted the comparative weakness of Russian civil society. This weakness, in part, has been used to explain Russia's failure to develop a liberal democracy in the aftermath of the collapse of communism. In response to this weakness, a variety of Western organizations, such as USAID, the European Union, and the Ford

Foundation, have supplied grants and technical assistance to Russian nonprofits in the hopes that such assistance would help create a vibrant civil society, capable of organizing citizen interests and relaying and lobbying those interests to the state. Given the dearth of domestic resources, foreign aid often was driving force behind the creation of a formal nonprofit sector. However, since 2004, President Putin has publicly questioned the purpose of such foreign assistance, and has proposed a variety of policies that potentially will grammatically shape the activities and structure of Russia's nonprofit sector. These policies have been widely portrayed in the Western press as motivated by the desire to reign in and monitor the activities of the sector, and to counteract the influence of Western donors. Western donors are portrayed as the embattled heroes of democratic development while Putin is the enemy.

This paper studies the ways in which both international and domestic policies towards Russia's NGO sector constrain and facilitate civic activism. Each set of policies presents a competing view of the nature, purpose, and hoped for outcome of organized citizen activism. Thus, it is inaccurate to portray Western efforts as benign and Russian efforts as subversive. Rather, each approach privileges some organizations and behaviors over others, and facilitates alternative visions of civic activism rather than the presence or absence of civic activism.

### Henjak, Andrija

#### *Mobilization of Class Cleavages: Welfare State and Class Voting in Advanced Industrial Democracies*

Research about the impact of class on voting largely ignored the importance of policy and party appeals. The literature on class voting presumes it to be natural that working class votes for the left parties while middle class votes for the right parties.

What is missing from the analysis of class voting is the impact of agency and political context. So far we do not know under what conditions is class voting likely to be higher and why. This paper brings the role of agency and political context in the analysis by arguing that the intensity of class voting is likely to be linked to the ability of left parties to mobilize working class constituencies by implementing policies aimed at increasing social protection of industrial workers. Such strategy is likely to improve perception about the competence of left parties and their ability to deliver favored policy outputs, increasing their attractiveness to working class voters. It also increases stakes working class voters have in keeping the left parties in power. Consequently, I expect the highest levels of class voting to be observed in countries where left parties implemented and maintained welfare policies and institutionalized union participation in economic policymaking.

The empirical test of these propositions would entail linking the aggregate measures of class voting derived from electoral surveys, through time series regression analysis, with measures of welfare state effort and output as well as measures of policy positions of governments and corporatism in advanced industrial countries since 1950s.

### Hennigar, Matthew

#### *Judicial Activism or Compliance? Federal Government Concessions in Charter of Rights Cases*

The adoption of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms in 1982 was followed by a considerable shift in both the role of, and academic commentary about, the country's Supreme Court. Most notable in this regard is the rising criticism that the Court is too "activist". What this critique overlooks is the potentially blurred responsibility for apparent instances of judicial activism, when the government which is party to the case concedes the rights violation in Court. In Canada, concessions can take at least three forms: 1) a decision not to appeal a loss in the lower courts to the SCC; 2) a concession during argument before the SCC that the impugned law violates a Charter right; or 3) a concession before the Court that the law, if found to violate a right, is not a "reasonable limit" under section 1 of the Charter. My previous work (Hennigar 2003; 2007) analyzes the federal government's decision not to appeal to the SCC. Huscroft (1995) and Morton and Knopff (2000) identify the other two types of concessions as problematic for representative government, but to date, no one has attempted to catalogue their occurrence. The proposed paper examines the written arguments submitted by the federal government to the Court to assess the degree to which judicial "activism" is a product of government concessions. It will also assess whether there is a pattern to the government's concessions, in terms of time, policy area, or rights claim.

### Hibbert, Neil

#### *Institutions in Theories of Social Justice*

Theories of social justice address the distributive functioning of institutions, however deep disagreement exists amongst political theorists over how institutions themselves are properly understood. This paper examines the different ways in which institutions are conceptualized in theories of social justice, and the ways in which differences in how institutions are understood condition the demands and scope of egalitarian principles. It is shown that revealing what are often implicit differences in the status and role of institutions helps clarify the source of some core disagreements in competing theories of social justice. The basic distinction that is developed in this paper is between instrumental and non-instrumental approaches to institutions. In the former, institutions are theorized as mechanisms for realizing social justice and in the latter institutions are theorized as the subject of social justice. For John Rawls institutions are the first subject of social justice and are to be treated non-instrumentally. It is shown that this position is foundational and has important implications for the content and scope of his theory of social justice. It is also the basis of many critical treatments of the Rawlsian approach, including cosmopolitan, monistic, communitarian theories. In uncovering the role distinct understandings of institutions play in certain overlapping aspects of these debates, a case for a non-instrumental view of institutions (as the subject of justice) is outlined, and it is advanced that the primary role of social justice is evaluative rather than prescriptive.

### Hicks, Jack

#### *The (Non-) Discourse on Poverty in Nunavut*

Nunavut is widely regarded by the rest of Canada as a place of considerable poverty. Few of the usual poverty measures are calculated for Nunavut, but administrative data tells us that up to 80% of the Inuit population of some communities received Income Support from the territorial government in 2006. No wonder, then, that then-Prime Minister Chretien told Nunavut's first set of MLAs on April 1, 1999 that "you have your work cut out for you" when it comes to "alleviating poverty and social breakdown."

That being said, how do we explain the fact that the Government of Nunavut has failed to coherently address the reality of widespread poverty in the territory? There is almost no talk of fighting poverty per se; instead the hegemonic economic discourse is about the critical importance of the mining industry to the territory's economy. The policies of the territorial government are essentially neo-liberal – in the context of maintaining the basket of subsidies (of public housing, electricity, etc. in addition to welfare) that keep a significant amount of the population alive.

This paper will summarize both the limited existing data on poverty in Nunavut and the equally limited discourse on poverty in the new territory. It will attempt to explain the latter in terms of (A) Canada's history of administering its Arctic on the cheap; (B) the interests of the new managerial class that is running the territory; and (C) the low level of political and economic discourse in Nunavut generally.

### Hiebert, Janet

#### *The Impact of the UK's Human Rights Act on Legislative Behaviour*

The United Kingdom has overcome its historic antipathy to a domestic bill of rights. The Human Rights Act (HRA) came into effect in 2000. But assumptions about how the HRA protects rights differ from the expectations often equated with a bill of rights, which generally view the principal purpose of a bill of rights as giving courts authority to interpret rights and provide remedies for rights violations that have already occurred. In a twist on how bills of rights are traditionally portrayed, rights protection in the HRA is linked to its potential to influence the behaviour and practices of all who exercise power on behalf of the state, so as to facilitate a rights culture in governing. Its defenders argue that the virtue of the HRA is that it creates incentives and practices that will prevent rights abuses from occurring in the first place.

This paper will examine how the Human Rights Act is influencing the way legislation is evaluated, by drawing upon recently conducted interviews with public officials and parliamentarians who assess the rights dimensions of proposed legislation, and by consulting relevant parliamentary records. The questions it asks are: to what extent is this optimistic goal of protecting rights in proactive manner being realized; what political and institutional constraints impede the development of a proactive and robust rights culture; and what are the implications for legislation of focusing on rights when evaluating proposed legislation.

### Hiemstra, John

#### *Hypnotized by Progress: Does the Modern Approach to Social Science Obscure the Essence of the Oil Sands Boom?*

The economic, social and environmental costs of the oil sands boom do not seem to add up. World-renown Professor of Ecology, (University of Alberta) Dr. David W. Schindler, recently said of the tar sands: "I would nominate this for the world's most unsustainable development." Yet, society continues to pursue oil sands developments as though 'There Is No Alternative' (TINA). Why?

This paper examines one angle on this question, namely, the contribution of contemporary social science approaches to analysis to the oil sands boom. The dominant approach of the social sciences, shared by many think tank analyzes and scholarly studies, disaggregates the phenomena it studies (into interest group or disciplinary elements) and produces fragmented "technocratic expertise." The resulting technocratic knowledge, Lisa Anderson argues in "Pursuing Truth, Exercising Power: Social Science and Public Policy in the Twenty-First Century," is understood to be "the vehicle linking social inquiry and public policy." Is the social science contribution of technocratic knowledge working to solve the problems of the oil sands boom?

This paper argues that technical adjustments to dominant economic, social and environmental practices in the oil sands often do not solve the problems. Indeed, it will show that several new, often more intractable, problems that have arisen recently in the oil sands signal deep difficulties with this approach to analysis. The paper analyzes how the dominant social science approach to analyzing problems associated with the oil sands has been, in some cases, blinkered by the Enlightenment assumption of progress.

### Hoff, George

#### *Covering Democracy: The coverage of FPTP vs MMP in the Ontario Referendum on Electoral Reform.*

The Ontario Citizens' Assembly was established in 2006 to review options for electoral reform and in 2007 recommended the adoption of a Mixed Member Proportional system. The Ontario Government then agreed to put the proposal to a vote in a provincial referendum.

Ontarians would be given the opportunity to consider changing how their electoral system and government would function. This was an opportunity for the media to discuss a specific democratic reform and illuminate the issue of voter turnout, democratic accountability and electoral reform. But the role of the media in the actual campaign has been disputed, with media representatives defending their performance while activists on the issue complained about a lack of coverage and/or one-sided reporting. The proposed paper will address media coverage of the Ontario voting system referendum that accompanied the provincial general election on October 10, 2007. The research will explore the coverage of the issue in the Globe and Mail, the Toronto Star and the Ottawa Citizen between September 24 and October 10. It will also review the television

news supper hour coverage on the CTV affiliate in Toronto (CFTO) and the CBC affiliate in Ottawa (CBOT) between September 24 and October 10. Specifically, utilizing content analysis, it will examine whether Mixed Member Proportional (MMP) and the First-Past-The-Post (FPTP) system received equal and balanced coverage. By looking at the language used and the views published it will consider how the media characterized MMP and FPTP during the last 17 days of the campaign to assess whether claims of media bias or indifference can be sustained.

#### Hojati, Afshin

##### *"The Shi'a-Sunni Clash and the Divergent Conceptions of State in the Middle East"*

The American invasion of Afghanistan and Iraq, the rise in Lebanon of Hezbollah's influence, and Iran's growing ambition toward regional supremacy, have culminated in bringing to surface—in a manner and intensity perhaps not seen for centuries—one of the great historical tensions underlying the Muslim world, i.e., the Shia-Sunni divide. The roots of the current antagonism between the two groups are indeed very complex, based on various historical, theological, ideological, socioeconomic, cultural, and political factors created by a 1400 year-old civilizational dynamics. As a result, the Shia-Sunni "battle" is being fought under different guises, inspired by various dynamics, and with unequal intensity across the greater Middle East. However, despite the apparent heterogeneity of causes and factors involved, as this paper will demonstrate, one of the central premises upon which the Shia-Sunni divide was historically based, and which constitutes today one of the great challenges facing the Middle East, is the divergent views that each community holds with respect to the nature and form of government. This paper will argue that in spite of the many differences that exist within the broader Shia and Sunni communities, the overall set of conflicting beliefs with respect to the form of government and state constitutes a transcending factor. Therefore, changes that have been brought about by post-9/11 events, and the ways in which they have offset the balance of power and power relations within the greater Middle East, have once more given rise to a clash of these two distinct visions.

#### Holder, Cindy

##### *Why Comply With International Human Rights? Reasoning, Normativity and International Law*

Is there any good reason to comply with the demands of international human rights law? Answering this question is important both for human rights practitioners for legal and political theorists concerned with the long-term health of the international human rights system. For theorists, two of the most important questions are: what makes international legal documents and institutions norms; and, what do their origins tell us about such norms' interpretation? In addressing these questions, many human rights theorists have conflated normative considerations with epistemological ones. In this paper I show how separating out normative from epistemological considerations can help to clarify what is at in several important debates about human rights.

#### Holly, Grant

##### *The Politics of Managing the Surplus: The Emergence of Finance as Social Policy Administrator*

The pre-eminence of the Minister of Finance and Department of Finance is an important development in federal social policy. This began under the Trudeau Liberals when Finance effectively pulled the plug on Health and Welfare's Social Security Review for proposing a costly income supplement and continued under the Mulroney Conservatives as they redesigned social policy by stealth, making technical and major changes to programs. Upon assuming office, the Chrétien Liberals extended the Conservative legacy, for instance, by tightening the belt on Employment Insurance and cutting social transfers to the provinces. Finance's increased power over social policy since the 1970s corresponds to its role as guardian of the public purse.

This paper uses the guardian-spender framework, introduced by Wildavsky (1964), to assess whether Finance has maintained its power over social policy (or is sharing policy-making responsibilities) in the era of budgetary surpluses that began in 1997. To do so, the paper focuses on evolutions in the budgetary process and the choice of policy instruments. Its working hypothesis is that successive Liberal and Conservative governments have consolidated Finance's power over social policy by using the budget as an agenda-setting device and employing policy instruments under its control (e.g. transfers or negative income taxes) or that operate through alternative service delivery (e.g. foundations) rather than introducing new service programs. As such, it appears that the deficit-fighting budgetary process centralized power in Finance, allowing it transform from guardian to spender.

#### Holroyd, Carin

##### *Green Japan: Managing the Intersection of Japanese Politics and Global Environmentalism*

This paper examines the efforts by the Japanese government to meet its responsibilities under the Kyoto Accord and, more expansively, to assume a position of international leadership on issues relating to global climate change. The study focuses on a series of major government initiatives, ranging from energy-reduction promotions to industrial subsidies, designed to reduce carbon emissions in Japan. It considers relations with Japanese business, environmental NGOs and community organizations, and examines the effectiveness of recent policy initiatives. The paper situates Japanese efforts within the international political setting, particularly as regards the role of national governments in developing responses to climate changes, and considers Japanese efforts to promote more aggressive global approaches to environmental protection.

#### Holsti, Kal

##### *Exceptionalism in American Foreign Policy: Is it Exceptional?*

This paper discusses exceptionalism as a type of foreign policy. It includes at least four major characteristics, all of which will be spelled out. The question is whether these characteristics are unique to American foreign policy in its contemporary format? The paper explores each characteristic of exceptionalism, first in the American experience, and second, looking at other historical cases. The essay argues that there are many analogies to American exceptionalism, but that compared to other examples of this foreign policy type, the United States also has some unique features.

### Holyk, Gregory

#### *U.S. Public and Leader Attitudes towards the United Nations*

The United Nations (UN) is arguably the most important organization for international cooperation. Many policymakers, academics, and the media presently question the purpose, structure, and effectiveness of UN, and the place of multilateralism in contemporary international relations. Public and leader support for UN is therefore a timely issue to explore. The general public has historically been quite supportive of the UN, while political policy elites have not (Page & Shapiro 1992; Holsti 2004; Page 2006). However, the terrorist attacks of September 11th, 2001, the 2003 debate in the UN Security Council (UNSC) over military action against Iraq, the UN Oil-for-Food Program scandal, and calls for UNSC reform all necessitate a reevaluation of this divide. Recent polls suggest U.S. public support for the UN has dropped. Is this also the case for political leaders? This paper utilizes the 2004 Chicago Council on Global Affairs (CCGA) polls. The CCGA polls ask many of the same questions of both leaders and the public, which allows for a unique opportunity for comparative analysis. The paper examines similarities and differences in aggregate opinion between leaders and the public on topics such as the legitimacy of unilateral and multilateral use of force, international economic and justice issues involving the UN, and participation in UN peacekeeping and treaties. As the major world power, U.S. leader and public perceptions of the UN are critical to its success and this paper seeks to contribute to our understanding of this crucial aspect of international relations.

### Honda, Eric

#### *Out of Control?: Political History in Canada as World-Systems Theory*

What would explain the political history in Canada as the initial question might ask, while the answers that follow range from the fairly unique to the rather ubiquitous. By applying then the principles from world-systems theory to those of “the control model” (1979), recurrent paradoxes in Canada—about a centralized confederation, the “mature-dependent” economy (Hammer and Gartrel 1986), consensual democracy despite Westminster institutions (Studlar and Christensen 2006), a two-party system without “alternation” (more liberal, less conservative regimes), and multiple sovereign nations (First, Francophone, Anglophone) amid one hegemonic state—could now resolve themselves consistently as a single case-study via the comparative and international, historicist, context. In the final analysis, while no one account could fare any better or worse than all others, preliminary findings from Canada’s political history amount to the very organized effects—about interdisciplinary scope and methods—whose causes are “just out of control.”

### Hoogenboom, David

#### *Rebuilding Social Fabric in Failed States: Examining Transitional Justice in Bosnia*

Failed states primarily affect citizens and their chance to live in a peaceful and prosperous democracy. This paper will contribute to the debate surrounding the existence of failed and fragile states by examining post-conflict reconstruction. We argue that while the literature identifies three different indicators of failed and fragile states, namely economic, political and social ones, little attention has been devoted to the last one. As students of transitional justice, we feel that there is tremendous relevance in the literature surrounding state-building that can be applied to the study of failed and fragile states. Theories of conflict resolution and in this case, transitional justice, address the human and social dimension of post-conflict reconstruction. States can hardly be reconstructed without the support of the society. Individuals are central to the re-establishment of peace and democracy. While the economy and political aspects of failed states need to be addressed, the social dimension is essential. We will conduct a case study analysis focusing on Bosnia. After more than ten years of international supervision, Bosnia remains fragmented by ethnic tension, and continues to need the guidance of the United Nation’s Office of the High Representative. The 1995 Dayton Peace Agreement did not establish a comprehensive vision for justice in the country. Consequently, transitional justice efforts, particularly in the area of truth-seeking and reparations, have been ad hoc and insufficient. While progress has been made in the area of vetting and trials, it appears there is still a need for justice in the country.

### Hoque, Sabrina

#### *New Kids on the Block: A Look at Rookie Members of Provincial Parliament*

‘Out with the old, in with the new’ – an idiom that best describes election results, illustrating not only the establishment of the new mandates and priorities of the incoming government, but also the reinforcement of set agendas pre-election period. With each election comes new opportunities, new electoral expectations, and newly elected officials ready to serve their constituents. While veteran Members of Provincial Parliament (MPPs) bring to politics their experience and willingness to uphold the tradition of Queen’s Park, rookie MPPs bring a level of freshness. When commenting about his new cabinet ministers, which includes two rookie MPPs, Premier Dalton McGuinty of the Liberal Party said they serve to “energize, invigorate and keep [other MPPs] vital and active and committed and enthusiastic.” This paper thereby seeks to comparatively examine the impact and efficacy of such ‘newness’ on good governance at the provincial level. I will be conducting my research on this topic primarily through interviews with rookie and veteran MPPs, comparing their ambitions and expectations for the next four years. Through my research findings, I aim to provide anecdotal analysis of

the relationship between the numbers of rookie MPPs, their influence on affecting change during their first term, versus the more experienced veteran MPPs and the changes they have influenced during their time as an MPP.

#### Horak, Martin

##### *The Public Good vs. the Bottom Line: Self-Financed Government Agencies and the Development of Urban Public Spaces – Evidence from Toronto*

In recent years, federal, provincial and municipal governments in Canada have delegated substantial policy powers to arm's-length, self-financed agencies (SFAs). This paper examines how the existence of SFAs has affected two efforts to develop major new public spaces in Toronto: Downsview Park, and a revitalized central waterfront. The Downsview Park initiative is managed by Parc Downsview Park Inc. (PDP), a federal crown corporation that operates on a self-financed basis. Waterfront revitalization is managed by Waterfront Toronto, a government agency that is not self-financed. However, the activities of Waterfront Toronto are influenced by two SFAs with extensive waterfront landholdings: the Toronto Port Authority (TPA), a federal agency, and the Toronto Economic Development Corporation (TEDCO), a municipal agency.

The paper argues that in both the Downsview and waterfront cases, the existence of SFAs has complicated the process of public space redevelopment. As self-financed bodies, PDP, TPA and TEDCO have all focused extensively on commercial use of their landholdings. In the Downsview case, this has compromised the ability of PDP to fulfill its mandate of creating a "unique urban recreational greenspace" and has decreased the public legitimacy of the corporation. On the waterfront, the commercial activities of the TPA and TEDCO have contributed to chronic interagency conflict that has substantially slowed the pace of public space development. The cases suggest that governments interested in developing new public spaces in urban areas should steer clear of the SFA model of governance, as it does not serve this policy end well.

#### Howe, Paul

##### *Political Culture in the Age of Adolescence*

Observers of postwar politics in the industrialized democracies have pointed to a number of general currents gradually reshaping the political culture in those countries: declining civic engagement, heightened individualism, rising levels of "post-materialism" and greater social and political tolerance. This paper will attempt to draw a circle around these various trends, outlining a general theory of culture change that can help account for these patterns. The theory points to the centrality of socialization processes in the transmission of political culture and the way in which those processes were altered by the emergence of adolescence as a distinct life stage in the first half of the twentieth century (a development principally due to the introduction of compulsory secondary education). In making this case, the paper implicitly takes issue with other theories of political culture change that emphasize the importance of various postwar developments, suggesting instead that the roots of contemporary culture change lie in evolving social structures that have gradually given freer expression to the predilections and values of adolescence. In addition to developing the conceptual argument, empirical evidence in support of the theory will also be presented.

#### Howell, Alison

##### *Psychiatric Assemblages and the Global Governance of Psyches*

This paper traces a global assemblage of the governance of psyches in various sites in the conduct of international affairs. It is argued that the psy disciplines (psychology, psychiatry, and their sub-disciplines and cognates) operate in a diffuse manner in global politics. In this sense, the paper moves beyond the study of the global mental health policy of international organizations (especially the World Health Organization), in order to place such policy within the broader context of an assemblage of therapeutic practices in the global governance of targeted populations, such as soldiers in Western militaries, child soldiers in post-conflict situations, detainees, refugees, and others. By viewing psychiatric practice as a diffuse assemblage aimed at producing international security and order, the paper maps out the politics of this global governmentality of psyches.

#### Huber, Pamela

##### *Gandhi and the Notion of Non-Violence*

I argue that Gandhi's notion of non violence turns Western thought on its head. I use a comparison with Machiavelli to make this argument. Machiavelli in the Prince says: Armed prophets conquer and the unarmed ones are ruined. Arms, in Machiavelli means both military arms and the effectual or practical truth. Thus political success, for Machiavelli, entails military force. Gandhi, with his notion of satyagraha or truth force, disagrees. In short, political success is much more likely to occur using non violent force. Gandhi draws on ordinary experience to support this contention. Most disputes, as opposed to the great disputes recorded in History, are resolved peaceably. The key is to translate ordinary experience into a consistent political approach. This is not easy since the Machiavellian approach is so entrenched. It serves to de-legitimize Gandhi's approach by calling it passive resistance. In response, Gandhi acts non violently and thereby shows just how non passive the non violent approach can be.

#### Huntley, Wade

##### *Nuclear Nonproliferation: A Role for "Responsibility"?*

The Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) and the broader nonproliferation regime it anchors are widely thought to be facing a moment of truth. Critics on the right suggest the regime is proving incapable of meeting the new nuclear proliferation threats of the second, post-Cold War nuclear era. Critics on the left identify a fundamental hypocrisy in

threatening forceful counterproliferation against states like Iran and North Korea while supporting expanding nuclear capabilities in states like India and the United States. This paper examines the hypothesis that underlying current debates on these topics is the ascent of a new nuclear norm focusing not on the accumulation of nuclear capabilities themselves (vertical or horizontal), but on the character and “responsibility” of the actors (state or non-state) possessing those capabilities. The paper will describe how this normative initiative challenges the orthodoxies of the Cold War era; delineate how and where nuclear threats have changed (and not changed) in the second nuclear era; assess the logical viability of an actor-based nonproliferation norm in addressing contemporary threats; gauge how well the existing nonproliferation regime could adapt to this new norm, if it becomes globally established; and consider the wider implications for global security of this potential transition.

#### Hyson, Stewart

*Adapting the Ombudsman Idea to the 21st Century: Fighting “Puffery”, “E-Government”, and Forensic Investigations*

(Backdrop: I have just completed (September 2007) coordinating – including ten colleagues - a study of the ten provincial and territorial ombudsman offices in Canada. This report was for the Institute of Public Administration of Canada, in recognition of this institution’s 40th anniversary in Canada. As part of this research project, the 2006 CPSA annual meeting included a roundtable session on the Ombudsman involving my research team.)

The classical, parliamentary ombudsman has assumed a more proactive role in Canada in the early years of the 21st century. This is evident with the ten provincial and territorial ombudsman offices, most notably with the Ontario Ombudsman. Rather than being an institution that mainly responded to investigating individual complaints, the Ombudsman is now more proactive in three distinct ways. First, there is a greater tendency to speak-out critically of the failures of politicians and senior administrators to keep their promises or to implement fully the law. As well, in the case of Ontario, André Marin received considerable attention when he accused public leaders for using “puffery” to mask their irresponsibility. A second dimension of the Ombudsman’s more active role is seen with the adaptation of e-government, and communication strategy in general, to establish and maintain a direct connection with the public. Finally, there has been a move in the Ombudsman initiating forensic investigations of systemic, high profile problems.

The proposed paper will probe how and why the Ombudsman has assumed this more proactive role.

#### Iacovino, Raffaele

*Multinational Democracies and Citizenship Education : Comparing Canada, Belgium and the United Kingdom*

In *Federalism, Citizenship and Quebec* (with Alain-G. Gagnon), we explore the normative implications of multinationalism on conceptions of federalism and citizenship in Canada. We develop a theory of citizenship that builds upon this socio-political condition and avoids monistic conceptions of belonging imposed by either the majority or minority nations. In my dissertation, I re-formulated this theoretical framework for the challenges associated with education and situate the theory within existing justificatory debates around citizenship education. I then assessed the recently reformed Quebec Education Program, and proposed a theory of multinational citizenship education.

I intend to compare Canada with Belgium and the United Kingdom in exploring how national pluralism is addressed in their respective educational approaches. Belgium is characterized by a federal system that simultaneously accounts for linguistic and national communities on its territory as well as groupings organized around regional diversity. In contrast, the United Kingdom is explicitly multinational in terms of its socio-political self-understanding, yet it remains officially a unitary state with some provisions for legislative devolution. Furthermore, both states have recently engaged in reviews of their citizenship education programs and have instituted reforms aimed at aligning themselves with contemporary ‘social realities’. Considering such differences in institutional design, how have political actors addressed multinationalism in their conceptions of citizenship education? Do they rely on liberal or multicultural models, or on some explicit form of accommodation of national pluralism? What justificatory frameworks are employed by these states in their conceptualization of the ends of citizenship education? How are possible differences explained?

#### Ilcan, Suzan and Phillips, Lynne

*Developmentalities and the New Millennium*

Recent theoretical contributions to the study of social transformations in the ‘developing’ world identify a shift to a new governmental discourse that is outward looking, global in orientation, and increasingly associated with a new emphasis on development expertise, responsibility schemes, and knowledge networks. We refer to this shift as ‘millennium thinking.’ Millennium thinking reworks the past to permit the formulation and application of new and renewed ideas about the future and in doing so, takes the opportunity presented by the turn of the century to recast certain development problems and their solutions. It provides avenues for exploring the ways in which global governing practices articulate with future ideas and plans about international standard-setting, arenas of calculation, and geographies of people and places across and beyond nation-states. We argue that contemporary development programmes are institutionalized through millennium thinking in new ways and aim to govern groups of people, populations, and territories, a process we call ‘global developmentalities.’ We advance this argument on the basis of our analysis of development’s three specific relationships to the mentalities of global government –development and knowledge expertise; responsible development subjects; knowledge networks for development– and with reference to our research on the Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO), United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), and other UN agencies. Our research calls for future work to focus more precisely on the political tensions produced by global developmental initiatives and the implications these have both for people’s lives and for re-imagining development.

### Ingram, James

#### *Democracy and Democratization: The Unstable 'People' of Democratic Practice*

It is often remarked that a demos is the precondition of democracy, yet the barest familiarity with the history of actual democracies, ancient or modern, shows that their borders have in fact been fluid. Taking this observation as my starting point, in this paper I suggest that we may gain a new vantage point on the contemporary dilemmas of normative democratic theory by considering democracy as a process and a claim rather than a form of regime, be it real or ideal. For this purpose I reconstruct the writings of Etienne Balibar and Jacques Rancière, whom I read as advocating a fundamental shift in normative democratic theory. Democracy on their view is not a set of rules or institutions so much as an evolving set of practices, one that is tendentially universal. Balibar and Rancière address democratic politics not within institutions so much as about institutions; they suggest an analytic shift from ideal equality to existing inequalities, from legitimation to contestation, from justification to transformation. This shift has radical implications for the identity of 'the people,' which, far from being a stable identity, becomes the site of ongoing contestation. I conclude by contrasting this view to more conventional forms of democratic theory, arguing for its advantages when considering issues posed by globalization.

### Isaac, Annette

#### *Connection and disconnections: leadership of women of colour in NAC 1995-2003*

The role and contribution of the leadership of women of colour has been one of the most under-studied aspects in the history of NAC. This omission derives in part from the inception of the Report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women which did not address the specific concerns of visible minority women who had little formal engagement with the political process in the 1960s (Trimble and Arscott 2003). Other reasons could be attributed to the timing of their entry as leaders of NAC in the mid-1990s. This was a period of vulnerability, from federal "downsizing", loss of support of high profile women and male politicians, NAC's move increasingly to the left and a centralizing of the party leadership in Toronto. But this period of vulnerability coincided with the success of a small number of women of colour in the federal elections in the 1993 election.

This presentation will examine what impact the entry of women of colour in Parliament had on the fortunes of the NAC leadership from the mid 1990s onwards. It will also explore how the women of colour in NAC responded to the presence of the new politicians in an era of vulnerability, the opportunities for political alliances and the implications for inclusive national women's movements federally in Canada.

### Ives, Peter

#### *When Neither the Vernacular nor Esperanto Will Do: Theorizing Language Politics*

Daniele Archibugi (2005) uses the metaphor of Esperanto to critique Will Kymlicka and to champion cosmopolitanism over multiculturalism. This paper agrees with Archibugi's point that Kymlicka essentializes the connection between language and political community. However, Archibugi's cosmopolitan approach, this paper argues, is inadequate on three grounds: 1) it adopts an overly instrumentalist notion of what language is; 2) it falls prey to problems feminists have made of Habermas and 3) it neglects that while "a common language provides advantages to all communities" it does so at very different costs to these different language communities (van Parijs 2004). Both sides of this debate down play the operation of politics within language and do not adequately take into account the different material interests involved among speakers and communities.

By turning to Bakhtin, Volosinov and especially Gramsci, this paper hopes to bring this dimension back in to these debates. It will first outline the extent to which Archibugi's cosmopolitanism falls prey to Gramsci's critique of Esperanto and Alessandro Manzoni's plan to create a common language for Italy. It then looks to Volosinov for a notion of the struggle over signification within language. The paper concludes with some concrete examples to support its position including the language outcome of the accession of Malta and Cyprus to the European Union.

Archibugi, D. (2005) "The Language of Democracy: Vernacular or Esperanto?" *Political Studies* 53: 537-55.

Van Parijs, P. (2004) "Europe's Linguistic Challenge," *European Journal of Sociology* 45(1): 113-54.

### Jacobs, Alan

#### *The Politics of When: Redistribution, Investment, and Policymaking for the Long Term*

Why do some elected governments impose short-term costs to invest in solving long-term social problems while others delay or merely redistribute the pain? The paper addresses this question by examining the politics of pension reform in Britain and the United States, with a background comparison to Canada. It first reframes the conventional view of the outcomes – centered on cross-sectional distribution – demonstrating that the politicians who enacted the least radical redistributive change enacted the most dramatic intertemporal tradeoffs. To explain this pattern, the article develops and tests a theory of policy choice in which organized interests struggle for long-term advantage under institutional constraints. As the paper argues, the likelihood of investment is highest when groups face institutional obstacles to the redistribution of burdens and must internalize the long-run costs of policy choices. The argument points to major analytical advantages to studying governments' policy choices in intertemporal terms, for both the identification of comparative puzzles and their explanation. And, for the Canadian case in particular, the paper underlines our understandings of federalism as a stabilizing force in distributive terms while suggesting potentially far more dynamic effects of decentralized authority on intertemporal policy choice.

### Jacobs, Alan and Matthews, J. Scott

#### *Public Opinion and Intertemporal Policy Choice: An Experimental Study*

Can elected governments impose short-term costs on society to solve long-term problems, such as climate change, a rising pension burden, and diminishing natural resources? The conventional wisdom is that costly investment in the long-term spells electoral suicide because voters heavily discount long-term outcomes.

It is not at all obvious, however, that the conventional view is right. In fact, there exists no significant body of research on whether, when, or how voters take into account the timing of a policy's consequences in forming policy attitudes.

Moreover, decades of public opinion research raise serious doubts about the degree to which voters weigh policy costs and benefits in self-interested or sophisticated ways.

This paper reports the results of an experimental study of how citizens think about long-term policy tradeoffs. The study is based around an original online experimental survey that is being delivered to a representative sample of the U.S. adult population. Presenting respondents with a policy brief on Social Security reform, the instrument tests for the effects of temporality by manipulating subjects' perceptions of the timing of the reform's consequences. We seek to answer two questions: Does the timing of a policy's costs and benefits affect citizens' willingness to support it? And, if so, why? In particular, how much of the effect is one of pure temporal discounting (e.g. impatience), and how much is driven by uncertainty about the long-term state of the world and long-term policy consequences?

**James, Matt**

*Federalism, Reparation, and Racism*

Compared to their respective national states, federal subunits appear to exhibit a greater relative tendency to ignore past injustices: to refuse or attempt to evade discussions about political responsibility for past wrongs. This paper asks what the apparent phenomenon of reparative reticence in federal subunits might tell us about federalism itself. Drawing on examples from Canada and the United States, but noting other countries as well, the first part of the paper makes the case that the phenomenon of reparative reticence in federations is real. The second part of the paper links the special role played by the politics of amnesia and denial in federal subunits to key features of federalism that may enable or encourage racist injustices in the first place. The first feature is the comparative international invisibility of federal subunits, which may make them less interested in the questions of image, alliance, and reputation that occasionally constrain national states. The second feature is the basic nature of federalism as a political scheme for empowering particular local majorities, which can promote in subunits a particular insensitivity to minority rights. The third part of the paper defends the conclusion that federalism encourages amnesia and historical irresponsibility at the subunit level. This tendency makes subunits places of psychic refuge and identification for forces hostile to notions of "fair integration" and "multiculturalism." I conclude that a consideration of these dynamics ought to inform the ongoing scholarly and civic debates over multiculturalism, decentralization, and processes of political "rescaling."

**Jenson, Jane**

*Because We Care. Left Parties' Responses to Women's Claims Around care Work*

In the "golden years" of the welfare state, left and centre-left parties provided one of the major routes for women's claims-making to pass from civil society into state policy. Under pressure from women in trade unions and the party itself as well as progressive women's movements, these parties often developed positions on reconciliation of work and family, proposing and implementing, if in government, policies for child care services and parental leaves. Their positions, and those of the governments they headed, were basically ones of "defamilialisation."

Easy acceptance of "defamilialisation" as progressive has come under scrutiny. Several dilemmas have appeared, as left parties have subscribed to policies that seek to foster higher rates of female labour force participation:

1. Is there a "right to care" which implies both the right to and support for "informal" caring work within one's kin or friendship network? In other words, is there a right to decommodification beyond parental leave?

2. What are progressive positions on "paying for care"? As rates of women's labour force participation have risen over the last decades, care work has been marketised. Some left parties and governments (sometimes under pressure from women's and other movements) have moved towards support for privatised forms of provision, with all the consequences that has for "women employing women" and the international political economy of care.

This paper will examine these two dilemmas for progressive politics and describe the responses left parties have developed.

**Jhappan, Radha**

*Abstract Children and the 'Expressive Freedom' of Real Men: A Political Economy of Child Pornography Jurisprudence in Canada and Australasia*

The 2001 case of *R. v. Sharpe* rekindled debates over censorship and child sexual exploitation as the Supreme Court of Canada exempted certain materials from the child pornography law.

Regulatory measures in Canada and elsewhere have been attacked in legal challenges and in scholarly literature by civil libertarians and by sexual minority activists, 'sex radicals', and post-modernists opposed to the targeting of sexual minorities and committed to destabilizing constructed 'truths' about sexuality, gender, and other social relations. Such scholars have deconstructed 'the child', childhood, children's sexuality, 'abuse', consent, and agency. Child pornography is reconceptualized as 'transgressive expression' and public apprehension about it is scorned as 'moral panic'.

Through an analysis of case law in Canada, Australia and New Zealand, this paper critiques the abstractions of civil and sexual libertarian positions through a political economy of child pornography that deploys an intersectional analysis of the multi-layered relations of power predicated on differences of gender, sexual identity, age, race, class, and North-South relations. By exploring the linkages between child pornography and offences against children via child prostitution, sex tourism, and the exploitation of poor children in 'Third World' countries the paper argues that child pornography cannot be

regarded as mere expression abstracted from the material conditions and social realities of its production, distribution, uses, and effects.

This research builds upon my previous work in feminist legal theory and constitutional/Charter politics and contributes a novel approach to scholarly debates on censorship, moral regulation, constitutional, and children's rights.

#### Johns, Michael and Mackenzie, Michael

##### *Conflict at the Polls: Examining the relationship between electoral system design and ethnic conflict*

This paper will examine the impact electoral systems have on ethnic conflict. States may choose to manipulate their electoral systems either to promote inter-ethnic co-operation or to further the disparity in power between the dominant group and the minority. As with other elements of society, the state can use the electoral system as a weapon against those who may try to acquire power. Conversely, a state could choose an electoral system in the hopes that it will bring minorities into the political process and avoid conflict. This paper will first look to organize the disparate literature on the subject into specific theories and categories and then test these theories against reality. It will look for patterns in the choice of electoral system and the prevalence or lack thereof of conflict. It will then determine the causal relationship between the two, allowing for a clearer understanding of this relationship. The paper will rely on both specific case studies and a large quantitative study relying on data mined predominantly from the Minorities at Risk dataset. By better understanding the relationship between electoral design and ethnic conflict it will become easier to make predictions on areas of potential conflict and further our ability for early warning.

#### Johnson, Candace

##### *The Political "Nature" of Pregnancy and Childbirth*

In this paper, I will examine the ways in which feminist theorists have conceptualized and critiqued "medicalization," a term that was not originally intended to address matters related to women's health and reproductive rights. The ongoing debate between those who consider medical intervention in pregnancy and childbirth to be prohibitive (the majority opinion), and those who consider it to be productive (the minority), is, at its foundations, political. Proponents of the former position seem to argue that medicalization of women's reproductive bodies is problematic because it denies, frustrates, or diminishes that which is "natural". However, as Blaise Pascal concluded centuries ago, "custom is our nature;" an adage that has been articulated in feminist terms by Simone de Beauvoir, Adrienne Rich, and others. This suggests that any attempts to defend "nature" are fraught with philosophical and practical difficulties. This paper will explore feminist iterations of medicalization discourse, with particular attention to the ways in which the critique of medical intervention in pregnancy and childbirth corresponds with defence of the natural. It will ultimately question the appropriateness of such defences in the context of contemporary debates in feminist political theory, and consider the cultural and political dynamics that are expressed through appeals to nature.

#### Johnson, Genevieve Fuji

##### *The Theory and Practice of Deliberative Democracy: A Study of Three Canadian Cases*

Theories of deliberative democracy constitute one of the largest areas of study in contemporary western political theory. Moreover, practices of deliberative democracy are multiplying in numerous areas of public policy, at local, regional, and national levels of governance. There is, however, a troubling dissonance between the theory and practice of deliberative democracy.

The ideal of deliberative democracy is held as a model for just and legitimate policy decision making, but attempts to realize it have had limited success. In particular, attempts to incorporate deliberative democratic elements into policy processes (e.g., participatory public inclusion, procedural equality, access to information, and reasonable agreement) have had limited success in achieving the theoretical ends of deliberative democracy. This disconnect between theory and practice needs to be explored systematically to understand the reasons for deliberative failure and prospects for deliberative success.

Bridging an historical divide in political science between normative theory and empirical study, the proposed paper will evaluate the central claims of deliberative democratic theory with direct reference to timely cases of deliberative democratic decision making in Canada. The proposed interpretative comparative case study will yield a better understanding of the contextual influences on the success and failure of deliberative democracy, and provide insight into the prospects for and limitations of this increasingly popular approach to policy.

I propose to examine the influence of contextual factors in three recent cases of deliberative democratic practices: participatory budgeting by the Toronto Community Housing Corporation, deliberative polling by Nova Scotia Power Incorporated, and an iterative process of citizen dialogues by the Canadian Nuclear Waste Management Organization.

#### Johnson, Juliet

##### *Central Bank Independence and Democratic Governance in the Post-Communist World*

Over the past decade, an extensive literature on the relationship between democratic regimes and independent central banks has emerged in the social science literature. While analysts agree that granting independence to central banks objectively reduces the power of elected officials to affect monetary policy, the dispute has centered on whether or not this represents a worthwhile tradeoff for democratic governments. My paper will extend and develop this debate in two ways. First, it will look at the relationship between political democracy and central bank independence in the context of post-communist states. Second, it will explore the "dual democratic deficit" created by the intense involvement of transnational institutions in central bank development and policy making. To do so, this paper will examine the influence of two transnational, non-elected institutions on the relationship between democracy and central banking in post-communist

states: the European Central Bank and the transnational central banking community (the organized epistemic community of central bankers and macroeconomic policy advisors in advanced industrial democracies).

**Jordan, Pamela A.**

*Russia's "Managed Democracy" and the Civil G8 in 2006: Why did Putin Promote NGO participation in the G8 While Restricting Russian NGOs at Home?*

Recent scholarship about Russian nongovernmental organizations has tended to focus on how President Putin's policies restricted their autonomy, contacts with their Western counterparts, and access to Western donors. However, as my paper will argue, Russian NGOs still had opportunities to act on the world stage. In 2006, for instance, the Russian government, while holding the presidency of the Group of Eight, claimed that it had promoted the participation of Russian and non-Russian NGOs in the G8's decisionmaking process (the NGO component is called the Civil G8) more than any of its G8 partners had previously done. In fact, several Russian and non-Russian NGO representatives who took part in the Civil G8 in 2006 reported that their level of participation had improved.

Using a social constructivist approach, I will explain why, on the one hand, several Russian NGOs could perceive that they had benefited from their participation in the Civil G8, while, on the other, they failed to use their greater role in the G8 process as leverage on the domestic level. The answer partly lies with Putin's preferences for a "managed democracy" and fear of opposition movements and foreign influence in Russia's internal affairs in the run-up to the 2007 Duma elections and 2008 presidential elections. Additional factors include Russian NGOs' lack of capacity and cohesion, the lack of strong liberal parties, and Western leaders' reluctance to criticize and potentially alienate the Putin leadership at a time when its cooperation in the realm of international security was seen as critical.

**Joshi-Koop, Sima**

*The Art, Craft, and Science of Policy Network Management in Canada*

The processes of public policy development and implementation have gained increasing complexity over the years, now resulting from the interactions between a plurality of interdependent actors operating within and beyond the state with separate interests, resources, strategies, and beliefs. New or emerging policy problems such as climate change and public health are highly technical crosscutting issues that have complex economic, social, and political causes, interactions and implications. In order to pursue their preferred policy initiatives in this context, governments are drawn into consultation with non-state actors who might possess diverging interests and be unlikely to co-operate in the absence of concession.

The product of the interactions between state and society agents around public policy represents for many social scientists a fundamentally new form of governing, not by governments but by networks, through governance. It is heralded as more democratic, inclusive, and open, harnessing the communicative rationality of collective societies. Despite scholars' explicit affirmation of this new and fundamentally different (and better) form of governing, empirical evidence of it is found wanting.

This study seeks to contextualize how real networks and the government actors within them actually behave so to inform the nature of the policy process, including its openness and responsiveness to societal groups. How do government actors deal with their increased dependency on non-state actors and the latter's demands for inclusion in the policy process? This study will draw from two models developed in public administration, public policy, and political science as well as in-depth interviews with public managers in Canada's federal public service to capture the struggles government actors face in an interconnected policy process and explore the impact of their resulting actions on the inclusiveness of governance.

**Kang, Susan**

*International Labor Rights Norms and Charter Rights: British Columbia's Bill 29 at the ILO and Supreme Court*

How do possibly costly international norms effect domestic interpretation of human rights? This paper investigates the role of international labor rights of collective bargaining, encapsulated within international organizations such the International Labor Organization, and the role that international norms and jurisprudence played in the recent 2007 Supreme Court case *Health Services and Support (Bargaining Association) v. British Columbia*. The Supreme Court of Canada not only overturned the BC Supreme Court judgment, but also the prior Supreme Court case law on Collective Bargaining rights under the charter. This may have far reaching implications on not only the grievances at hand, but also the latitude of provinces to engage in privatization, subcontracting, and imposition of collective agreements in the public services. I argue that the increasing prominence of the collective bargaining and collective labor rights within transnational legal networks increased the salience of a more "international" interpretation of the Canadian Charter's freedom of association clause.

**Kear, Allen R.**

*Canada's First Ministers' Conference*

Canada/Australia is universally assumed to be a copy of America's federation. Canada/Australia remained in Britain's empire for another two centuries unlike America. Canada's First Ministers' Conference, like Australia's Premiers' Conference, connects the central and provincial governments unlike anything in federal America. These Canadian/Australian conferences modelled after Britain's Imperial Conference, raise the question whether Canada/Australia is federal or quasi-imperial.

**Keating, Tom**

### *Intervention and Canadian foreign policy: an assessment of the practice and its theoretical implications*

Humanitarian intervention has become a prominent feature of Canadian foreign policy since the end of the Cold War. Canadian officials have also been promoting the principle of responsibility to protect (R2P) with its permissive approach to intervention. This paper examines these interventionist practices with a view to assessing their effects on human security and international order. The paper calls attention to the tendency over the past decade for these interventions to become more militarized raising concerns about their humanitarian character as well as their implications for international order. The militarization of humanitarian interventions has reinforced the emphasis in Canadian policy on militarist views of human security. Canadian support for humanitarian interventions and the R2P principle continues to be presented as rescuing people from threats of physical and politically related violence. The paper examines the apparent neglect in Canadian policy of other threats to human security related to poverty, the environment, and health despite the fact that poverty, climate disruptions, and their related effects have been a much greater source of harm and death among vulnerable populations. The paper then considers both the sources of Canadian practices and the implications of these practices for international norms of state sovereignty and non-intervention. It concludes with a discussion of the extent to which the practices such as those being pursued by the Canadian government and other states present a significant challenge to international order based on a society of states sharing certain norms and practices.

### **Kellogg, Catherine**

#### *History, Futurity, and the 'Dangerous Perhaps'*

This paper investigates the idea of a democratic 'future' by analyzing Walter Benjamin's critique of the "progressive" narrative of history and Derrida's so-called "ethics of alterity" if two phrases are read together. The first is "the decision of the other in me" (Derrida 2005, 1999); the second contains the injunction that "to love... one must love the future" (Derrida 1997). I argue that the phrase "the other in me," cannot be understood as "conscience." This fails to appreciate the Benjaminian resonances of Derrida's thought. Secondly, the traditional interpretation of Benjamin's concept of \*Erlosung\* or redemption is problematic as well; it holds that past generations who "love the future" have expected our coming, and our task is to repair the past. What Derrida makes plain is that one cannot love the future insofar as one cannot love what is not yet. Developing Derrida's reading, I argue that the "decision of the other in me" is the decision of those in the past as they are turned towards us, their own future, their "\*revenant\*." What is 'other' in us are characters from the past who continue to act not \*through\* us but \*as\* us. Thus it is precisely the possibility of the impossible future that we \*already love\* that informs the critique of any programmatic hope. I conclude that the messianic affirmation of the promise of democracy is the internal undoing (the 'dangerous perhaps') inherent in the narrative of progress towards democracy that we generally tell.

### **Kelly, James**

#### *Notwithstanding by Stealth: Cabinet Supremacy and Constitutional Distortion under the Charter of Rights and Freedoms*

While the Charter of Rights has clearly empowered the Supreme Court of Canada, there has been a corresponding increase in the relative influence of the Minister of Justice. Yet despite the growing importance of this cabinet minister, who also serves as Attorney General, the implications of the judicialization of politics for this minister have received scant academic consideration. Should the partisan role of the Minister of Justice, which is grounded in cabinet solidarity and collective responsibility, continue to be fused to the Attorney General, a legal officer required to advance the rule of law independent of cabinet solidarity? In this paper, I will argue that the appointment of a single parliamentarian as both Minister of Justice and Attorney General has undermined the logic of the Charter as a document and compromised Attorney General independence as it relates to the Charter of Rights. The lack of transparency in the Charter vetting process combined with the tension between partisanship and legality is no longer sustainable after 25 years of Charter review by the Minister of Justice on behalf of Cabinet. The issue of sexual assault legislation and the dialogic saga from O'Connor to Mills will be used to demonstrate the emergence of notwithstanding by stealth as the legislative response to judicial activism.

### **Kershaw, Paul**

#### *Who Cares? Why Does it Matter?*

This paper draws on two qualitative studies to explore why it matters who provides care. The first study, the Care, Identity and Inclusion Project, draws on the expertise of diverse groups of women of colour in the Canadian provinces of BC and Ontario to explore the significance of caregiving. They explain that their child care time matters for shielding their children's identities from denigrating external images, fostering personal confidence, promoting tolerance for difference and empowering minority groups. Their 'private' care thus has significant 'political' implications for themselves, their children and for the social groups of which they are members. The second study, the Income Assistance Project, learns from the wisdom of lone mothers in BC, again many of whom are women of colour, to understand the competing pressures on maternal time in a social and policy context that now privileges employment activity as the primary responsibility of social citizenship. The competing pressures illuminate racialized, classist and gender dynamics that continue to shape the vision of active social citizenship which is prominent across affluent Western, Anglophone countries. While most of the women blend care and employment aspirations, their autonomy in doing so is constrained substantially by male irresponsibility for care, a dearth of state funded child care, and a welfare framework that often discourages personal caregiving for their own preschool children in favour of serving the low-paid labour demands of the broader economy.

### **Kesarchuk, Olga**

*From Oligarchs Into Businessmen: the Causes of Transformation and Its Consequences for Ukraine's Democracy*

The era of transition from socialist to market economy in Eastern Europe was characterized by privatization of resources through informal networks giving rise to the so-called "oligarchs." The term applied to the new economic and political elite has negative connotation due to the murky methods of asset acquisition this elite used. Having secured an important position in the post-Soviet economies and politics, the oligarchs are now looking into ways to transform themselves into ordinary businessmen in the perception of the population and their foreign counterparts. The paper will study the causes of this process of transformation and identify its possible consequences for democratization using Ukraine as an example. Improvement of the image at home is dictated by the need to secure their holdings and gain support of the population. Improvement of the image abroad is dictated by the need to expand their business activities beyond Ukraine's borders, gaining acceptance as legitimate and reliable partners at the international arena and taking a full advantage of globalization. What exactly this process of transformation is to bring for Ukraine's further democratization and its regime type is the central research question for the paper. I apply Eva Bellin's term of "contingent democrats" – rationally thinking actors who support democracy only when it goes in line with their own interests – to the Ukrainian elites. The significance of this research stems from the fact that while the initial era of accumulation has been widely researched, the further stage of transformation has been understudied in the academic literature.

**Kiera, Ladner**

*Rethinking Indigenous Sovereignty: Gendering Decolonization & Decolonizing Gender*

Given problems such as neo-colonialism; institutionalized sexism; institutionalized state-violence; normalized sexual violence; institutionalized dependency; and, the internalization of victimization of both individuals and communities. Given the movement towards Indigenous sovereignty, nationalism and decolonization and the gendered critic of this political agenda. Given a diverse body of literature that claims the incompatibility of feminism and nationalism, it is necessary to understand the intersectionality of Indigenous nationalisms, sovereignty and gender. More specifically, it explores the questions: are current discourses of and movements towards political decolonization going to positively de-gender and/or re-gender Indigenous politics and governance? Or, are contemporary expressions of Indigenous sovereignty incompatible with Indigenous feminisms and/or the de- or re-gendering of Indigenous politics and governance? Advancing the argument that it is possible to both positively affect gender and decolonize governance simultaneously, this paper will address the gender inclusive nature of Indigenous political thought and Indigenous political traditions, the colonization of gender and the introduction of politics of domination, subordination and exclusion, and possibilities for gendering decolonization and decolonizing gender through citizenship/membership and matrimonial property law. Using the foundation created by the likes of Patricia Monture, Andrea Smith, and Joyce Green, and an approach grounded in Indigenist theory and methodology, this paper will contribute to the our understanding of Indigenous feminisms, treaty constitutionalism, sovereignty, nationalism and their intersectionality.

**Kimball, Anessa and Brulotte, David**

*Patterns of Canadian-American Military Technical Cooperation*

Much of the emphasis in the study of North American international relations is focused on NAFTA and NORAD as they represent major cooperative efforts which overcame relatively conflictual initial positions between the two countries. However, there has been little systematic research examining cooperation that takes place at lower diplomatic levels. Cooperation at lower diplomatic levels may allow leaders to bypass the normal legislative approval mechanisms making them a nice way for leaders to exercise effective foreign policy autonomy especially when the domestic political environment constrains leaders. Using information provided by a new data collection on North American military technical cooperation between 1950 and 2005, this study will explore patterns of cooperation, as well as changes in the breadth and depth of cooperation over time. The goal of the study is to gain a more complete understanding of both the complexity and duration of cooperative endeavors between these two close nations in order to shed light on how similar cooperative structures may be created in other regions to resolve points of conflict between states.

**King, Conrad and Gaenzle, Stefan**

*Higher Education in the Russian Exclave of Kaliningrad*

This paper will examine the interplay of domestic, federal and external incentives, models and pressures on the reform of higher education in Kaliningrad, a Russian exclave separated from 'mainland' Russia by two European Union member states, Poland and Lithuania. Given Kaliningrad's geographic location, the compatibility of its system of higher education with the remote motherland versus its immediate EU neighbours offers a test case of the exclave's potential to provide one of Russia's main openings towards Europe in general and the European Union in particular. For its part, the EU has not assumed a major role in educational policy as such, but they have interpreted their own educational policy, as well as the higher education reforms of the pan-European 'Bologna Process', as a means to influence the impact of Europeanization and globalization in Russia. Thus, higher education has developed into an area for cooperation between Russia and the EU. With regards to Kaliningrad, however, both the EU and Russia have not agreed on the making of a special regime for the region; instead they prefer to deal with higher education issues rather comprehensively within the context of EU-Russia relations. So rather than a single European higher education template, a multitude of cooperation projects exist in this area, rendering Kaliningrad into a cooperative test region often by default rather than by design. Although Russian policy-makers have recognised the need to integrate Kaliningrad into European systems of higher education, problems with implementing 'Bologna' have persisted, and hence only partial adaptation is evident.

**King, Loren**

### *The Geography of Public Reason*

Political liberals ground legitimate authority in public reason, which asks that we tailor our public claims in light of the expectation that many others will not share our deepest moral and metaphysical convictions. Some public claims admissible within the public reason of a plural society will be distinctly territorial, reflecting economic practices and cultural attachments bound to particular places and associated resources, yet these claims will inevitably fail to persuade when a decisive majority prefers other reasonable values and practices. Political liberals ought to take such reasonable but unpopular claims far more seriously than we do. This is not a mere defense of traditional attachments to place and prevailing sovereign boundaries, but rather an argument that, within public reason, we have good reason to favour institutions that are more rather than less responsive to a variety of reasonable claims and arguments, and that authoritative boundaries ought to map the geography of public reason.

### **Knopff, Rainer and Gates, Cormack**

#### *"Hunting for Habitat": An Alberta Proposal for the Private Production of Ecological Goods and Services*

Farms and ranches produce not only familiar agricultural goods but also such "ecological goods and services" as healthy watersheds and wildlife habitat. While farmers and ranchers are paid for their agricultural products, there has traditionally been no market for their ecological goods and services. This has become a matter of concern where economic pressures, often rooted in urban centres, degrade the capacity of landscapes needed to produce ecological goods and services for those same urban centres. Several mechanisms have recently been devised to provide financial returns for the private production of ecological goods and services, thus ensuring that ecological costs are no longer an "externality" that can be ignored in market transactions. "Hunting for Habitat," the name for one such mechanism currently under consideration in Alberta, seeks to provide qualified market incentives to enhance the private production of wildlife habitat, with corollary benefits for other ecological goods and services, while simultaneously enhancing public access to wildlife resources on private lands. The competing interests are difficult to reconcile, especially given that it has hitherto been illegal for landowners receive any financial consideration for hunting access to the public wildlife resource upon their lands (in contradistinction to their ability to charge for access to the public mineral resources beneath it). This paper analyzes the politics involved in the "Hunting for Habitat" proposal and compares that proposal with other ways of rewarding the private production of ecological goods and services.

### **Kodolov, Oleg**

#### *Fiscal Policies in Canadian Provinces: Convergence or Divergence?*

The paper evaluates fiscal policies by Canadian provincial governments in light of the provinces' equalization status and the governments' ideological orientation towards market freedoms. It compares the 'have' provinces, or net contributors to the Canadian fiscal equalization program, with the 'have not' provinces, or net beneficiaries of Canadian equalization payments, as well as the provinces where in recent years governments have demonstrated a market approach to economic policies with the provinces where governments have tended to favor 'dirigiste' solutions. The paper evaluates the hypothesis that the two variables have an important yet uneven impact on the direct government expenditure pattern in that they affect total expenditure to a greater extent than government choices of specific spending programs. The case studies include a market-leaning 'have' province (Alberta), a dirigiste-leaning 'have' province (Ontario), a market-leaning 'have not' province (Nova Scotia) and a dirigiste-leaning 'have not' province (Manitoba). In addition to making empirically significant evaluation of provincial budgets, the paper presents theoretical insights by assessing the reasons for relative lack of similarity in spending patterns in Canadian provinces, where, unlike in case of the USA, substantial emphasis, at least in principle, has traditionally been put on promoting fiscal convergence through formal equalization program.

### **Kofman, Daniel**

#### *Rawls versus Intuitionism*

While Rawls' critique of utilitarianism has received much attention, his critique of its most plausible alternative 'intuitionism' in TJ and 'rational intuitionism' in PL has not. Rawls held that the proof of the superiority of contractualist constructivism over intuitionism (in TJ meaning especially principle pluralism; PL refers explicitly to an epistemic doctrine not incompatible with monism) was in the pudding: constructivism could defeat (pluralist) intuitionism only by producing a convincing monism or else ranking of principles, (convincing, i.e., by the reflective equilibrium test). Feinberg's early critique is an exception to the neglect this question has received.

Moral pluralism is not defeated by Rawls' constructivism. First, Rawls and commentators ignore that Original Position negotiators can and may have reason to choose pluralism. Nor need pluralism imply improbability of consensus on particular rankings in particular circumstances. Thus contractualist constructivism can and perhaps should yield the 'intuitionist (pluralism) it was meant to defeat. Therefore one need not subscribe to realist intuitionism to justify pluralism. Secondly, I argue

that constructivism fails to make consensus likely on how to apply (conflicting) principles to particular cases, or at any rate fails to rely less on intuition than epistemic intuitionism in doing so, and that value pluralism with epistemic intuitionism is actually preferable (as demonstrated by example). Third, I argue that the differences between Kantian constructivism and realist intuitionism are less clear than some (O'Neill, Korsgaard) acknowledge, while the later Rawls' political constructivism (seeking overlapping consensus) is possibly best justified by intuitionism.

### **Kompridis, Nikolas**

#### *Democratic Politics and / as World-Disclosure*

For Heidegger, practices of world-disclosure do not open up "new" worlds so much as rediscover the familiar world/s in which we dwell. Drawing on my previous work on practices of world disclosure I will be proposing a view of democratic politics as an ensemble of practices the goal of which is to disclose alternative possibilities for going on with, or going against, our political practices and styles of governance, possibilities that are disclosed through cooperative and reflective processes, and assessed by these very same processes.

#### **Koop, Royce and Sharman, Campbell**

##### *The Elusive Nature of National Party Organization in Canada and Australia*

Two recent studies have examined the nationalization of party systems in terms of the formation of national electorates and partisan competition (Chhibber and Kollman, 2004; Caramani, 2006). In both Canada and Australia, this process was largely complete by the early 1900s, but the growth of corresponding national party organizations has been uneven and complicated by the ambiguities of the role of a national party in a federation.

For both federations, national parties began as caucuses of national parliamentarians. Beyond this, it is unclear what functions a national party in a federation is required to perform. The regional dispersal of political power in both Canada and Australia has meant that the growth of any national party apparatus has had to accommodate strong regional and local resistance to a national organization controlling key elements of 'national' politics.

This paper examines the process of national party building in two federations with very similar institutional and electoral structures. It argues that the emergence of national party organizations in both countries has been disjointed, crisis driven, and heavily modified by strong pressures for the maintenance of regional party control, the rival claims of parliamentary parties and leaders to retain autonomy, and demands for local dominance in the process of candidate selection, campaigning and electoral tactics. Only with government intervention into the operation and financing of parties have national party organizations begun to emerge as party machines to match those at the regional level in these two federations.

#### **Kow, Simon**

##### *The Use of History for Political Theory: Liberty and Culture in Hume's History of England*

David Hume has often been criticized for Enlightenment universalism in judging societies and cultures from European Enlightenment principles, especially in his treatment of religious belief and practice, as well as of Eastern despotism. While his six volume History of England has been regarded in this light, i.e., as an ideological reading of English history from the perspective of an 18th century Scottish philosopher, I argue in this paper that the History (interpreted in relation to his political essays) in fact illustrates an attempt to transcend the limitations of ideological history. Read in contrast to earlier histories written by such thinkers as Hobbes and Bacon, and against the backdrop of the Whig histories of his time, we can discern Hume's efforts in his History to provide an historically sensitive and impartial depiction of English political life in very different periods of its history. Although the theoretical coherence of his History indeed derives from an overarching conception of liberal and commercial progress, Hume's work demonstrates the ways in which his historical treatment of the development of the English constitution marks a significant departure from the ahistorical contractualism of Hobbes or Locke. Other political thinkers of the Enlightenment, notably Montesquieu, also sought to move constitutional politics away from a dependence on social contract theory, but Hume's unique contribution was in providing a thorough analysis of England's constitution on an historical basis. We can then assess to what extent his historical liberalism can be regarded as an early attempt at reconciling liberal principles and cultural diversity.

#### **Krebs, Andreas**

##### *Colonialism and Canadian Media: Two Case Studies from the Radio*

Much of political science literature dealing with Canadian colonialism (i.e. the colonial project post-confederation) has traditionally focused on the state's role in forcing colonial institutions on Aboriginal populations, its dissemination of colonial ideology, or the capacity for judicial processes to undermine colonial legislation. However, even with the abandonment of colonialism as official state ideology, colonialism continues to play a part in the formation of Canadian subjectivities. The formation of subjectivity occurs through daily processes whereby certain norms and perspectives are inculcated and reinforced in a given population. This paper will explore the formation of colonial subjectivities in Canada through an examination of two popular radio shows, the CBC's 'Sounds like Canada' and Corus Radio's 'Adler Online'. While these programs are representative of ostensibly very different political views, I will argue that in fact their perspective on Aboriginal politics remains much the same: the Aboriginal people interviewed by each are those who have succeeded within the colonial system, reinforcing the idea of the 'good Indian' in the minds of listeners and continuing the officially abandoned assimilationist policy of the federal government. Additionally, these radio programs reproduce colonial subjectivities through interpellating listeners as citizens, taxpayers and property owners, three important normative identity markers which link directly to the colonial nature of Canadian politics. Finally, I will also analyze the popular discourse around which responsibility for colonialism is refused and how this reproduces the figure of the individualistic rational actor so prevalent in Anglo-American political philosophy and economic theory.

#### **Krook, Mona Lena**

##### *Gendering Substantive Representation: A New Methodology for Studying Representative Claims and Acts*

In a recent article, we argue for shifting the terms of debate in studies of women's substantive representation from traditional questions like 'Do women represent women?' or 'Do women in politics make a difference?' to questions like 'Who claims to act for women?' and 'Where, why, and how does substantive representation of women (SRW) occur?' The

former approach assumes that only women can substantively represent women, that substantive representation occurs only in elected political bodies, and that the SRW requires that women be 'distinct' in some way from men. The core assumption is that 'numbers matter': an increase in women's descriptive representation in parliaments will translate into an increase in the SRW. The latter leaves open the question of who might act on women's issues, where substantive representation might take place, and what the SRW might entail. It does not presume that the SRW requires a 'critical mass' of women, but rather explores the many ways in which 'critical actors' in various locations may seek to promote what they view as women's concerns. In this paper, we take this reframing one step further by incorporating recent theoretical work on representative claims and the constitutive representation of gender to develop a new methodology for empirical research that (1) recognizes multiple actors, sites, goals, and means, (2) incorporates 'gender' as an analytical category, and (3) focuses on representative claims and acts to explore how various actors seek to represent men's and women's 'interests' in politics. We illustrate our approach with examples from Belgium, Finland, the United Kingdom, and the United States.

#### **Kuhonta, Erik Martinez**

##### *Dominant Parties and Social Reforms: A Comparison of Malaysia's UMNO and Thailand's Thai Rak Thai*

To what extent does party dominance matter for the advancement of social reform? Through a comparison of two dominant parties in Southeast Asia - the perennial powerhouse United Malays National Organization (UMNO) and the short-lived Thai Rak Thai (TRT) party - this paper examines the way in which party hegemony can be useful for the implementation of social policies. Although UMNO has been dominant for a much longer period compared to TRT, these parties are comparable because they have both used their overwhelming political dominance to advance social reforms. This paper will argue that party dominance coupled with party institutionalization provides the institutional capacity to implement widescale reforms. By contrast, a party system in which no party dominates is unlikely to create conditions for implementation of social reforms because of the lack of policy consistency and institutional depth. A disconcerting conclusion that follows from this is that a more closed polity is at times more likely to be beneficial to the poor.

#### **Kukucha, Chris**

##### *Federalism Responds? International Trade Agreements and Sub-Federal Consultation in Canada and the United States: The Role of CTrade and IGPAC*

This paper examines the impact of international trade agreements on federal-provincial/state consultative linkages in Canada and the United States. In Canada, CTrade is a series of meetings between Ottawa and the provinces that occurs four times annually. In the United States, similar consultation takes place between the Office of the United States Trade Representative (USTR) and the Intergovernmental Policy Advisory Committee (IGPAC). In Canada, all provinces are members of CTrade whereas IGPAC currently has representation from 28 states. IGPAC's membership is also selected by the USTR and includes a wide range of officials from state governments, municipalities, and regional development authorities. IGPAC is also one of 32 advisory committees that reports to the USTR's Advisory Committee for Trade Policy and Negotiations. Despite these differences, CTrade and IGPAC have similar shortcomings. Critics note that both groups serve as forums of information sharing as opposed to actual consultation. Problems related to document access, agenda setting, and a hierarchy of sub-federal representation have also been highlighted. Ultimately, it is clear that federalism has responded to the intrusiveness of international trade commitments by creating new consultative mechanisms in both countries. For the most part, these relations are collaborative but they are limited to issues of process. Specifically, CTrade and IGPAC do not directly influence the foreign trade policy of central governments or the final legal text of international agreements. For the most part, states and provinces rely on ad hoc bureaucratic linkages regarding the negotiation and implementation of technical trade issues.

#### **Kumar, Abhinava**

##### *Killing Time: Videogames and the Aesthetics of Indifference*

My paper aims to explore the ways in which new media technologies, the popular content which they deliver, and the affective responses which they make possible coincide to produce an aesthetics of indifference. I will argue that such an aesthetic form is derived in part from scoping out the incursions of insecurity, conceived in terms of a lack of information/knowledge, and replacing them with a false sense of certitude. Additionally, I will show that this aesthetic form encourages very selective, and limited forms of personal engagement. Considering the juxtaposition of violence and play, my paper will be anchored in a reading of popular war videogames, specifically America's Army – a recruitment videogame released by the US Army in 2001 – as well as recent films such as Tropa de Elite (Elite Force, Brazil 2007), and Transformers (USA 2007). At stake in such a reading is an interrogation of a North American hegemonic discursive environment where "what can be heard (Judith Butler)" is severely punctuated by the so-called war on terror. The hope is that new forms of aesthetic engagement can be mapped out in order to disturb the legitimacy of warfare as an institution.

#### **Kunzsch, Felix**

##### *Nation- and State-Building in the Shadow of Sovereignty – Trans-national Ethnicities and Violent Contention*

Since the end of the Cold War much has been written about the surge of violent domestic conflicts in the second half of the 20th century. Civil war, in general, and ethnic conflict and secessionism, in particular, have gained widespread attention in academia (e.g. Lake and Rothchild 1998, Brown 2001, Saideman 2001). But one finds that even those studies that take ethnic groups as primary agents of political contention display a state-centric perspective. Whether focussing on secessionism, irredentism or internal struggles over the center, they look on conflicts from the perspective of an already

consolidated states system. This however conceals the distinct sub-state dimension that characterizes many contemporary conflicts (Chojnacki 2005).

My paper seeks to highlight this neglected dimension arguing that leaders of trans-national ethnic groups, when facing the strategic challenge to enter the international realm, engage in a process of quasi state- and nation-building that takes place in the shadow of established sovereignty.

Confronted with external constraints imposed by international actors, the states they find themselves in and by the groups they seek to represent, they have to build political legitimacy in order to survive. I propose a model that accounts for the strategic choices they undertake in order to accumulate this resource through and for the other players.

Comparing the cases of the Basques, the Kurds, and the Pashtun I show how the violent struggle for legitimacy in a constrained environment can explain the different institutional settings in which these polities have settled by now.

#### Lacey, Anita

##### *Discourses and Practices of Security and Good Governance in Solomon Islands*

Employing a governmentality framework, this paper examines poverty reduction programmes and aid implemented by a range of actors in contemporary Solomon Islands and the ways in which human security and good governance are both concurrently and independently technologies of governance. A central question is asked: what, if any, are the impacts of RAMSI policies and practices on international development aid NGOs and aid donors Solomon Islands. Three sub questions are also addressed: 1) what role is played by human security in RAMSI policies and programmes; 2) how reconcilable is human security with RAMSI stated goals of security and good governance; and 3) what does this case tell us more generally about global governances of aid and security and the so-called security-development nexus.

#### Lacey, Anita and Ilcan, Suzan

##### *Partnering the Poor? A Case-Study of US AID Poverty Reduction Programmes*

An emphasis on partnership has gained widespread currency as a key pro-poor element of development programmes since the early 1990s. We suggest that it is more useful to consider multi-level development aid partnerships as actively aiming to shape the poor as a socially and politically constituted grouping. The paper focuses on the various ways in which an important convergence is occurring in the increasing role of partnerships for development aid delivery, a process that forms part of what we call a 'partnering mentality.' Specifically, the paper analytically draws attention to poverty reduction programmes at local, nation-state, and international levels. The first part of the paper examines how advanced liberal governing rationalities influence the partnership relations of prominent aid donor institutions and agencies, including the World Bank, the United Nations Development Programme, US AID, and other international and local non-governmental organizations.

We demonstrate how the growing expansion of partnerships for poverty reduction fosters not only the active shaping of the lives of the poor by donor partners but also the constitution of the poor as a social grouping responsible for their own ways out of poverty. The second part of the paper explores the case of US AID partnerships in Namibia, and how these partnerships advocate individual forms of empowerment as a 'way out' of poverty. Hailed as providing solutions to the problems of 'the poor' and of development, partnership-oriented donor programmes collectively constitute and actively steer the conduct of the poor.

#### Lachapelle, Erick

##### *Energy Security and Climate Change Policy in the OECD: The Political Economy of Energy Taxation*

Over the past two decades, economic instruments, such as energy taxes, have played an increasingly important role in the environmental policies of OECD member countries (OECD, 2001; 2006). At the same time, recent experience with energy taxes in Europe has sparked growing interest in the role these economic instruments can play in achieving strategic foreign policy goals (IEA, 2007; IISD, 2007). But while there has been a discernable shift toward using taxation in support of various policy objectives, the precise form taken by energy taxes has not been uniform across the OECD. Within the Nordic countries, for instance, different levels of energy taxes have been imposed on different tax bases (with important exemptions for key industries) and revenues from energy taxes have been used to serve different purposes. In other parts of the OECD, proposals for "greener" taxes have altogether failed, sometimes miserably. In light of the myriad of challenges posed by global climate change and energy (in)security, what explains variance in energy taxes across the OECD? This paper tests several key hypotheses commonly found in the international and comparative political economy literatures in order to develop an explanation for why some democracies are more able and willing to impose higher energy taxes on parts of their populations than others. The implications of this analysis for thinking about problems associated with international coordination in the areas of energy security and global climate change will also be discussed.

#### Lamba, Rinku

##### *The Emerging Contours of European Secular Practice – An Examination of Official Responses to Claims advanced by Muslim Minorities*

Is it possible to define a relationship between the state and religious groups that does not entrench relations of domination? And there are at least three kinds of domination that can be encountered in state-group relations: intergroup domination, intragroup domination, and what I call "domination as neocolonial governmentality." In the proposed paper I would like to examine the kinds of lesson we can gain by probing contemporary secular states' interactions with non-

hegemonic religious minorities. I will undertake a normative analysis of official responses to claims advanced by Muslim minorities in Europe, with a view to evaluating the manner in which European state institutions have engaged the claims of members of non-hegemonic groups. To this end, my project focuses on three different official responses: (a) the German Federal Constitutional Court's decision in 2003 that upheld a schoolteacher's right to wear the headscarf; (b) the Stasi Commission's Report, which recommended a ban on the wearing of headscarves in French public schools that came into effect in 2004; and (c) the 2004 ruling of the European Court of Human Rights that upheld the ban on wearing of headscarves in Turkish public universities. The goal of this paper is to seek insights from European practice in terms of what can be done, or avoided, at the level of practice to mitigate relations of domination between the state and religious minorities. (And there can be three kinds of domination) In other words, the aim is to highlight the normative and institutional considerations that can better enable the pursuit of non-dominating exchanges between the state and non-hegemonic religious minorities.

#### Lambert, Lisa

##### *Women's Motivations for Political Participation*

It is well known that women in Canada remain less likely to participate in political activity and have lower levels of political interest, knowledge and efficacy than men. Women generally appear less likely to be oriented towards politics. Women's orientation to politics, or political motivation, is a key predictor of political participation and has generally been uncovered using large survey data. In this paper, I utilize qualitative data gathered from focus groups conducted with groups of women in rural southern Alberta in the first half of 2007. The paper incorporates the voices of these women as they describe how interested they feel, how knowledgeable they are, and how efficacious they see themselves and it offers a different way to look at women's motivation for political participation by probing what motivates women towards politics and what motivates them towards other pursuits. Significantly, the paper argues that these two different motivations/orientations need not be seen as dichotomous but as complementary. Women, the paper concludes, are engaging in political activity more often than they can articulate.

#### Lang, Amy

##### *From Civic Forum to Public Sphere: Assessing Print News Coverage of the BC and Ontario Referendums on Electoral Reform*

Theorists and practitioners of public deliberation are increasingly concerned with how to move citizen deliberation from small face-to-face forums into the broader public sphere. This is particularly important in cases like the Canadian Citizens' Assemblies on Electoral Reform, in which proposals produced by a small group of citizens must be ratified by the general public. With little government funding for public education, the print news media played a major role in disseminating information and commentary on the Citizens' Assemblies' proposals in each province. This paper will present content analyses of national and provincial print news coverage of the BC and Ontario referendums on electoral reform. The paper will examine two phenomena: 1) the deliberative quality of the media coverage, that is, the degree to which the media stories discussed the proposals for electoral reform in a reasoned manner, recognized and respected opposing arguments and made claims about the common good. 2) The relevance of the Citizens' Assembly process to the broader public debate. Cutler and colleagues suggest that the Citizens' Assembly acted as a positive signifier for voters in both the BC and Ontario referendums. This analysis will assess the degree to which media coverage of the Citizens' Assembly was associated with positive, negative, mixed or neutral coverage of the referendum proposals.

#### Langlois-Bertrand, Simon

##### *Getting Closer? Empirical Evidence on the Use of Mobile Phones in Sub-Saharan Africa*

The potential impact of mobile phones on development in Africa has been recognized for some time now. Their use is considered to be a solution to the relative lack of infrastructure in the areas of communication and transport, enabling small-sized farms and businesses to save enormous amounts on transportation costs, as well as allowing isolated parties to access price information in real-time, cutting down dramatically on transaction costs.

In recent years, with the privatization of state companies, there has been a pronounced increase in the number of mobile phone subscriptions. While there is a considerably large body of literature discussing the potential impacts, empirical studies detailing these developments remain scarce. This gap brings up the following question: why do mobile phones have a tremendous impact on development in some regions but almost none in others, where social, political and economical conditions seem to be similar?

Several cell phone projects have been implemented in recent years, and an assessment of their results helps understanding which factors are improving, and which are inhibiting, the use of this tool for development. By comparing the characteristics of such projects in Sub-Saharan Africa, isolating the main catalytic conditions becomes possible, with subsequent insight for development policy. The most influential factors coming out of this study are the presence and scope of informal commercial networks between middlemen and customers, the reliability of mobile phone coverage, and the communities' internal political structure (especially in rural areas).

#### Laponce, Jean

##### *A Contribution to the History of the Discipline: The Case of Political Linguistics*

The studies of the state of the discipline are typically synchronic. By contrast, my analysis will be diachronic and trace the evolution of a subfield - political linguistics - from the 1950s to the present. It will note an evolution that goes from case study to comparative analysis - first correlative then causal - and becomes increasingly interdisciplinary to reach eventually the field of ethics. That evolution duplicates roughly that I had measured for political science as a whole in the

1980s and shows more clearly the impact of governments and of their specific political problems. In the field of 'language and politics', Canada has long been a leader. That leadership is now challenged, academically, by the European Union. The paper will also ask and try to answer why, in the course of its evolution, Political Science, unlike Economics, borrows more than it imports from other disciplines.

#### Larsen, Mike

##### *Governing Uncertainty by Entrenching the Exception: Immigration Security Detention in Canada*

This paper explores the current trajectory of immigration security detention in Canada in light of recent challenges to the IRPA security certificate regime. The post-September 11 shift towards "governance through uncertainty" and preemption (Ericson, 2007) has as one of its core principles an understanding of security as a parochial good, available to members at the exclusion of non-members. As applied to Canadian national security, this results in processes that construct non-citizens (refugees, permanent residents) as potential threats with diminished rights before the law. This diminishing or cutting-out can be understood through Agamben's (1998; 2005) notion of a state of exception. In the case of security certificates, challenges to the state of exception have resulted in government 'concessions' that have, paradoxically, served to further entrench exceptional spaces and practices of detention within Canadian institutions of social control. The Kingston Immigration Holding Centre (KIHC) exemplifies this normalized exceptionality, creating a permanent "camp" for the detention of non-citizens on the grounds of a federal penitentiary. We are now faced with likelihood that further attempts to change the security certificate regime will be met with additional "counter-legal" (Ericson, 2007) measures that provide the veneer of legitimacy to an inherently unequal process. It is argued that the way forward lies in problematizing the underlying notion that national security goals either justify or are achievable through the differential treatment of citizens and non-citizens.

#### Lecours, André

##### *The Puzzle of Nationalist Movements in Western Democracies*

What explains the appeal of sub-state nationalism in developed liberal democracies such as Belgium, Spain, the United Kingdom and Canada? The demise of sub-state nationalism in Western societies has been forecasted more than once, most recently, in the 1990s when many saw the processes of globalization were assumed to correspond strictly to cultural assimilation and political integration. This forecast rests on an assumption that progress and modernity represents the triumph of (nation-state) universalism over the 'deep diversity' represented by nationalist movements. Why, then, has sub-state nationalism survived in states that pose no physical threats to minorities but on the contrary offer a liberal-democratic environment and, in some cases, credible promise of prosperity?

The paper first argues that understanding the appeal of sub-state nationalism requires its appreciation as a multidimensional phenomenon composed of three processes: the construction and expression of an identity; the definition of collective interests; and territorial mobilization. With this conceptualization in mind, the paper suggests that there exists six main reasons why sub-state nationalism continues to garner substantial support in several liberal democracies: the power of the notion of self-determination; the crystallization of national identity and nationalist politics in decentralized arrangements featuring autonomous political institutions; the presence of powerful nationalist narratives; institutional and constitutional questions that are either unresolved or have been addressed by a shaky compromise; the involvement of nationalist movements in debates of public policy; and processes of continental integration that help nationalist movements make the case for increased autonomy, and in certain circumstances independence.

#### Leduc Browne, Paul

##### *Capitalist and Non-capitalist Relations of Production in the Global Political Economy of Health Care*

A key issue in the global political economy of health care is the latter's commodification, the tendency to subsume it under capitalist relations of production. I understand 'global' here both spatially, as the geographical formation of relations of production on a planetary scale, and socially, as the totality of social labour (Glucksman). If health care, as a form of complex, collective social labour, is not yet fully commodified, then what other relations of production prevail within it? What relationship is there between the non-capitalist and capitalist relations of production within health care? How does the juxtaposition of these different relations of production affect the construction of class and gender within health care and vice versa? This paper will critically review several conceptual answers to this question: Jean-Louis Laville's Polanyi-inspired theorization of the hybridization of public, private and solidarity-based economies; Alain Caillé and Jacques Godbout's Maussian studies of the relations between the capitalist and gift economies, and David Graeber's synthesis of Marx and Mauss; Bolton's critique of Hochschild's analysis of the commodification of emotional labour; Himmelweit and Radin's conceptualization of incomplete commodification; Julia Twigg's anthropology of carework. The paper will conclude with a proposal for how to think the mediation of the combined and uneven development of capitalist and non-capitalist relations of production in health care.

#### Lenard, Patti Tamara

##### *Do the Politics of Redress Apply to Immigrants?*

Although there remains considerable controversy around what justice demands by way of redressing historical wrongs, it is no longer controversial to raise the issue of redress as a matter of justice. It is agreed, for example, that the Canadian government committed an injustice when it interned citizens of Japanese descent during the Second World War, and it is agreed that the Australian government was wrong to forcibly remove Aboriginal children from their families to place them in residential schools. In these cases, it seems clear enough that the victims of these injustices, or their descendants,

deserve some form of redress, even if the form of this redress is disputed. But, is there a case for relying on the insights developed within this field to immigrants? This paper explores this question.

I begin by reporting evidence that immigrants (especially visible minorities) are the victims of ongoing systemic discrimination in most western democratic countries. I then argue that it is often the receiving societies that are guilty of perpetuating this systemic discrimination, in large part because they are guilty of failing to do their part in facilitating the integration of newcomers in the first place. I'll then rely on the insights generated from within the literature on historical redress to ask at what point it makes sense to move from a) characterizing the responsibilities of the receiving state as responsibilities of integration, which are the responsibilities that states have to newcomers, to b) characterizing them as responsibilities for rectifying historical injustices, which are the responsibilities that states have to populations who are the victims of past or ongoing injustices.

### Leuprecht, Christian

#### *Demographic Shifts and Federal Governance: Implications of Differentiation for Public-policy Formulation, Priorities, and National Unity*

This paper hypothesizes that demographic change is precipitating a territorial differentiation with the Canadian federation that is bound to have (and is already having) undermining the political steering at the national level. To test this hypothesis, the paper describes the demographic characteristics of each province - past, present, and projected future - and ranks all provinces according to variables such as the percentage of population under 19, the percentage of population over 64, the percentage of population over 80, the average age of the labour force, the percentage of the Aboriginal population, the percentage of the Aboriginal population under 19, the percentage of the population born outside of Canada, the percentage of the population that is the result of internal migration from other provinces, the percentage and rate of urbanization, etc. The paper then analyzes how each province is affected by changing demographic variables and proceeds to compare provincial demographic developments across time and space. The findings shows that differential developments of ethno-cultural heterogeneity, population aging, and urbanization across Canadian provinces is having a decoupling effect on federal governance as centrifugal decentralizing pressures accelerate. In other words, provincial policy priorities are diverging as a result of demographic change. If that premise is tenable, it would be indicative of a wholesale re-alignment of federal governance in Canada. Research conducted in the 1970s and 1980s by Richard Simeon and Donald Blake as well as by Roger Gibbons found that in the 30-40 years after the Second World War policy among provinces had been converging. By contrast, this investigation posits demographic change as a catalyst of policy divergence that poses unprecedented challenges for Canadian federal governance and intergovernmental relations.

### Leuprecht, Christian

#### *The Demography of Inter-Ethnic Violence*

The puzzle that informs this article is whether demographic change and difference are in any way related to the propensity for and the intensity of ethnic violence. Were they to correlate, then that would be more useful an explanation of ethnic violence than the commonplace ex post facto explanations insofar as demographic change can be projected over the short-, medium-, and even long-term with a reasonable degree of accuracy. Any margin of error in the projections would be mitigated by the fact that this article is confined to putative problematic trends, thus alleviating the need for absolute precision in that data. An investigation of the relationship between demography and ethnic violence is useful insofar as any ensuing model would give policy makers a social-scientific tool allowing them to forecast the demographic circumstances under which tensions are likely to escalate facilitates early preventative intervention in conflicts that might otherwise escalate. Lives would be spared, individual and collective trauma averted, development dollars could be better targeted, overstretched Western armed forces could be spared some demanding and dangerous missions, and donor as well as recipient countries would be spared the huge expenditures associated with post-conflict reconstruction. The approach being proposed in this article is novel in two ways. First, rather than focusing on isolated derivative variables such as youth, the model being advanced is macro-demographically dynamic writ large; that is, it is premised on the interaction between the three basic demographic variables: fertility, mortality, and migration. Second, rather than proposing a catch-all explanation, the investigation treats ethnic violence as a unique phenomenon, as a shift in phase that is different from the morphous notion of ethnic conflict, when ethnic conflict is limited to ethnic mobilization.

### Levesque, Mario

#### *Plotting the Roots of Local Citizen Engagement*

Governments of all stripes have expressed a renewed focus on citizen engagement over the past fifteen years. Academic commentary has focused on extolling the virtues of citizen engagement, on detailing frameworks for citizen engagements and on profiling specific cases of citizen engagement to derive lessons learned in order to improve policy change and implementation processes (e.g. MacKinnon, Pitre and Watling, 2007; Wondolleck and Yaffee, 2000; Graham and Phillips (Eds.), 1998). Overlooked to a large degree are questions of who should be engaged and what their role in engagement processes should be, as well as, where this engagement needs to be directed to affect changes in public policy.

This paper is based on a recent examination of how to structure local public policy change in Hamilton, Ontario and examines the above issues in relation to groundwater problems. The potential for local citizens to address Hamilton's groundwater issues is assessed through an evaluation of past collaborative efforts achieved through a questionnaire sent to local and regional stakeholders and an analysis of primary documents. It concludes that progress on the issues will be

stunted unless renewed attention is given to developing linkages with regional stakeholders. Furthermore, local governments need to be much more cognizant of the role local community groups can play in policy implementation processes, roles which local governments do not themselves perform adequately. The research directly contributes to the author's examination of innovations in institutional arrangements that contribute to sustainable resource use and local communities.

#### Leydet, Dominique

##### *The People as a Collective Agent: What sense does it make?*

The paper focuses on the concept of the 'people' as a collective agent, often presupposed in democratic theory, more specifically when referring to popular sovereignty as the principal source of democratic legitimacy. In the first part of the paper, I discuss the function of the appeal to the people as a source of ultimate authority: what work does it do? I distinguish between a 'defensive' or negative function, by referring to the works of authors like Benjamin Constant or Claude Lefort, and a positive or 'constituent' function by looking at the work of Bruce Ackermann and others. In particular, Ackermann's conception of constitutional moments appeals to the people as a collective agent in a way that allows him to establish the authority of certain constitutional changes as opposed to others. The second part of the paper focuses on this kind of usage. Using the distinctions made by Philip Pettit in his recent work between (1) the people as a collection of individual agents performing separate actions which have a single combined effect; (2) the people as a collection of individual agents who combine to perform a joint action; (3) the people as constituting a corporate agency, I try to clarify the conception of the people as a collective agent that Ackerman's work presupposes. What sense can we make of it? Should we hold on to it?

#### Lindenstrauss, Gallia M. and Lupovici, Amir

##### *States, Ethnic Groups and Extended Deterrence: Achieving Some Restraint in Violent Ethnic Conflicts*

In many respects deterrence and extended deterrence in ethnic conflicts seem very unlikely to succeed. There is a fundamental difficulty in deterring low-level violence since effectively delivering the threat to the opponent is hard; most of the time, the actors on the opposing side are not fully aware of what the consequences will be should deterrence fail. There are, however, cases in which an ethnic group did not cross what could be defined as one of the red lines of an opposing group. One such case occurred in 1992 and then again in 1993, in Nakhichevan, a landlocked exclave of Azerbaijan bordering with Armenian territory. Although there was some violence between the sides, the Armenians did not act to conquer Nakhichevan. While this conflict can also be presented as a conflict between the states of Armenia and Azerbaijan, it was directly linked to the ethnic struggle in Nagorno-Karabakh, and neither the Azerbaijani nor the Armenian government had complete control over events in Nakhichevan and Nagorno-Karabakh. Our claim in the paper will be that it is exactly this blurriness between the state and the ethnic group as actors in the conflict, and the great dependence of a warring ethnic group on outside assistance from a state, that could be taken as an advantage in conducting a successful practice of (extended) deterrence, as was exercised by Turkey with regard to Nakhichevan. In addition we claim that it is important to address identity-linked issues when discussing the Turkish deterrence since the Turkish threats embodied also references to a possible partial repetition of what the Turks inflicted on the Armenians in World War I. By highlighting these two factors that strengthened the Turkish deterrence, we show the advantages of using a broader deterrence theory for understanding developments in ethnic conflicts.

### Lister, Andrew

#### *The Missing History of Political Liberalism*

This paper addresses an historical problem about the lack of antecedents for "political liberalism" and a related philosophical problem about "reasonable pluralism" and "public reason." Rawls expressed puzzlement that earlier generations of liberals had not developed the theory of political liberalism, which seemed "such a natural way to present the idea of liberalism, given the fact of reasonable pluralism." (Rawls 1996, 374). One explanation would be that earlier writers, while recognizing the fact of diversity, did not recognize the inevitability of reasonable disagreement. Charles Larmore has argued that a salient feature of modern experience is that on certain deep aspects of morality as well as religion, deliberation among reasonable people does not generate convergence of views. This paper offers a different account of the historical evidence. Non-sceptical recognition of the inevitability of reasonable disagreement about a question conceded to be a real question is found in neither Montaigne nor Paine, the two authors Larmore cites. It can be found in Bayle, but not in Bayle's successor Hume. Drawing on Rainer Forts's interpretation of Bayle, the paper distinguishes two versions of the thesis of reasonable pluralism. One makes it plausible that respecting the constraints of public reason is necessary for political legitimacy, but draws the boundaries of public reason much more broadly than do Rawls and Larmore. The other version gets the boundaries of public reason right, but does not support the view that state action based on non-public reasons necessarily involves a lack of respect for persons.

### Liston, Mary

#### *Putting the Rule of Law Into Practice: The Crown's Duty to Consult and Accommodate in Canadian Aboriginal Law*

This paper examines the implications for the rule of law due to demands for legal pluralism from Aboriginal communities from the perspective of a liberalism of fear in contrast to a liberalism which aspires to recognize deep diversity. Multicultural and multinational demands compel liberal democratic states to provide a range of legal and institutional avenues for recognizing and including minority groups in a particular political community. Such demands, however, often take place within a traditional discourse of the rule of law founded on the maxim "one law for all" which seemingly affirms the belief that legal pluralism amounts to an oxymoron. Indeed, at its starkest, inclusion and substantive power-sharing arrangements make no sense in relation to the unitary, indivisible conceptions of state sovereignty which traditional accounts of the rule of law support. Can liberal ideas of the rule of law therefore meet the challenges of cultural diversity, particularly in relation to Aboriginal claims for self-governance? Moreover, should they? This paper will examine the implications of legal pluralism (that is, the various ways in which a state can recognize multiple legal systems), due to demands from Aboriginal communities, for the very idea of the rule of law from the more traditional perspective of a liberalism of fear in contrast to a more recent liberalism which embraces the fact of deep diversity.

### Livingston, Alex

#### *Deliberation, Micropolitics and the Problem of Bad Habits*

Everyday habits of citizens are a critical but under-theorised site of political significance. Habits constitute what Danielle Allen has called "the stuff of citizenship" (Allen, 2004, 12). They are the embodied medium of how we interact with each other, of how we share public space, and of how we listen and argue. As such, habits constitute a potential site of everyday domination and exclusion or the means of a more inclusive and receptive approach to public life. In this paper I explore the ways that the bad habits of citizens pose a problem to democratic theory. Drawing on the recent work of William Connolly (1999, 2002), I argue that taking habits, or the 'visceral register', seriously reveals shortcomings of communicative approaches to democratic politics. Because bad habits are not reflexive in the same way as beliefs or reasons are, they pose a conceptual and motivational enigma to the rationalist bias of much deliberative democratic theory, where argumentation turns on the force of the better argument alone. I argue that Connolly's challenge is a welcome gesture, but it comes with its own attendant problems. In the second half of the paper I criticise his strategy of rejecting deliberation in favour of what he calls a 'micropolitics', local and individual experiments whereby citizens try to work on their own bad habits. Rather than resolving the shortcomings of the deliberative approach, Connolly's micropolitics only serve to reproduce the same conceptual and motivational problems at another level. In conclusion, I try to recover some middle ground between a public deliberation and self-cultivation for rethinking the possibility of a reasoned deliberation that takes the problem of bad habits and affect seriously.

### Locas, Marie-Chantal et David, Charles-Philippe

#### *Le poids de l'histoire: les analogies peuvent-elles expliquer l'échec américain en Irak?*

Pour expliquer l'échec américain en Irak, les experts se sont penchés sur de multiples facteurs, que ce soit les intérêts géostratégiques des États-Unis dans la région ou encore la prédominance de l'idéologie néoconservatrice au sein de la Maison-Blanche. Toutefois, peu nombreux sont ceux qui ont analysé l'aspect cognitif de la prise de décision du gouvernement américain au moment de la planification et de la mise en œuvre des politiques de reconstruction en Irak. C'est ce que nous ferons dans notre présentation qui aura pour but d'étudier l'influence des analogies historiques sur le processus décisionnel de l'administration Bush en ce qui a trait aux politiques de stabilisation et de reconstruction de l'Irak. La thèse que nous défendrons est que l'analogie faite par plusieurs dirigeants américains entre l'occupation de l'Allemagne au lendemain de la Seconde Guerre mondiale et l'occupation de l'Irak suite au renversement de Saddam Hussein permettrait d'expliquer certaines erreurs commises par les États-Unis en Irak.

### Loewen, Peter

#### *Antipathy and Political Participation: How a Dislike of Other Partisans Makes Us Vote*

Many citizens have a concern for the well-being of others. However, citizens' levels of concern often vary depending on the identity of the other. In the case of partisan politics, individuals may have greater concern for those who normally support their party than for those who support another party. If individuals also believe elections have a redistributive function, then this variation in concern should motivate them to participate in politics (see J. Fowler 2006 "Altruism and Turnout" and J. Fowler and C. Kam 2007 "Beyond the Self" for models of turnout and political participation dependent on other-regarding behaviour).

To demonstrate this, a series of dictator games was imbedded in an online survey of more than 2000 Canadians in May 2007. I first show that dictator game allocations are consistent with stated partisan preferences. I then show that antipathy towards partisans of other parties correlates with respondents' reported participation in the January 2006 federal election. The larger the difference in allocations to co-partisans and allocations to the partisans of other parties, the more likely an individual is to vote. This effect is independent of the turnout effects of party identification and other well-known correlates of the decision to vote.

This work makes two general contributions. First, it adds to a growing body of political science literature which demonstrates the utility of using behavioral economic games within surveys. Second, it contributes to work demonstrating the importance of considering other-regarding behavior in the analysis of various political actions.

### Long, Doug

#### *Jurisprudence as Political Theory: Jeremy Bentham's Enlightenment Project*

Jeremy Bentham is rightly viewed by scholars in several disciplines as an exemplar of the "Enlightenment Project" (if such a thing exists) - an intellectual drive to categorize all useful knowledge, in the spirit of Bacon, within one encyclopedic set of boundaries and under one Newtonian set of laws. My 30-year-old project of research into the early and unpublished manuscript writings of Bentham shows how Bentham set out to do this by developing a system of "critical jurisprudence" which would in turn be the basis of his political and even moral theories. This presentation will lay out the anatomy of an unpublished Benthamic "magnum opus" called "The Elements of Critical Jurisprudence", and show how in it Bentham sought to demonstrate the superiority of his own system of moral and political science over those of his "competitors": Sir William Blackstone, the Scottish Moral Sense theorists, and the continental natural jurists. It will also show how Bentham developed his ideas on happiness and utility in this work, prior to his coining of the term utilitarianism later in his life.

### Lopreite, Debora

#### *Framing Women's Rights: Universe of Political Discourse and Reproductive Rights in Argentina*

This paper analyzes the changes in Argentinean gender regime by looking at the new reproductive policy (2003), which attempts to ensure (at least in part) reproductive rights by access to contraception and services. The new policy constitutes a landmark in Argentinean history. While in Argentina pro-natalism has been persistent since the creation of the Nation-state circa 1880, recent reproductive policies has also created opportunities to debate about sexual education and decriminalization of abortion at the local and national public arenas. Social problems like high maternal mortality; unsafe abortion and insufficient women's access to health care have been identified as relevant indicators to alter well-established social policies. Yet, social problems (needs) are not sufficient conditions to explain policy change. To be sure, women's activism has been important in promoting policy change. Using the concept of 'universe of political discourse' the paper focuses on the political debates occurred in Argentina looking at the different voices that supported or opposed reproductive rights. In particular, the paper underlines the relevance of international, regional and national women's networks –compounded by feminists, politicians and femocrats- to shape the reproductive rights debate and contribute to policy change.

### Lowry, Christopher

#### *Cosmopolitan Justice and Two Kinds of Liberalism: Comprehensive vs. Political Liberal Defences of Supranational Institutions*

Cosmopolitan theories of justice have garnered significant attention in recent years. One question they raise is: Are there justice considerations in favour of creating or strengthening supranational institutions? At the extreme this question becomes: Is world government a desirable goal over the (very) long term? Although relatively few endorse this ambitious ideal, there is widespread support for less all-encompassing forms of supranational institutions. This puts pressure on traditional single-state versions of liberalism, and much exciting work has sought to push liberal theory beyond national borders (Beitz 1979; Rawls 1999; Pogge 2002; Tan 2004; Moellendorf 2002; Caney 2005). My proposed paper examines what significance the divide between comprehensive liberalism (CL) and political liberalism (PL) has for global liberal political theory. My discussion focuses on the relationship between the liberal commitment to the moral equality of persons and the liberal analysis of state authority. I argue that this relationship is importantly different in CL and PL. In CL, moral equality is conceptually prior to the analysis of the state. Conversely, in PL the analysis of the state ultimately provides the foundation for PL's egalitarianism. This difference has implications for the arguments CL and PL can offer in favour of supranational institutions. Where supranational involuntary coercive institutions do not already exist or where they could be dismantled, PL seems unable to provide justice-based reasons in favour of strengthening, creating or even preserving such institutional relationships—which is significant since PL's defence of egalitarianism applies only when such institutional relationships are present.

### Lui, Andrew

*Human Rights in Comparative Foreign Policy: Canada, the US, China and the Concept of Power in International Relations*

Power is most often acknowledged as the foundational variable of international relations. Yet how foreign policy is ultimately shaped by power remains an underproblematized issue area on a comparative level—especially with regards to principled policy matters such as human rights. The proposed paper addresses this deficit by exploring human rights in the foreign policies of Canada, the US and China, which are important cases both individually and comparatively. The Canadian case is significant given that Canada, a contemporary leader in international human rights, was once one of the world's foremost opponents of universal human rights. The record of Canadian exceptionalism—the emergence of leadership from staunch opposition—contrasts with the record of American exceptionalism—vociferous leadership coupled with equally vociferous aversion to the formal acceptance and enforcement of international human rights norms. Both of these cases diverge starkly from China's rejection of international human rights norms in theory and practice. As Canada, the US and China tend to be cited respectively as prototypical middle, super and rising powers, this paper tests the extent to which power is explanatory with respect to their international human rights policies. Overall, this study stresses the need for rationalist and identity-based conceptions of power while attempting to bridge the increasingly disparate fields of International Relations Theory (IRT) and Foreign Policy Analysis (FPA).

**Lupia, Arthur, Krupnikov, Yanna, Levine, Adam, Grafstrom, Cassandra, McGovern, Erin and MacMillan, William**

*Missing the Points: How to Improve Stock Market Reports in a Changing Global Economy*

Many people pay attention to media reports of stock market performance. Some use these reports to gauge the health of an economy. Others use these reports as a benchmark for evaluating their own net worth. Media reports of stock markets often focus on "points." A common lead for such reports is that a major stock index is up or down a certain number of points (e.g., "the Dow went up 30 point today and the S&P was up 7 points"). On dates where these point rise or fall by large amounts or reach record levels, the events are treated as important and historic achievements.

Using novel experiments, content analyses, and other analyses, we cast the meanings of these reports in a very different and unattractive light. Changes to the global economy have caused a dramatic reduction in the value of stock index "points." Yet these value changes are routinely ignored. Using research in psychology, we explain why media outlets are prone to ignore these changes. Using insights from economics, we explain why the value changes should not continue to be ignored.

To mitigate the harmful consequences of such ignorance, we propose an alternate way of presenting stock market information. The alternative is easy to implement and can help citizens draw important inferences from the attention they already pay to financial reports. Using controlled experiments, we demonstrate that this alternate mode of presentation can benefit broad audiences.

**Lupovici, Amir**

*Why the Cold War Practices of Deterrence are Still Prevalent: Physical Security, Ontological Security and Strategic Discourse*

In many respects deterrence and extended deterrence in ethnic conflicts seem very unlikely to succeed. There is a fundamental difficulty in deterring low-level violence since effectively delivering the threat to the opponent is hard; most of the time, the actors on the opposing side are not fully aware of what the consequences will be should deterrence fail. There are, however, cases in which an ethnic group did not cross what could be defined as one of the red lines of an opposing group. One such case occurred in 1992 and then again in 1993, in Nakhichevan, a landlocked exclave of Azerbaijan bordering with Armenian territory. Although there was some violence between the sides, the Armenians did not act to conquer Nakhichevan. While this conflict can also be presented as a conflict between the states of Armenia and Azerbaijan, it was directly linked to the ethnic struggle in Nagorno-Karabakh, and neither the Azerbaijani nor the Armenian government had complete control over events in Nakhichevan and Nagorno-Karabakh.

Our claim in the paper will be that it is exactly this blurriness between the state and the ethnic group as actors in the conflict, and the great dependence of a warring ethnic group on outside assistance from a state, that could be taken as an advantage in conducting a successful practice of (extended) deterrence, as was exercised by Turkey with regard to Nakhichevan. In addition we claim that it is important to address identity-linked issues when discussing the Turkish deterrence since the Turkish threats embodied also references to a possible partial repetition of what the Turks inflicted on the Armenians in World War I. By highlighting these two factors that strengthened the Turkish deterrence, we show the advantages of using a broader deterrence theory for understanding developments in ethnic conflicts.

**Ma, Michael**

*Social Justice Exhaustion and Containment: An Investigation of the Chinese Canadian National Council - Toronto Chapter*

This paper contributes to the study of social justice organizing as it relates to municipal political governance and the question of compliance to normative rules of political practice. It questions whether the participation in grassroots social justice political organizing empowers the citizen or merely serves existing relations of governance. It is based in and through the author's active participation in the social justice and anti-racist organization Chinese Canadian National Council - Toronto Chapter (CCNC-TO). It demonstrates how public, private, and third sector institutions incorporate community-based ethno-racial social justice activism and how CCNC-TO must conform to existing rules of speech and conduct.

This incorporation exhausts and contains activist organizing and defers and postpones social justice as it aids in the reproduction of these relations of governance. The Working Group on Immigration and Refugee Issues, Alternative

Planning Group, and the Toronto Social Development Network are used as illustrations of this co-option. The use of Lefebvre and

Foucault enable this research to pose the question as to how community-based advocacy becomes absorbed into acceptable forms of consultative activism and governmentality. The result is that social justice is perpetually deferred. A politics of demand inadvertently transforms itself into a politics of deferral leading to a politics of co-option and exhaustion. Methodologically, this paper develops a community-based participatory activist research model where research is shared and linked with its interlocutors. Research is practiced as an active mobilization of both community and academic research. This paper offers the audience a glimpse into the possibilities of actively addressing questions of containment in the grassroots movement. It demonstrates the possibility of actively addressing the question of containment through research amidst the sobering reality of co-option.

#### **Maas, Willem**

##### *Dutch Citizenship Policy Reconsidered*

Within the panoply of national citizenship policies, the Netherlands was long among the most tolerant and open states. Recently, however, Dutch policy has become decidedly more restrictionist. The 1990s witnessed a debate about whether the granting of citizenship should be seen as a means of encouraging integration or rather as the statement of its successful conclusion. Political parties on the left tended to promote the former view; those on the right the latter, arguing that naturalization should be seen as the “crowning moment” at which a completely integrated person finally achieved complete legal equality. Those on the right argued that that giving citizenship too easily would place in question the recipients’ loyalty, while others argued that naturalization inherently provided a source of loyalty. Between 1992 and 1997, the view of the parties of the left held sway. The complete toleration of dual nationality that resulted caused large-scale naturalizations, peaking at over 80,000 in 1996. Starting in 1998, however, the openness towards dual nationality waned, and policies once again became more restrictionist. By 2007, naturalization was more difficult, dual nationality had become more restricted, and new laws even made it possible to strip individuals of their Dutch citizenship for engaging in activities such as terrorism. This paper considers the causes of this seemingly complete reversal, situating them within the broader field of changes in Dutch multicultural and immigrant integration policies.

#### **Macallister, Christopher**

##### *The Three Crises of the Centre Right in Late 20th Century Canada and Stephen Harper’s Response.*

In this paper I will argue that from the 1970s onwards the parties of the centre right faced a series of ideological crises that had by 2000 left both the Progressive Conservatives and the Alliance without a relevant and distinctive political narrative. These were: a crisis of the post war consensus that began in the 1970s, then a crisis of convergence in the 1990s when the Liberal Party took a neo-liberal turn. Finally, there was a third crisis, the inherent contradictions between neo-liberalism and traditional Toryism that had opened up by the late 1990s. This suggested that the right was now irrevocably split and a pan Canadian conservatism would be impossible.

Thus by 2000 both the Progressive Conservatives and the Alliance seemed to have reached a point of ideological exhaustion. However, only six years later there was a reunified Conservative party in government in Ottawa. Was this due simply to a failure of the Liberal government’s statecraft or has Stephen Harper discovered a relevant and distinctive narrative for conservatism? Analysing these three crises, my paper will therefore finish with a reflection on to what extent Harper has found ideological answers, and new narratives.

This paper comes out of my wider research into the ideology of centre right parties in Australia, Canada, and the UK, and their attempts at ideological renewal in the early part of the 21st century. My research takes a qualitative approach that seeks to interpret the party leaderships’ discourse and its public reception.

#### **Macdonald, Douglas**

Harper government climate-change policy: a case study of the relationship between public opinion and environmental policy

The Harper government was elected in January, 2006 on an environmental platform which downplayed the importance of climate change policy. Accordingly, the October, 2006 Clean Air Act was a relaxation of the regulatory regime governing Large Final Emitter greenhouse gas emissions which had been developed by the Chrétien and Martin governments. In the face of polling data showing significant public support for climate change action, that policy was abandoned and the second climate policy, announced by Minister John Baird in April, 2007, was a restoration of that regime. Public opinion was not strong enough, however, to force the Harper government to commit to meeting the Kyoto goal for Canadian reductions.

It is understood that the influence of public opinion on policy increases with the salience of the issue. The proposed paper will explore this research question: “Why did a significant change in public opinion, on a highly visible issue, with a minority government in power, result in only marginal policy change?”

Research will be done by qualitative analysis, using data from news reports, primary documents and a series of semi-structured interviews.

The paper will place the case study in the larger context of the relationship between public opinion and environmental policy over the past thirty-odd years. As such, this will be a continuation of my research and writing on environmental policy and climate change policy which has resulted in previous CPSA conference papers and published works.

#### **MacDonald, Eleanor**

##### *Political Ecology and the Need to Reconceptualize ‘Property’*

In an era in which the environment is frequently presumed to be best protected through assurances of ownership and protection of private property, the concept of property is thought and lived through social relations that emphasize rights, dominance, commodification, and exchange value. Critics of this approach often propose greater regulation of ownership or limitations on property rights. In this paper I argue instead for the necessity of developing counterhegemonic understandings of property through advancing alternative conceptualizations of it. Other concepts than/of property are evident in a number of societies -- for example, indigenous political and economic systems provide evidence of alternative ways of thinking about stewardship and ownership. But the force of my argument, following Marx/Gramsci, is that the contemporary conceptualization is increasingly forced to display its own contradictions and limitations in any number of current applications and practices, ranging from pollution credits to body parts to genetic codes to internet filesharing. The paper describes several examples of these to make the case that what is required is not only an alternative concept of property (and concomitant alternative practices) but a greater awareness of the environmental implications of conceptualizing property in specific ways, including types of usage, value beyond exchange, the politics of intergenerational, planetary, and bioregional interests and so forth. A new typology of properties might be required that could acknowledge and distinguish among the relationships created through practices based on various conceptualizations of ownership and property.

#### **Macdonald, Laura and Mahon, Rianne**

##### *Gender and Anti-poverty Programmes in North America: The role of multi-level governance*

The comparative study of North American social policies has, up till now, paid too little attention to the role of multi-level governance in mediating the impact of governments' social policies. Much of the literature on multi-level governance is focused on Europe, and the paucity of regional social policy in the North American context has limited analysts' exploration of this dimension in this continent. Nevertheless, all three North American states are federations, albeit federations with contrasting degrees of decentralization of powers to sub-national units, and the process of regional integration arguably shapes social outcomes to a varying degree in all three states.

In this paper, we propose to link the study of gender, anti-poverty policy and multi-level governance, by examining anti-poverty programmes in Canada, the United States and Mexico. The paper will survey the ways in which sub-national units are involved in different ways in each country in developing and (especially) implementing anti-poverty policy, and the ways in which the prevailing "gender regimes" in each state shape the outcomes for women. We argue that in all three states, recent years have seen a constriction of "women-friendly" policies at the federal level, but that women have to some extent been able to take advantage of spaces have opened up at sub-national level for the promotion of anti-poverty policies that promote greater autonomy and control for women.

#### **Macfarlane, Emmett**

##### *The Supreme Court as a Black Box? Why 'Models' of Decision-Making Aren't Enough*

Canadian political science literature pertaining to the Supreme Court and Charter of Rights issues has generally been overly preoccupied with engaging in normative debates and abstract theorizing. This has resulted in serious empirical gaps in our understanding of the institution and the sources of judicial decision-making.

American scholarship, by contrast, has benefited from research examining U.S. Supreme Court decision-making based on the ideology of judges (the attitudinal model) and justices' use of strategic behavior to implement their policy preferences (the strategic model). Similar enquiries have recently been applied to the Canadian Court, yet studies applying American models of judicial behavior to the Canadian context do so while lacking a complete understanding of the institutional environment in question. A narrow focus on the ideological or strategic policy considerations of justices fails to account for the complexity of the decision-making process.

Drawing on interviews with sitting and retired Supreme Court justices, former law clerks and other Court personnel, this paper will provide a picture of the Court's internal decision-making environment and examine the extent to which judicial interpretations of the Charter are influenced by judges' perceptions of their own role and the broader institutional context. The paper will then evaluate existing debates over judicial review and the role of the Court in the broader political system.

#### **MacLean, Jayson**

##### *Deliberative Democracy and Virtue Epistemology: the Role of the Virtues Within Deliberative Theory*

Deliberative democracy is the idea that public decision-making is legitimate when it results from a process of public deliberation between free and equal citizens. Proponents of deliberative democracy often refer to the kinds of virtues—character traits such as reasonableness, cooperativeness, and respectfulness—that, if embodied by participants, will make for successful deliberation. Yet, the role played by these virtues within the deliberative model remains under-theorized. To this end, the present paper explores the idea of the primacy of the deliberative virtues within deliberative fora, in other words, the idea that the conclusions reached with deliberative spaces are legitimate only when they are produced by virtuous deliberators. One consequence of taking up this position is that deliberative democracy links up with virtue epistemology. In opposition to both foundationalism and coherentism, virtue epistemology asserts that beliefs are justified by appeal to the dispositional traits—the intellectual virtues—held by the agent. The present paper asserts that drawing this connection between deliberative democracy and virtue epistemology has ramifications for deliberative theory. On the one hand, it means that contrary to recent claims, deliberative democracy is committed to a particular meta-ethical position, one involving accounts of both moral reasoning and justified belief. On the other hand, it seems to make it more difficult for proponents of the epistemic account of deliberation to respond to the charge that deliberative democracy promotes elitism within political decision-making.

### MacLellan, Duncan

#### *Revisiting the "New" Old School Question: Faith-Based Funding and the 2007 Ontario Election Campaign*

At the beginning of the 2007 Ontario provincial election campaign, Progressive Conservative Leader John Tory announced, if elected to office, his party would consider funding faith-based schools. This pronouncement became one of the defining issues of this campaign because it reopened an emotionally and politically charged issue that dated back to the 1840s, when faith based-schooling was referred to as the 'school question'. In particular, this school question led to the decision to guarantee public funding to the Catholic school system as part of the British North America Act (1867). First, this paper will offer a brief historical overview of the literature related to the legal and political decisions surrounding funding faith-based schools in Ontario. Second, it will examine how the Ontario Conservative Party's promise of funding faith-based education unfolded during the 2007 election campaign. Third, for comparative purposes, attention will be paid to reviewing relevant literature related to funding faith-based schools in Alberta and British Columbia. Material for this paper will draw from academic literature, media sources, and, if timelines allow, interviews involving a small sample of Ontario political and administrative officials connected with this particular subject matter.

This paper will expand our understanding of the complexity of political and judicial decision making processes in relation to funding public education in Ontario. In addition, this research will offer a limited but informative comparative study of faith-based schooling in British Columbia and Alberta that will help to situate this study of educational decision making within a larger framework.

### Macleod, Alistair M.

#### *Human Rights, Justice, and Global Markets*

Human rights law and trade regulation law are two bodies of international law that are often developed, interpreted, and applied wholly independently of one another. Two recent collections (Human Rights and International Trade, Oxford University Press, 2005, and International Trade and Human Rights, University of Michigan Press, 2006) explore the normative concerns that animate these bodies of law with a view to determining how far they are mutually compatible and whether their linkages might advantageously be emphasized in the development of more coherent and integrated approaches to their application.

In this paper, I explore the normative underpinnings both of the doctrine of human rights and of the voluntary transactions principle embedded in global free market arrangements.

I argue (1) that principles of distributive justice have a crucial role to play both in the justification of human rights and in the defense of any morally acceptable version of the voluntary transactions principle, (2) that there need not be any fundamental conflict between arrangements in the international domain for the protection of human rights and measures for the promotion of international trade through the development of a global free market system that is respectful of a defensible version of the voluntary transactions principle, but (3) that changes in the structure and practice of such international institutions as the World Bank, the IMF, and the WTO will have to be effected if conflicts between human rights and global trading arrangements are to be avoided.

### MacLeod, Scott

#### *Double Talkin' Jive: Hegemonic Exceptionalism in an Insurgent World*

Are the apparent failure of the U.S. intervention in Iraq, and the difficulties encountered in Afghanistan by coalition forces, a sign of the decline of American hegemony, or the most damning evidence yet of a seldom-recognized and misunderstood norm? We argue that changes in the nature of hegemonic relations and the emergence of cheap weaponry and effective guerrilla tactics, linked with the doctrine of self-determination have made foreign occupation a losing strategy. These changes demand both a revision of military strategy and a reassessment of the role of hegemony in the post cold-war period.

### MacMillan, C. Michael

#### *Engaging Citizens in Heritage Planning: A Case Study*

The recent literature in democratic theory has been greatly concerned with enhancing the quality of democratic life, through greater citizen engagement in deliberative processes. On the political stage, there is increased concern with a perceived 'democratic deficit' and calls for reforms to democratic practices in response. Simultaneously, a new literature on engagement has emerged which suggests a number of different strategies to engage citizens in the decision-making process, which includes deliberative opinion polls, citizen juries, and electronic town halls, to name just a few. I examine a local mechanism for citizen engagement, the Nova Scotia Voluntary Planning Board, as it conducted a citizen consultation process to recommend a policy for heritage planning for the province, using contemporary techniques of citizen engagement.

The principle data sources are documentary materials produced in the consultation process, and a series of interviews with both key actors in the operation of this planning exercise and a sample of community participants in the public meetings. I draw upon the findings to assess the utility and effectiveness of this distinctive approach to enhancing democratic decision-making.

### Madimba, Tshibuabua

#### *Poverty and Actions against HIV AIDS in Africa : Links and Public Health Considerations*

Is Poverty in Africa tied up only in its socio-economical and political attributes? Does the spread of HIV AIDS in Africa respond exclusively to biomedical or behavioral dynamics? One might argue that poverty in Africa is not only dictated by its negative effects on development process but it also the root of ill health and the consequent health-related behaviors

(1). One could also argue the contrary, namely that the extension of the disease since the early 1980s has been an exclusive factor of the current highest level of poverty (2).

From an historical perspective, there are strong parallels between the actions against HIV AIDS today and the actions against poverty the early 1980s. This hypothesis suggests two epistemological orientations:

1. The time frame of operations is an independent variable that could be of interest in any approaches involving poverty and HIV AIDS

2. The distinction of approaches. It means that the methods used to eradicate poverty could be similar with some of the existent techniques of HIV AIDS reduction

In this paper I will examine the arguments and the conditions of this hypothesis. I will focus on the interrelation between the two dynamics. The first chapter is a presentation of each dynamic. The second chapter presents the levels of interventions. The third chapter helps to design considerations about Public Health regarding the issues addressed by each dynamic.

### **Magnusson, Warren**

*Seeing Like a State, Seeing Like a City: Shifting Ontologies of the Political*

The state-centricity of modern political theory has long been noted, but efforts to think otherwise about politics have been frustrated by the allegation that social life is inherently chaotic. The standard claim is that there can be no law – and hence no politics – without sovereignty. Despite the mythological force of this claim, it is at odds with everyday experience, including our experience with politics and government. The argument in this paper is that a different ontology of the political is implicit in our understanding of the city, which focuses on the complex practices of government and self-government that enable strangers to live together. The practices that make cities possible are the ones now celebrated as “political”. I argue that a fundamental ontological shift is involved in approaching the problems of political theory through the city rather than the state. One is obliged to deal with the fact that a multiplicity of political authorities in different registers is the rule rather than the exception and that the relations between these authorities are determined by many practices other than claims to sovereignty. The effort to label anarchist thought as idealist is a cover for the idealism of state-centric political theory. I want to suggest that an authentically realist political theory must be rooted in an understanding of urbanism as a way of life. I will be drawing on Louis Wirth, Friedrich von Hayek, Jane Jacobs, and Henri Lefebvre to develop my argument.

### **Maisonville, Derek J.**

*Bibles, Guns, and... Comic Books?: Re-Conceptualizing (Non-)Violent Selves and Others in a Postcolonial Era*

Drawing on Barthes' distinction between first-order representations (of political 'facts') and second-order representations (of 'fictional' re-presentation), and taking as given that second-order representations are both constitutive of the first-order and have broader social reach, this paper seeks to explore the ways in which explicitly political comic books construct and perpetuate notions of the Self and Other in ways that legitimize or necessitate violence and warfare. Looking at such graphic novels as Art Spiegelman's *In the Shadow of No Towers*, Marjane Satrapi's *Persepolis*, Joe Sacco's *Palestine*, Chester Brown's *Louis Riel*, and even the more traditional comic hero of Captain America, I seek to unravel the interconnections of this form of popular culture and its circumscription in a colonial social. Accordingly, and with the explicit purpose of seeking to disrupt the 'hegemonologue' (Beier), I will seek to uncover the ways in which this medium is dependent on (or the degree to which it can be independent from) colonial logics and the impact such contextual re-presentation has on the (il)logics of warfare and colonial violence(s).

### **Maliki, Hashimu**

*Ressources Naturelles et violences en Afrique de l'après-guerre froide. Une analyse comparative de la guerre des ressources en Sierra Leone et en RD Congo. 1990-2003*

La fin de la bipolarité entre l'Ouest et l'Est et l'écroulement du bloc communiste a suscité beaucoup d'espoir auprès des populations africaines qui ont pensé qu'avec la chute du système communiste sur lequel étaient calqués la plupart des régimes autoritaires africains, le moment était venu pour leur démantèlement et leur remplacement par des régimes démocratiques supposés porteurs du développement économique et donc du bien-être social. auquel elles aspirent ardemment. Pourtant l'observation de l'évolution politique a indiqué des trajectoires différentes : au moment où certains pays s'engageaient dans ce processus, d'autres au contraire, plongeaient dans des guerres violentes. La littérature sur ces conflits violents de l'après-guerre froide, particulièrement ceux liés aux ressources naturelles, situe leurs motivations entre la prédation (greed) et des revendications politiques (grievance) (Berdhal, M et David Malone :2000; Collier, Paul : ;Ron, James : 2005; Ross, M : 1999) , et met l'emphase sur leur intensité, durée et ampleur (Ross, M. :1991, Nill, P.L , P. Gleditsch et E. Gilmore : 2005, J. Fearon : 2005) Elle n'indique pas pourquoi certaines ressources naturelles sont à la base des conflits violents dans certains pays africains et pas dans d'autres, à des moments précis et pas à d'autres. L'analyse de la documentation disponible va nous permettre de déceler les logiques et dynamiques à la base de cette violence caractéristique à partir de l'étude des cas de la Sierra Leone et de la RDC Congo.

### **Malloy, Jonathan**

*Mulroney's Shadow: The Many Legacies of Canada's Eighteenth Prime Minister*

More than any other Canadian public figure, the legacy of Brian Mulroney is unsettled. Politicians often leave complex legacies, with different shadings and dimensions. But Mulroney's is truly multifaceted. He is variously a harsh ideologue, a milquetoast pleaser, obsessed with polls, fixated on a grand agenda, a chronic deal-maker, a sloppy manager, a crook, and most of all, a slick operator whose very slickness was exposed continually. His defenders (and Mulroney himself)

paint their own contradictory pictures, often emphasizing his government's policy accomplishments separate from Mulroney's personal image. Overall, there are few accepted interpretations and understandings of his political career and government.

The many legacies of Brian Mulroney raises interesting and larger questions about political leadership in Canada, as well as political culture, parties and ideologies, and evaluations of policy success and failure. This paper will explore these different legacies, drawing from contemporary and more recent analyses, as well as satirical and popular references. The paper borrows from David Greenberg's *Nixon's Shadow: The History of an Image* (Norton:2003), which explores the many interpretations of Richard Nixon. As with Nixon, Mulroney has many sides and images and a history of career deaths and resurrections, leaving any quest to find the "real" person inevitably short and incomplete. This paper will similarly explore attempts to say the final word about Brian Mulroney, and how his multiple legacies are embedded in larger themes and questions of political leadership and governance in Canada.

#### **Manger, Mark**

##### *Another Democratic Dividend: Bank Asset Flows to Developing Countries*

Do private banks care about democracy when they commit assets to developing countries? Existing research shows that foreign direct investment flows are increased by political stability, but not necessarily by more democratic governance. This paper investigates the economic, political, and institutional determinants of private bank capital flows into developing countries. Using a dataset of bank lending flows measured by quarter from 20 developed home countries (including all major banking hubs) and over 90 developing host countries, the findings show that even after controlling for a variety of economic and institutional variables such as GDP per capita, perceived country risk and corruption, different legal systems, and capital controls, democratic governance still appears to pay a double dividend for developing countries. Not only do banks commit more capital to democratically governed countries, but the capital flows also appear to be less volatile as shown by variance estimations. The results is robust to a variety of econometric specifications. Since decreased volatility of capital flows is often of even greater importance than being able to attract capital in itself, democratic governance pays a double dividend for developing countries.

#### **Manger, Mark**

##### *North-South-FTAs and the Politics of Discriminatory Liberalization*

Since the early 1990s, more and more free trade agreements are concluded between developed and developing countries. Yet for major economic powers, individual FTAs with developing economies offer very limited export prospects. Why then do Japan, the US and the EU seek numerous agreements with much smaller partners? This paper argues that North-South-FTAs are not primarily about liberalizing exports. Rather, they reduce barriers for a narrow range of goods exported by multinational firms with FDI in the developing country. Because of this goal, North-South-FTAs tend to have unintended consequences: The politically expedient attempts by governments to satisfy the demands of these firms trigger a competitive dynamic between countries that drives them to seek more and more preferential agreements. The causal link, however, is not trade diversion, but the discrimination against the trade conducted by non-member firms with FDI in the developing country. To corroborate this claim, the paper uses a gravity model to estimate trade diversion conditional on FDI in the case of NAFTA: compared to other countries that receive this much FDI, Mexico traded much less with the outside world. In short, non-NAFTA firms invested in Mexico, but were hindered in their ability to integrate their operations with their home countries—a direct consequence of the discrimination built into NAFTA.

To test the internal validity of this explanation, I then construct structural narrative focused on the sequence of events of the two defensive reactions to NAFTA: the 2000 EU-Mexico FTA and the 2004 FTA between Japan and Mexico. The framework developed in this paper sheds light on a growing number of North-South-FTAs in which major economic powers compete over access to key investment locations, and connects to the growing literature on FDI and non-tariff barriers

#### **Manning, Kimberley**

##### *The Role of Party Dominance in Maternalist State Welfare Reform: The U.S. and P.R.C. Compared*

During the twentieth century both the United States and the People's Republic of China founded maternalist welfare states. But while the U.S. maternalist welfare state enacted only moderate reforms and was disbanded within a decade, the Chinese Communist Party's (CCP) version profoundly transformed the social landscape in both urban and rural China. In this paper I define a maternalist welfare state as having three central components: public benefits focused on mothers and their children, a system of regulatory schemes designed to protect working mothers and their children, and an organizational structure of welfare distribution and management that is staffed by women and that focuses on making mothers central to the maintenance and functioning of the modern family. The paper argues that whereas American maternalist activism foundered, in part, on state and federal-level party politics, Chinese maternalist activists made use of the CCP's dominant party status to establish a powerful maternalist welfare state apparatus. Indeed, despite entrenched grassroots resistance to many maternalist welfare schemes in the Maoist era, senior level CCP officials and left-leaning intellectuals made use of the CCP's dominance to knit close organizational ties among otherwise disparate bureaucratic structures. As a consequence, the P.R.C.'s maternalist welfare state defined and managed social reform efforts right up until the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), and re-asserted itself in 1973, several years before much of the rest of the state was rebuilt. Finally, I discuss how the maternalist welfare state continues to both inform and limit social reform efforts in the P.R.C. today.

#### **Marier, Patrik**

*Pension Planning Disasters? When failed projections lead politicians astray.*

The creation and transformation of public pension systems is a very complex matter. A wealth of literature has already been published on the political difficulties faced by politicians when they seek to create and reform public pensions. Relying on archival research and public documents, this contribution tackles another dimension of this debate by focusing on the expertise utilized to establish (and later on reform) public pension schemes in Quebec/Canada and the USA. As such, this paper seeks to understand the dynamic of social knowledge at the origin of public pension policies (QPP/CPP in Canada and Social Security in the US). Whose and what expertise was utilized to create public pension systems? What were the alternatives and why were they dismissed? The second section of this contribution compares the costs/benefits projections made by expert civil servants when these pension schemes were established with the actual policy outcomes that ensued years later. This is particularly important since the RRQ was created on the basis that Quebecers would be subsidizing other Canadians by joining a federal plan. However, socio-economic conditions evolved in a different fashion leaving the RRQ plan under stress in spite of the 1997 reform while the CPP currently experiences an actuarial surplus. Did the politicians follow the wrong advice? Did they increase the generosity of the program without a proper increase in contributions? The aim of this exercise is to stress the high level of uncertainty surrounding these projections and their political consequences.

**Marier, Patrik, Torunian, Michael, Luponio, Anna-Maria and Dalton, Robyn**

*What is the Policy Problem with Population Ageing?*

As underlined in the public policy literature, the definition of a policy problem has strong consequences on policy outcomes. This paper analyses and evaluates three different types of problem definition related to population ageing (generational accounting, social citizenship, and musgrave law). Each approach is applied to the Canadian case. In light of their shortcomings, we then propose an alternative that considers the complexities surrounding population ageing. Population ageing as a policy problem involves numerous departments and ought to be analysed as a policy coordination problem. Viewed in this light, the main hurdle is not the elaboration of "ageing policies", but rather the coordination of various departments and agencies to create a coherent ageing strategy.

**Marland, Alex and Blidook, Kelly**

*Political Culture, Ethical Standards and the Canadian Seal Hunt*

A handful of the world's numerous animal killings attract disproportionate political debate. One example is Japan's whale hunt; state sanctioned for its "research" purposes. Just as non-Japanese politicians and interest groups play to their constituencies by condemning the hunt, so too do Japanese officials by defending it. The same is true of Canada's seal hunt.

The harvesting of seals, while not confined to Newfoundland and Labrador, is historically and proportionally very significant to that province. The Canadian federal government's policy, as with its provincial counterpart's, has been to counter unfavourable attention by promoting a sustainable, structured and humane seal "harvest". Yet associated media attention suggests that Newfoundlanders' views conflict with those of other Canadians and the international community. The issue of conflict is thus framed in ethical terms – is hunters' treatment of seals ethically permissible, or is it inhumane? This study looks at differences in support for the seal hunt between Newfoundlanders and non-Newfoundlanders by analyzing a range of available, though often conflicting, public opinion data. Three major factors that should affect opinion variations are analyzed: views on animal welfare generally, perceptions of the hunt's economic value, and nationalism. Ultimately, the study seeks to understand if variance in support for the hunt stems from variance in ethical standards, or if support is tied to other cultural or economic factors. In addition to a survey of academic and popular literature, data on public preferences and awareness are analyzed using econometric methods to understand the underlying causes of support levels.

**Marland, Alex and Kerby, Matthew**

*Are Politicians Listening? Talk Radio Call-in Shows and Public Policy in Newfoundland and Labrador*

Political talk radio programs' effects on public opinion are often debated. For instance, Rush Limbaugh's conservative interpretation of news raises questions about his influence on listeners' attitudes towards American presidential candidates and social pressures to conform to group norms. But is what's said taken seriously by elected officials and bureaucrats – or is it all just histrionics in the name of entertainment?

This study uses the Canadian province of Newfoundland and Labrador as a case study. Twice as many listeners there tune in to private talk radio than in any other province; politicians routinely call in to 590 VOXM's three weekday programs. There is a sense that what is said on "Open Line" matters. For instance, a man can stop his car on a highway, use a cellphone to announce on-air that he's not moving until the potholes are repaired, and soon afterwards they are filled in. The message to others is that airing your complaints publicly will produce government action. This is eagerly promoted by the radio station and the shows' hosts.

A series of depth interviews with current and former elected officials, members of the news media, and advocacy group representatives are used to explore this issue. The interviews will serve as the basis for a content analysis to ascertain whether "open line" radio is used by listeners to shape and promote public policy discourse, whether it is used by political elites to shape the discourse for listeners, or whether it has no impact at all on public policy.

**Martinez, Michael**

*Voters and Nonvoters in Canadian Federal Elections*

Concern about rapidly falling electoral turnout rates in Canadian federal elections has spurred interest in the government and in the scholarly community about the sources and implications of the decline. Previous research has shown that the younger generation of Canadians has not entered the electorate at rates comparable to those of earlier cohorts, but there has been little research thus far on whether those sociodemographic patterns of nonvoting have resulted in significant differences between voters' and nonvoters' political outlooks. I propose to examine survey data from the 1993, 1997, 2000, 2004, and 2006 Canadian Election Studies that will show whether the turnout decline has resulted in some policy preferences being less well represented in Canadian electoral institutions, or whether (as in the United States) the policy differences between voters and nonvoters are small, despite their sociodemographic differences. This results of the research will help the scholarly community interpret the normative political consequences of the electoral decline.

#### Marwah, Inder

##### *Exclusions for Progress: Kant and the Impure Conditions of Agency*

Kant's practical philosophy is renowned for its moral universalism and yet his political writings present a puzzling account of civil membership that is grossly exclusionary, failing to extend political rights to women and the un-propertied. Even more problematic are Kant's writings on race that conceive of many non-European cultures as lacking the moral "talent" required for free political institutions. How are we to reconcile Kant's moral universalism with the exclusionary impulses evidenced in many of his works?

These inconsistencies certainly reflect the era's prejudices; but they also illuminate a deeper tension in Kant's moral and political philosophy. This paper argues that only by examining Kant's "impure ethics" can we begin to resolve this contradiction and understand such exclusions as based on systematic grounds. The strength of Kant's practical philosophy lies in its rigorous formalism; but these writings do not exhaust his account of human agency. By examining Kant's works on history, biology/race, applied ethics and anthropology, I aim to elaborate a "thicker" conception of political agency that is presupposed (and required) by Kant's formal political writings. Only by looking at the empirical conditions under which a proper form of agency is produced can we understand Kant's exclusionary impulses in relation to humanity's highest end: the full development of our moral capacities. By recognizing the type of agent that moral progress requires, and the conditions under which this agency is formed and sustained, we can then understand Kant's exclusions as maintaining the conditions for the ultimate goal of moral progress.

#### Matland, Richard and Murray, Gregg R.

##### *The Paradox of Voting and Political Mobilization: Increasing Voter Turnout in the Latino Community*

We review the literature on voter turnout and after pointing out gaps in this literature, we present an alternative model to describe the voting decision based on Zaller's R-A-S model. We then develop predictions based on the model as to how get-out-the-vote (GOTV) messages should affect the vote decision across an array of voter types. We test the model in a field experiment that evaluates the effectiveness of non-partisan GOTV messages delivered via mail and personal contact in a heavily Latino community during the 2004 presidential campaign. Our findings are consistent with the model as GOTV canvassing has a significant effect on episodic voters, but more limited effects on habitual voters and registered non-voters.

#### May, Paul

##### *La gestion de la diversité ethnique et religieuse dans les métropoles : le cas de l'agglomération parisienne*

Dans des sociétés de plus en plus hétérogènes, se pose la question des modalités de la cohabitation de communautés d'origine diverses. C'est au sein des grandes villes que se concentre l'essentiel des populations d'origine étrangère et que se mettent en place les outils de leur intégration sociale.

Dans cette perspective, mon doctorat est consacré à la gestion de la diversité culturelle dans plusieurs grandes villes occidentales. Pour la conférence qui se tiendra à Vancouver, je présenterai les résultats de mon étude de la métropole parisienne, ce qui sera l'occasion d'une comparaison avec des villes canadiennes comme Toronto ou Montréal.

Je me concentrerai sur la situation des groupes issus de l'immigration et des minorités visibles, et plus spécifiquement sur les relations que celles-ci entretiennent avec les institutions urbaines et les pouvoirs locaux. Trois niveaux d'échelle seront à considérer: le niveau local avec ses réseaux associatifs, le niveau provincial (ce qui implique ici une analyse intéressante de l'impact du fédéralisme dans ce processus) et enfin le niveau national.

Je détaillerai les modalités d'accès de ces communautés aux mécanismes du pouvoir local, les outils qui sont à leur disposition pour assurer une meilleure représentation politique et l'inscription de certaines des aspirations des minorités à l'agenda politique des gouvernements. L'axe majeur de ma recherche sera d'identifier les formes de démocraties locales susceptibles de constituer une innovation prometteuse qui permettrait une meilleure prise en compte des revendications politiques, identitaires ou religieuses de ces groupes.

#### Marier, Patrik

##### *Strong Executives, Same Pension Structures, Same Reforms but Miles Apart: France and Mexico.*

This contribution focuses on the political dynamic resulting in a series of pension reforms in both France and Mexico. Interestingly, despite strong variations in terms of political and socio-economic variables, both countries have adopted nearly identical strategies to reform their pension system. The actual reforms varied, but the strategies employed to reform them was excessively similar. Politicians could not really escape blame while introducing unpopular pension reforms due to their strong executives. Moreover, there is no evidence that the Mexicans and the French learned from each other while making policy reform decisions making this similar outcome even more intriguing. By focusing on the

pension development of both countries and the pension structure associated with a strong state, we demonstrate that these two countries have a lot in common when it comes to pensions explaining the similar outcome.

### **McCarty, Kelly and Young, Robert**

#### *Why Do Urban Issues Rise on the Federal Policy Agenda?*

In recent years, the federal government under Paul Martin Jr. developed a Cities and communities@ agenda, with Ottawa prepared to play a much more active role in and with municipalities. The pendulum has swung back under the Harper government, which is far less inclined to intrude into this area of provincial jurisdiction. But these recent developments are not unique. The federal government was active on the urban file in the 1970s through the Ministry of State for Urban Affairs. And there have been other historical instances of federal involvement.

This paper explores the factors that are associated with the federal government's interest in urban issues. The time period covered is 1870-2000. The methodology is that common in the agenda-setting literature - lagged correlations. The dependent variable - the place of municipalities and urban issues on the policy agenda - is measured in a variety of ways. The independent variables that we think may be operative are three: rapid population growth in cities, restructuring of municipal systems by provincial governments, and financial stress. The analysis investigates the strength of each factor in placing urban issues on Ottawa's policy agenda.

### **McCormick, Peter**

#### *Formats and Failures: The Evolution of Decision-Delivery on the Modern Supreme Court of Canada, 1984 - 2007*

The SCC has developed a decision format so consistently followed that we take it for granted, but we should not. This format dates only from 1990, and it also drives a new format for minority reasons. I will describe these in detail, connecting them to the performance of the "modern" (i.e., post-Laskin) SCC. But my major purpose is to identify those cases which do not show the standard format, cases which I argue constitute failures in high court decision-making. I suggest four types of failure. One is the "no judgment" decision, a divided Court where no reasons can be identified as the judgment of the Court. Another is the "swing" judgment, where the judge initially writing for the majority loses signatures such that a set of minority reasons becomes the judgment. A third is the "contest" decision, where two judges employ full decision format while ignoring each other; in a curious variant, both sets of reasons are signed by a majority of the panel. A fourth is plurality decisions, where the Court divides such that no outcome-plus-reasons draws the support of a majority, but one can still identify one set of reasons (not necessarily the largest fragment, even of the "winning" side) as a judgment of the Court.

Taken together, these "failure" cases make up fully one fifth of the Court's 1700 reserved decisions. I will use the ebb and flow of the various types of failure to evaluate the Court's performance over time, and to predict the next decade

### **McCulloch, Allison**

#### *Localizing Power Sharing*

Power-sharing is frequently viewed as an effective form of conflict management in societies deeply divided along ethno-national lines. Indeed, almost all internationally negotiated peace accords now include power-sharing in one guise or another; many homegrown constitutional overhauls have also incorporated the power-sharing principle. A powerful normative argument for the adoption of such practices is that doing so will help to moderate cleavages and to lessen the conflict-proneness of divided societies. Conversely, critics argue that power-sharing, particularly in its consociational form, acts primarily as a medium for the cementing of divisions and exacerbation of conflict. Both of these arguments, however, relate to state-wide power-sharing arrangements. That is, power-sharing is generally envisaged as a national or state-level phenomenon. The overarching concern is with power sharing at the centre. The question of how power-sharing is locally institutionalized in deeply divided societies remains largely under-theorized. Conceptualizing the local level can help resolve the impasse between proponents and critics.

Localizing power-sharing confronts a profound contradiction. The spatial distribution of groups may mean that local homogeneity prevails which in itself reduces the need for power-sharing. Yet, divisions between groups and the resulting effects of conflict are most acutely felt at the local level where ideas of the 'nation' become part of everyday practice; this suggests that it is in cities and rural communities where power-sharing is most pressingly required. In addressing this contradiction, this paper seeks to undertake a conceptualization of localized power-sharing as the means by which to confront the power-sharing impasse.

### **McDonough, David**

#### *Canadian Strategic Options to US Grand Strategy*

The security imperatives of the post-9/11 environment have created conditions for a bi-partisan consensus on the overall direction, if not the particular modalities, of essentially 'primacist' grand strategies. The unpopularity of the current administration and the difficult military campaigns in Iraq and Afghanistan are unlikely to lead to American retrenchment or strategic restraint. The debate over American grand strategy has not received sufficient Canadian attention in recent years. And with the upcoming 2008 presidential elections in the United States, it seems especially prudent and timely for Canada to undertake a re-assessment on the consequences and potential trajectory of these strategic developments. Canada's defence posture will be assessed in light of American grand strategy options, with important ramifications to the current efforts to modernize and 'transform' the Canadian Forces and the Department of National Defence. More broadly, American grand strategy will induce 'system-wide' effects on the international security environment that would be imprudent for an internationalist Canada to ignore. This paper will conclude with thoughts on Canada's possible strategic options to American grand strategy.

### McDougall, Alex

#### *State Formation and Political Violence in Latin America*

There is great variation in the types of Latin American states. Some states are strong. They have centralized political power and removed violent challenges to state authority. They possess competent bureaucracies, collect taxes efficiently, and maintain steady sources of revenue. Generally speaking, these strong states uphold law and order, enforce property rights, and deliver public services to their entire population. However, other states in Latin America are weak. They continue to experience violent challenges to state authority. They have difficulty collecting taxes. They possess small, poorly equipped militaries, and have consistently failed to provide security and state services to many parts of the population. The questions that this essay seeks to address are (1) why are some states strong and others weak? (2) how do different types of states shape patterns of political violence?

In order to answer this question, this paper examines the hypothesis that political geographies affect patterns of state development in Latin America. Geography, resource distribution, and population combine to create opportunities and challenges for the exertion of state authority and the establishment of empirical sovereignty. This paper employs a case study methodology, and will look at two cases, Chile as a case of successful state development, and Colombia as a case of failed state development.

### McElligott, Greg

#### *Authority and its Enemies: Negotiating Order in Canada's First Privately Run Adult Prison*

Authority, whether considered in its macro or micro forms, is a means of exercising control that aims at minimizing the actual use of force. Its prevalence is an important marker distinguishing liberal democracies from other, more odious, forms of rule.

One of the things this means in practice is that encounters between state agents and citizens are supposed to be characterized by minimal use of force, and by the 'rule of law' - even inside overtly coercive branches like prisons. As official expectations make clear, frontline encounters here are to emphasize rational persuasion, rather than threats and fear. Rule takes the form of a dialogue - or at least an apparent dialogue - between leaders and led. But is this sort of control possible inside a modern prison? And what if a private corporation runs that prison?

This paper contends that expectations like these are fundamentally misguided in the context of today's prisons, and that the greatest threats to 'effective use of authority' come from modern technology and leading-edge management practices. Both of the latter are fundamentally undemocratic, and hence can do little but undermine the prospects for minimally coercive rule in prison - or elsewhere.

The voices of guards themselves will provide poignant testimony in this regard. Asked to describe the conditions under which they can do their jobs safely and effectively, they echo the emphasis on dialogue noted above. Sadly, if the experience at a 'cutting-edge' privately run jail (in Penetanguishene, Ontario) is any indication, the major effect of new prison technologies and management practices is to curtail space for dialogue - by overworking COs, overcrowding inmates, placing more barriers between them, and allowing managers to ratchet up a climate of fear that suppresses human contact rather than encouraging it.

### McGovern, Clare

#### *Holding the Police to Account in Divided Societies: The Role of Politicians.*

This paper examines the reciprocal relationship between inter-group conflict and police accountability. I focus on policing because law and order is a collective good, enabling all groups to plan their lives, free from coercion. However, the police are also agents of the prevailing regime. As such they may target dissenting groups, particularly when socio-ethnic divisions threaten regime stability. Policing may therefore exacerbate conflict rather than contain it. One response to this danger is to subject the police to the oversight of elected representatives. The public administration literature on the political scrutiny of the bureaucracy is therefore relevant, characterizing politicians and public servants as being in a principal-agent relationship. However, prior to the politician-police relationship is the politician-voter relationship. The question is not only whether the police implement politician's demands, but what kind of policing is demanded in the first place. Does political oversight encourage impartial policing or do politicians seek protection for their own group(s), at the expense of minorities?

This paper uses parliamentary debates and questions to determine the type of policing demanded by politicians from Northern Ireland and Quebec - regions with deep divisions. Data are collected from time periods with differing levels of conflict and compared to more homogenous regions within Britain and Canada. This will permit causal inference about the effect of conflict on politician's demands of the police. This research forms part of a wider project examining the functioning and interaction of all forms of police accountability (e.g. legal, community-based, expert appraisal) within divided societies.

### McKeen, Wendy

#### *A Critical Analysis of Contemporary Neoliberal Social Policy Change*

The National Children's Agenda (NCA) spearheaded by the federal government in the late 1990s, hastened the unravelling of universalistic principles in child and family policy at the federal level. She argues that the NCA initiated a distinctive shift in the role of the federal government involving it more directly in setting program priorities for provincially based support services provided to 'families at risk.' This policy development reveals the enduring, though not static, nature of neoliberalism. And while the NCA entrenched traditional neoliberal priorities (residual, individualistic policy

solutions), McKeen argues that this set of policies also reveals the way neoliberal practices transform how people think about themselves in relationship to the state and its citizens; by administering and financing self-help programs for 'at risk' populations, the NCA constructs the responsible, self-governing citizen.

#### McKenzie, Judith

##### *The Issue Attention Cycle and Environmental Policy - What's Going On? The Case of Climate Change Policy in Canada*

In January 2007, a poll conducted by Decima Research indicated that the environment had eclipsed health care, the war in Afghanistan, taxes and the economy to become the most frequently mentioned preoccupation of Canadians. Mentions of the environment as the top issue were up 13 percentage points since the same question was posed in September 2006. In a subsequent poll conducted by Angus Reid Strategies in October 2007, it was determined that the environment was the greatest concern by far for Canadians under 35 years of age. In fact, environmentalism was recently declared by one pollster as "a new religion."

Despite the mood of the public, the increase in support of the Green Party of Canada in the last two federal elections, and the greening of the federal Liberal Party under the leadership of Stephane Dion, the environment was a non-issue in the fall 2007 provincial election in Ontario. Moreover, the environment has become "lost" in the current national atmosphere of tax cuts, a booming Canadian economy and an escalating Canadian loonie. Within the context of the issue attention cycle - an adjunct of the public choice model advanced by Anthony Downs and adapted by Kathryn Harrison for environmental policy - the environment should have emerged as a salient policy in Canadian politics with increased funding and legislative activity. However, it has not. This paper will explore the reasons why the environment - and climate change policy, in particular - has not emerged as the dominant issue in Canadian public policy and Canadian politics.

#### McLaren, Arlene and Thompson, Mark

##### *Changing Policy Context and Impact on Immigrant and Migrant Farmworkers*

This paper examines the impact of recent changes to the Employment Standards Act and its enforcement on immigrant and migrant farmworkers in Vancouver Lower Mainland's Fraser Valley. Our focus is on Indo-Canadian immigrants who work in the harvesting of fruits and vegetables, and migrant workers who are brought from Mexico by farm owners to work in BC agriculture under the federal Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program (SAWP). Based on focus groups or individual interviews with 53 farmworkers, this paper illustrates how immigration and labour policies fail to protect BC farmworkers who are already made vulnerable by global economic policies as well as their race, gender, age, class, language, and/or immigration status. The declining employment standards and the SAWP together create conditions that subject both immigrant and migrant farmworkers to increased exploitation, abuse, threats and risk.

#### McNutt, Katheen

##### *Governing the Web*

As the state increasingly turns to electronic service delivery, online consultations, and other related government activities understanding how to govern on Web is critical. The Web provides the chief platform through which information is disseminated with websites operating as the main information delivery mechanisms. Governments expend massive public resources to provide the public with information; however, the impact of online information provisioning on actors' behaviors and the policy process remains poorly understood at the macro level. This study analyses policy information on the Web to understand how the hyperlinked organization of webpages, produced by real world, web-enabled policy communities, influences the structure and content of the Web's information supply. It is argued that governing on the Web requires new governing instruments that are designed to manage in technologically-mediated environment which means that governments will no longer simply manage bulk data, but rather govern dense networks of information.

This paper suggests that a centralized position in the network confers power, as actors that are nodal have more access to network resources, more opportunities for exchange and a greater influence on how information flows through the network. Using hyperlink analysis to study network structure and website connectivity this paper considers government nodality in six web-based policy networks including climate change, child tax benefit, foreign policy, equalization, peacemaking and rural health. This research suggests that while the Canadian government's policy making capacity is shaped by the extent to which the state is nodal in online policy communities, the state's influence may also be diminished in policy arenas characterized by higher level of internationalization.

#### Measor, John

##### *Political Studies and Iraq: Occupation, the 'Abroad Phenomenon', and the Canadian Classroom*

Discussion and analysis of politics that take place away from the centers of knowledge production - geographically, culturally, linguistically - often fail to engage with the localized experiences of the people inhabiting that space. This has led to a homogenized view of 'out there' - what scholars have referred to as the 'abroad phenomenon'. This disjuncture dangerously replicates itself within the literature produced, and the knowledge claims advanced, about different areas of the world. How to re-centre such scholarship to allow for both the insights provided by systemic analysis and provide for the input of subjects under study in such new areas of examination - to provide agency to the knowledge claims of those resident within the new spaces being examined - is an aspect often demonstrably underrepresented in current analysis of IR. This has led to extreme conflict over who is a recognized expert or trusted source for knowledge claims by which to underpin and inform broader theorizing. Emerging from the specific disconnects between 'theory' in IR and actual events in areas of the world the scholar has never visited (let alone considered through prolonged exposure and study) it will be the goal of this paper to engage and raise discussion questions on how to better locate the intellectual position / thinking of people and actors 'there' (in time and space) recognizing that their political landscapes do not conform neatly to our

frameworks and conceptualizations. While language often packages this as well – what allows the researcher to bridge such a divide to bring the world out there to students in the Canadian classroom?

#### Measor, John

##### *Securing the Future Iraq – Baghdad's Global Guerillas and the Global War on Terror (GWOt)*

The Anglo-American invasion and occupation of Iraq from 2003 created a new environment within the territorial confines of the Iraqi state based upon neoliberal visions of global order. This juncture of “modernity” and an “open source” society have been married in Iraq to allow for an insurgency steeped in Iraq’s identity politics agreed solely on its conjoint opposition to occupation by Anglo-American forces. Increasingly this insurgency has broadened as Anglo-American restrictions and regional powers have limited or ignored localized expressions of political identity – including competing visions of “Iraqiness”. By utilizing cleavages created in an open source environment (through both technologies and infrastructures), the provision and denial of security has emerged as the primary vestige of the political. This paper examines how such political actors have emerged, how they have articulated political futures, and asks if such methods – used to deny standard models of political development (primarily the nation state model) in territories now open to contest – will be exported throughout the global community to political actors unwilling to accept marginalization and disempowerment in a economically-determined globalized polity. Reactions to the expression of such identities and methods will ultimately determine the peaceful – or increasingly violent – expression of political demands in the Gulf and greater Middle East regions. It is the paper’s contention that open source societies with permeable territorial boundaries will only encourage the growth of such movements in societies left unregulated by state apparatus’.

#### Macdonald, Laura and Ayres, Jeffrey

##### *The Song Remains the Same: The Role for Civil Society Participation in the North American SPP Process*

International negotiations involving trade rules and regulatory harmonization continue to be dogged by questions over transparency, legitimacy and popular democracy. In this paper, we propose to analyze the relationship or lack thereof between the unfolding Security and Prosperity Partnership of North America and continental civil society actors. In the period of negotiation of the Canada-US Free trade agreement and NAFTA, committees were established to channel (and selectively exclude) civil society participation. More recently, the Security and Prosperity Partnership of North America (SPP) seems to have restricted even further the forms and opportunities for citizen engagement in deliberation about the future of the North American political and economic space. A powerful network of political and economic actors has crafted a narrow vision of a new post-9/11 economic and security space across North America, and, in the process, has privileged certain civil society actors (business) at the expense of other civil society actors (non-business). We will focus on the membership of trinational sub-committees that have been established in the areas of both security and prosperity in order to determine the relative weight of government participation (federal, provincial/state, and municipal), business participation, and non-business civil society participation. We will finally examine non-business civil society responses to these confounding exclusionary practices, examine mechanisms (if any) for citizen input, and assess the SPP along the evolving minimum standards for transparency and accountability increasingly implemented at the global level.

#### Mehdi, Mohamed

##### *The Contemplative Ideal and the Indian "Millions" in Gandhi's Hind Swaraj*

In developing his conception of political action, Gandhi draws on an ideal of the contemplative life. He argues that the practice of true politics consists in developing one’s spiritual well-being through directing all of one’s actions at the realisation of moral truth rather than at the pursuit of civic power. There is, however, a tension in Gandhi’s portrayal of the contemplative life between his appeals on the one hand to the renunciant virtues of the ascetic and on the other to the adherence to duty that he identifies with the Indian masses, untouched by modern western civilisation. This points to a deeper difficulty in reconciling the contemplative ideal, the domain of a spiritual elite, with a participatory political practice. In this paper, I argue that Gandhi’s idealisation of the “millions” as guardians of an ancient ethic of moral duty, a source of resistance to a morally corrupt modern civilisation, is a corollary of his attempt to reconcile a nationalist politics with a cosmopolitan ethic. Gandhi’s ahistorical understanding of the Indian people has the consequence, however, that his vision of a spiritualised politics is at a conceptual, and not just practical, level opposed to a participatory politics. This is evident in his Hind Swaraj, which I argue is a call to the Indian political elite to undertake their own moral transformation in keeping with the ideal presented by the masses. It is within this “fringe” of the population, rather than at the centre, that Gandhi says political change must occur.

#### Mellon, Hugh

##### *Governmental Efforts at Branding: Three Provincial Case Studies*

In recent years provincial governments have devoted increased time and expenditures to the crafting and marketing of professionally developed images. These branding exercises offer an interesting insight into matters of policy making, image refinement, and political culture. The proposed paper will look at such efforts in three provincial settings -- Newfoundland, Manitoba, and Ontario. In Newfoundland, the government of Premier Williams launched a re-branding exercise about two years ago amid wide publicity. The Manitoba case involved a Premier's Committee, citizen involvement, and a major multi-media campaign. Meanwhile, in Ontario the McGuinty government authorized a re-design of the provincial logo and redirected various marketing initiatives as in the area of tourism. These three cases of

provincial branding efforts will be examined and compared with reference to the stated rationale for re-branding, the degree of citizen involvement, implementation strategies, and image management strategies.

**Merolla, Jennifer, Stephenson, Laura and Zechmeister, Elizabeth**

*Party Cues in Canada: Who, When and What*

In a world of limited information, political party cues ideally serve as important heuristic aids in the formation and expression of opinions. Previous research has focused on the U.S., a context in which the two major parties have well-developed reputations and in which partisan identification plays a strong role. We investigate who uses party cues, under what circumstances, and to what effect in the Canadian context.

Our data come from a novel experiment conducted using an internet survey of 1271 Canadians in 2007. Subjects were randomly assigned to a control group or one of three treatment groups. Subjects expressed opinions (or no opinion) on four issues, ranging in difficulty. Prior to each question, the treated groups were provided with a short statement about a political party's position on the issue. We use the experimental data to answer two questions. First, do party cues increase citizens' ability to express opinions on issues? Second, does this effect vary by individual? Specifically, we investigate whether sophistication, partisanship, and/or a voter's perception of the party's reputation influences the cue's usefulness. Our findings indicate that Canadian political parties are not consistently useful as information cues. Further, this usefulness varies not only across individuals, but also across parties. Our research suggests that attempts to carry the party cue framework across borders must recognize differences in partisanship and in party's reputations.

**Meynell, Robert**

*Restoration, Not Renovation: A Fresh Start for Hartz-Horowitz*

In Canada's Origins, Janet Azjenstat and Peter Smith follow the Bernard Bailyn's thesis that Louis Hartz was wrong about the political culture of the United States. Instead of Lockean contractualism Bailyn sees civic republicanism. Azjenstat and others apply this approach to Gad Horowitz's adaptation of Hartz, and refute the Hartz-Horowitz thesis that Canada's communitarian disposition is rooted in the Tory touch. Instead of Toryism, they argue that Canada's civic unity is owed to republicanism.

I argue that both the Bailyn-Pocock thesis and its Canadian variant are mistaken and that the Hartz-Horowitz thesis should be restored, though with some qualifiers. In addition to drawing upon the most recent research that refutes Bailyn and Pocock, this paper adds a new dimension to the Hartz-Horowitz thesis, namely the important influence of British Idealism in Canada during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

**Michon, David**

*The Subdued and the Sensational: Different Approaches to Public Reportage by Independent Offices of the Legislature in Ontario*

One of the most important features in democratic government is its oversight – independent bodies that review and report the effectiveness and/or efficiency of government and its services. The approach to public reportage taken by these various government watchdogs, however, is far from uniform.

This paper compares the offices of the Auditor General of Ontario and the Ontario Ombudsman to explore the implications—both positive and negative—of the differing philosophies of public reportage as represented in the mainstream news media. From the more tradition style of the former to the media-focused, and arguably sensational approach of the latter, each office colours Ontario's civic culture in vastly different ways.

As residents of Ontario increasingly participate in government in less tradition ways, our democratic consciousness is expressed through mass media rather than voting ballots. Competition for coverage has meant that news values are being replicated in politics, where more 'marketable' political outputs are easily construed as more relevant.

Focusing on news items in The Toronto Star, The Globe and Mail and The National Post, the presence of and reaction to Auditor General and Ombudsman reports will be analyzed in an attempt to gauge the public representations of these offices, and the extent to which their messages are considered relevant. Interviews with both offices with also provide insight into the justification and objectives sought by each approach.

**Migone, Andreas**

*A Rational Expectations Analysis of Decision-Making.*

The field of decision-making has seen little recent development, the largely artificial but unresolved confrontation between incremental and synoptic models having crippled analytical efforts in the area. I argue that policy-makers do not use a single decision-making model but, depending on the situation, employ flexible decision strategies that can be modeled through a Rational Expectation approach. The flexibility of Rational Expectations allows for the modeling of 'forward thinking', informed actors, and gives them the ability (and potential) to act strategically by modifying their policy according to the changes in the issue at hand. Both synopsis and incrementalism, as aids targeted at reducing the complexity of policymaking, are rational and politically cost effective and both can be modeled using Rational Expectations. I use the case of the Canadian Unemployment Insurance/Employment Insurance program to illustrate this process.

**Mihai, Mihaela**

*Recognising Resentment: Moral Emotions and the Burdens of Dealing with the Past*

Transitional justice processes currently capture public attention to an unprecedented extent. These are moments of political effervescence dominated by expressions of resentment and indignation. Fragile post-authoritarian institutions must democratise within volatile circumstances and in the absence of a democratic political culture. Understanding the burdens public sentiments place on institutions with the tools of liberal political theory is difficult. Liberal theory does not have the theoretical resources to account for the evaluative emotions during dramatic democratic shifts. Its conceptualisation of the sense of (in)justice is limited by the assumption of a context of mature democratic institutions and culture as the background conditions for its successful development. This assumption is explained by the need to provide the liberal conception of justice with a stable motivational basis in the individual's psychology. However, in order to analyse the problems transitional justice and democratisation pose, we need to expand our conception of the sense of (in)justice and detach its development from the favourable conditions of a constitutional democracy. In dialogue with contemporary liberal theory I shall try to develop an account of the sense of (in)justice that could help us defend the legitimacy of the victims' emotional claims to justice. Insights from moral and social psychology will be used in order to defend a cognitive, weak constructionist account of moral sentiments. This reconceptualisation will hopefully show that public claims to justice in the form of resentful outcries, no less than rational arguments, should count as objects of democratic concern and of institutional filtering and channelling.

**Mikulska, Anna**

*Legislative Accountability in Eastern Europe: A new approach*

Economic voting models predict a positive relation between economic performance and votes for the incumbent administration and party. There is empirical support for this prediction in the US as well as in many countries of Western Europe. However, researchers have been unable to confirm this relation in Eastern Europe. For alternative explanations scholars have turned to political competence (and other factors) as intervening variables in voters' decisions. In contrast, I argue that the essential economic voting relation holds in Eastern Europe, but that prior research has ignored a key institutional factor that is characteristic for this region: use of preferential voting under an open-list arrangement. This institutional feature changes the voters' calculus into a two-stage decision process which involves, first the decision of which party to support and, second which candidate to choose. Using an original candidate level dataset for the Polish legislative election of 2001 this paper tests how, taking advantage of Poland's open-list design, voters effectively rearrange the list to elect specific candidates while still voting for an incumbent party with a poor economic record. This research refines the economic voting model by showing how economic conditions allow voters to distinguish high/low performers and effectively attribute responsibility to individual candidates. Such rearrangement has the effect of changing the composition of parties in the parliament. Consequently, this paper shows that the same factors that shape accountability in developed democracies also apply to Eastern Europe.

**Mikulska, Anna**

*Performance-Based and Normative Political Support: A Comprehensive Approach*

Political support is crucial for the functioning and survival of democracies. Not surprisingly its determinants have been widely studied. Despite this interest, however, the literature has not taken a comprehensive approach. Additionally, using divergent measures, contemporary research has produced mixed and often conflicting results. This has fueled a long-standing disagreement about how, if at all, one can operationalize democratic support. This paper seeks to explain the divergent findings while addressing the debate about appropriateness of support measures. It distinguishes between two types: performance-based and normative support. Following previous research, performance-based support is operationalized using survey item that asks about one's satisfaction with democracy. Normative support reflects respondents' support for a democratic regime over other regime types.

My analysis shows systematic differences in the effect of variables influencing the levels of each type of support. Notably, performance-related variables such as economic ones are indicative of satisfaction with democracy but not of normative support. On the other hand, variables such as political knowledge and education are highly related to normative support but are less important for the performance-based support. These findings have important implications for the future research: In order to produce meaningful and proper results, rather than rejecting some measures over others, researchers should clearly delineate which type of support they want to study. As shown by this study, only then can one arrive at an appropriate model specification and have accurate expectations about the relationship between political support and other variables.

**Miljan, Lydia**

*Measuring Content Sharing Among Convergent Media in Canada*

There is no doubt that media convergence has been a success on the balance sheets of multinational corporations. In its fourth quarter results, CanWest MediaWorks boasted an 11% increase from the same quarter a year previously (2 Nov 2007, press release). Only one month before these results, CanWest reported layoff of 200 positions from its news operations over the upcoming 18 months. This story is repeated across news organizations throughout the country. As news conglomerates get bigger, staffs get smaller. Ostensibly billed as cost-saving measures to bring the industry into the digital age, concerns remain that with so few people working for so many media that the next logical step is the sharing of content – not only within the media – but also across media. This study examines the extent to which convergent media “share” content. Specifically it examines CanWest MediaWorks, CTVglobemedia compared with non-convergent media to discern whether the content is shared between media. Four weeks are randomly selected and content analyzed throughout 2007. Each television broadcast is paired with a newspaper outlet to determine the extent to which journalists, sources and comments are similar to each other. The control group of CBC and the Winnipeg Free Press are used to rule

out the similarity of content due to the nature of the event. While it is expected that little overt sharing currently exists, this study will provide a benchmark of sharing for comparison in the future.

#### **Miller, Gerald J**

##### *Performance Budgeting, Fiscal Policy and Tax Revolts From the U. S. and Canadian Subnational Government Perspectives*

Why have there been no tax revolts in Canada? Do fiscal policy making conditions in U.S. states reverberate in Canadian provincial governments?

This project investigated the causes of "tax revolts." The popular assumption underlying the project predicts: ". . . when the price of government gets too high, citizens let government know. . . . They oust incumbents, elect antitax candidates, and/or embrace antitax initiatives" (Osborne and Hutchinson, 2004, 42). Popular opinion assumes the price of government triggers "tax revolts." Research suggests that U. S. tax revolts unfold as a process of complaint, effort to force a response, and creation of new tax regimes and government decision making elites when dissatisfaction remains over the political-administrative response. This research tests both assumptions.

This research tested a performance budget model in the subnational governments of the U.S and Canada as the primary tax revolt predictor. The existence of a performance budget should predict taxpayer acceptance of current fiscal policies; the performance budget's absence should predict tax revolt. The performance budget model includes four index-like categories of data – the explicit price of government, implicit price of government, openness of government decision making, and incentives embedded in fiscal controls. This paper presents the general background of the project, the analytical basis for the four indexes, an explanation of the research methods used to investigate the problem, the project findings, and a discussion and interpretation of the findings.

Osborne, David E. and Peter Hutchinson (2004). *The price of government*. New York: Basic Books.

#### **Miller, Raymond and Curtin, Jennifer**

##### *Small Parties and Coalition Government: Assessing the Costs and Benefits*

Unlike most coalition studies, which are primarily concerned with the major parties, this paper focuses on the costs and benefits of coalition for small parties. As the experiences of a number of countries demonstrate, the costs of coalition are unevenly shared, with major parties generally incurring low costs and small parties high costs. As a study of coalitions in Ireland found: 'It is extraordinarily difficult for a small party in government with a large rival to get noticed, implement some of its policies, and avoid a serious flogging at the next election' (Mitchell 2003). Drawing on data from public opinion polls and mass and candidate surveys since the advent of proportional representation in 1996, this paper will focus on the impact of coalition on New Zealand's small parliamentary parties by asking whether the benefits of increased representation and influence under proportional representation have outweighed the costs. Adopting the Muller and Strom (1999) analytical framework, it will look in particular at the consequences of coalition for a party's internal stability and votes. Attention will also be paid to the 'cost-reduction' strategies (Mershon 2002) adopted by several of New Zealand's small parties, including 'confidence and supply' and 'cooperation' agreements, as well as accepting ministerial portfolios whilst remaining outside of government. Finally, the paper will ask whether criticisms leveled at a small party's utility and efficacy in government are more common in countries with a long two-party tradition.

#### **Milner, Henry**

##### *Civic Education and Youth Political Participation. Is there a Connection?*

In advanced democratic countries – Canada being a clear example - young people vote less today than in the recent past. Though there is some disagreement over whether this indicates a wider retreat from politics or something else, all agree that this phenomenon bears serious attention. And such attention is increasingly perceptible among international organizations, governments, and in civil society.

A point of agreement among observers is the important role of civic education in addressing declining youth political participation. It is based less on objective data, than the conclusion that the political socialization role of the family and local community networks is eroding under a globalized, Internet based youth culture, thus placing the burden of such socialization on the shoulders of the schools. Yet, comparatively speaking, not only do we know little about the effects of civic education on future political participation, we lack systematic knowledge about its actual content and delivery.

A project was launched in 2005 to address the lack of systematic data on civic education supported by International IDEA, the Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance: IDEA agreed to create and host a database that would assemble the information from questionnaires distributed. At this still early point, data from over 50 civic education specialists in over 40 countries has been assembled, and more will be gathered in the months to come.

The proposed paper will summarize what we have learned from the data. It will then look at a specific case in Canada. Using 2004 and 2006 data from elections Canada, it will test whether the new compulsory grade 10 civic education course introduced in 2000, raised turnout among first time voters.

#### **Miragliotta, Narelle**

##### *From Local to National: Explaining the Delay in the Formation of the Australian Green Party*

The Australian Green party (Greens) is the third largest political party in electoral terms in Australia at the present time. While the Greens have enjoyed a certain measure of political and electoral success in Australia, both the formation and consolidation of unified 'national' party proved to be a protracted process, taking nearly two decades to complete. What makes this situation particularly curious is that Australia was one of the first western liberal democratic states to spawn

green parties, yet one of the last to produce a nation-wide greens party organisation. The aim of this paper is to examine the forces – both institutional and sociological – which hampered the creation of a national green party in Australia.

### **Moggach, Douglas**

#### *Freedom and Perfection: The German Debate on the State in the Eighteenth Century*

In 'Theory and Practice' (1793), Kant had identified it as the greatest despotism for the state to prescribe the ways to pursue our happiness. One of the principal objects of Kant's criticism is the eudaimonistic theory of Christian Wolff, who derives from Leibniz the idea of a state whose role is to promote the material and spiritual perfection of its members. This paper will explore the eighteenth-century German debate on the relation of freedom and perfection, in the course of which Kant works out his own juridical theory. It will contrast the perfectionist ideas of political activity in Wolff and Karl von Dalberg (a historically important but neglected figure), with those of Fichte in the 'Closed Commercial State' (1800), distinguishing in each case the aims and limits of political intervention.

The objective of the paper is threefold: to establish more precisely the intellectual context for Kant's distinction between happiness, right, and virtue; to elaborate pre-Kantian perfectionist ideas of the state, connecting them to concrete practices of intervention as well as to their Leibnizian theoretical sources; and to demonstrate Fichte's (problematic) application Kantian ideas of freedom to political economy. It will contest current interpretations of the politically disengaged character or attenuated modernism of German political thought in the Enlightenment.

### **Moltchanova, Anna**

#### *The General Will and Immigration*

This paper considers how the idea of the people as a group agent can be used to account for changes in membership resulting from immigration (including undocumented immigrants for whom the very issue of membership is in question). I use "people" and "nation" interchangeably. Nations are group agents that require the presence of a shared set of beliefs about the terms of membership and the relevant collective interests. These beliefs form a political culture based upon the group's goal of acquiring or maintaining effective agency having to do with self-determination. Rousseau's ideal of the general will, representing what is good for all, is a standard for evaluating legitimacy of political decisions. The public-mindedness of individuals participating in decision-making is, nevertheless, limited in how well they can approximate this ideal by the beliefs of membership they hold. Rousseau famously claims that whoever is forced to obey the general will is merely forced to be free. If immigrants are not truly considered members or if their understanding of the common interest diverges from that of the mainstream, how can the notion of the common good be changed to ensure that the group agent operates in accordance with the general will? I shall also explore the extent of heterogeneity that a national group can tolerate while remaining an effective group agent. This paper brings together the ideas of group intentionality and group rights and is part of my broader research project on group membership in relation to social moral epistemology.

### **Momani, Bessma**

#### *Canada's Role at the IMF Executive Board*

Despite the various narratives and perspectives of Canada's role in international organizations, there has been a dearth of contemporary research into Canada's role at the International Monetary Fund (IMF). This paper will provide a needed empirical and theoretical contribution to the question of how has Canada performed at the IMF's, and arguably the global economy's, highest decision-making body: the IMF Executive Board. Through content analysis of IMF Archival material, Executive Board minutes, and Canada's Department of Finance memos and correspondences with the IMF (acquired through Access to Information requests), this paper seeks to get a nuanced understanding of Canada-IMF relations. How independent has Canada's Executive Director been at the Board? How has Ottawa viewed its role in the Fund? Moreover, personal interviews with many of Canada's Executive Directors, with Department of Finance and IMF staff, and with a number of American and developing countries' IMF Executive Directors will be conducted to understand Canada's value-added, challenges, standing, and taken positions at the Board. What has been Canada's reputation at the Board? Where and how has Canada made a mark at the Board? Finally, this paper will make a number of policy recommendation to, specifically, improve Canadian effectiveness at the IMF and, more generally, suggest ways to strengthen representation of Fund members at the Board.

### **Montanaro, Laura**

#### *Self-Authorized Representatives: Democratic Representation & Contemporary Politics*

The standard account of democratic representation involves the authorization of a representative by election and the accountability of elected officials to their constituents for their performance in office. And yet today, there are an increasing number of real-world examples of extra-institutional individuals and entities making claims of representation despite being neither formally authorized nor formally held to account by those they represent. The absence of formal authorization and accountability would, according to the standard account of democratic representation, necessarily classify this activity as anti-democratic; in this work, I challenge that assumption. I argue that at the level of the nation-state, self-authorized representation may be an important complement to electoral representation, precisely because of its potential to be both responsive and inclusive in ways that electoral representation cannot – two dimensions that I will argue are crucial to self-authorized democratic representation. Moreover, in contexts where there is no electoral representation, both at the level of the nation-state and beyond, at the global level, these two dimensions can translate into the achievement of democratic representation for voices that would otherwise remain excluded. The challenge from the perspective of democratic theory, however, is that self-authorized representatives simply propose themselves as representatives of marginalized groups. We therefore require normative criteria which will allow us to distinguish legitimate from illegitimate claims of self-

authorized representation. My project, therefore, is to conceptualize these "self-authorized representatives" and provide the normative and structural framework necessary to assess the democratic credentials of these extra-institutional representation claims.

#### Monteiro, Kayla

##### *Electoral Referendum Initiatives: Comparative Study of British Columbia and Ontario*

This year, for the first time in Ontario's history, citizens of the province voted in a referendum on Electoral Reform. Premier Dalton McGuinty committed to creating the Ontario Citizens' Assembly which was comprised of 103 randomly-selected citizens who were invited to examine Ontario's current electoral system, First Past the Post. After months of education, consultations and deliberation, the province's first Citizens' Assembly recommended a new electoral system for Ontario: Mixed Member Proportional. At the polls, Ontarians rejected the proposal and decided not to reform our current electoral system by failing to achieve the threshold of 60% of the vote overall, required for change to occur. Ontario modeled its Citizen's Assembly after British Columbia's experience, which was the first province in Canada to hold a referendum on Electoral Reform in 2004. Although the referendum in British Columbia did not pass, they came much closer to achieving the 60% percent threshold required with 57% of the citizens voting in favour of electoral reform versus only 36.9% in Ontario.

This paper seeks to compare the natures of the electoral referendums and citizen assemblies in both British Columbia and Ontario in an effort to explain the variation in citizen engagement. This paper will firstly look at the impetus in each province for the creation of the Citizens' Assembly and ultimately the initiative for referendum. The similarities and differences between the processes utilized in each province will also be reviewed. Finally, the differences regarding how citizens were made aware of the referendum through advertising will be explored to determine the extent of its significance in explaining the variation in support of the referendum.

#### Montsion, Jean Michel

##### *Re/locating politics at the gateway: Everyday life in Singapore's Global Schoolhouse*

Like many other Social Sciences, the discipline of International Relations possesses profound ontological limitations in conceptualising political agency in ways not distinguished by spatial determinations. Temporal fallacies in International Relations such as ahistoricism, tempocentrism and chronofetishism are very common because time is not conceptualised and integrated to theories in a rigorous manner. However, the conceptual subordination of time to space and its denaturalisation in the process of ontologising International Relations is phenomenologically untenable. How can one ontologise to reflect more closely one's time/space experience(s) of international relations? In light of Michel de Certeau's everyday perspective and Henri Lefebvre's rhythmanalytical project, it will be argued that a plurality of ideas about what international relations are can be found in performative sites of the Chinese diaspora such as Chinese community associations. It becomes possible to pluralise and democratise the process of ontologising international relations by (dis)locating political agency through (trans)local narratives and performative (re)actions of the meaning of belonging to the Chinese diaspora from Singapore and Vancouver. This is done while attempting to make the process more temporally fit to reflect lived experiences, especially when it comes to understanding political agency. A focus on social rhythms gathered from Chinese community associations such as Chambers of Commerce and clan associations in Singapore and Vancouver shows the plural ways in which distinct (trans)local narratives and performatives give a multiple and polyphonic portrait of International Relations ontologies.

#### Moore, Margaret

##### *Global Justice and Particularist Attachments*

This paper is interested in the relationship between global justice and particularist interests and attachments. This is explored by considering, first, the conditions under which justice claims apply. This raises the question whether a global order is an appropriate realm of justice claims and, if it is, the role of associative principle in an overall conception of justice. (There is also the issue of whether justice itself applies only in associations of certain types, that is, whether it itself is an associative principle. This will be discussed in terms of Scheffler's split-level vision of justice, according to which some principles are appropriate globally and some are appropriate locally, and, if so, what principles might help us demarcate the two spheres. This is a way of exploring the relationship between global principles and domestic principles of justice.

#### Morton, Rebecca

##### *The Swing Voter's Curse in the Laboratory*

This paper reports the first laboratory study of the swing voter's curse and provides insights on the larger theoretical and empirical literature on "pivotal voter" models. Our experiment controls for different information levels of voters, as well as the size of the electorate, the distribution of preferences, and other theoretically relevant parameters. The design varies the share of partisan voters and the prior belief about a payoff relevant state of the world. Our results support the equilibrium predictions of the Feddersen-Pesendorfer model, and clearly reject the notion that voters in the laboratory use naive decision-theoretic strategies. The voters act as if they are aware of the swing voter's curse and adjust their behavior to compensate. While the compensation is not complete and there is some heterogeneity in individual behavior, we find that aggregate outcomes, such as efficiency, turnout, and margin of victory, closely track the theoretical predictions.

#### Muggah, Rob

### *Promoting Security in the Aftermath of War: Reviewing Armed Violence Prevention and Reduction Initiatives in Latin America*

Whether in contexts of conflict or crime, armed violence destroys lives and contributes to profound losses in productivity. Latin American countries experiences amongst the highest rates of homicidal violence in the world. In El Salvador, Guatemala and Colombia, for example, contemporary rates of armed violence exceed those recorded during episodic periods of internal conflict. From a macro-economic perspective, armed violence contributes to losses of between 2-9 per cent of national GDP in Latin America. In micro-economic terms, it leads to changing domestic and foreign investment and triggers membership in predatory gangs and organised crime.

Strategies to prevent and reduce armed violence - real and threatened intentional force - are fast assuming an international priority. Because armed violence is spatially, demographically and temporally segmented, it requires a multiplicity of responses. Latin America - particularly its urban centres - is an emerging leader in designing integrated strategies to identify and respond to associated risk factors and effects. This paper will review the scale and distribution of armed violence in several countries facing a 'transition' from war to peace - El Salvador, Guatemala and Colombia. It will also consider the effectiveness of localised strategies designed to redress armed violence.

### **Muller, Ben**

#### *Pedagogy and Critical Engagement: Reflections on Popular Culture in the IR Classroom*

Recent texts such as Nexon and Neumann's *Harry Potter and International Relations*, have (re)focused attention on the role of popular culture on and in international relations theory and practice. Contributions to Nexon and Neumann's collection assert both the extent to which popular culture mirrors existing social and political norms, ideas, and identities, and plays a constitutive role in forming norms and identities. In a different way, Cynthia Weber's *Critical Introduction to International Relations*, uses film as an illustrative teaching tool in order to explain core and critical approaches to international relations. These approaches to popular culture and international relations are different, and raise complex questions about the role of popular culture in both understanding international relations and taking seriously its potential constitutive role. This paper contrasts these two approaches, and raises questions regarding the use of popular culture, such as films and novels, when teaching IR. By highlighting the different approach to popular culture, both between these two texts and among the different contributors to the Nexon and Neumann collection, the paper raises questions about the extent to which using popular culture to teach IR is critical scholarship and pedagogy by definition? Is using film as an illustrative teaching tool challenge or subvert its constitutive role and thus preclude its critical potential?

### **Mulligan, Shane**

#### *The Changing Face of Energy Security*

Energy security has been a state concern at least since the "oil shocks" of the 1970s, and has recently re-emerged as a central issue in global politics. The concept of energy security is complex, encompassing issues of access, economic viability, and environmental concerns. Energy security is also linked with other "securities", from national security to global climate and food security. Using a critical security studies framework, this paper asks how the conceptual history of "energy security" relates to changes in the global political context. How has the breadth or scope of this concept changed through history? And to what extent do these changes in the discourse of energy security correspond to changes in world politics? One shift that stands out significantly is the "environmentalization" of energy security in the 1990s, alongside growing attention to environmental security and global governance. While this period saw a recognition of energy security as an increasingly global concern, current conflicts in the Middle East, along with a growing awareness of the impending peak in global oil production, appear to be behind a resurgent "national security" element in discourses on energy. This research suggests that the tensions between "global" and "national" security demands are emerging as a crucial factor in the global politics of energy.

### **Murphy, Michael**

#### *Memory, Apology and Reconciliation*

The paper seeks to evaluate the function of apology and memory in a process of reconciling with historic injustice. Section one will explore some of the key moral and practical arguments in favour of apology and the construction of a public memory of injustice. Two primary moral justifications are considered: i) the inherent moral value of recognizing, taking responsibility for, and memorializing past injustice; and ii) the Kantian duty to respect the equal dignity and moral worth of those impacted by past injustice – a duty that extends to past, present, and future generations. Part two will examine the practical implications of apology and memorialization. Two arguments are considered: i) apology as a means of establishing mutual trust and constructive, non-conflictual relations among former adversaries; and ii) creating a public memory of injustice to generate support for the practical dimension of reconciliation (land and resource transfers, monetary compensation, etc.). A final section deals with some of the influential counter-arguments against apology and memorialization: i) that it undermines practical reconciliation by stirring up old enmities and divisions, and by focusing exclusively on the past at the expense of a forward-looking relationship; ii) that current generations should not be held responsible for the sins of the past; and iii) that we have no right to judge past policies by current moral standards. Theoretical arguments will be examined in relation to the Stolen Generation controversy in Australia, and the legacy of the Residential School system in Canada.

### **Mustapha, Jennifer**

#### *Threat Construction in Post 9/11 US Foreign Policy Discourses: Implications for (Critical) Security in Southeast Asia*

Due to its inherently constructive properties, the US “war on terror” discourse has become a self-fulfilling prophecy. This idea is explored specifically with regards to how the American articulation of threat in “war on terror” discourses informs a foreign policy that in turn has active consequences for state and non-state actors in Southeast Asia. The importance of discourse is explained with a focus on the discursive construction of threat as intrinsic to the “security project” (Campbell 1998) of the American state, as well as to American national identity more generally. Throughout this analysis, attention is drawn to the relationships between US foreign policy and the characterizations, within its discourse, of “threat” as being distinctly alien and pathological. From this analytical perspective, the emphasis is shifted away from a focus on “threat” and instead moves towards the role that the *characterization of threat* plays in constituting identities, and in constituting the parameters in which the politics of “security” play out. This paper contends that irruptions of post- 9/11 US foreign policy discourse in the East Asian region can be observed in the “securitization” (Buzan et. al. 1998) of US economic and trade policy; the doctrinaire understanding of Islam-identified political movements; and the trend towards the re-militarization of US relations with Southeast Asian actors. Importantly, these manifestations of discursive construction engender consequences that contribute to the possibility of an increase in terrorist activities aimed at “Western” targets, and a proliferation of anti-democratic and repressive behaviours by Southeast Asian governments under the guise of anti-terror measures.

#### Muthu, Sankar

##### *Enlightenment Anti-slavery Activism and the Moral Ties of Global Commerce*

I will interpret the writings of British anti-slavery activists in the late eighteenth century, such as Thomas Clarkson and William Fox, among many others, who aimed to destroy a vast global network that was dedicated to what they viewed as the cruel and immoral commerce of human beings. Among their tactics were the consumer boycott of sugar and a series of related arguments in pamphlets and speeches that the production and consumption of goods in an integrated world linked humans together across various societies in a manner that generated not only economic benefits but also moral culpability and ethical responsibilities. In their efforts to undermine the idea that slavery was essential to global commerce, I also show how these activists argued that European, American, African, and Asian nations could profitably engage in a free and just international commerce. Evoking other Enlightenment writings on ‘globalization’, many of the British anti-slavery activists believed that while more frequent exchanges across borders could abuse and restrict freedom in potentially disastrous ways—especially when elites aimed to use the flow of goods (and ideas) to amass social, economic, and political power for their narrow and self-serving purposes—they could also enhance liberty, if commercial relations were understood differently and appropriately reformed. I aim to show how these anti-slavery activists theorized global commerce by attempting to convince their readers that global ties of commercial exchange across borders created a transcontinental community with distinct moral debts and duties.

#### Mutimer, David

##### *No CANDU: The Multiply Nuclear Canadian Self*

Canada is a nuclear power. It is not, generally, the way Canadians think about themselves nor is it how “Canada” performs itself globally, but neither of these can escape from Canada’s nuclear status. We belong to two nuclear armed alliances, one of which had an explicit policy placing nuclear arms at the heart of its security. In addition, we are nuclear salesmen, shilling our nuclear technology and fissile materials around the world, all the while as part of the global cartel of such nuclear suppliers. We prefer to think of ourselves as the responsible arms controllers, who have patiently worked in the company of the like-minded on a comprehensive nonproliferation, arms control, and disarmament agenda which seeks the limitation, control, and (ultimate) elimination of nuclear arms. This chapter explores the ways in which Canada maintains the separation among its Eve-like nuclear self by probing a moment in which the multiplicity was all but impossible to maintain: the debate around indefinite extension of the NPT. It examines the mechanisms by which Canada attempted negotiation of its triple-constituted self, and the consequences for its foreign policy in global arms control practices.

#### Narine, Shaun

##### *Leadership and Legitimacy: China and the US in the Asia Pacific*

Regional relations in the Asia Pacific have been marked by the rising economic and political presence of China. At the same time, the United States has faced a precipitous decline in its international “legitimacy”. This presentation will draw on the English School of International Relations to examine the nature of legitimacy and authority as it applies to great powers. It will ask the question “how do states create legitimacy for their actions?” The paper makes two interrelated arguments. The first is that China is legitimating its presence in the Asia Pacific by accepting and promoting the established norms and institutions of the region. It is allowing itself to be socialized to the region. By contrast, American legitimacy is based on the security role that the US plays in the region. The US expects other states to follow its lead. However, as the security situation changes, the need for the American presence declines. American regional legitimacy is more fragile than it may appear. The second argument is that, to many Western analysts, the nature of international legitimacy has changed in the post-Cold War era to focus on human rights and democracy. However, Asian states largely reject these changes. The US has promoted these ideas but its recent actions and policies have compromised its credibility as a defender of human rights and democracy. As a result, its influence in the Asian region has declined further. For social and political reasons, China is eclipsing the US as a regional leader in Asia.

#### Nath, Nisha

##### *Which Ties Bind? Kinship, Custody and the Dissolution of 'Interracial' Relationships*

In "Reproducing the State", Jacqueline Stevens disrupts and denaturalizes kinship by asserting that States are membership organizations where membership is derived from particular invocations of birth and ancestry. Kinship is more than the social construction of lineage – kinship has a political context and a political purpose, and being a fundamental mode of reproducing the State, the State is deeply invested in the normalization and maintenance of certain kinship patterns as expressions of allocations of power.

This paper draws on Stevens' insights, as well as Goldberg's work in "The Racial State", to examine, at a discursive level, how Canadian family law makes sense of 'race' when making custodial determinations with respect to children racialized as 'mixed-race'. The dissolution of relationships racialized as 'interracial' forces courts to make a decision as to which ties bind a child to his or her 'biological' parents. The purpose here is not to examine how 'race' should figure into child custodial determinations, but rather to flesh out how the courts' understandings of kinship can be understood as racialized and politically meaningful.

In reviewing the case law between 1986-2006, this paper suggests that by contextualizing our reading of these cases in the Racial State, the meaning of these decisions moves us beyond a focus on individual/psychological identity formation, to a broader political commentary on the fluctuations of the racialization of kinship in the Canadian Racial State.

#### Nelles, Jen

##### *Wet vs Dry: Establishing a Multilevel Water Policy for Canadian Communities*

As the effects of global warming become more pronounced and extreme swings in regional climates become more common the abundance and sustainability of Canada's natural resources will come into question. Of these it is perhaps our most plentiful resource – water – that will face the most stress over the long term, both in terms of usable volume and policy issues. While this realization is not new the political debate over the future of Canada's water has become more pronounced with the release of a number of influential publications and reports within the past year. This paper highlights the key issues facing Canadian communities with respect to water issues (conservation, water taking policies, safety, etc.) and evaluates the current institutional environment. It argues, contrary to many reports currently in circulation, that because of the diversity of regional contexts, water issues should not be controlled centrally by the federal government. Rather, coordinated regional policies should be elaborated within a multilevel governance model in which cities and communities become important actors in generating the policy environment. EU conventions on water may provide useful models for the negotiation of these policies as well as establishing a coordinating role for the federal government.

#### Nelson, Marcel

##### *The FTAA and the Contestation of Neoliberalism in Latin America*

The failure to reach an agreement on the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) at the 2005 Summit of the Americas signaled a turning point in inter-American relations. This development was all the more surprising because the FTAA enjoyed significant support from the majority of Latin American countries throughout the 1990s.

My paper will examine the dynamics that impeded the successful negotiation of an agreement on the FTAA. I will argue that developments at the negotiating table need to be analyzed in the broader context of the delegitimation of neoliberal policies in the Americas. This phenomenon will be examined from a neo-Gramscian perspective in order to understand how American hegemony, embodied in neoliberal policies such as free trade, has been increasingly contested across the diverse national contexts of the hemisphere. This will be done by examining the contestation of neoliberal policies in Venezuela and Brazil and the role these two countries played in bringing about the current impasse over the FTAA. Furthermore, I will endeavour theorize the significance of the impasse for inter-American relations and capitalism in the hemisphere.

My analysis departs from the, albeit modest, existing literature on the FTAA impasse, which has tended to emphasize considerations of geopolitical strategy at the policy-making level. In contrast, my paper will underline the importance of deeper socio-economic processes that go well beyond geopolitical factors. This paper will, therefore, represent an important and original contribution to the literature. This paper will be borne out of my ongoing dissertation research.

#### Neufeld, Mark

##### *Canadian Foreign Policy Toward Afghanistan: A Case Study in 'Winning Hearts And Minds*

WHAM – "Winning Hearts and Minds" – was a prominent element in U.S. foreign policy discourse during its invasion and occupation of Vietnam. What has not been sufficiently recognized is its resurgence in Canadian foreign policy discourse and practice since the decision to deploy Canadian Armed Forces personnel to Afghanistan to wage war against the Taliban. Of particular significance is the fact that WHAM in the Canada-Afghanistan case is directed, first and foremost, not at Afghans, but at Canadians. That is, this paper will argue that it is the minds of Canadians that Canadian foreign policy is being designed to 'win,' and that the strategems being deployed in this pursuit can best be understood as an example of the manufacture of consent (Chomsky) with an ultimate goal of trasformismo (Gramsci) of the counter-consensus. The ultimate challenge for policy-makers and traditional intellectuals is to find ways of legitimizing the Afghan intervention when it is clearly not the traditional peace-keeping mission which continues to resonate in Canadian psyches.

#### Newton, Janice

##### *Representation and Civil Society: The Struggle for Representation within the Canadian Political Science Association*

In the 1950s, most academic organizations in Canada represented a very narrow range of people in Canadian society. In particular, women and minorities were not well represented either within the professoriate or within their academic organizations. In the intervening years, some disciplines have been utterly transformed and are now representative of members of Canadian society, others remain stubbornly unrepresentative. Why have some disciplines

changed dramatically, and others have not? A partial answer to this question lies in how the disciplinary-based academic organizations have responded to the challenge for more representation within their ranks. My paper is based on research into the six decades of CPSA minutes, dating from the 1950s. I chose Political Science because it continues to lag behind many other disciplines in its representation of women and racial minorities. I will explore the challenges to the CPSA to be more inclusive and how it responded to these challenges over the years, based on the recorded minutes. This case study will contribute to our understanding of how an important intellectual gatekeeper in civil society responded to demands for more representation, and will become the basis for future comparative research into similar organizations.

#### **Nichols, Robert**

##### *Towards a Heideggerian Practice of Freedom*

A close reading of Heidegger's work on freedom reveals three distinct strands of thought. Freedom is understood as (a) ontological: a feature of the process of disclosure by which a world of meaning is presented to us, (b) situated agency: the actualization of certain modes of thinking and acting which arise only within a particular horizon of intelligibility made manifest by the process of disclosure itself, and; (c) critical-geneological: a specific critical practice of working against the tendency towards a metaphysical reification of the present lifeworld which denies the open-endedness of the process of disclosure. Exploring this Heideggerian analytic, I conclude, is important as it offers us an important alternative vocabulary of freedom to that of Kantian rationalism.

#### **Nieguth, Tim**

##### *Legitimizing secession: The case of Northern Ontario*

There are three distinctive schools of thought regarding the legitimacy of secession. According to scholars in the permissive school, secession is legitimate when it is based on the democratic expression of political will on the part of a territorially defined community. In the eyes of adherents to the remedial school, secession is justified only as a last remedy to unjust and harmful treatment. Finally, proponents of a third school see the right to secession as part and parcel of national self-determination, ultimately grounding it in the existence of a distinctive national identity. This paper will explore if, and to what extent, these competing perspectives reflect the practical philosophy of separatist movements. While the literature on secession typically revolves around secession from the state, this paper will focus on secession within the state. In particular, it will examine the case of separatism in Northern Ontario. While secession from the province of Ontario has never attracted a substantial level of support, it is a recurrent theme in the politics of Northern Ontario. Most recently, there has been some discussion about the secession of Northwestern Ontario and its unification with Manitoba. The paper will examine whether Northern Ontario separatists appeal to democracy, injustice or identity in order to legitimate the project of secession.

#### **Nonhoff, Martin, Schneider, Steffen, Gronau, Jennifer and Krell-Laluhova, Zusana**

##### *The G8 as a Newly Emerging Legitimation Object in Global Politics*

Despite its highly informal character, the policy agenda and governance responsibilities of the G8 have greatly expanded recently. Moreover, the fact that its summits have been targeted by anti-globalization campaigners appears to indicate that 'a bunch of guys sitting around a table' and exclusively representing their member states has turned into a legitimation object in its own right, albeit one that is tied into a multilevel network of international organizations and regimes, nation states and transnational groups. Our contribution probes the discursive construction of the G8 as a newly emerging legitimation object in the public spheres of three member states (Britain, Germany, and the United States) and one non-member (Switzerland). Building on an analytical framework developed in research on the communicative (de-)legitimation of political orders and institutions, our case study examines media discourses on the last ten summits, and in two opinion-leading newspapers per country. We ask the following questions: Is the (relative) frequency of propositions that evaluate the G8's own legitimacy rather than the legitimacy of political institutions and actors in its multilevel context growing? Is the legitimacy of the G8 and these related legitimation objects affirmed or challenged? Is their legitimacy debated on the basis of characteristic sets of normative benchmarks, for instance, non-democratic and output-based v. democratic and input-oriented ones? Our findings indicate that the G8 has indeed established itself as a 'post-national' and 'post-democratic' object of legitimation.

#### **Norman, Emma and Baker, Karen**

##### *Rescaling Environmental Governance? Water Governance across the Canada-U.S. Border*

Recent debates on environmental governance have largely centered on the shift from "government" to "governance", and the dual rescaling of governance toward the supranational scale and subnational scales. The purported advantages for environmental management of 'local governance' are frequently reiterated in the literature, but rarely examined systematically. This paper undertakes such an examination through an analysis of the rescaling of transboundary water governance along the Canada-U.S. border. The study presents an analysis of national and sub-national transboundary governance instruments along the entire border from 1909 to the present. This analysis indicates that rescaling of transboundary water governance has occurred over time, with declining federal involvement, and a significantly greater number of sub-national governance instruments being created for transboundary water management, since the 1980s. A high degree of regional variation is evident in the rate of sub-national activity, dominated by Western and Great Lakes regions. Formal instruments dominate at the bilateral level; informal instruments predominate at the state/provincial level. Interviews with Canadian and American water managers suggest that the role of transboundary organizations in this process has not been systematic. Moreover, rescaling has not resulted in a significant increase in decision-making power at the local scale, in higher quality information, or in better decisions with respect to environmental criteria. This implies

the need to question some of the assumptions widespread in the environmental governance literature pertaining to the relationship between bilateral and local actors, the role of non-governmental actors, and the implications of rescaling of governance to local and/or supranational actors.

#### Norris, Pippa and Inglehart, Ronald

##### *Silencing Dissent: The impact of restrictive media environments on regime support*

How far can autocracies strengthen popular support by silencing dissent and manipulating the news? Debate about this issue reflects some of the earliest concerns about the power of state propaganda originating during the interwar years. To address this question, based on the Reporters sans Frontières' Worldwide Press Freedom index, 44 states are classified as either restrictive media environments, such as China, Viet Nam, Iraq and Russia, or pluralistic media environments, exemplified by Finland, the Netherlands and

Trinidad and Tobago. Individual-level attitudes and media habits are examined within each environment, using the 5th wave of the World Values Survey (2005-6). The attitudes of regular consumers of information from television and radio news, newspapers, and the Internet are compared with non-users. In restrictive media environments, the comparison with the general public reveals that those regularly exposed to television and radio news consistently expressed significantly greater regime support (they had more confidence in core regime institutions, they were significantly more anti-democratic in their values, and they were more nationalistic). Newspaper readers and Internet users in these societies displayed more diverse patterns. The conclusion discusses how to interpret the findings, considers some potential criticisms of the survey evidence, and reflects upon the broader theoretical implications for assessing media effects within different contexts.

#### Nossal, Kim Richard

##### *The Unavoidable Shadow of Earlier Wars: Obsequies, Political Culture and the Afghanistan War in Canada and Australia*

In late 2007, in the middle of an election campaign, Australia's prime minister, John Howard, and the leader of the opposition, Kevin Rudd, appeared together at the funerals of two soldiers killed in Afghanistan. Their attendance was seen as unremarkable; indeed, it would have been extraordinary had the governor general, the prime minister, and the leader of the opposition not attended these funerals.

By contrast, in Canada, the political leadership has treated battle deaths in Afghanistan differently. Political leaders have been notable by their absence at the funerals of soldiers killed in Afghanistan during the current mission in Kandahar. Indeed, it would have been as remarkable had the prime minister and the leader of the opposition shown up together to offer condolences to families.

This paper examines why those killed in the war in Afghanistan have been treated so differently in Canada and Australia. It surveys the ways in which combat deaths have been marked in each country, and offers possible reasons for the bipartisanship that we see in Australia and the virtual lack of involvement by political elites in the funerals of Canadians killed in Afghanistan.

It will be suggested that historical cultural factors are crucial for understanding the differences observed: in both countries the experiences of the Great War cast long shadows that affect bipartisanship on war and war deaths; and in Australia, shorter but no less important legacies of Australia's participation in the Vietnam War continue to affect how political elites respond to foreign wars.

#### Nuruzzaman, Mohammed

##### *Revisiting the Category of Failed and Fragile States in International Relations*

International Relations scholars and policy-makers are paying increasing attention to the so-called category of failed and fragile states found primarily in Asia and Africa. While effective policy responses are necessary to fix these politically fractured, economically collapsing and culturally divided states, the category itself appears to be more politically and ideologically charged and less critically understood in a proper context of International Relations. This is exactly because we, the Western scholars and policy-makers, most often judge other peoples and societies through the prism of our own cultural values, political precepts and civilizational understandings. There is a general tendency to share the Enlightenment-produced historical metanarratives about non-Western civilizations and to avoid examining how our perception of interests and the actual course of political and military actions made other states first degenerate and then become 'failed and fragile'. This paper argues that the so-called category of failed and fragile states is a political and cultural misconstruct in International Relations and maps out why and how some states like Afghanistan and Iraq failed in their actions to build up politically, economically and culturally viable order. Lastly, the paper suggests national and international ways to effectively deal with the problems of this unexpected category in International Relations.

#### Nyblade, Benjamin

##### *Spatial Dynamics and Party System Type: Understanding Dominant Party Systems*

There is little consensus in the academic literature on how to define dominant party systems. In this paper I argue that this is symptomatic of a more general failing in the literature, which is the fact that typologies of party systems based on dynamic properties (rather than static properties) are poorly developed, and that all too often scholars have attempted to improperly join static and dynamic properties in the same typology.

The paper is broken into three parts. First, I argue that an important distinction needs to be made between party system typologies that are based on static and dynamic aspects of the party system. I suggest that although typologies based on static properties have gained wide acceptance, there is a clear need for a more systematic typology of party systems based on their dynamics. Second, I suggest a basic typology that may serve. I show how spatial models of party

competition can lead us to distinguish between three systems: pivotal, alternational, and unconstrained party systems. Finally, I place dominant party systems in this framework: we can consider dominant party systems in typologies of party systems based on either static or dynamic party system characteristics, and when we distinguish between the two versions of party system typologies, we can resolve many difficulties in our conceptualization of dominant party systems.

**Olive, Andrea**

*Compliance with Environmental Policy: Small Private Landowners' Affirmative Motivations*

Beyond a fear of punishment, why are private landowners willing to comply with the Endangered Species Act (ESA) – a law that imposes exacting limitations on the use of private property? Compliance literature suggests that individuals may have numerous affirmative motivations for obeying a law, such as commitment to legitimacy and morality. My paper examines the possible existence of these affirmative motivations among landowners in two designated habitat areas for endangered species. In total 50 small private landowners were interviewed in the United States (Indiana, Ohio and Utah) and the results indicate that these landowners, who deeply value property, are nevertheless willing to comply with the ESA. Their willingness stems from a belief in the importance of other species and the moral inappropriateness of extinction as well as the acceptance of the government's involvement in the protection of endangered species. This study contributes to the field of public policy by illustrating the role of affirmative motivations in individual's willingness to comply with policies and laws. Punishments and financial incentives may be effective for compliance, but affirmative motivations, which can be fostered by policymakers, require fewer resources and enhance, as opposed to threaten, stability in a democratic society.

**O'Neill, Brenda, Gidengil, Elisabeth and Young, Lisa**

*Examining Feminist Identification and Gender-Role Attitudes*

Research has identified a tendency among younger women's cohorts to adopt the "I'm not a feminist but..." predisposition towards feminist self-identification. The phenomenon consists of an unwillingness to self-identify in spite of holding attitudes that can be characterized as consistent with feminist beliefs. The act of identifying with feminism is important for its role in shaping a range of political attitudes and behaviours (in particular, vote decisions). And yet, the very question of what constitutes a "feminist" is subject to debate, has varied over time with the changing waves of feminism, and is shaped by public perceptions of the broader social movement.

The proposed paper investigates the varying relationship between gender-role beliefs and feminist identification and seeks to account for this variation. Using data from an original survey conducted in the summer/fall of 2007 of over 1,200 women sampled from across English-speaking Canada, women's willingness and the reasons that they offer for their unwillingness to self-identify are examined. The relationship between willingness to self-identify and a set of questions tapping gender-role attitudes is then examined to create a typology of feminist identifiers. Finally, a set of socio-demographic variables are examined to determine how they mediate the relationship between self-identification and gender-role attitudes

**Onuki, Hironori**

*Care, Social (Re)production and Global Labour Migrations: Globalization-as-Practice, Primitive Accumulation, Everyday Spaces in Japan*

In *The Empire of Care*, Catherine Ceniza Choy problematizes the ways in which the representation of transnational Filipino nurses as racialized, gendered, and classed labour force has been (re)constituted in the (neo)colonial relationships of inequality between the U.S. and the Philippines. Derived from Choy's examination, my essay will direct attention toward the recently signed bilateral Economic Partnership Agreement between Japan and the Philippines that opens the door for Filipino nurses and care-givers to work in Japan, and assess the implications generated through potential flows of these Filipino migrant workers into Japan for the dynamics of capitalist relations of social (re)production. It will illustrate how the rapidly deepening penetration of the neoliberal market disciplines into the realm of social reproduction manifests the *longue durée* of primitive accumulation through the extension and intensification of capitalism. It will also highlight the contestations and/or (re)negotiations of Filipino labourers within the globalization of care work, by utilizing my interviews with the actual and potential migrant care-workers. This analysis is the part of my larger project that attempts to argue that the structured social practices of global labour migrants not only participate in and depend on but also contest and negotiate the (re)constitution of capitalist relations of social (re)production within the neoliberal restructuring of global political economy. It will contribute to shape the contours of debates about the dichotomy of production and social reproduction, by discussing the currently accelerated commodification of care "work" and employing the ontological and epistemological innovations brought by critical International Political Economists.

**Orsini, Michael**

*Political Economies of Hope: Mapping the Contested Terrain of Autism Activism*

Using the case study of autism activism in Canada and the U.S., this paper asks whether "embodied health movements" are transforming the terrain of collective action away from a privileging of the progressive, redistributive features of social movements. Do these movements represent a new wave in contentious politics, in which health is displacing other cleavages such as race, gender or class? Or, do these movements represent a novel way of framing issues of injustice, not unrelated to the concerns of their social movement forerunners?

In their discussion of biological citizenship, Rose and Novas introduce the notion of a "political economy of hope" to capture a new world in which "life itself is locked into an economy for the generation of wealth, the production of health and vitality, and the creation of social norms and values" (Rose & Novas, 2005: 452). The hope that is expressed, they

explain, depends on active forms of citizenship in which patients or their loved ones must invest. I am interested particularly in understanding the character of the discourses of hope that swirl around the autistic child, and the activists/advocates who claim to speak on her/his behalf. One of the main flashpoints of controversy in the so called 'autism wars' concerns the support for applied behavioral analysis, a costly treatment that has been praised by parents of autistic children. Some activists counter that the treatment is not only harmful, but that the "hope" of parents is to erase their child's "autistic" essence.

#### Owen, Andrew

*The Politics of Fiscal Federalism: Voter Responsiveness to Intergovernmental Transfers in Canada.*

This paper explores the relationship between public opinion and public policy in the domain of Canadian intergovernmental transfer payments. While a sizable body of literature suggests that the Canadian electorate is responsive to, and holds incumbent parties accountable for, economic conditions, evidence of voter responsiveness in other policy areas is more limited. Using data on election results and federal cash transfers to provincial governments between 1980 and 2004, this paper considers the opinion-policy relationship in a salient domain of Canadian politics. The empirical analysis presented in this paper finds some evidence that voters hold federal incumbent parties accountable for changes in cash transfers to provincial governments. In addition, to test whether transfer payment policy reflects the electoral incentives facing incumbent parties, this paper explores geographical patterns in the distribution of pre-election transfer payments.

#### Owen, Andrew

*The Negativity Bias and The Effect of Policy Change on Evaluations of Political Incumbents*

Psychological research finds robust and pervasive evidence that negative stimuli tend to have a greater impact on individuals than do positive stimuli. While scholars have found evidence of an asymmetry in the relationship between candidate traits and evaluations, there has been little work on whether citizens respond to information about incumbents' policy records in an asymmetric fashion. The few individual-level studies of economic voting that test for an asymmetry find none. This null result is puzzling given evidence of the negativity bias in aggregate-level studies of the same relationship and results from numerous psychological studies. The potential endogeneity of respondent perceptions of economic conditions, however, raises concerns about whether these unexpected results derive from methodological limitations of survey based studies. Indeed, Lau (1982) finds that compared to respondents with a pre-existing candidate preference, the candidate trait negativity bias was more pronounced among initially undecided respondents. This paper experimentally tests whether citizens respond to incumbent actions in an asymmetrical fashion. In this experiment, 1,000 undergraduate students first read brief vignettes about re-election seeking incumbent governors and then evaluated these incumbents. Subjects were randomly assigned to treatment conditions which received different information about a specific policy change occurring during the incumbent's term. The policy changes mentioned varied by the size, valence (i.e. positive or negative), and policy area. Comparison of candidate evaluation across treatment groups provides an unambiguous test of whether the negativity bias affects the relationship between incumbents' actions and citizens' evaluations and contributes to our understanding of political accountability.

#### Pushkar, Pushkar

*From Frei to Frei: Party Adaptation and Change in Chilean Christian Democracy*

This paper will chart the political trajectory of the Chilean Christian Democratic Party (PDC) over a period of four decades. The PDC arrived on Chile's political landscape as an ideological party determined to stake a space at the center of the left-right ideological spectrum. During the 1960s, it practiced "exclusionary centrism" and rejected coalition politics in favor of an 'independent path' to secure a majority of its own. This strategy contributed to the breakdown of Chilean democracy in 1973. During the long period of military rule (1973-1989), the PDC went through a process of 'ideological renovation' so that it became more moderate, flexible, and open to coalition building with pro-democratic Left parties. Since the democratic transition, the PDC has maintained its essentially pragmatic character and contributed immensely to democratic consolidation under Presidents Patricio Aylwin (1990-1994) and Eduardo Frei Ruiz-Tagle (1994-2000). The essay emphasizes how party adaptation and change in the PDC came about largely as a result of 1) political learning; and 2) change in the external environment (the breakdown of democracy and advent of military rule).

#### Pahlavi, Pierre Cyril

*Iran's Policy of Regional Influence: Pan-Shiism or Pan-Islamism?*

Many analysts believe that Iran is now attempting to take advantage of its religious bounds with the Shia communities spread throughout the Middle East in order to weave a sphere of influence stretching from the Wall of China to the Wailing Wall. Even if the "Shia Crescent theory" discussed by Vali Nasr is attractive, it is appropriate to question its veracity: what are Iran's interests in playing the Shia card? To what extent does it really attempt to exploit this source of influence? In the short run, a pan-Shia policy offers certain advantages such as allowing Teheran to create diversion from its nuclear program or to block the Anglo-US projects in Iraq. However, the Iranian leaders are also conscious of the limits and disadvantages attached to this strategy. They are aware that three decades of pan-Shiism in the Caucasus and in Central Asia have only produced meagre results. Also, the emergence of a Shia arc, strongly denounced by Western capitals, has only succeeded in antagonizing the Sunni powers and to wedge the Iranian influence. The argument of this paper is that, in the longer-term, the aim of the Islamic regime is, and has always been, to overcome the logic of intra-Islamic confrontation, thereby extending its traditional sphere of influence beyond the Shia territory. This thesis will be

demonstrated through a historical analysis of the different initiatives taken by Teheran to create a spiritual rapprochement with the “Sunni Brothers” and to become one of the leaders of the Muslim World.

#### **Painter-Main, Mike**

##### *Environmental Awareness without Political Consequence: Examining the Determinants of Green Party Support*

A prominent element of postmaterialist research is the expected rise in environmental values. Anecdotally this appears to be occurring. The promotion of such campaigns as the “one ton challenge”, the appeal of “An Inconvenient Truth” and the attention politicians now give to environment issues all seem to point to one conclusion: Support for the environmental cause is widespread and growing. Yet, if that is the case, why is there little political consequence? In particular, why does the Green party of Canada do so poorly at election time? A variety of theoretical perspectives might explain this puzzle. This includes a shallow consensus (Bakvis and Nevitte, 1992); the instability of alienation toward the party system (Abramson et al., 2000); and institutional barriers, particularly the “wasted votes” dilemma (Duverger, 1954).

While research on the determinants of Green party support in Canada has been sparse, due largely to the party’s emergence on the electoral landscape, questions from the 2004 Canadian Election Study provide an opportunity to explore Green party voters. In order to gain insight into the uniqueness of Green voters, those committed to environmentalism, yet who do not vote Green, are used as a comparative cohort. It is suggested that success would be tenuous for a Green party more reliant on wasted votes and protest votes than on shared values and demographic consistency. Thus, comparing these two groups provides a means for systematically testing the competing hypotheses on Green party support and provides a glimpse into the durability of the Green party in Canada.

#### **Pal, Leslie and Buduru, Bogdan**

##### *The New Panopticon of Governance: The Measuring, Monitoring, and Disciplining of States*

A little remarked aspect of globalization is the surveillance of the quality of governance within states. One driver is development theory – it has shifted from simply fixing markets to realizing that markets in corrupt states will fail. Another is the NPM movement in the last two decades that has insisted on measures, results, and outcome measures. Yet one more is global value chains, where international capital needs concrete measures of governance quality before investing. The result has been an explosion of governance measures, from the Transparency International listings to the less well-known Kaufmann-Kraay indicators.

The paper will make three principal contributions. First, it will critically review the main global governance indicators, their “uses and abuses,” and their methodological and conceptual difficulties. Second, it will develop a typology of indicators by institutions and interests. Corporations differ in how they assess “governance” from the OECD or the UN. Measures of good governance are not innocent. Third, it will offer preliminary observations on the global policy community that has emerged in the last twenty years around “public sector reform”. The work on global policy communities is beginning to develop, but with a few exceptions, no one has examined the emergent public sector reform movement.

The closing irony of the paper is that the Panopticon, once presumed to be a prerogative of states, is now applied to states themselves. And with monitoring, comes discipline.

The paper is based on research being conducted for a SSHRC grant (2007-2010) entitled “Modernizing Government: Global Policy Networks”.

#### **Palmese, Mirko**

##### *Who Rises and Who Falls: The Influence of American, Russian and Chinese Foreign Policies on Central Asian Stability.*

The end of the Cold War brought about a radical change in the strategic relations in Central Asia. The implosion of the Soviet Union and the resulting independence of the five central Asiatic republics gave a new faith to the relevance of the region. As a result, the United States, Russia and China developed close relations with regional actors in Central Asia to gain access to the region’s immense gas and oil resources.

In this paper, I analyze the new strategic alignment of Central Asia since the republics’ independence, focusing in particular on the political dynamics following the 9-11 attacks. I demonstrate the inadequacy of the regional security complex and security community models to describe the interstates dynamics in the region. Furthermore, I provide evidence that analyses should follow the post-unitary regional system model built by Alessandro Colombo .

Moreover, I enumerate the various strategies implemented by the three powerful actors aforementioned which have proven to possess both the resources and the strategic vision enabling them to stand out from the rest of their respective region. In addition, I explain the determinants of regional instability of the post-unitary regional system model through two case studies: the Uzbek-American Strategic Partnership and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization.

I conclude that the recent alignment is the result of normative convergence elites that affect the region’s already weak stance. According to the Colombo’s model, this weakness requires cooperation among regional and extra-regional actors in order to establish some stability in the region.

#### **Panagos, Dimitrios**

##### *Explanatory Power versus Normative Appeal: Comparing Justificatory Models of Aboriginal Rights*

Examining the normative justifications for aboriginal rights is important if we are to understand the role that rights play in the relationship between aboriginal peoples and the state. Two contrasting perspectives on this issue are offered by Avigail Eisenberg and Joyce Green. Eisenberg’s ‘difference perspective’ posits that rights have the potential to protect identity-related differences and argues that, as a consequence, they can be normatively justified vis-a-vis this protective capacity. For her part, Green advocates a multi-dimensional approach to aboriginal rights, wherein the constitutive claims

performing the justificatory work are rooted in the history of colonization and present a challenge to the legitimacy of the settler state.

This paper builds a case against such a dichotomous understanding of the debate and advocates, in contrast, a purposive approach to the application of normative justifications for aboriginal rights. On the one hand, Green's multi-dimensional approach is appealing because it offers normative depth to the project of justifying aboriginal rights. On the other hand, Eisenberg's difference approach has greater explanatory power, in that it provides a more accurate account of the emerging jurisprudence on aboriginal rights in Canada. This paper takes the position that both approaches have a significant contribution to make. Maximizing these contributions will entail employing each approach in the appropriate circumstance – that is, using the former to defend aboriginal rights and the latter to explain Canadian law. Thus, understanding the normative justifications for aboriginal rights ceases to be a question of 'either-or' and, instead, becomes a question of 'when.'

#### **Paquin, Jonathan**

##### *NATO Institutional Constraints and Canada's War in Kandahar*

As the head of the Provincial Reconstruction Team (PRT) in Kandahar, Canada has been intensively fighting Taliban insurgents since 2006, which has resulted in a large number of Canadian military casualties. This situation has raised questions in Canada on the benefits of our involvement in Afghanistan and many Canadians wonder why Canada is at war in Kandahar. The pressure felt by the Martin government to do more in Afghanistan, and the deep commitment of the Harper government for the mission, which was extended twice since the Conservative Party won the federal election in 2006, are common explanations as to why the Canadian military is currently at war in Afghanistan.

However, little research has been conducted on the impact of NATO institutional constraints on Canada's mission in Kandahar. This paper argues that it is impossible to understand why Canada is entangled in Kandahar without focusing on NATO institutional games. This essay focuses, therefore, on the effect of the military alliance on the conduct of Canada's foreign policy toward Afghanistan since 2003 and more specifically since 2006. It also focuses on how Canada used its political influence and leadership within NATO to maximize its interests under alliance constraints.

#### **Paquin, Jonathan and Saideman, Stephen**

##### *Foreign Intervention in Ethnic and Nationalist Civil Conflicts: The State of the Art*

This article will focus on the state of the art in the field of foreign intervention in ethnic conflicts. It will include a comprehensive review of classical literature as well as current theoretical and methodological debates in this subfield of international relations. Hence, the literature and debates on intervention, irredentism, international norms, security and ethnic contagion will be tackled. This essay will also assess future directions in research and important elements that remain unconsidered in this field of research.

#### **Park, Susan**

##### *Norm Contestation: Safeguarding the World Bank's Procedural Norms of Sustainable Development*

Accounts of World Bank change include rationalist P-A models of Bank reactions to states' material demands, and organisational sociological and constructivist approaches (and their bridge-building synthesis) that highlight how bureaucratic culture influences Bank behaviour. In focusing on organisational change, such approaches tend to overlook how norms, such as sustainable development, are reconstituted through World Bank actions and reactions to logics of consequences and appropriateness. This paper uses a constructivist approach to examine how the World Bank's understanding of sustainable development has shifted over time by examining its implementation and modification of environmental and social policies. Initially implemented as a series of ad hoc guidelines, environmental and social safeguards would become entrenched as appropriate "safeguards" for international development lending through the World Bank in the 1980s and 1990s. In the early 2000s, the Bank has responded to competitive international development lending from private and public sources by attempting to bifurcate generic norms of sustainable development from procedural norms of environmental and social safeguards through its Middle Income Strategy, thus reorienting what appropriate development assistance is for different types of Bank borrowers (Kratochwil 1989; Weiner 2004). Piloted in the early 2000s, this enables middle income borrowers to use their own national policies when implementing Bank funded projects, thus reopening points of contestation over how to operationalise sustainable development norms. This bifurcation feeds into ongoing debates over whether the Bank is green or has been greenwashed which arguably obscures a more damaging trend: the World Bank's increasing inability to diffuse procedural norms of sustainable development to all World Bank borrowers.

#### **Parker, Jeffrey**

##### *Who Supports the NDP?*

The NDP consistently attracts significant electoral support, although never enough (at the federal level) to move the party into government. Although it struggled in the 1990s with lower support than it had attracted in the 1980s, it appears to have regained some ground in the 2004 and 2006 elections. However, recent campaign funding law changes eliminated an important connection between the party and unions, and the direct support of the Liberals by long-time NDP ally and CAW President Buzz Hargrove in the 2006 election suggests that the relationship between organized labour and the NDP may have ended. Where, then, is the party's support coming from? One possible explanation is that the NDP's attempts to attract groups such as environmentalists, opponents of globalization, and young people, have paid off. Specifically,

Jack Layton has strongly emphasized the need to attract the support of young Canadians since his successful leadership campaign in 2003.

The goal of this paper is to assess whether or not the support for the NDP has shifted from a base of organized labour to one reliant on young voters. Using data from the Canadian Election Studies from 1988-2006, we assess support for the NDP among both union members and young people. The data suggests that the NDP has been somewhat successful in supplementing its (declining) union support with a new constituency of voters.

#### **Parpart, Jane**

##### *Exploring the Limits of Empowerment: Gender, Development and Violence in an Increasingly Insecure World*

Gender and empowerment has come to be identified with agency, voice and the ability to transform society. Whether analyzing empowerment from a critical alternative or a more mainstream perspective, the literature on empowerment, particularly gendered empowerment, tends to assume that institutions, structures and even attitudes and practices can be transformed to create a gender equitable world. Indeed, the practice of gender mainstreaming has become seen as a technical 'fix' that almost guarantees women's empowerment. This approach ignores the very real limits placed on agency and social transformation by inequality, violence and conflict, particularly for women. The paper explores the possibility that gender and empowerment needs to be rethought, that it both underestimates the deeply held and intractable impediments to gender equity and fails to acknowledge the courage and empowerment of women (and men) who struggle to survive and carry on in desperate circumstances. A more nuanced notion of empowerment is required, one that will foster much more critical assessment of the obstacles to gendered empowerment while encouraging scholars, policy makers and practitioners to recognize, analyze and support the many ways empowerment occurs in an increasingly insecure and often violent world.

#### **Parpart, Jane**

##### *Rethinking the Man Question in International Relations*

The 1998 book, co-edited by Marysia Zalewski and Jane Parpart, *The "Man" Question in International Relations*, sought to bring men and masculinity into the analysis of both the practice and discipline of international relations. Ten years later, we are rethinking the man question in light of new theorizing about sexuality, gender, masculinity/ies, the post-colonial and intersectionality. The new book, *Rethinking the Man Question in International Relations* (Zed, 2008) is concerned with problematizing the connection between gender and sexed bodies, the contested and fluid nature of gender as well as the impact of class, race, age and other cross-cutting variables on thinking about and practices of international politics and relations. The book breaks new ground both theoretically, exploring the way metaphors, discourses and practices of masculinity/ies shape international relations and politics, and by undertaking grounded studies of the way these practices affect the embodied experiences of real people as they contest nationalist practices, struggle to deal with military conflict and seek to understand the racial composition of international politics and relations. The paper will discuss the approach taken by *Rethinking* and explore the implications of this approach for the study and practice of international relations.

#### **Parrish, John and Le Cheminant, Wayne**

##### *Manipulating Democracy: A Reappraisal*

There is a sense of concern that contemporary democracy is increasingly prone to – and vulnerable to – manipulation. Yet despite its obvious public importance, our scholarly understanding of the role manipulation plays in democracy has not kept pace with the rising concern it engages. Part of the confusion rests in the fact that the concept of manipulation has both descriptive and evaluative dimensions that cannot be analyzed independently of one another. This fact has led to a breakdown of communication among empirical political scientists and normative political theorists. Using studies of the psychological, institutional, and strategic dimensions of political communication and action, we hope to bring empirical political science into dialogue with the traditional and current preoccupations of normative democratic theory. Our paper will focus on three primary areas. First, we argue for understanding manipulation as irreducibly a joint normative/empirical problem, with distinctive consequences. Second, we survey recent empirical studies asking whether contemporary American democracy truly is increasingly susceptible to manipulation, and if so what key factors have changed to make it more susceptible. Third, we survey recent normative democratic theory, asking why it has focused so sharply on ideal theory models of political communication and action just at the moment when the need for a fully-developed non-ideal theory seems to be gaining in urgency so strikingly.

#### **Paterson, Stephanie**

##### *"What's the Problem" with Gender Mainstreaming in Canada? Challenging the Rational Stages Model of Gender-Based Analysis*

The Canadian approach to gender mainstreaming, gender-based analysis (GBA), has been heavily criticized. On the one hand, researchers have argued that the expert-bureaucratic framework employed undermines community voices, which can shed light on women's experiences. On the other hand, researchers have criticized the privileging of gender as the primary axis of difference, thereby obscuring multiple and overlapping forms of oppression. What has remained relatively unproblematized, however, is the approach to policy analysis underlying GBA in Canada. Indeed, underlying GBA is a rational model of policy-making, with which it is assumed that problems are clearly defined, consequences are clearly foreseen, and policymaking proceeds in clearly defined stages. In this paper, I argue that without altering the analytical framework within which gender-based analysis operates, incorporating various voices and adjusting for intersectionality will do little in the way of improving policy outcomes. I propose an alternative approach, problem representation, which forces analysts to deconstruct policy proposals, exploring both their discursive contexts and potential lived effects. In

effect, analysts are required to consider the hidden meanings and underlying assumptions embedded in various proposals. In addition, such an approach destabilizes the 'expert', forcing analysts to explore their own role in making meaning. By considering the multiple and overlapping discourses constructing policy problems, a GBA based on problem representation will resolve the criticisms identified by previous scholars.

#### Payrow Shabani, Omid

##### *Freedom of Religion, Democracy and the Fact of Pluralism*

Given the rise of religious movements during the past decade, some have argued that the basic principles of liberal democracy such as separation of church and state and principle of the public use of reason are too restrictive and ought to be rethought. I would like to argue along a Habermasian line that the principle of secular justification ought not to result in a private/public split in religious citizens' identity if they recognize and adopt an "institutional translation proviso". This proviso requires an epistemic ability on the part of religious citizens that enables them to translate their religious beliefs and insight into secular reasons when they pass beyond the informal public sphere into governmental institutions like courts and parliaments. Citizens can express and defend their claims in the public sphere in religious terms if they cannot find secular translation for them. However, this proposal requires a complementary change in the mentality of the secular citizens that recognizes the continued existence of religious communities in diverse liberal democracies.

#### Pelika, Stacey

##### *Follow the Leader: Opinion Referents and the Formation of Policy Preferences*

This paper uses experimental data to explore the effects of the opinions of prominent groups and individuals – or 'opinion referents' – on individuals' policy preferences regarding two issues: the North American Free Trade Agreement and immigration reform. For both NAFTA and immigration reform, survey experiments were conducted (by a media poll for NAFTA and by the author for immigration reform) in which respondents either received or did not receive information about the opinion of a political actor before being asked for their position on the issue. Participants were also asked for their general affect toward the political actor and, in the case of immigration reform, for how much confidence they had in the actor's policy recommendations. For immigration reform, a classroom experiment conducted by the author replicated the survey experiment but also asked whether non-control respondents found the additional information surprising. The results point to a measurable effect for opinion referents on mass policy preferences and to the importance of perceived likeability, authority, and novelty in mediating this relationship. In addition to offering a new way to understand the effect of the political environment on policy opinions, this paper speaks to the value of experimental research to the study of political psychology in general and the role of heuristics in the opinion-formation process in particular.

#### Pellerin, H  l  ne

##### *Exploring the Dichotomy Between Security and the Economy: Borders as Sites of Territorialization and Reterritorialization*

Borders have become an interesting vantage point for looking at the articulations between security objectives and economic interests in recent years. The focus on some borders characterised by deep economic fault lines, like that between Mexico and the United States or that between Europe and South of the Mediterranean have tended to dichotomize the two domains. Accordingly, security concerns are associated with asserting sovereign territoriality while economic interests are linked with a movement towards deterritorializing globalization. This paper wants to address the adequacy of this dichotomy, by examining existing practices of negotiations and compromises in the two border regions mentioned above, and by exploring the assumptions about the state and about spaces of regulation on which this dichotomy rests.

#### Peng, Ito

##### *The Structural and Ideational Bases of Social Investment Policy Reforms in Japan and South Korea*

Since 1990, Japan and South Korea have introduced a series of social policy reforms emphasizing family, women, and children, a policy sector that, unlike pension and health care, has been hitherto implicit and thus did not receive much policy attention until recently. Similarly to the idea of "investing in the children" that has become a common social policy theme in many western countries, in these two conservative and familialistic welfare states, the idea of "active welfare" has manifested in expansions of social welfare provisions, particularly for public child care, elderly care, and family support programs for single parent and working parent families. This paper examines the significance of this apparent convergence in social policy reform ideas. It asks whether these observations of social investment policy reforms demonstrate a mere coincidence or a new and more universal public policy reform trajectory. It analyzes the causes of these social policy changes in Japan and South Korea, and what role do ideas play in mediating policy change.

#### Penner, Erin

##### *Majority and Immigrant Opinion and Multiculturalism in Canada*

This paper will examine public opinion on multiculturalism in Canada, comparing immigrant and majority opinion. It will consider the context that encourages the majority group to accept rather than reject immigrant preferences based on ethno-cultural difference. In general, the paper will explore the dynamics of public opinion as related to matters of multiculturalism. For instance, does majority opinion on ethno-cultural difference become increasingly positive over time? Or do immigrant preferences move closer to the mean of majority opinion, making them more palatable to the host society? Moreover, I am interested in the effects of local diversity on this dynamic – does increasing diversity at the local level increase the likelihood that majority or immigrant opinion will begin to converge? Or does local diversity increase intolerance for both groups?

Using merged census and survey data, I will establish the contours of majority and immigrant opinion on a variety of issues relating to multiculturalism and ethno-cultural difference. I expect gaps in opinion to vary across the issues' substance and level of abstraction. Then, I will test for the effect of local diversity on majority and immigrant opinion. Here, I will examine whether diverse localities are associated with larger or smaller gaps in opinion about ethno-cultural issues, indicating whether contact with diverse communities increases or decreases the tolerance of both groups. By testing these concerns, I advance my dissertation research on the dynamic relationship between host and immigrant opinions in Canada.

#### **Perez, Nahshon**

*On Toleration, Internal Minorities and 'Shared Understandings': Why Tolerating Illiberal Groups is Often Incoherent.*

This article examines three main justifications for toleration of illiberal groups: 'liberty', 'shared understandings' and 'valueless toleration' under the assumption that illiberal groups are not homogeneous. I shall assume that such groups exhibit considerable internal disagreement. Note, that the goal of the argument is not to argue for my normative position (liberty toleration) but to reflect about the coherence of arguments for toleration of illiberal groups under the assumption of internal disagreement.

The structure of the occurrence that would be the center of this article is as follows: in illiberal group X, one (or more) member Y tries to uphold a norm that violates the liberty of another group member Z. Member Z reacts by objecting to the norm. Such occurrences are widespread, and I shall illustrate some examples.

Under the assumption of internal disagreement, the justifications for toleration of illiberal groups are weakened, if not collapse completely. The reasons for this are different for each justification. Concisely put: a. the liberty argument fails because the liberty of the coerced group member is not served, while the liberty of the coercive member can not justify illiberal acts. B. The 'shared understandings' argument can not justify tolerating the group as the understandings are not shared. (I shall elaborate about 'valueless toleration' at the article itself).

Note that rejecting toleration of illiberal groups does not justify intervention. The latter is a separate issue that will be discussed at the last section of the article under the issue of 'prudence'.

#### **Perrella, Andrea M.L. and Kim, Jiyoan**

*Beyond The Liberal Party: Immigrant Voting Behaviour In Canada*

This paper forms part of a series that looks at a mystery of Canadian electoral politics: the generally higher level of support the Liberal party enjoys among immigrants. Presently, there is no satisfactory explanation, due to the small number of immigrant respondents in Canadian Election Study surveys. This shortcoming is addressed with a large sample (N > 35000) Ipsos-Reid online survey taken during the 2006 general election, a survey that includes thousands of immigrant voters. Two perspectives provide insight into the apparent immigrant-Liberal link. The first, which compares immigrants to non-immigrants, shows that while immigrant voters were generally more likely than non-immigrants to vote Liberal, this was not always true. In some regional contexts, immigrants were more likely than non-immigrants to have voted Conservative or for some other party. More perplexing, these pro-Liberal immigrants scored higher than non-immigrants on an index of "conservatism." The ideology-party disconnect and non-Liberal voting anomalies suggests immigrants vote to express integration within mainstream society. This is reflected in the perception among immigrants that the Liberals were most likely to be re-elected in 2006, a perception of the Liberals as the "natural" governing party. We reinforce this explanation in the second perspective, which focuses only on immigrants. Results show the Liberal party rarely as the first choice; immigrants were more likely to have supported whichever party was regionally dominant. Altogether, these perspectives suggest immigrants do not hold a natural affinity for the Liberals. Instead, they vote for a dominant party to express membership within mainstream society.

#### **Pickup, Mark**

*A Receive-Accept Model of Poll Effects*

Using the 2000 US Presidential election as an example, I consider the consequences of published poll information on the functioning of democracy. Specifically, I determine the potential effects polls can have during elections on individual vote choices and electoral outcomes. I outline a multilevel model approach to accounting for the endogeneity inherent in measuring the effect of a published poll on public opinion. Through the application of this model, I address three questions: i) if polling information (biased or otherwise) is communicated to the voting public during an election campaign, does it ultimately affect public opinion and the election outcome? ii) if so, what is the individual level mechanism that produces this effect? and iii) what are the normative implications of the effect of polls on electoral outcomes? Answering these questions is key to informing the ever-increasing debate regarding the regulation of published polls during election campaigns.

#### **Picton, Roger**

*Rescaling Urban Redevelopment: The Remaking of Federal Urban Interventions*

As the recent literature on the political economy of scale has demonstrated, the scalar question has become an increasingly central to understanding contemporary neoliberal urbanization. As part of the radical reconstitution of contemporary capitalism, institutions at the sub-national level is being mobilized as part of the ongoing uneven, multi-scalar, and multifarious geographical (de) and (re) territorialization process. Yet, within this body of literature around rescaling there has been a relative absence of meso-level inquiry, and under-appreciation of the national scale. In particular, the question of how federal institutions operate directly to enforce and regulate urban neoliberalisms requires closer study. This session will critically examine how contingent neoliberal impulses are internalized within the existing

urban governance configurations. This session solicits papers discussing how specially mandated and locally-oriented institutions, such as port authorities and urban development corporations, operate within the parameters of neoliberalized space. In context debates over the political contingency of scale, and state-led intervention in urban development policy, this session will consider how de-industrialized spaces are being reconfigured in the context of emergent forms of accumulation and production of urban space. Theoretical and empirical interventions in context of these debates are welcome. Topics could include brownfield redevelopment, New Urban Policy (NUP), state entrepreneurship, enterprise/empowerment zones, urban development corporations, private-public partnerships and public boosterism, smart growth, and the "creative city." Examples of federal institutions could include the National Capital Commission, the Toronto Waterfront Development Corporation, and the Canada Lands Company, or international case studies.

#### **Pilon, Dennis**

"Facts or Rhetoric?: Elite Media Debate about Voting Systems in the 2007 Ontario Referendum Campaign"

The 2007 referendum on the voting system in Ontario offers an excellent opportunity to examine elite media commentators' handling of complex issues like democratic reform, particularly with topics that have already generated some public debate. As media are the main source of information on politics for Ontarians (as elsewhere), the quality of the reporting and deliberation over this issue is clearly crucially important. Furthermore, media themselves claim that they perform a crucial function in democratic societies by (a) facilitating public discussions on matters of public policy and (b) doing so in a balanced and objective manner.

The proposed paper will examine the discussion of voting systems by all columnists and editorialists in Ontario's largest daily newspapers (average daily circulation of 100,000 or more), specifically the Toronto Star, the Globe and Mail, the National Post, the Toronto Sun, the Ottawa Citizen, and the Hamilton Spectator. The paper will utilize a critical discourse analysis and pay particular attention to the form of argument utilized by authors, including speculative arguments (i.e. change X could produce result Y), logical arguments (change X can be expected to produce Y result), appeals to evidence (change X has produced Y results elsewhere), and appeals to expertise (this expert on change X says Y). The point of the paper will be to test claims of media balance and objectivity by examining media discourses on this issue. Further, an analysis of the forms of arguments utilized will also shed light on the quality of the deliberation provided by media.

#### **Piskunova, Ekaterina**

*Russian Energy Policy as a Tool of Soft Balancing*

As recently as in 2004, International Energy Agency considered energy cooperation with Russia as an opportunity to reduce energy dependency of Western countries on OPEC. The situation is quite different today when Russia uses energy supplies as a tool to re-establish its great power status without any democratic rhetoric and respect to its G-8 partners. Moscow's increasing control of markets and infrastructure in Europe, its eventual participation in the gas suppliers cartel, its engagement in nuclear programs in non-Western countries and especially its dramatically increasing engagement in controlling of pipelines in Central Asia have long-term implications on the security and business of the West. These issues seem to be more relevant for the Europe due to its geographical proximity to Russia, but it is equally important to consider them in the context of Russian-American relations that reached their bottom since the end of the Cold war.

I argue that Russian energy policy is a part of its long-term strategy of soft balancing against the United States and their allies, which characterizes the second term of Putin's presidency. This strategy includes nonmilitary tools to delay, frustrate and undermine policies considered as a threat for state security. As such, the use of the energy instead of the traditional military power is aimed to protect Russian security interests and to affect those of the United States since soft balancing is inspired by a zero-sum game logic, which remains the situation during the Cold war. Since energy is considered as a main tool for balancing, Kremlin does everything to preserve its monopoly as one of the world largest supplier.

#### **Plaw, Avery**

*Value Pluralism, Identity Conflict and Genius: Isaiah Berlin and the Normative Case for Value Pluralism*

Is there a compelling normative case for value pluralism? Would we be better off in a world of irreducibly diverse and potentially tragically conflicting values? This paper identifies, examines and evaluates an argument for normative pluralism suggested in several of Isaiah Berlin's essays on the history of ideas and particularly on Russian writers – that is, that deep conflicts of identity bound up with conflicting values sometimes contribute critically to the creation of transformative works of art and philosophy. Berlin attributes such deep identity conflicts to a range of important figures from Marx to Tolstoy and argues that their great works were motivated by the need to transcend these conflicts. On his interpretations of these authors, value conflict appears to be a condition for the creation of their great works. But Berlin never linked these insights with his case for value pluralism.

This paper examines the linkage between value pluralism and genius that Berlin's work suggests, and concludes that there is a good reason that he did not explicitly advance this relationship as a normative argument in favor of pluralism, for on careful examination it reveals a paradoxical quality that undermines the sharp contrast he consistently drew between pluralism and monism (and between hedgehogs and foxes) and at least partially undermines his critique of monism.

#### **Plonowska Ziarek, Ewa**

*Dissensus, Ethics, and the Politics of Democracy*

This paper develops an idea of feminist ethics by examining the complex relations between obligation, antagonism, and embodiment. I argue that responsibility for the Other constitutes a major main blind spot in many political theories of antagonism, such as Foucault's, Deleuze's or Laclau's, while most ethical philosophies of obligation, such as Levinas's or Irigaray's, are insufficiently attentive to the political and the internal antagonism constitutive of subjective identities. If and when political philosophies engage the question of ethics, it is primarily with respect to freedom as implied, for instance, in Foucault's invention of the new modes of life or Laclau's formulation of the ethical investment of political praxis. By contrast, ethical philosophies of responsibility struggle to address the question of their significance for democratic praxis. And finally, most continental theories of antagonism and responsibility have long remained blind to the racial and sexual dimensions of embodied subjectivity. By addressing these closely intertwined questions of antagonism, obligation, sexuality and race I elaborate an ethics that articulates the difficult role of responsibility and freedom in democratic struggles against racist and sexist oppression. No longer limited to the elaboration of normative criteria transcending antagonism, ethics becomes inseparable from transformative praxis. I argue that such an ethical motivation of political praxis provides an alternative to two seemingly mutually exclusive prospects: either a politics of difference without ethical stakes or its opposite, the search for the normative criteria of justice transcending the antagonisms of race, class, sexuality, and gender.

#### **Popescu, Marina**

##### *Media Effects on the Vote for Governing Parties: The Role of Media Bias and Fluidity of the Political Context Across European Countries*

This paper reconsiders media influence in political behaviour, the probably most asked question in political communication research, in light of contradictory evidence produced by studies in the last 60 years. It proposes to explain often conflicting findings with reference to the contingency of media effects on contextual variables. As a first systematic theoretical and empirical account of the pre-conditions of media effects on citizens' political opinions, attitudes and behaviour, and building on work by Zaller, it considers one-sidedness of media messages and attitude strength as the most proximate determinants of media effects. The characteristics of political attitudes delimit the *marge de manoeuvre* that the mass media may have in influencing political opinions, attitudes and behaviour. The characteristics of the media messages (diversity vs. one sidedness) determine the degree to which there are observable media effects.

The empirical test of the contingencies of media influence on vote for governing parties in a cross-national analysis using the European Social Survey proposes a novel way of understanding and capturing media effects and their determinants with a multi-level model, in which variation cross-contexts is fully allowed, all interactions between the theoretically relevant variables were included, and selective exposure is controlled through an instrumental variable. The findings supported some important tenets of the theory: highly fluid political contexts and weaker individual level partisanship are associated with stronger media effects. However, contrary to the theory, pro-governmental bias on television turned out to be negatively associated with vote for the governing parties in more volatile contexts.

#### **Pouliot, Vincent**

##### *Power Failure: NATO, Russia and the Double Enlargement*

This paper seeks to explain how and why NATO's symbolic power over Russia has consistently declined over the post-Cold War era. Two main factors are identified. First, starting in 1994, NATO enacted a series of practices with regards to its "double enlargement" (functional and geographical) which self-defeated the new rules of the game it was simultaneously trying to impose. The exclusionary consequences for Russia contradicted the notion of indivisible security and diminished NATO's symbolic influence as Moscow's narrative of "great power-ness" resurfaced. Second, 9/11 provoked structural shifts in the field of international security which worked against NATO's symbolic domination of Russia. Most significantly, it increased the relative value of material-institutional capital compared to cultural-symbolic capital, a change that has worked in favor of Moscow. Theoretically, the paper conceptualizes symbolic power as a relation based on three variables: the relative value of types of capitals; the players' stocks of capitals; and the players' disposition to recognize (or not) the value of capitals. These three variables are schematically aggregated so as to illustrate the evolution of Russian-Atlantic power relations over the post-Cold War era.

#### **Powell, Walter (Woody) and Hwang, Hokyu**

##### *The Rationalization of Charity: The Manifestations of Professionalization in the Nonprofit Sector*

Professionalization exists in many guises. In the nonprofit sector, in which both volunteer and paid staffs engage in service delivery, a defining aspect of professionalization is the presence of paid personnel and management. As in other sectors, nonprofits rely on credentialed experts in substantive areas and, increasingly, in management to achieve their missions. The presence of professional staff is typically associated with organizations that are more hierarchical and bureaucratic. We tease out the different influences that managerial and substantive professionals have on their respective organizations. Using a random sample of 200 501(c)(3) organizations drawn from the population of the San Francisco Bay Area nonprofits, we analyze how different dimensions of professionalization are associated with formal, rationalized organizational practices, including strategic planning, use of consultants, independent financial audits, and quantitative program evaluation. The results show that the presence of paid personnel and managerial professionals is consistently and strongly associated with all four activities, while organizations headed by substantive professionals are more selective in their use of contemporary business practices.

#### **Praud, Jocelyne**

##### *Gender Parity Reforms in France and Belgium: A Comparative Perspective*

The idea of parity democracy was first launched in a seminar organized in 1989 by the Council of Europe. Three years later, fourteen high-ranking female elected officials present at the first European summit on “Women and Power” signed the “Declaration of Athens.” In this document, they identified women’s under-representation in the decision-making bodies of European member states as a “democratic deficit” and stressed that “[e]quality require[d] gender parity in the representation and administration of nations” (“Declaration of Athens” 1992, 4-5). In 1999, the French government passed a constitutional bill designed to ensure “women and men’s equal access to elected office.” Shortly thereafter, in January 2002, Belgium also modified its Constitution along the same lines.

This paper compares the circumstances that led France and Belgium to adopt such groundbreaking constitutional reforms. Following Lovenduski (2005), relevant contextual factors and actors are examined. With regards to context, since these constitutional reforms, which aim at enabling French and Belgian women to fully exercise their right of eligibility, are as historically significant as their acquisition of full political rights some sixty decades ago, the paper devotes considerable attention to French and Belgian women’s acquisition and exercise of political rights. In terms of actors, the role played by the modern French and Belgian women’s movements, political parties, and executive and legislative in the introduction and adoption of these constitutional reforms are analyzed at length as well.

#### **Purdon, Mark**

*Lament for the Kyoto Protocol: another nail in the coffin of neoliberal multilateralism?*

Where is the international climate regime heading? This paper observes that the Kyoto Protocol was negotiated in 1997, the heyday of neoliberal multilateralism. This legitimized the development of Kyoto’s so-called international flexibility mechanisms—the Clean Development Mechanism, Joint Implementation and Emissions Trading—which established an international carbon market to permit developed countries to achieve their emission reduction targets. The response of the Left to such a regime was to criticize the accounting methods used in the flexibility mechanisms as well as their impact, emphasizing the need to reduce greenhouse gas emissions at source. The response from the Right has been muted until recently, as climate change has not been taken seriously. As the issue becomes more salient however, the paper argues that we are witnessing the emergence of a neorealist climate change regime which, while dismissive of the international carbon market, tends to champion self-help, nationally-oriented technological solutions which only enter the international arena in a limited manner as voluntary international associations. This argument is supported by an analysis of trends in the international carbon market based on a data maintained by the UNEP-Risoe Centre, where it is hypothesized that national government political orientation predicts the degree of engagement with the international carbon market. Results from the international climate change regimes are placed within the context of challenges facing other neoliberal institutions, such as the IMF and World Bank. It concludes by assessing the implications of Canada’s abandonment of Kyoto for the future of multilateralism.

#### **Quinn, Joanna R.**

*Here, Not There? Theorizing About Why Traditional Mechanisms Work in Some Communities, Not Others*

In Uganda, recent studies have revealed that traditional mechanisms of conflict resolution and social reconstruction are used successfully in some communities but not others. The paper explores a number of potential reasons for this. First, sociological theory states that the nature of social institutions clearly changes over time. It is likely that the utility of traditional practices has also changed accordingly. Second, the presence of protracted civil conflict in various parts of the country has altered the manner in which people are able to live, and, consequently, to deal with conflict. Third, and related to the second, is that the scope of conflict in the present circumstance may have caused such traditions to become dislocated or modified beyond any recognizable or useful form. These modifications may have caused traditional mechanisms to become less useful or entirely obsolete. Fourth, the more than 56 ethnic societies in Uganda are stratified very differently, as either hierarchical or acephalic. It is likely that such organization has, over time, had a big role to play in whether such mechanisms are used, and how. And fifth, the homogeneity of the population could be a key factor in whether or not, and whose, “traditions” are used in a given community.

#### **Rahaman, Muhammad**

*Party Influence and Parliamentary Behavior: The Decay of Democracy in Bangladesh*

The core value of democracy is that it establishes an accountability relationship between the electorate and their representatives through the Parliament. The Parliament of Bangladesh can be said to have failed to ensure the accountability of its public representatives. In a system generally void of accountability, Bangladesh has become one of the most corrupt countries in the world, inhibiting other aspects of parliamentary democracy. This paper examines the conduct of Bangladesh’s Parliament from 2001 to 2006. The findings are based on in-depth interviews conducted with officials of the Parliament’s Secretariat, parliamentarians, relevant experts, and elites. Interviews confirmed corruption to be anathema to the functioning of parliamentary democracy. This paper also examined parliamentary proceedings and reports of parliamentary committees. These reports reveal that Parliament systematically failed to appropriately deal with corruption involving high-level politicians. Moreover, approving one hundred percent of cabinet bills, Parliament has become a rubber stamp of the cabinet, a result of the strong party influence over parliamentarians. Article 70 of the Bangladesh Constitution places parliamentarians under all pervasive party control. They can neither go against party decision nor vote independent of the party. Rather than represent the constituency, the parliamentarian acts on behalf of the party. This paper argues that the “party whip” inhibits the maintenance of proper parliamentary democracy and suggests that parties must allow members to engage in free criticism of governmental policies and to vote accordingly. Otherwise, Parliament will remain nothing more than a false symbol of democracy masking an autocracy.

### Ramirez, Juliana

#### *Rethinking the Link between Civil Society and Civil War*

Is a strong civil society capable of reducing violence in an ongoing civil war? If so, how is this possible? Democratic peace theorists and literature on conflict resolution sees a vibrant civil society as an alternative to violence and an instrument to promote peace. However, it is not clear how civil society is able to bring about a transformation of the levels of violence in an unsettled violent conflict. Recent studies on civil wars look at the dynamics of violence and identify factors that can account for different forms of violence, but they tend to ignore the role played by other parties that do not engage in warfare. This paper presents a comparative analysis between two regions in Colombia to better understand the precise link between civil society and civil war at the local level. The findings suggest that when the territory is being contested by two or more illegal armed groups, it is not possible for civil society to bring about a transformation of the levels of violence.

### Randall, Stephen J.

#### *State Actors, Self-Defense Organizations and Human Rights: The Case of Mapiripan, Colombia, since 1997*

In July 1997 the Llanos region of Colombia experienced one of its most serious massacres of campesino civilians when they were killed by paramilitary groups associated with Carlos Castano's Auto-Defensas Unidas de Colombia and the less well known Victor Carranza. Carranza was Colombia's leading emerald trader, but he was also heavily involved in financing narcotics traffic and in large scale land acquisitions. The Mapiripan case was significant for a range of reasons. The Meta region of Colombia had until the late 1990s been dominated by FARC, and paramilitary operations against both FARC and the ELN had concentrated in the Medio Magdalena, Norte de Santander and the Uraba region closer to the Panamanian border. The Mapiripan killings represented a significant shift of paramilitary resources into the Llanos to confront the guerrillas and in the process terrorize the local population and gain control over other lucrative narcotics transportation routes. This case is also important because Government of Colombia investigators soon revealed state security force complicity in the killings, and various dimensions of the case continued to work their way well into the twenty-first century, involving not only Colombian civilian and military justice systems but also the Inter-American Court of Human Rights and United States officials.

This paper is based on previously unused and unpublished materials housed in the National Security Archive in Washington DC as well as on interviews with officials with knowledge of the case.

### Raney, Tracey

#### *National Identity in Canada and the U.S.: Comparing Mass Attitudinal Differences and Similarities*

Political cultural analyses in Canada rely heavily on comparisons between Canada and the United States, yet there remains little consensus on the extent to which Canadian values outside of Québec are the same as, or different from, American ones. This debate plays an especially important role in discussions of Canadian nationalism, most of which suggest that Canadian nationalism is distinct from American nationalism because it is weaker and less well-defined. Drawing on data from the International Social Science Program National Identity I (1995) and II (2003) surveys, this paper compares Canadian and American nationalist attitudes between 1995 and 2003 at the mass level. Evidence is marshalled which suggests that while there are differences in nationalist orientations between the two countries, some of these differences appear to be diminishing over time. In light of this evidence, I argue that the narrative of Canadian nationalism as distinct from American nationalism due to its weakness belies the complex and changing nature of Canadian national identity. While the emphasis on "Canada as distinct from the U.S." used by Canadian nationalists serves the strategic purpose of fomenting a clear Canadian "in-group" distinct from the "out-group", the United States, this position has resulted in a glossing over of the ways in which Canadian nationalism is becoming more relevant to its citizens, even when the yardstick of comparison used is American nationalism.

### Ranger, Jean-Philippe

#### *A Reply to Cicero on Epicurean Justice*

This paper argues that Cicero misconstrues Epicurus' theory of contractual justice when he adapts Plato's Gyges myth (Pl. Rep. II 359b-ff) to criticize it: he presupposes that Epicurus' contractual form of justice rests on a theory of human nature similar to the one described by Plato in Rep. I and II. I establish this thesis in three steps. First, I summarize the account and criticism of Epicurean justice in De finibus I-II and show that according to Cicero, a consistent Epicurean is forced to admit that the appearance of justice is more advantageous than real justice. Second, I argue that this objection to contractual justice can be traced back to Plato's criticisms in books I-II of the Republic, more specifically to the Gyges myth: if injustice is not a bad in itself, what happens when someone is able to escape punishment? However, I show in the third and final section of this paper that Cicero's criticism does not account for the Epicurean theory of human nature, which is radically different than the account argued against in Plato's Rep. I-II: contrary to Thrasymachus and his followers, Epicurus does not claim that the good comes from an accumulation of power, wealth and honor; rather it comes from a limitation of desires and self-sufficiency.

### Rankin, L. Pauline

#### *The New 'Parliament of Women'?: Assessing the Role of FAFIA in Contemporary Feminist Organizing in Canada*

In recent years, the focal point for feminist activism in Canada increasingly centres around FAFIA, the Canadian Feminist Alliance for International Action (FAFIA). Since its emergence, this coalition of over 75 women's equality-seeking and related organizations has sought to further women's equality in Canada through domestic implementation of Canada's international human rights commitments. Despite its original targeting of the international level as its primary mandate, FAFIA'S growing profile in domestic politics now renders it a key vehicle for Canada-wide feminist mobilization. This paper

traces the institutionalization of FAFIA and offers an assessment of its strategic practice to date. Using a comparative approach that considers various elements of FAFIA's development against that of the National Action Committee on the Status of Women, the paper assesses the extent to which FAFIA fulfills NAC's previous role of a "Parliament of Women" (Vickers, Rankin and Appelle 1993) and evaluates the potential for FAFIA to sustain its viability in a period marked by a de-mobilization of institutionalized feminist organizations (Staggenborg and Taylor 2005).

**Rayner, Jeremy and Beaudry-Mellor, Tina**

*Hope and Fear Revisited. Did the provincial election of 2007 mark the transition to a stable two party system in Saskatchewan?*

The Saskatchewan provincial election of 2007 was billed as a major realignment in Saskatchewan politics, analogous to Ross Thatcher's defeat of Woodrow Lloyd's CCF government in 1964 or Grant Devine's victory in 1982. The Saskatchewan Party, built out of the ruins of Devine's discredited PCs and less than 10 years old, entered the campaign with a commanding lead in the public opinion polls, a lead which it kept throughout the campaign. The final result, however, while propelling the Saskatchewan Party into power with a clear majority, nonetheless leaves many questions unanswered. The NDP's defeat after 16 years in power was by no means a crushing one on the scale of 1982. While some rebuilding is necessary, a wholesale transformation of the party seems unlikely. The Liberal Party, on the other hand, was shut out for the second straight election marking the end of a fluid period in Saskatchewan politics that included a coalition government. This paper examines the claim that Saskatchewan is about to settle down into a stable two party system with alternating Saskatchewan Party and NDP governments and considers the prospects for both the major parties

**Rayner, Jeremy and Zittoun, Philippe**

*Policy by Design: The elusive link between problems and solutions in policy analysis.*

The Anglo-American literature on the connection between problem definition and policy design remains dominated by the debate between rationalism and voluntarism. In the former tradition, associated with the work of Charles Jones and Herbert Simon, "politics" impedes the exercise of rational analysis (usually understood as the pursuit of efficiency) and explains the use of various kinds of heuristics that act as second-best substitutes for a full analysis of problems and solutions. In the voluntarist tradition, exemplified by Kingdon, problems and solutions attach themselves to each other randomly or through the efforts of policy entrepreneurs who match up problems and solutions in the light of current political possibilities without regard to the assessment of better or worse policy designs. This paper assesses the parallel exploration of this problem in European traditions of policy analysis (e.g. Jobert, Hajer), where the connection between problems and solutions is seen as taking place in policy discourses. The challenge for discursive approaches is to explain exactly how connections are made. Using examples from a variety of case studies in urban, transportation and environmental policy, the authors appeal to Latour's concept of translation to explain how both agents and ideas are transformed in course of attaching policies to problems. The work of translation is much more clearly evident where new connections are being forged, the contexts usually found in Kingdon's examples, than where the links have become deeply embedded, taking the form of policy legacies with connections that appear inevitable.

**Rayside, David**

*The Horns of a Permanent Dilemma: The Strategic Challenges Faced by Canada's Partisan Right Over the Public Recognition of Sexual Diversity*

The high profile acquired by debates over the public recognition of sexual diversity in Canada have exposed tension between and within parties on the right that will not easily disappear. Even in the United States, morally and economically conservative constituencies often pull the Republican Party in contrasting directions, but the tensions within the present-day Conservative Party of Canada are more severe, and more typical of right parties in other western industrialized countries. This is especially obvious on issues such as lesbian/gay marriage, in part because of shifts of public opinion towards more inclusive attitudes. However, at the core of the dilemma for the right are ideological contradictions between moral conservatism and neo-liberalism.

**Reich, Rob**

*Toward a Political Theory of Philanthropy*

The practice of philanthropy and charity is as old as humanity. People have been giving away their money, property, and time to others for millennia. What's novel about the contemporary practice is the availability of tax incentives to give money away. The charitable contributions deduction in the United States is less than one hundred years old, created by the U.S. Congress in 1917 shortly after the institution of a system of federal income taxation in 1913. Contemporary practice, in which philanthropy is structured by a regulatory framework of incentives, is not the norm but the historical anomaly. Previously, the state protected the liberty of people to make donations of money and property but did not provide incentives for doing so. A natural question arises: why do we have such incentives and what is their justification in a liberal democracy?

This essay lays out and assesses three possible justifications for the existence of the charitable contributions deduction. The first justification is that the deduction is necessary in order to account for the proper base of taxable income; the deduction, in other words, is no subsidy at all. The second justification is that the deduction efficiently stimulates the production of public goods and services that would otherwise be undersupplied by the state. The third justification links the incentive to the desirable effort to support a pluralistic civil society in a flourishing democracy. I argue that only a version of this third argument stands up to scrutiny.

### Reilly, Katherine

#### *The Central American Left at a Cross-Road*

Works on the “new left” in Latin America lack careful analysis of processes that have gripped the Central American left since the millennium. *La nueva izquierda en America Latina* by Garavito, Barrett and Chavez (2005) excludes Central American country cases while *Latin American Social Movements: Globalization, Democratization and Transnational Networks* edited by Johnston and Almeida (2006) focuses on national level social movement responses to neoliberalism. This paper will argue that the left is at a difficult cross-road in Central America. Its broadest expression has come together regularly in regional networks and forum spaces since 2001. In spaces such as the Mesoamerican People’s Forum, actors debate foundational issues and strategize against regional policy initiatives (such as the Central American Free Trade Agreement (CAFTA). But while the governments of the region have pursued very similar economic policies, the left has found it difficult to form an effective response, and is, in many ways, more fractured than ever. In particular, the re-emergence of more radical social movement actors has challenged the position of ‘middle-of-the road’ civil society organizations.

The paper will explore the balance of regional, national and local factors which serve to explain the condition of the left in Central America, taking into account the unique position of Central America vis-a-vis Mexico and the United States, its unfortunately strategic position as an export processing zone (Robinson 2003), and its comparatively late and difficult adoption of democracy (Smith 2005). In doing this, the paper will also engage in the interesting challenge of untangling explanatory variables at the national and regional levels.

### Reny, Marie-Eve

#### *Explaining Variance in Patterns of State Reaction to Religious and Land-Related Protests in Contemporary China*

Chinese civil society has considerably expanded since the 1990s. This growth was notably manifested by the rise of localized social movements, protests, and more generally, the increasing variety of claims upon which Chinese citizens have mobilized. Chinese government sources claim that more than 87,000 protests occurred across the country in 2005. While unofficial sources state that these numbers slightly decreased in 2006, the number of collective protests in 2007 would have been higher than in 2005. Patterns of public and collective claim-making in China take three forms: formal legal, non-formal non-violent, and non-formal violent. The paper explores the former two. Despite citizens’ common use of informal channels to resolve local disputes, more and more choose to use the legal system to voice their demands. The paper explores patterns of state reaction to collective petitioning, and more specifically, the reasons why state authorities tend to better accommodate some demands at the expense of others. Factors which trigger accommodation, status quo or the application of sanctions by central and local authorities, differ. I argue on the one hand that the central government’s reaction to collective petitioning depends upon: 1) the extent to which claims articulated in petitions are in harmony with the central government’s top political and economic priorities, notably its campaign against corruption and its economic development objectives; 2) calculations about whether or not accommodating petitioners’ claims could potentially destabilize Chinese society and the political establishment. On the other hand, local authorities’ reaction to collective petitioning is influenced by petitioners’ bargaining tactics in dealing with local authorities, and whether or not petitioning is accompanied by disruptive mobilization.

### Richter, Andrew

#### *A Defence Renaissance? Canada and the Politics of Military Modernization*

According to numerous analysts and observers, Canada’s military has been under-funded and under-equipped for many years. However, beginning in 2004 under the former Liberal government of Paul Martin, and continuing under the current Conservative government of Stephen Harper, Canada has begun to increase its defence budget and announced several major re-equipment projects. This paper will examine these developments, and determine if they represent a Canadian defence renaissance, or whether they are short-term phenomena, intended only to address the most serious gaps in capabilities. The paper will contend that while it is still too early to provide a definitive answer, factors including the Canadian public’s traditional disinterest in defence issues, the prohibitive cost of modern military equipment, and continuing domestic political uncertainty all suggest that the increase in spending is likely to be short-lived. If so, the modernization program will almost certainly run out of funding before several projects are completed, with the result that Canada’s military will retain some advanced war-fighting capabilities, but will also field forces primarily geared to low-intensity combat and peacekeeping. The paper will examine the military and political implications of this future force, both in terms of Canada’s defence alliance with the US and membership in NATO, and what Canada’s recent defence experience may tell us about other Western countries.

### Robb, Katie

#### *Are Minority Governments More Efficient Than Majority Ones? Ontario: 1975-2007*

Are minority governments more effective than majority ones in Ontario? This paper measures public bills tabled and passed in the Ontario provincial parliament as a measure of government efficiency. For purposes of this analysis, ‘efficiency’ is considered to be the ratio of legislative output, or amount of legislation passed, to the input of all public bills tabled. The period in question includes nine government terms grouped by regnal years beginning in 1975 with Bill Davis’ Progressive Conservative minority term, and ending with the last session before the 2007 dissolution of the majority McGuinty Liberal government.

Yet, examining the legislative efficiency of minority and majority governments in Ontario cannot be considered independent of political periods characterized by political institutional arrangements and policy directions. Drawing from

research on political orders and political era in the United Kingdom, I will use these frameworks as a contextual guide for understanding the conditions that shape and affect policy making in the Ontario provincial legislature.

Finally, I will explore whether legislative efficiency in Ontario has been affected by other changes to the workings of the House. For example, changes to the standing orders, the relationship between the executive to the legislature and the democratization and changes to the composition of the Members of Provincial Parliament.

#### **Robinson, Fiona**

##### *'Sex Trafficking' and the Political Economy of Care: Rethinking the Ethics of Human Security*

Human trafficking is gaining increasing recognition as a human security issue. The trafficking of persons is usually conceptualized in one of two ways: first, through the lens of 'global organized crime'; or second, through a focus on women and sex work, where trafficking is understood as 'prostitution'. In this latter case, the terms of the debate -- including the often sensationalized and politicized moral debate -- are those already set by existing debates on the legality and morality of prostitution.

This paper will challenge both of these frameworks through an analysis of 'sex trafficking' from the perspective of the global political economy of care. In particular, it will argue that the illegal trafficking of women for sex cannot be distinguished -- analytically or normatively -- from the broader global trend towards the organized export of women, most notably as domestic servants. Using the feminist ethics of care as a normative framework, this paper will argue that these trends can be traced to the feminization and racialization of the values of care and carework. It will be shown that the denigration of care is related not only to the dominance of norms of economic self-sufficiency which underwrite contemporary neo-liberal globalization, but also to the social, political and cultural legitimation of hegemonic masculinity, which sanctions male aggression towards women and the 'abusive neglect' of caring responsibilities. Finally, the paper will argue that a fundamental rethinking of the ethics of human security -- beyond the dominant gender-neutral, rights-based ethics -- is required in order to understand fully the gendered security implications of 'sex trafficking'.

#### **Rojas, Cristina**

##### *Social Revolutions Without Social Emancipation in Latin America*

In Latin America social revolutions and the struggle for recognition of rights have a long history. Notwithstanding social revolutions are not guarantee of social emancipation. The situation of social and civil rights in the region is precarious. Poverty, inequality and violence are even greater for indigenous, Afro-descended groups and women.

Rather than emancipation, social reforms bring back the violence and repression instrumental in the conversion to citizenship of those populations declared not ready for citizenship (Chakrabarty, Hindess, Mignolo, Rivera Cusicanqui). At the core of the argument is that liberal notions of citizenship denied the equality to women, Indians and afro-descendants which are asked to adopt dominant thinking and culture in order to become citizens. Using governmentality, de-colonial and gender perspectives this paper examines the tensions and possibilities in the search for an emancipatory social citizenship by marginalized populations in Latin America. The paper explores alternative narratives and strategies able to 'reinvent emancipation out of the wrecked emancipatory promises of modernity', as Boaventura Santos stated.

#### **Ross, George**

##### *European Lefts and the Puzzles of European Integration*

European integration has never been a project of political lefts, who have most often seen national arenas as preferred spaces for political action. In recent years, however, the European Union, using market opening and monetary prerogatives, has dramatically impinged on these national arenas, constraining the policy choices for all partisan actors. These constraints have placed European Lefts at particular disadvantages, however. This paper explores why, finding the reasons less in any "capitalist plot" but rather in collective action difficulties due to historically structured national differences among Lefts combined with specific disabilities created by the EU' unique institutional arrangements.

#### **Rouillard, Christian**

##### *The Public Service Modernization Act: towards a postmodern reconfiguration of governmentality in Canada?*

Administrative reforms have been numerous over the last 20 years or so in the Canadian federal public sector, going from Public Service 2000 (1989), to the Public Service Modernisation Act (2003). Labelled as the most significant change to human resources management introduced in 35 years (CPSA, 2003b) in the Canadian federal public sector, the Public Service Modernisation Act (PSMA) represents a major innovation, both in style (an act rather than a management framework) and in substance: the PSMA proposes a reconfiguration to a number of federal governance framework elements, namely labour relations, financial administration, and public service employment.

By using the normativity-governmentality dynamic as a heuristic model, this analysis of the PSMA will lead to a better understanding of the effects of the transformation of norms on the modes of interactions and relations of power between actors, institutions and social groups in the Canadian public service context. It will also question the way in which transformations in normativity change the conditions of governmentality in Canada, including the deletion of the division of the public and private spheres. In this regard, this communication will make use of critical management studies (Alvesson and Willmott, 2003), of Foucault's (1991) work on governmentality, and of Freitag's (2002) work on postmodernism. The methodological approach will be: 1. Textual analysis of the primary sources (PSMA and other related documents), notably (but not exclusively) with NVivo7; 2. Semi-structured interviews with key political and administrative actors.

#### **Roussel, Stéphane**

##### *Things Better Left Unsaid? National Unity and Canadian Foreign Policy*

Since the Mackenzie King era, national unity has been perceived as a priority in Canadian Foreign Policy. Significantly, however, while French-speaking academics address the question of national unity openly and regularly (even if sometimes implicitly), their English-speaking counterparts are generally silent about this question, with contributions by observers such as Granatstein (2004 and 2006), Nossal (1997), or Waite (1983) standing as the exceptions that prove the rule. Hence, the 'debate' over an issue regularly cast as a priority in both the study and practice of Canadian foreign policy is essentially a French-Canadian monologue. First, this paper offers an overview of the national unity 'debate' in Canadian foreign policy to expose that imbalance. It identifies silences in the English literature, such as the lack of clear and open political agenda to address national unity concerns, and explores the meanings of, and reasons for, these silences. For example, is it possible to understand this as something akin to self-censorship by English-Canadian scholars? Is there a perceived danger of according legitimacy to something that some would rather dismiss? Is the topic perceived as so risky that it cannot be addressed without great cautiousness and reserve, perhaps as an outsider who does not want to interfere in a family quarrel? Finally, the text describes some potential consequences and implications of the national unity monologue, not the least of which is the potential of reducing the 'debate' to a litany of clichés and creating misunderstandings that fuel the tensions over national unity. The 2006 debate over "Quebeckistan" is used here as an example of that phenomenon.

#### Roy, Jason

##### *Information Heterogeneity, Complexity and the Vote Calculus*

This paper uses data from the Australian, British, Canadian, New Zealand, and U.S. election studies (21 studies in total) to examine the effect of political information on the vote calculus. In doing so, two core questions are addressed. First, do differences in political information affect how an individual arrives at his or her vote choice? The expectation is that there will be a positive relationship between information level and the number of factors considered in the vote calculus. Secondly, this study tests the 'complexity thesis' that contends that inter and intra country variation in electoral context complexity, for example changes in political party leadership or the number of competitive parties, will be positively correlated with the magnitude of information effects in the decision process.

#### Ruckert, Arne

##### *The Multilateral Debt Relief Initiative (MDRI): Inclusive Neoliberalism and Accumulation by Subsidization*

The Multilateral Debt Relief Initiative (MDRI) represents the latest response by the international financial institutions (IFIs) to address the unsustainable debt situation of heavily indebted developing countries. The MDRI was launched by the IFIs in 2005, with the stated goal of eliminating 100 per cent of the eligible debt from three multilateral institutions - the IMF, the International Development Association (IDA) of the World Bank, and the African Development Fund (AfDF). Countries that qualify for the MDRI are expected to pursue IMF- and World Bank-supported adjustment and reform programs, and to use the additional resources freed up through debt relief for investments in the human capital of the poor. This paper argues from a neo-Gramscian perspective that the MDRI is the latest effort to lock developing countries in to a trajectory of neoliberal reforms by providing significant financial incentives. However, the MDRI also signals the emergence of a slightly modified, more inclusively oriented neoliberal development regime, and represents a clear attempt to bolster up support for increasingly contested neoliberal reform policies. While conditionalities attached to the MDRI continue to promote the commodification of all aspects of social life and the colonization of the life-world by markets, there is a new-found emphasis on social investments, evidenced by the extension of conditionalities into the sphere of social reproduction and the governance of the poor. 'Accumulation by dispossession' is increasingly complemented by 'accumulation by subsidization', transfer payments to the poor who cannot become 'normal customers' in recently privatized markets.

#### Russo, Rick

##### *Judicialization and the welfare state - A "two-level theory" of the impact of judicial activism.*

The increasing influence of judges on the shape of public policy within constitutional liberal democracies is well advertised, but not very well understood. While innovative empirical and formal research methods have significantly advanced the understanding of judicial behaviour, the evaluation of the systemic impact of the expansion of the scope of judicial review has often been less rigorous. As judges in Canada and across Europe are increasingly drawn into political conflicts with the potential to reshape core welfare state programs such as health care, the need for an effective methodological framework with which to understand the impact of their increased prominence becomes more urgent.

My research recognizes the immersion of judicial actors within the broader political environment and the possibility that the complexion of judicial activism may vary across policy areas, as well as across the particularities of different welfare state regimes. To address the consequent myriad of potentially significant variables, I advance a "two-level theory" (Goertz and Mahoney, 2005) of judicial activism adaptable to widely varying policy contexts. The first level of analysis seeks to empirically determine which configurations or "sets" (Ragin, 1987, 2000) of macro- and meso-political variables foster policy environments with relatively high levels of judicial activism. At the second level of analysis, I model how non-judicial policy-relevant actors within these distinctive configurations adapt their strategies to the shift in incentives increased judicialization represents, and whether the consequent impact on welfare state programs is likely to be progressive, regressive, or neutral over time. The result is a theory of both when judicial activism is more likely and how this activism is mediated in different policy contexts.

#### Saideman, Stephen

##### *Canada and Caveats: Complications, not Catastrophes, for the Forces in Afghanistan*

There has been much discussion of Canada bearing a heavier burden in Afghanistan than many of its NATO allies. This has shaped the public discussion and the opposition by many politicians. This paper seeks to explain first the phenomenon of Caveats, where countries restrict how their forces can be used in a multilateral effort. Then, it will address the changes in discretion that Canadian commanders in Afghanistan have faced. Third, the paper considers how to manage the caveats of other countries. Finally, the paper will explain the changes in caveats and consider the implications for the current and future missions.

#### **Sajed, Alina**

##### *Securitized Migrants and Postcolonial (In)difference: The "Arab" Between Myth and Image*

This paper will examine the ways in which Muslim identities have been securitized within and beyond the context of global anti-terrorist campaigns. In particular, I look at North African Muslim communities, within Europe, who find themselves at the intersection of various transnational links, such as those of migrant labour, postcolonial (in)difference, and political exile.

This presentation stems from my general research interest in postcoloniality in international politics. Methodologically, I pursue my investigation by using Appadurai's notion of "scapes" and later discussions on transnational politics to examine the intersections between various sites of identity production and performance: ethnoscaples, mediascaples, and ideoscaples. What does the interaction between these three dimensions of global cultural flows teach us about the peculiarities of the Euro-Maghrebian encounter? Between the conventional site of citizenship practices, and that of aesthetic and media productions, these migrant communities are assigned a fragile socio-political space, which they inhabit as potential security threats needing to be contained (the "Arab" as image), as much needed cheap labour, and as exoticized and absolute cultural difference (the "Arab" as myth).

The literature within the area of critical International Relations that addresses the topic of migration glosses over a crucial aspect in understanding the securitization of migration, namely the link between securitized identities and (post)colonial difference. More specifically, the paper will critique Roxanne Doty's analysis of anti-immigrantism in Western democracies, which attempts to deconstruct practices of statecraft that police migrants and migration flows without considering the postcolonial context within which such practices are enacted.

#### **Salée, Daniel and Lévesque, Carole**

##### *Indigenous Peoples Between Structure and Agency: Quebec's Cree Nation, the State and the Political Economy of Land Claims and Natural Resources Management*

There is a fairly well entrenched propensity in the specialized literature on indigenous land claims and self-government to emphasize the overwhelming power of the state and the irreversible social impact of market imperatives. A number of analyses of recent territorial and self-government agreements invariably minimize gains made by the Aboriginal communities who negotiated these agreements to insist instead on processes of cooptation and continued dynamics of colonization and dispossession spearheaded by the state. While there is no denying the depth of the structures and patterns of domination that have historically put Indigenous peoples at great disadvantage, politically, culturally and economically, such analyses tend to overlook the agency, the sheer political determination and tenacity, of Aboriginal communities and leaders who struggle successfully to make the best of adverse conditions and bring the state to reverse its initial, strong-arm stance. Based on an analysis of the institutional practices developed in the area of natural resources management (forest and water) following key territorial and self-government agreements between the Quebec state and the Cree nation (Eyou Eenou) over the past 30 years, this paper seeks to develop an analytical middle ground between structure and agency to account for the nature state-Indigenous peoples relations in Canada. It will contend that empirical evidence in the case of Eyou Eenou call for a more nuanced analysis, which, without playing down the power of the state and the role of structural determinants, puts in proper perspective Indigenous peoples' resistance to state power and control over their political destiny.

#### **Sampert, Shannon**

##### *Talk Radio/Shock Radio: Canada's Radio Environment*

Little has been written about the state of radio in Canada, particularly private radio, and radio has hardly been a topic of investigation by political scientists. Yet for many Canadians, radio remains a major source for information, particularly in rural and northern regions. This paper analyzes the technological and regulatory changes that have influenced how radio conducts its business over the airwaves. The convergence of information with entertainment along with the creation of multi-media platform companies has both increased the diversity of the information made available on radio while limiting the amount of time and resources spent on news. Additionally, the rise of shock jocks and talk radio formats with their ideological agendas has significantly altered the tone of information that Canadians access. This has placed increased pressure on the regulatory agencies to police radio broadcasting while maintaining freedom of speech. So far the current model seems to be holding; however, it is becoming increasingly clear that it is the market and not the regulators which acts as the final arbiter of what is acceptable on the air.

#### **Sampert, Shannon and Gingras, Anne-Marie**

##### *All Things Gomery: The Use of the Moral Frame in English and French Language Newspaper Coverage of the Sponsorship Scandal*

There are few incidents in Canadian political history that can compare to the two-year saga of the Gomery Inquiry. The Commission was formed under the guidance of Superior Court of Quebec Justice John Gomery at the behest of Prime Minister Paul Martin. Its mandate was to investigate the mismanagement of public funds in the Commission of Inquiry in

the Sponsorship Program and Advertising Activities. What observers of politics in Canada should be cognizant of, is the incredible political interest showed by ordinary Quebecers toward an issue that was at first glance seen to the wrongdoings of select and elite political actors which evolved into a major political scandal. This paper will analyze the differences in the coverage of the Gomery inquiry in English and French language newspapers. More specifically, it compares the employment of the "moral" frame in the *Globe and Mail*, the *National Post*, *Le Devoir* and *La Presse*. Newspaper coverage in all four papers vacillated between a strategic frame, which created a false dichotomy of winners and losers and a moral frame, which spelled out the ethical failings of the players involved. There were differences however in the degree to which English and French language papers framed the scandal as a moral issue and there were clear differences in the level of attention given to the inquiry in all four papers, arguably speaking to the differences between the political cultures of Quebec and the rest of Canada.

#### **Sanders, Rebecca**

##### *Norms of Exception? Intelligence Agencies, Human Rights, and the Rule of Law*

Scholars have expressed a growing interest in theories of states of exception and the relationship between law and emergency. Such concerns are evidenced philosophically by the Carl Schmitt revival among political theorists and more concretely in the raging debates among both academic and policy circles regarding the legitimacy of the post 9/11 move by democracies to enact security measures which challenge both domestic constitutional and international legal human rights norms, such as the creation of the Guantánamo Bay prison camp, the practice of extraordinary rendition, and the use of torture in interrogations. Whether considered justified or not, these measures are usually conceptualized as belonging to a temporal condition associated with war time emergency. Yet intelligence agencies, which have taken a lead role in the "war on terror", have consistently operated at the margins of the law. My paper aims, through a comparative examination of American and British intelligence in both the pre and post 9/11 period, to explore the extent to which covert and clandestine state security practices have ever been governed by a substantive conception of the rule of law and human rights. By mapping how states have regulated their intelligence agencies along a continuum from such a substantive conception, to more positivistic notions of rule by law, to a lack of legal control or legal black holes, I will ask how exceptional the current state of exception really is and to what extent norms of exception are built into ordinary state security practice. Both scenarios pose troubling challenges, but the distinction I will suggest has important implications for how international human rights activists frame their advocacy.

#### **Sauger, Nicolas, Blais, André and Labbé St-Vincent, Simon**

##### *A Voting Experiment*

The paper will present the results of 10 experiments conducted in Lille, Montreal and Paris in which eight elections were held successively, four one round and four two rounds. Participants vote for one of five candidates located at distinct points on a left-right axis. We compare voter behaviour in the two sets of elections and determine whether strategic voting is more frequent in one round than in two round elections.

#### **Saunders, Kelly and Thibault, Joanne**

##### *Whistleblowing in Canada: A New Framework of Analysis*

While the United States has had a legislative framework in place to protect whistleblowers in the federal public service for almost 20 years, Canada has been slower off the mark in this regard. It was only in 2004, in the wake of several high profile scandals involving federal civil servants, that Canada first implemented its Public Servants Disclosure Protection Act. Despite this new legislative framework, however, disclosure within the public service still remains very much in the formative stages in Canada. Little has been done to fully bring this legislation to life, and to re-frame the disclosure of wrongdoing in public organizations from an ethical violation to an ethical benefit. As we shall argue, there still remains a fundamental disconnect between the intent of this legislation and the culture of the public sector environment, whereby disclosure still tends to be viewed negatively; as an act of moral disgrace and disloyalty. In order to make this legislation more meaningful we maintain that a new framework of analysis is needed, that would both modernize our views of disclosure and shift the focus from the individual whistleblower to the organization as a whole. The Emergency Management (EM) model, based on the steps of mitigation, preparedness, response and recovery, offers promise in this regard. Within the EM framework disclosure of potentially damaging situations is viewed positively, as an act of heroism and public benefit. At the same time, the EM approach, designed to help policymakers deal with intense, emotional and uncertain situations, not only normalizes these kinds of events, but assists organizations in learning how to better prevent, plan, prepare and recover from them as a whole.

#### **Saurette, Paul and Gunster, Shane**

##### *Individualist Populism and Contemporary Canadian Conservatism*

This paper seeks to examine the philosophical character of contemporary Canadian conservatism. It will argue that over the last twenty years, we have seen the development of a relatively distinct form of conservative philosophy in both more formally political contexts (e.g. party politics) as well as a wider cultural context (e.g. in academics, think tanks, print columnists, talk radio, blogging, etc) that has been under-theorized by Canadian political science. Specifically, we want to argue that a wide-ranging and inter-disciplinary analysis of popular conservative discourse in Canada reveals the growing and generalized presence of a philosophical/ideological perspective we are calling individualist populism. As such, this paper seeks to do three things: (i) to outline the broad philosophical parameters of individualist populism by analyzing a variety of political and cultural conservative discourse in Canada; (ii) to identify some of the ways in which the philosophy and discourse of individualist populism builds on, but also departs from, previous models of conservatism in

Canada (including traditional 'Tory' conservatism as well as the more populist variants of the Reform Party and Mike Harris' common sense revolution); and (iii) to reflect on how this form of populism is related to broader cultural beliefs/practices about the role and importance of the market as a model for all social and political interaction.

**Schmidtke, Oliver, Kovacev, Mirko and Bagelman, Jen**

*Including and Excluding Highly Skilled Immigrants in the Labour Market: A Canadian-European Comparison*

From a comparative perspective this paper examines the role and effects that symbolic inclusion and exclusion have on the integration of highly qualified immigrants into the labour market. Normally forms of symbolic exclusion and discrimination are conceptualized as a residual category in explanations of immigrants' underachievement in the labour market. Based on the data from a current international research project ('Cultural Capital in Migration' funded by the German Volkswagen Foundation) this paper will investigate the symbolic dimension of social integration by evaluating narrative interviews with immigrants in three countries and relating them systematically to the respective national legal-political context. Symbolic exclusion and inclusion then help to determine how successful migrants are in integrating into a host society's labour market and utilize their skills. This has policy implications for governments as in particular the effects of symbolic exclusion have to be addressed for a country to be able to reap the full benefits from highly qualified immigrants' skills. Examining the role of symbolic inclusion and exclusion in the British, Canadian and the German labour markets, this paper argues that despite differences in the legal-political contexts, symbolic inclusion and exclusion affects the integration of highly skilled immigrants similarly in each of the labour markets. Nevertheless, subtle differences between the three labour markets can be found.

**Schneider, Steffen and Abedi, Amir**

*The Only Game in Town? Examining the Reasons behind the Success and Failure of Dominant Parties*

Which factors influence the rise and fall of dominant party regimes? The literature has put forward a large number of pertinent hypotheses. However, many of them prove ambiguous or contradictory upon further inspection, and moreover, they tend to be formulated and tested in case-study or small-N comparative work. Hence there is little conclusive evidence on the actual role played by the suggested explanatory variables.

This paper uses an original dataset comprising several hundred post-war electoral outcomes and government episodes in 16 established parliamentary democracies to explain the prevalence of single-party dominance. We first show that a long hold on governmental power and a party's success in achieving and defending a highly favorable bargaining position are indeed elements of a 'syndrome' of dominance. In the next step, we identify a range of factors that may be expected to have an impact on the duration and hazard rates of government episodes. Their relative weight is gauged with the help of event historical models, and QCA is used to further explore the role of 'multiple conjunctural causation' in the emergence of single-party dominance.

We find that its greater or lesser prevalence in different countries and 'families of nations' is linked to the characteristics of individual parties, on the one hand, and to the opportunity structures provided by their environment, on the other. However, dominant party regimes may develop and unravel under a range of circumstances, and hence no individually necessary or sufficient preconditions for their rise or fall seem to exist.

**Scholtz, Christa**

*Aboriginal People and the Charlottetown Accord: A Preliminary Analysis of Voting Returns*

Why did Canada's Inuit leadership and electorate support the 1992 Charlottetown Accord and Canada's reserve-based First Nations leadership and communities did not? How did the Inuit political leadership manage its internal divisions over the Charlottetown Accord constitutional proposals, develop a consensus over its terms, and then manage to deliver the Inuit electorate to the "yes" side? What then explains the Assembly of First Nations' difficulties in gathering a minimum coalition of its own communities in support of the Accord, especially when National Chief Ovide Mercredi was one of its architects? The elite leadership across First Nations in Canada remained fragmented. As future constitutional change in Canada will almost certainly involve aboriginal communities, understanding their internal debates and political processes during the 1992 constitutional process is critically important.

This paper sets out a preliminary analysis of available data to begin unraveling aboriginal responses to the Accord. The first task is to document actual levels of aboriginal support for the Accord by isolating voting results for aboriginal communities in Canada using Elections Canada and Elections Quebec data at the polling division level. This analysis establishes any variations or trends in support across communities and regions. The study then sets out a preliminary explanatory analysis of these trends using community level demographic and economic data pulled from Statistics Canada sources. This work aims to isolate important statistical trends, while identifying limitations in the data that must be followed up using qualitative methodologies.

**Schroeder, Michael**

*Rethinking Neutrality: Mediation by the UN Secretariat and The Enforcement of Territorial Integrity Norm*

To what extent are United Nations envoys tasked to mediate in civil wars pre-committed to particular provisions in a peace agreement? And if they are biased towards certain solutions and against others, what are the effects of this bias on the prospects of success? I argue that in many cases, the end of the Cold War did not change the inclination of UN peacemakers to uphold the territorial integrity norm by privileging the claims of existing states over claims to statehood by secessionist groups. Consequently, we should be skeptical about the conventional assumption of UN neutrality. Although Secretariat officials treat neutrality and impartiality as "bedrock principles," this view is predicated on an oversimplified definition of bias limited to asymmetries across mediator relations with the disputants. I theorize an

additional norm enforcement bias based on the UN Secretariat's bias towards terms of agreement that affirm what the organization perceives to be universal norms. Subsequently, this paper uses the possibility that UN mediators may vary along the neutral-biased continuum to assess whether a pre-commitment to certain terms of agreement changes the mediator's strategy and, ultimately, the outcome. I argue that bias may increase the probability of getting an agreement even as it reduces the prospects for implementation. To this end, three cases of UN mediation in civil wars since 1989 are compared: Bosnia-Herzegovina (1992-1995), Western Sahara (1997-2004) and Cyprus (1999-2004).

### Seymour, Lee

#### *Self-Determination as Hierarchy: Sovereignty, Legitimacy and Authority in Secessionist Conflicts*

Separatist conflicts are a forcing house of institutional innovation, frequently resulting in arrangements that deviate from conventional practices and understandings of legitimate statehood. Yet the polities that have emerged from recent conflicts of self-determination have not received much attention in International Relations, nor have they been systematically compared. This article proposes a way of thinking about the relation between sovereignty and self-determination in terms of variable empirical (de facto) and juridical (de jure) authority relations, or what I term "self-determination as hierarchy". The conceptual shift allows the systematic comparison of the different polities through which self-determination is exercised (or denied) in contemporary world politics. Attention to these arrangements indicates that legitimate authority in the international system is much more diffuse than the distribution of juridical statehood suggests, with important hierarchies existing within and across the borders of sovereign states. Examining the outcomes of separatist conflict in terms of unbundled authority relations also reveals the sorts of innovative compromises that contain or resolve protracted conflicts and points to instabilities inherent in many conflict settlements.

### Seymour, Lee

#### *Pathways to Secession: Post-Socialist Separatist Trajectories*

What explains the different institutional effects of separatist conflict in the former Soviet Union and Yugoslavia? The article compares the institutional outcomes of three secessionist bids - Nagorno-Karabakh, Chechnya, and Kosovo - against the larger backdrop of post-socialist separatist conflict. I focus on the way resources shape the relative capabilities and interests of separatist groups, and thus their strategic choices around the pursuit of self-determination. I argue that coercion and legitimacy are the most salient resources for the two tasks separatists must simultaneously accomplish, namely, extending their autonomous authority over the territory and population they claim, and constituting this authority as a legal status through the recognition of other authorities. Understanding the distribution of the means of coercion and legitimation in a conflict thus provides insights into separatist strategies. In particular, I argue that a separatist group's resource endowment affect both the probability that they will settle for autonomy or fight for independence, and the likely institutional effects of their choices. I highlight three processes as fundamental to understanding the resources available to separatists in post-socialist secessionist bids - regime collapse, secessionist warfare, and externalization - identifying causal mechanisms in each that shape the trajectories of secession through their impact on the distribution of coercion and legitimacy.

### Shanks, Torrey

#### *Political Membership, Contingency and Rationality in the Thought of John Locke*

John Locke's conception of political membership depends on the idea that humans are born with the capacity for reason. Those lacking reason like Locke's famous examples of lunatics and children are exempt from the protections against absolute authority and rights of property that his theory grants all other political subjects. What happens when the rationality of an individual comes up for question? Is this a matter for majority rule, scientific induction, or an appeal to heaven?

Locke's Essay Concerning Human Understanding offers a case study just this question in the figure of the Abbot of St. Martin, a man born with features barely recognizable as human. In this paper, I will argue that Locke's early modern context is crucial to understanding this dilemma of human membership and judgment posed by one of nature's monstrous productions, as Locke puts it. I will explore the relationship between rationality, imagination and contingency that comes into play for Locke in making determinations of species. In this case, we find a more skeptical and chastened model of Lockean judgment than recent interpreters like Jeremy Waldron have claimed. Locke's response to the Abbot of St. Martin offers a more valuable engagement with radical difference - one that recognizes the contingent and provisional nature of human judgment - than the emphasis placed by Waldron and others on the Christian foundations of human reason in Locke's thought.

### Sharma, Ajay

#### *Negotiating Institutionalized Ambivalence: The Municipal Climate Change Response in Canada*

Traditionally, it has been assumed that the federal and provincial levels of government of Canada have the most important, if not the only role to play in formulating and implementing a policy framework that responds to the various impacts of global climate-change. Over the past decade, however, urban municipalities have emerged as an increasingly active participant in this multilevel policy field. Urban municipalities, to varying degrees, are now voluntarily implementing a wide range of environmental policies designed to mitigate municipal greenhouse gas emissions.

Pursuing an environmentalist policy agenda does, however, entail a high level of risk on at least two observable fronts at the municipal level in Canada. Environmental literature argues the impacts of climate change can only be mitigated through successful collective action. As there are no enforcement mechanisms to compel municipalities to pursue an

environmentalist agenda, an effective municipal response is often stymied by free-riding or inaction which, in turn, burdens proactive municipalities with a disproportionate share of the financial costs associated with policy implementation. Consequently, public choice theorists describe municipal involvement in this field as irrational. They contend that municipalities should focus primarily on fostering economic growth - an outcome that can be directly influenced.

In light of the identified risks, why do municipalities pursue a climate change agenda? What are the pivotal factors that inform this policy outcome? This paper presents preliminary findings from my dissertation research, which addresses these questions through a comparative analysis of the development of climate-change policy agendas in three Ontario municipalities.

#### **Shaw, Timothy**

##### *Development @ 50: what prospects for the South by 2020?*

The half-century of 'development' policies, agencies & studies has produced very mixed results. It has also been marked by a proliferation of both state & non-state institutions & range of increasingly interdisciplinary as well as transnational issues. This paper reflects on such 'new' factors & forces, especially emerging economies - BRICs or BRICSAM - & developmental states, small/fragile states like SIDS, political economy of conflict & R2P, 'global' civil society including myriad diasporas, Southern multinational companies, climate change & Southern analytic & policy networks, including the Kimberley Process. 'Development studies' is not the only area of research, teaching & policy which needs to take such 'inconvenient' issues into account; amongst others, business & security studies are equally in need of an upgrade. Novel networks amongst heterogeneous actors may advance revisionism to animate alternative visions by the end of the second decade of the new century.

#### **Sheldrick, Byron**

##### *Administrative Law, Governance, and Representation: Conceptualizing the role of Administrative Boards and Tribunals*

This paper will examine the role of administrative boards and tribunals within structures of governance. Building on the insights of theorists of legal pluralism, as well as a policy network approach, it will argue that we need to integrate an understanding of administrative law into conceptions of policy development. Legal institutions within the state (boards and tribunals) are important sites through which non-state and state actor interests are articulated. Moreover, to the extent that many boards and tribunals have both an adjudicative and a policy development function, these agencies become important sources through which law and policy interact. The paper will examine the weaknesses of traditional approaches to thinking about the operation of boards and tribunals, (i.e. legal and jurisprudential) and develop an alternative conception that integrates them within the context of state policy processes. The paper will then outline a research program into the future that would empirically explore this conceptualization.

#### **Shields, John and Evans, Bryan**

##### *Building a Policy-Oriented Research Partnership for Knowledge Mobilization and Knowledge Transfer: The Case of Metropolis Canada*

The aim of this paper is to examine government-university-community partnerships in the area of knowledge mobilization (KM) & knowledge transfer (KT) using the case of the Canadian Metropolis Project. The Metropolis Project in Canada began in 1995 with the goal of enhancing policy-oriented research capacity in the area of immigration and settlement and developing ways to better use this research in government decision-making. Funding for this partnership has recently been renewed for a third time. The longevity of this partnership and its recent renewal presents an opportunity to reflect critically on the nature of such partnerships. This paper is an attempt to identify some of the key themes, issues and challenges related to research partnerships, KM and KT. Also, with the aid of a case study, it aims to specify some of the possibilities and limitations of this kind of policy relevant knowledge mobilization. Special consideration will be placed on the context in which the demand for knowledge mobilization and knowledge transfer has emerged.

#### **Shlozberg, Reuven**

##### *Moral Meaning and Responsibility Between Selfhood and Otherness: From Arendt to Ricoeur (Via Some Post-Levinasians)*

Hannah Arendt's final theoretical project was an exploration of the human mental capacities we ought to employ in making moral decisions – thinking (in two different activities), judging, and willing – attaching each to a particular stage ('moment') of the moral decision. This paper is part of a larger project that extrapolates the Arendtian exploration and then critique it, by inquiring whether it successfully strikes, at each 'moment' of the moral decision, an effective balance between the competing and yet complementary demands placed on moral action and responsibility by selfhood and otherness. In this paper I focus the 'moment' of ascertaining moral meaning.

In particular, this paper starts with the post-Levinasian criticism that Arendt downplays the emotive component in the moral decision, as triggered by the suffering of the Other. I will argue that the emotive reaction to the suffering of the Other, in pointing us to think of the meaning of the act for the other, is the necessary corrective, stemming from the demands of otherhood, to the actor's own quest for meaning, stemming according to Arendt from an internal (itself felt) human need – that is, from the demands of selfhood. Neither Arendt nor her critics on this point, I will argue, manage to strike an effective balance between selfhood and otherness at this 'moment' of the moral decision. I will thus turn to inquire whether such a balance is struck by Ricoeur's approach to ascertaining moral meaning in Oneself As Another.

#### **Siaroff, Alan**

### *Seat Imbalance in Provincial Elections Since 1900: A Quantitative Explanation*

One of the realities of provincial elections in Canada is that provincial governments in general dominate their legislatures. The focus of this analysis is on the causes of these imbalanced, if not indeed lopsided, election results. Certainly, the single member plurality electoral system and its resulting disproportionality is a key part of the story here. Yet this cannot be the whole story, not least because election results are not so lopsided in every province. Thus what will be analysed in this paper are, first, two other aspects of provincial elections: the total size of the assembly and the number of individual constituencies. Very small legislatures, as in Atlantic Canada, tend to be less proportional. This problem is worse (even for larger legislatures) if there are a smaller number of actual constituencies combined with plurality voting. The second, contextual, area analysed in this paper involves provincial cleavages and political fragmentation. To what extent did/does a province have a relevant centre-periphery cleavage (in terms of dominant versus subject culture, including religious and linguistic divisions)? To what extent did/does a province have a relevant class cleavage, involving some differentiation between agricultural, industrial, and/or (public sector) service workers? Admittedly generalizing, dummy variables will be used for each of these two cleavages. Finally, to what extent is the opposition to the largest party fragmented electorally? In terms of dependent variables, I shall look at the percentage size (seat share) of the largest party, the seat bias (seat share less vote share) in favour of said largest party, and the percentage seat lead of this party over the second largest party in all provincial elections since 1900, and relate these to vote shares and the aforementioned other factors.

### **Signé, Landry**

#### *Innovation politique et stratégies de développement en Afrique de 1980 à 2005: Le Nouveau Partenariat pour le Développement de l'Afrique (NEPAD 2001)*

Entre 1980 et 2005, de nombreux modèles de stratégies de développement ont émergé en Afrique (CNUCED, 2002). Les pays africains sont passés d'un modèle proche de l'État providence en 1980 à un désengagement progressif de ce dernier dans la sphère économique. Ensuite, d'un interventionnisme limité en 1990, ils ont adopté le Nouveau Partenariat pour le Développement de l'Afrique (NEPAD) en 2001. Le NEPAD a pour objectif la bonne gouvernance démocratique et l'insertion de l'Afrique dans l'économie mondiale. Les initiateurs du NEPAD considèrent que c'est un projet endogène, une stratégie de développement d'un genre nouveau (Wade, 2002). Quelle est la portée réelle de cette initiative et au-delà, quelles sont les chances de voir ces nouvelles dynamiques renouveler l'approche du développement en Afrique ? Peut-on considérer le NEPAD comme une stratégie nouvelle ou au contraire, existe-il des sentiers suffisamment institutionnalisés dans les modèles précédents pour limiter la portée du changement proclamé? En situant l'analyse dans un cadre néo institutionnel (Pierson, 1993, 2004; Skocpol, 2003, Hall, 2003, Thelen, 2003, 2004), nous démontrons ici que l'émergence du NEPAD constitue une innovation s'expliquant par la conversion et la sédimentation. Cependant, cette innovation est limitée par la structuration des configurations institutionnelles précédentes et par les incitatifs que ces dernières offrent aux acteurs calculateurs qui adoptent des stratégies instrumentales. Ils proposent ainsi un programme correspondant aux attentes de leurs partenaires internationaux et de ce fait, susceptible d'être soutenu par ces derniers. L'analyse renouvelle donc la discussion sur le changement et la continuité institutionnelle et politique.

### **Simard, Augustin**

#### *Le salus populi dans le constitutionnalisme post-révolutionnaire de Benjamin Constant*

La contribution de Benjamin Constant à la théorie démocratique a souvent été réduite au « moment thermidorien » : une réaction à la Terreur et, partant de là, la tentative pour dessiner les contours d'une politique émancipée de la souveraineté populaire. Cette vision me paraît réductrice en ce qu'elle oblitère le rapport complexe que Constant s'efforce de nouer entre le constitutionnalisme et une conception ouverte, indéterminée, du politique. Dans le sillage des réflexions de Sieyès et Condorcet sur le pouvoir constituant, Constant a cherché une articulation qui ferait tenir ensemble la plasticité de l'ordre politique (liée au dynamisme de « l'industrie ») et l'exigence d'une constitution formelle (supérieure à la loi ordinaire). Dans le prolongement d'une recherche en cours sur la « sauvegarde de la constitution », la communication proposée interrogera cette articulation au moment précis où elle se défait : lorsque se pose le problème de l'autodissolution démocratique et du salus populi. On pense ici au coup du 18 fructidor de l'an V, par lequel le Directoire met hors-la-loi la députation anti-républicaine, et à la façon dont Constant réagira à cette purge « préventive ». D'abord fervent partisan (c.f. ses discours au Cercle constitutionnel), Benjamin Constant sera rapidement conduit à réviser son jugement, et l'on peut lier l'élaboration du concept central de « pouvoir neutre » à cette méditation post festum. Mais je voudrais surtout montrer (1) que cette réévaluation occupe une place déterminante dans la théorie constitutionnelle de Constant et (2) qu'elle est largement redevable d'une interrogation sur l'identité du « qui », i.e. du sujet dont la constitution doit assurer la sauvegarde. C'est par ce biais que la figure du peuple resurgit dans le libéralisme post-révolutionnaire, mais un peuple dont l'identité demeure latente, en perpétuel devenir.

### **Simard, Louis**

#### *Energy Governance. The Régie de l'énergie du Québec Case*

The objective of the contribution is to present the first results of a research on electricity governance and more specifically on public participation and the effects of new public policy tools in this domain in Québec. A lot of reforms are going on since the late eighties and early nineties with market's liberalization, energy savings imperatives, renewable energy developments and security issues. In the electricity field, specially hydroelectricity and wind turbines as an alternative to oil dependency, traditionally large integrated organizations were dealing with territorial monopolies to assure the quality of the service and uniform rates, the changes are more recent in comparison with others energy sources (oil and gas). To understand concretely the « new » energy governance, we think that is it useful to look beyond the official public policy objectives in the domain and to focus on how tools structure the energy policy at the implementation phase. Public

participation and deliberation (informative/communicational tools) appear more and more as an important dimension of the authorisation procedures for policy, programs and projects. The analysis will take the Régie de l'énergie du Québec as a case study and the earnings as a public policy tool and an institution (in relation with other tools) that "format" the decisions. The starting hypothesis is that tools are neither neutral nor simple techniques and contribute in the distribution of resources between stakeholders of the electricity subsystem.

**Simmons, Julie**

*What Causes Policy Convergence within Countries? Lessons from the Provincial Components of Canada's National Child Benefit*

This paper answers the call for greater engagement with the theoretical approaches of comparative public policy literature. Canadian studies have disconfirmed that provincial policies reflect a competitive "race to the bottom" (Boychuk 1998; Harrison 2006). However, we know less about whether and why, in the absence of federal standards, provincial policies converge. EU studies emphasize cultural, institutional and economic similarities as causes of cross-national policy convergence, but less is known about the conditions under which these factors actually lead to convergence, or about convergence within countries. This paper compares variations changes in the provincial components of Canada's National Child Benefit (NCB) since its 1997 inception to address this theoretical and empirical gap. It assesses the degree of convergence according to a) whether provinces "claw back" from welfare recipients the value of the federal NCB Supplement, and b) the nature of provincial NCB Initiatives. It finds some provinces reversed their initial "claw back"; and provincial Initiatives are clustering around two distinct models. Based on interviews with provincial public officials, this paper enhances the current convergence literature in two ways. First, it makes a theoretical distinction between diffusion of ideas and convergence of policies. Second, it targets the conditions under which broad influences on convergence (mentioned above) matter, considering the impact of two mechanisms: "benchmarking", where data is routinely compiled comparing the policies of jurisdictions (in this case, the unorthodox annual collective provincial and federal report on the NCB); and "elite networking" among provincial public servants, and between public servants and "policy experts".

**Simmons, Julie**

*Defending the Public Interest? Self Governance Under the Regulated Health Professions Act of Ontario*

The 1991 Regulated Health Professions Act of Ontario (RHPA) provides the framework for regulating health professions. Dramatically distinguished from its predecessor, this Act considerably expanded the number of recognized professions and struck a new bargain between the privileges of 21 self-governing regulatory colleges and obligations of the colleges to the public and to the state. When compared to the public sector more narrowly defined, health professionals remain insulated from public scrutiny. However, the Act sought to replace the (blind) trust in, and autonomy of, health professionals with a more open and accountable system shaped by contemporary norms of "good governance". This paper assesses whether the new relationship between the health professionals and the state that the Act was thought to engender, is now embedded in the activity of the colleges, or whether the traditional bargain of state trust in and autonomy of health professionals remains. It compares college compliance with specific accountability mechanisms, drawing upon the annual reports of the colleges and interviews with the college registrars. While O'Reilly (2000) examined the development of the RHPA, this paper focuses on the implementation phase, and whether it is a model other provinces might want to emulate. While there is some research on the benefits and shortcomings self-regulation in theory, this paper presents and case of self-regulation in practice. Given its attention to embedded norms, this paper will also be of interest to public policy theorists who study the impact of institutional change on ideas and interests.

**Singh, Anita**

*The 'F' Bomb – Why do Women Join Terrorist Organizations?*

Very much the 'flavor of the week,' contemporary academic literature has been flooded with discussions of terrorism, Islam and September 11. Of course, these mainstream theories have not been without criticisms, including critiques from the gender perspective in international relations. Scholars working on the preconditions for terrorist activity and recruitment identify motivations across multiple levels of analysis including psychological, sociological, religious, strategic, and internal political dynamics. Yet, little of this work addresses the important question of gender, surprisingly as close to 30 per cent of suicide terrorist attacks are precipitated by women.

The traditional literature on female terrorism rely on patriarchal explanations; that women involve themselves in terrorism as a means to avenge the deaths of their male relatives, including fathers, brothers and husbands. Other versions argue that widowed, raped, and poor women have "nothing left to lose" and therefore, suicide terrorism to restore their own and their family's honour. Others reference gender stereotypes that assume that women have 'emotional' and less rational motivations for violence.

The problems with this work is its assumption that women are apolitical and inherently motivated by personal circumstances. Yet, there is no empirical evidence to suggest that personal crises produce a disproportionately higher number of female terrorists. Therefore, in this vein, this paper examines the question of female recruitment in terrorist organizations. Why do women involve themselves in terrorist organizations? It will conclude how political and policy gaps have occurred due to a misconception of women in terrorism.

**Singh, Anita**

*Failed, Failing or On Track? Pakistan's November Emergency, its International Reverberation and Policy Options*

On November 3, 2007, Pakistan's President General Musharraf announced a state of emergency throughout his country. He argued that this step was necessary to address the "activities of extremists and incidences of terrorist attacks," while others suggested that he took the step to avert Supreme Court rulings on his own Presidency. Police raids, opposition party house-arrests and thousands of civilian arrests suggest that the latter might be more true than Musharraf initially indicated. It is no secret that Pakistan has been on the brink of failed statehood since its independence, exemplified by its half-a-dozen coups d'etat, the government's lack of control of several armed independence movements, growing extremism and Islamicization within the population, elite-level corruption and lack of democratic institutionalization. Despite all of these indicators, President Musharraf has announced national elections as early as January 2008. Whether these elections take place will be another point of discussion by the time of this paper. Pakistan's current crisis reminds us that it continues to be a state-on-the-brink and therefore, we are forced to ask the question: Is Pakistan a failing state? How do we conceptualize the border between stability and fragility within a state? What does a failed Pakistan mean for its internal stability and in turn, for the international system? Finally, this paper will ask, what are the policy options for states such as Canada when faced with a failed Pakistan?

### **Singh, Jakeet**

#### *Secularism, Violence, and the Politics of Modernity*

This paper disputes the idea of a necessary relation between religion and violence, and the related idea that religious violence should be curtailed through increasing modernization. Rather, I argue that many of the forms of religious violence we see today must be understood as thoroughly modern, and as having more to do with the violent tendencies of modern political identity—with which religion may or may not become associated—than with religion itself. In particular, I suggest that political modernity, with its focus on autonomy and sovereignty, requires the creation (or imagining) of bounded, unified identity groups, the establishment of which often requires violence. Imperialist and nationalist identities are the two most commonly violent expressions of modern political identity, both of which may, but need not, become linked to religion. I argue for a decoupling of religion and other moral traditions from these modern forms of political identity; a reclaiming of the tolerant and pluralistic strands of these traditions; and a shift from 'practices of liberation' of bounded identity groups to 'ethical practices toward the Other' rooted in diverse moral traditions. I contrast my approach, drawn from the work of Charles Taylor and William Connolly, with Habermas' recent theory of 'postsecularism', which I argue remains overly tied to the imperatives of political modernity.

### **Singh, Sabina**

#### *Democratizing Uganda: A Case That Travels*

In his book, *What is Africa's Problem?* (2000), Uganda's President Yoweri Museveni, claims that political structures inherited from Western governments are not suited to the African context. In particular, he argues that political parties are divisive in multi-ethnic, post conflict countries, exacerbate a tendency toward violating the rights of minorities once in office, and entrench ethnic differences during the interest aggregating process.

Museveni proceeded in practice to develop an alternative democratic model in Uganda that eliminated political parties and won praise for stabilizing and developing the country.

In recent times, however, Museveni has been criticized for amending the constitution to extend his term in office and for continuing to outlaw political parties. He is now consistently accused of practicing typically African dictatorial style politics. This paper evaluates theoretical views that are consistent in the literature on democratization. First, using both quantitative and qualitative data, it will look at literature on political parties in light of the claim that political parties in the African context are divisive and contribute to the volatility of already fragile states.

Second, it will evaluate development institutions and their ability to develop democratic systems that are sensitive to the particular contexts and conditions in which they are working. (Patrick Heller, 2000)

Finally, the paper will look at the accuracy of accusing President Museveni of "neopatrimonialism" (Chaebol and Daloz, 1999) and if his claim that alternative democratic models are a better option for effective democratization of the African continent is valid.

### **Small, Tamara A.**

#### *Regulating Elections in the Digital Age: The Technological Challenge to Canadian Election Law*

In the United States, the Internet is dramatically reshaping electoral politics (Potter & Jowers: 2005). Various political actors have turned to the Internet to raise support and, more importantly, raise money, with great success. Canadian cyber-politics, however, lags far behind (Small, 2006). While the activities of parties or candidates have not been transformed, it is misleading to conclude that the Internet has not had a profound effect on Canadian elections. Rather, as this paper suggests, the Internet is being felt in a less obvious area – Canadian election law. Indeed, the issue of the Internet and election law has made its way to the Supreme Court of Canada in the case, *Paul Bryan v. The Queen*. Bryan was convicted under the Canada Elections Act (CEA) for posting election results from Atlantic Canada on a Web site while polling stations remained open in other parts of the country during the 2000 election. This case demonstrates technological developments, such as the Internet, present a challenge to how elections in Canada are governed. Through an examination of the Bryan case and other related incidence, this paper argues that Canadian election law is fundamentally challenged by the increasing importance of the Internet in election campaigns. The paper also looks comparatively to see how other countries have confronted this burgeoning issue. It concludes by discussing the implications of this on Elections Canada and future changes to the CEA.

### **Smith, Heather A.**

### *The Discipline of the Discipline: The Study and Teaching of Canadian Foreign Policy Considered*

This paper will consider the disciplining nature of the discipline. It asks: how are we as scholars and teachers regulated in our teaching and our scholarship by implicit and explicit expectations about what constitutes Canadian foreign policy? How does both everyday practice, and what appear to be scholarly norms, shape the sense of ourselves and shape our sense of the legitimate? In response to this question I will draw off of personal experience and feminist literature to highlight discourses and practices that attempt to shape the discipline and to keep dissenters in their place. Everyday practice in the academy includes constructions of what is scholarly that play through peer review, tenure and promotion, and conversation in general. While overlapping with everyday practice, within the discipline we see constructions of social relations that legitimize or delegitimize our work through invitations to conferences or annual volumes, access to Foreign Affairs Canada, and in the questions that are themselves considered scholarly. And it is not just about scholarship, we must also consider teaching because it is through teaching that we play a role in the transmission and legitimization of the canon or alternative views of the field. Finally, while the paper will be primarily focused on critique, it will also identify areas of openings, and space for dissent. It will show how there has been some movement in the field and how we can build on that movement – how we can continue to support and reinforce the counter-consensus.

#### **Smith, Jennifer**

##### *Intergovernmental Relations, Legitimacy, and the Atlantic Accords*

Are the Atlantic Accords regarded as legitimate agreements in Canada? If not, why not? And does it matter? The purpose of the paper is to answer these questions. In the paper I propose to examine the legitimacy of the Atlantic Accords from the standpoint of citizens and other governments. The accords are agreements reached between the federal government and Newfoundland and Labrador in 1985 and the federal government and Nova Scotia in 1986. In 2005 supplementary agreements were reached on the relationship between the accords and equalization payments. In 2007 further adjustments of that relationship were made for Nova Scotia. In the first section of the paper there is a discussion of federalism, democracy and legitimacy in connection with the practice of executive federalism. It is followed in the next section by the story of the accords, the focus being the connection between the accords and equalization. In the third section there is an analysis of the negotiating process on the accords and equalization that took place between the federal government and each of the two provinces in the period from 2004 to 2007. The questions about legitimacy posed at the outset of the paper are considered, both from the perspective of citizens and the perspective of the other governments in the federation. In the conclusion I respond to the question about the significance of the case of the accords.

#### **Smith, Miriam**

##### *Bringing the Straights Back In: Heterosexual Political Mobilization and the Same-Sex Marriage Debate in the U.S.*

This paper will provide examples of the growth of heterosexual political mobilization in the U.S. and explore the legal and political implications of these forms of mobilization for public policy change. I will focus on three specific cases in which straights mobilized to intervene in the same-sex marriage debate: the case of the Arizona defense of marriage amendment in 2006; standing cases which have challenged judicial recognition of Vermont civil unions and Massachusetts' marriages; and the recent presentation of heterosexual interests in state court rulings on same-sex marriage. The paper considers the advantages and disadvantages of different conceptions of straight political action, such as defining straight militancy as a new form of social movement, as a counter movement to the same-sex marriage movement or, more conventionally, as a form of right-wing backlash, linked to evangelical identities and interests. The paper argues that new forms of straight politics are emerging, which supersede the traditional politics of backlash and concludes by arguing that heterosexual political mobilization and/or straight militancy should be conceptualized in its own right as a key component of contemporary gender politics. This will contribute to the workshop debate on family, gender and intimacy because straight mobilization centres on relationships, both common law and legally married, and deploys these relationships as the anchor for collective identity and political/legal action.

#### **Smith, Patrick and Stewart, Kennedy**

##### *Sins of Omission: Multilevel Policy Disasters and Community Responses – Vancouver's Aboriginal Peoples*

Patrick Dunleavy and others have described significant and costly policy failures of either commission or omission by government, simply – as “policy disasters”: for Dunleavy, “bad” policy becomes disastrous when the catastrophe is eminently foreseeable in nature and made by an elite group of insulated decision-makers who ignore glaring warning signs. [Dunleavy, P., “Policy Disasters: Explaining the UK's Record”, *Public Policy and Administration*, (1995), Vol10:52.] As this paper argues, it is the omission of a comprehensive whole of government urban Aboriginal policy – one especially including urban Aboriginal communities themselves - that has led to what Dunleavy might call a “policy disaster”. Using an adaptation of Dunleavy's hypotheses, we examine Aboriginal communities in the City of Vancouver for instances of “good public policy” and conclude that in fact, it might be appropriate to describe the circumstances found there as one of British Columbia's and Canada's worst modern social policy disasters. Given the conclusion that bad policy has been to blame, the paper ends with some consideration of alternative, community-based models for “better public policy”.

#### **Smith, Peter (Jay)**

##### *From Beijing 1995 to the Hague 2006 - The Transnational Activism of the Dalit Women's Movement*

Recently, Manisha Desai asserted that transnational feminist practices have become the dominant modality of feminist movements across the world, since the Fourth Women's World Conference in Beijing. In this paper I shall argue that transnational activism has played a significant role in shaping the activism and the organizational formation of the Dalit (formerly untouchables) Women's movement (DWM) of India. The DWM first took specific organizational form with the

creation of the National Federation of Dalit Women (NFDW) one month prior to the UN Fourth World Women's Conference in Beijing. Since then the DWM and NFDW have taken advantage of a wide range of international and global venues to demand recognition of their oppression, identity and rights as citizens including World Conference Against Racism (WCAR) in Durban in September 2001, the World Social Forum, and the International Conference on the Human Rights of Dalit Women held at the Hague in November 2006.

All this to pressure the government of India to live up to international norms in human rights. I will use an intersectional gender-caste-class analysis to reveal the various forms of power that oppress Dalit women. I will stress how recent UN decisions have served to re-map caste as

race in terms of discrimination based on work and descent thus facilitating solidarity between the Dalit women of India and other similarly situated women in Asia and Africa. This paper builds on my recent research on the transnational politics of the Dalit movement (forthcoming Globalizations January 2008)

### **Smythe, Elizabeth**

*Thinking Beyond Borders: Global Networks of Resistance and the WTO Doha Round of Trade Negotiations*

Since the World Trade Organization (WTO) ministerial meeting in Seattle in 1999 social movements and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have seen the need to create global networks to oppose and challenge international trade agreements and organizations like the WTO. This effort has included the establishment of on-line networks and participation in events, such as the World Social Forum, which have been used in the years prior to the major bi-annual ministerial meetings of the WTO to coordinate, strategize and organize various forms of resistance at the WTO ministerials. This paper will examine the activities and efforts of this global network to educate, mobilize and coordinate opposition to neo-liberal trade agreements and assess their impact on the Doha Round of negotiations.

### **Soderlund, Walter**

*International Intervention as a Response to State Failure: Post-Cold War to Post-9/11*

Ten humanitarian crises of the 1990s, some involving failed states and the rest involving fragile states were examined with respect to determinants of international intervention. In addition to documenting the strength of any international intervention that might have occurred, five independent variables were examined: (1) seriousness of the crises, (2) perceived risks associated with an intervention, (3) involvement of conventional security/economic interests on the part of potential intervening powers, (4) the extent of a "media alert" to the crisis, and (5) "media evaluation" of the efficacy of and justification for an international intervention. Variables 4 and 5 are based on coverage on U.S. TV news and in The New York Times.

For the workshop the paper will first review the major findings of the study from the perspective of intervention as a useful response to state failure. Secondly, it will reassess the findings in light of changes since the end of post-Cold War period: the "Responsibility to Protect" doctrine and the system altering impact of September 11, 2001.

### **Soederberg, Susanne**

*Socially Responsible Investing and the Marketization of Struggle: The Case of the Sudan Divestment Campaign'*

Over the past decade, one of the most striking changes in global development finance, particularly for emerging market economies, has been the relative rise in importance of private creditors vis-à-vis official lenders. Although foreign direct investment continues to play the most significant role in global development finance, equity financing, or foreign portfolio investment (FPI) has risen swiftly as a preferred financing tool for many publicly listed corporations in the global South. My paper maps out the political and social consequences of the rise of corporate debt and FPI by focusing on emerging forms of governance of private debt in the global South and the ever-increasing presence of powerful, transnational financial players, such as pension funds. In doing so, I explore the rationale and objectives of the recent, yet understudied, attempt at establishing global standards of investment aimed at reducing exposure to risk and increasing returns through the creation of the United Nations Principles of Responsible Investment (PRI). The PRI consist of environmental, social, and corporate governance (ESG) issues that are believed by its architects to affect positively the performance of investment portfolios and may better align investors with broader objectives of society. Through the application of a critical political economy framework, I suggest that the PRI is far from an objective and neutral mechanism aimed at governing private debt and transnational creditors; instead, it represents a subjective and ad hoc solution that is not only characterized by inconsistencies and uneven relations of power and struggles, but also serves to normalize further market-based approaches to deal with the growing social power of institutional investors and corporations over everyday life.

### **Sokolon, Marlene**

*Gendered Cities and Gendered Souls: The Significance of Gender in Plato's Republic*

It is in Book V that Plato establishes the "three waves" of female guardians, the community of women and children, and the philosopher-king. In particular, the first wave concerning female guardians has spawned a great deal of controversy. Contemporary commentators variously have interpreted this "wave" as an endorsement of female equality (Vlastos 1994; Nelson 1984), as a chauvinistic rejection of female capacity (Tuana and Cowling 1994; Annas 1976), as a joke to prove the superiority of Platonic dialogue to Aristophanes' comedy (Bloom 1968), and as an ironic analogy pointing out the limitations of politics (Forde 1977; Strauss 1964). Building on this ironic interpretation, this paper explores the implications of its conclusions for the contemporary scholarly debate concerning the Platonic understanding of the soul (Reeve 2006; Ferrari 2005; Naddaff 2003; Kochin 2002; Hampshire 2001). Socrates introduced the city in speech in Book II because it is easier to observe justice in something "bigger" like a city than in the soul which is "smaller" (368a-369b). Thus, if there is a "likeness" between the city and the soul, the irony or limitations found in establishing female guardians should have

implications for establishing justice in the soul. Significantly, this paper concludes with a challenge to the ratiocentric view of Plato's understanding of soul and argues that such a rationally-dominated soul would be as impossible and as undesirable as the political system outlined in the city in speech.

**Soroka, Stuart, Bodet, Marc André and Young, Lori**

*Campaign News and Vote Intentions: Analyses Using Manual and Automated Coding of Sentiment in Canadian Newspaper Content*

Written media play an important role in the democratic process. They publicize useful information and produce formatted opinions that can affect voters' preferences. This paper discusses the correlation between media coverage and vote intention during federal elections. We first show how automated content analysis can be a powerful tool to compute relevant indicators systematically, using a large amount of data. In the past, content analysis had to be done manually, usually by a group of coders. Reliability and homogeneity in the coding process was thus problematic. Automated content analysis solves these problems and also allows the treatment of a large quantity of information to an extent previously unimaginable. We also test the correlation between Canadian newspapers' coverage of an electoral campaign and the evolution of vote intention. To achieve this, we make use of a measure of daily newspapers' "net tone" and match it with poll data published in Canadian media. We show, using parametric analysis, that vote intention and media content are highly correlated under certain temporal restrictions. To support our claim, we present an analysis of the 2006 federal election.

**Spearin, Christopher**

*The International Privatization of Security: Implications for Canada*

Though Canada is not home to a large number of international private security companies (PSCs), this paper argues that these firms do pose significant implications to Canada in regards to its international relationships, its endeavours overseas, and its security sector. First, the paper makes plain how and why PSCs are entering "tangential" operations that impact upon Canada's international posture – humanitarian demining and the delivery of humanitarian assistance. These are important developments given Canada's promotion of human security on the one hand and its desire for partners to facilitate "Whole of Government" operations on the other. Second, while PSCs may offer Canada opportunities for differing involvement in multilateral initiatives, they also constrain its traditional multilateral posture given the growing US reliance on PSCs rather than on state allies. Third, this US reliance itself presents challenges for the Canadian Forces' operations in Afghanistan given the considerable PSC presence under US contract and the often negative reaction to this presence amongst indigenous actors and foreign militaries. Fourth, the US reliance also presents significant challenges to the Canadian Forces as they confront the brain/brawn drain of personnel leaving public service to work in the US-dominated private security marketplace. This movement of personnel constrains Canadian policymakers in terms of the means they can employ and the independent options they can pursue. This paper is part of the author's larger ongoing project studying the numerous facets of the contemporary privatization of security.

**Stefanick, Lorna**

*The Search for Paradise: Amenity migration and the growing pains of mountain towns in the Canadian Rockies*

The lack of affordable housing is a problem not just confined to the large urban areas of Canada, it is becoming an acute problem for mountain communities in Alberta and British Columbia. "Amenity migration," or the movement of people for recreational as opposed to economic purposes has put tremendous upward pressure on housing prices in small communities located on the eastern and western slopes of the Rocky Mountains. Historically, these communities were rooted in resource extraction activities, and until recently, many were economically depressed due to the decline of the industry upon which their economic health depended. In recent decades, however, these towns have become magnets for those who are drawn to the region by its natural beauty and its outdoor recreational opportunities. As part of the larger globalization phenomenon, the migrants to these smaller communities are not just those from neighbouring cities but also come from abroad. This has resulted in the "rebirth" of these towns in terms of the revitalization of local economies, however, soaring housing costs have caused acute problems for long time residents with modest incomes and seasonal workers.

Mountain communities are attempting to devise strategies to ensure both affordable housing and ecological sustainability. The responses have been varied with respect to understanding the phenomenon and planning appropriately for it. Moreover, coming up with a comprehensive plan for sustainable development can be difficult in the face of conflicting values of resident locals and the amenity migrants. This paper will compare the strategies of a number of these Rocky mountain communities for dealing with the problems that amenity migration raises with respect to housing affordability and ecological integrity.

**Stephenson, Laura and Tanguay, Brian**

*The 2007 Ontario Electoral System Referendum: Information, Interest, and Democratic Renewal*

The objective of this paper is to investigate the factors that contributed to how Ontarians voted in the 2007 Referendum on the electoral system. This issue is of particular interest for two reasons. First, the democratic deficit has received increasing attention for several years in all provinces and in Canada as a whole. Calls for more proportionality in elections have resulted in a number of provinces (B.C., PEI, N.S., Quebec) entertaining the idea of changing their electoral system. Thus, Ontario's referendum fits into the broader trend of reconsidering how Canadians elect their representatives. Second, the referendum received little attention in Ontario, being almost an afterthought in the 2007 campaign. Elections Ontario, which conducted the information campaign, was soundly criticized for failing to do more to educate Ontarians

about the choice they were asked to make. Given this, the question of how Ontarians voted in the referendum, and why, is particularly interesting to investigate.

#### Stevenson, Garth and Nguyen, May

##### *Immigration Reform in Canada and the United States: A Comparative Analysis*

This paper compares the reform of immigration policy in Canada and the United States in the 1960s. Previously both countries had severely restricted immigration in a discriminatory manner. After the reforms immigration was made easier, particularly for Asians and Africans, as overt racial and ethnic discrimination ceased to be a factor in immigration policy. The paper will compare four aspects of the parallel reforms: the impact of past policy and experience, the impact of institutions and constitutional law on the process of reform, the motives that led to reform, and the impact of interest group activity and public opinion.

The concept of path dependence suggests that past policy and experience narrow the range of options for reform and predispose reform, when it takes place, to proceed in particular directions. The most obvious institutional contrast is responsible government versus the separation of powers. Related to this is the greater ability of Canadian governments to make policy by administrative regulation rather than legislation. Different patterns of federalism, particularly Section 95 of the B.N.A. Act, may also be a factor.

Motives for immigration reform might be related to foreign policy: was overt racial discrimination in immigration policy an embarrassment in the context of the cold war and a handicap in seeking friendly relations with other states? They might also reflect economic and demographic needs: an approaching scarcity of labour because of the decline of immigration from traditional sources, or the anticipated aging of the population. Also, they might be influenced by considerations of domestic politics, such as the desire to please, or at least not to offend, elements of the existing electorate. Finally, the role of interest groups, especially business, labour and ethnic organizations, as well as the extent to which public opinion either supported or resisted immigration reform, may have exerted an influence.

#### Stewart, David and Sayers, Anthony

##### *Leadership Change in a Governing Party: The Alberta Progressive Conservatives, 2006*

After fourteen years and four general election victories, Ralph Klein retired as Premier and leader of the Progressive Conservative Party of Alberta in 2006. His retirement was in part precipitated by a lukewarm show of support for Klein at the party's leadership review in March of that year. In December 2006, Klein was succeeded by Ed Stelmach, whose victory in the plebiscitary leadership ballot came as a surprise to many observers, and a shock to the heir apparent, one time provincial finance minister Jim Dinning.

Stelmach placed third on the first ballot, but managed to leapfrog second placed Ted Morton and first placed Dinning on the second ballot. He then benefitted from the second preferences of now excluded Morton to go on and win a final run-off count against Dinning. This suggests that party members' calculations regarding the potential leaders shifted between the first and second ballots. To explain this outcome, we explore the dynamics of the leadership vote, taking account of the results by constituency, changes in support across the two ballots, the impact of endorsements by candidates excluded after the first ballot, and patterns of vote change and turnout across the province.

#### Straehle, Christine

##### *Cosmopolitanism and the Welfare State*

Social liberals believe that we have an international duty to provide for the basic means of subsistence to all human beings - they deny, however, that we have cosmopolitan redistributive. Cosmopolitan liberals, on the other hand, promote just such duties - like economic redistribution and equal access to opportunities - on the cosmopolitan level akin to the ones that are adopted inside societies, thus universalizing the duties and obligations on which societies have agreed.

I argue that the apparent tension between the cosmopolitan and the social liberal argument should be analyzed by focusing on potential common elements that can be found within both global justice theories and domestic welfare theories, a convergence that I will highlight by comparing the normative arguments made in support of the welfare state and of global justice.

Both welfare state theory and cosmopolitan theory share the assumption that there is a moral duty to protect the vulnerable. Second, both sets of theories are based on ideas of solidarity between individuals. And finally, both sets of theories aim to provide individuals with the means to lead autonomous, self-determined lives. The fact that cosmopolitan principles and welfare state principles overlap in this respect, however, is neglected in the literature - even though it provides the best starting point to a critical analysis of the current debate between cosmopolitan and social liberals. Such a critical analysis will help to develop further principles of global justice in political theory.

#### Stychin, Carl

##### *Faith in Rights: The Struggle over Same-Sex Adoption in the United Kingdom*

This paper explores a controversy in the United Kingdom in 2007 which saw lesbian and gay rights campaigners (supported by the Labour Government) confront the Catholic Church (supported by a range of religious organisations and political commentators). The issue that fuelled the bitter row was the ability of private, Catholic adoption agencies to refuse to place children with same-sex couples as adoptive parents. The debate is of interest for a range of reasons, despite the fact that everyone recognised that same-sex couples could resort to other agencies in order to adopt. First, the argument can be understood as the latest staging of a cultural struggle around sexuality, which was made possible only because of earlier political successes (most obviously, through the achievement of the legal status of civil partnership). Second, it illustrates the malleability of the language of rights, with both sides resorting to this discourse in

support of their positions (which, in itself, interestingly suggests the increased resonance of rights talk in the UK today). Each side could also brand its opposition as a 'special interest' group in order to undermine its rights claim. Third, the issue highlighted the way in which each side was accused by the other of liberal intolerance, fundamentalism, and of being discriminatory. More generally, the controversy flagged up the ambivalent relationship between politics, faith and 'secularism' in the UK. It also underscored the ways in which the 'best interests' of children can be readily deployed and manipulated, but also, simultaneously, how the trope of child abuse haunts both lesbians and gays and the Catholic Church.

#### Sucharov, Mira

##### *Place, Values and Virtues: Towards an Understanding of Loyalty in International Relations*

With the ongoing expansion of today's global imagination brought about by the proliferation of transnational links, the question of individual and group loyalty has taken on new importance, and has yet to be studied systematically within the discipline of international relations. Where the state had once been seen as the primary repository of citizen loyalty, now other forms of authority compete for individual affiliation. How citizens view their relationship to the state and to broader and narrower political entities, as well as to values and ethics, has profound implications for how national and international politics are managed. To this end, and building on my earlier work investigating the creation and maintenance of national identity, this paper will attempt a more complete understanding of the role of affective and philosophical factors in shaping foreign policy by examining the issue of how loyalty operates within and between states. Two questions will be addressed. First, how do individuals think about their role as citizens given the competing political categories of state, region, and international system, coupled with the many normative systems – such as religion and ethics, to name two – that circulate within global consciousness? And second, is loyalty a virtue? If so, in moulding the "good" citizen, how are political actors meant to adjudicate among loyalty to place and loyalty to values? The paper will conclude by discussing what role loyalty plays in fostering conflict and cooperation within the international sphere.

#### Summerville, Tracy and Wilson, Gary

##### *Boom or Bust? The Prince Rupert Container Port and Its Impact on Northern British Columbia*

The creation of the container port in Prince Rupert and an inland trade corridor linking northern British Columbia with the rest of the North American continent has raised expectations about the potential economic impact for other communities throughout northern British Columbia. This is to be expected as the communities of northern British Columbia have been looking for a way to diversify their economies, after decades of relying on the production and export of natural resources. Harold Innis, among others, has argued that one of the problems of the resource-based economy is its vulnerability to external decision-making processes. While this is certainly evident in the existing economy of the region, the success of container port and the development of the inland trade corridor also relies heavily on external factors; namely the decisions made by shipping companies and importers and exporters, as well as the market expansion of goods from Asia. This paper will look at the consequences of the Prince Rupert container port development for northern British Columbia. Although the port development and inland corridor have the potential to generate economic growth in the region, it will argue that this initiative could still leave rural and remote communities in the region vulnerable to the old style boom and bust economy.

#### Sundstrom, Lisa McIntosh

##### *Braking the Backslide: Which International Mechanisms Can Best Assist Russian Civil Society?*

This paper assesses the international mechanisms that are available to Russian pro-democracy NGOs and their international allies under the current political regime, in which democratic procedures are being eroded and opportunities for dissent are being limited. I first lay out a general theoretical argument that different international mechanisms of civil society support perform different functions well, and that mechanisms that are likely to be helpful to domestic civil societies thus vary depending on the nature of the political regime of the country at any time. The best suited international mechanisms vary, depending on whether the state is genuinely interested in promoting and improving democratic governance, stagnant and indifferent to democracy, or actively resisting democratization. Transnational actors interested in promoting democracy generally, and civil society specifically, should thus be prepared to shift their support strategies when the regime and the requisite needs change. The three categories of international mechanisms considered are: programs to fund NGO development, transnational partnerships, and international legal mechanisms. I argue that the Russian regime, while now backing away from democratization, still has reputational concerns about being seen as a democracy, which means that both international legal mechanisms and "shaming" by transnational allies of Russian NGOs are likely to be most effective in supporting Russian civil society in the current phase.

#### Sutcliffe, John

##### *Citizen Engagement and the Reform of the Windsor-Detroit Border Crossing*

For over a decade scholars have questioned the capacity of local citizens to influence government decision-making in the face of globalization. One prominent argument is that the public have become increasingly powerless in the face of global business interests, something that is particularly evident at the municipal level. In this view, government decision-making is constrained by the fear of businesses relocating to more favourable locations.

This paper examines this issue using a case study of the on-going reform of the Windsor-Detroit border crossing. This border crossing is one of the busiest and most economically significant border crossings in the world and it is of vital importance to both the local economy and that of North America as a whole. American and Canadian governments at the

federal and state/provincial levels are currently in the process of debating and planning how to improve and add capacity to this border crossing.

This paper examines the extent to which local citizens have had a voice in this decision-making process. The paper argues that there are definite limits to the extent of public engagement and influence in the decision-making process. Nevertheless, there have been opportunities for the public to participate in the decision-making process and there have already been examples of this participation shaping decisions in ways that have not been supported by major business interests.

#### Taiyeb, Aamir

##### *An Analysis and Comparison of the Differing Role of the Speaker at Queen's Park*

Any provincial legislature, while technically supreme within the province, is necessarily restricted by laws and rules governing its own conduct. These rules may be found in sources such as the Legislative Assembly Act and the Standing Orders of the House. Enforcement of these rules at the Assembly has historically rested solely in the hands of one individual, elected by secret ballot: the Speaker. It may be argued then that the Speaker, as the Chief Presiding Officer of the Legislative Assembly of Ontario, disposes of an inordinate ability to effect change within the provincial assembly. This paper will undertake a comparison of the styles, mannerisms, interests, biases (if any), interests, impartiality and predispositions of Speakers at Queen's Park in order to understand how an Assembly is affected, either positively or negatively, by the different Speakers that have occupied this important position in recent years. It will develop a clearer understanding of how, if at all, an Assembly may increase or decrease its efficiency, international reputation and civility with the differing strengths and weaknesses that Speakers bring to this key position. In particular it would try to answer the following question: is the functioning of the provincial assembly different under the influence of different Speakers, even though the aforementioned Member is required to be completely neutral in his/her position?

#### Tan, Netina

##### *Political Leadership and Party-Building Mechanisms: Explaining The Durability Of the Kuomintang Party Rule In Taiwan (1975-2000)*

Single-party regimes are viewed as the most persistent form of authoritarianism today. Game-theoretical based explanations posit that single-party autocracies are durable as they have incentive structures that discourage factionalism and could withstand the sudden death of political leader. Yet, such analyzes are unsatisfying as the origins of institutions are taken for granted and it is unclear how the ruling party gains dominance or maintains itself in power overtime. From a mechanism-based approach, my paper seeks to show the causal mechanisms that link the institution to regime outcomes. It argues that political leadership matters and the extent to which the party-building mechanisms are institutionalized affect the prospects of single-party rule. The focus is to highlight the locus of power – to show how mechanisms such as co-optation and clientelism operate as instruments of control and establishes the party as the primary channel of access to the top leadership positions. My paper intends to do this in three parts. First, it will parse the broad category of single-party regimes. Second, it will conduct a test on two sub-types of single-party regimes under the Kuomintang Party in Taiwan, namely: the hegemonic-personalist rule under Chiang Ching-Kuo (1975-1988) and the electoral-autocratic rule under Lee Teng-Hui (1988-2000). Third, it will provide a preliminary assessment of the extent to which political leadership and party-building mechanisms promote cohesion; and the conditions under which they fail to prevent party factionalism and defection, leading to regime breakdown.

#### Tanguay, Brian

##### *Mario Dumont and the ADQ: the voice of les Québécois pur' laine or simple voter fatigue?*

In the 2007 provincial election in Quebec, the ADQ/Equipe Mario Dumont emerged as the Official Opposition, more than doubling its share of the popular vote, from 12% to 31% and increasing its seats in the National Assembly from 4 to 41. This paper examines the impact of the issue of "reasonable accommodation" and immigration more generally on the ADQ's fortunes during this election, exploring whether the party's success was largely attributable to its ability to speak for les Québécois pur' laine (and the francophone regions outside of Montreal) or whether other factors, such as leadership and voter fatigue with the sovereigntist-federalist debate were more important. The study will be based primarily on an examination of party documents and elite interviews.

#### Tanguay, Liane

##### *'There Are No Rules': The War on Terror and Contemporary Film*

This paper takes up the question of cinematic representation with relation to the "end of grand narratives" and the emphasis on representing reality "as it really is" – an imperative which, I argue, can be just as progressive as it usually is reactionary. While films such as *Black Hawk Down*, *Saving Private Ryan* and *United 93*, to name a few, strip away the mediating elements of "grand" narrative and detached perspective only to more directly interpellate the viewer and reinforce a politics of fear based on the illusion of a direct threat to the body, more recent films like *Rendition*, in the tradition of earlier anti-Vietnam films, use the same device (the stripping away of the mediating distances/narratives) in order to reveal the sheer absurdity of a world in which "there are no rules," in which representation and reality do not, ultimately, coincide. The appearance of a film like *Rendition* some six years into the War on Terror shows evidence, I think, of a new strain of "Vietnam Syndrome," a cultural malaise ostensibly "kicked" by the glorious whirlwind of Gulf War I, returned now to destabilize the ostensible moral certitude invoked to legitimate the "just war" waged in 2001.

#### Tania, Gosselin and Henjak, Andrija

### *Information and Media Systems Effects on Support for the European Union in Post-Communist Candidate Countries*

Previous studies have linked support for the EU in Western Europe with expected costs and benefits of integration, attachment to national identity, as well as cues rooted in national politics. Despite the increasing attention given to national contexts, little work has examined the impact of information. The gap is particularly obvious in the case of post-communist member states. In the period preceding accession to the European Union (EU), citizens of post-communist candidate countries faced high levels of uncertainty concerning the potential effects of EU policies. In this context, exposure to media, as an important source of information about the stakes of integration, and any increase in information level of citizens could have brought about significant changes in attitudes towards the Union and accession. This effect may well have been compounded by the generally less structured and stable patterns of political attitudes that characterize post-communist societies compared to old EU member states.

The paper uses Candidate Countries Barometer Surveys data to simulate the impact of changes in media exposure and information about the EU on support for accession in the eight countries from Central and Eastern Europe that joined the EU in the 2004 enlargement wave. We expect that greater information concerning the EU will increase the likelihood of support for EU accession. We also examine how characteristics of national media environments – mean attention to news, the share of audience attending public media, the fragmentation of the audience between outlets, and the overlap between media and party choice – influence knowledge about and support for the EU.

### **Taylor, Joanna and Lee, Martha**

#### *Christian Exodus: A Modern American Millenarian Movement*

This paper examines the American religious and political group Christian Exodus. It was founded in 2003 in response to two events: the Lawrence v Kansas decision that decriminalized homosexuality, and the prosecution of former Alabama Chief Justice Roy Moore, who refused to move a Ten Commandments monument from the state Supreme Court building. Christian Exodus aims to move thousands of its members and other like-minded Christians to targeted counties in South Carolina in order to elect Christian Constitutionalists who share their religious views, and who will uphold state's rights in accordance with their interpretation of the Tenth Amendment to the American Constitution. Based on interviews with the movement's founder

and members, this paper argues that the Christian Exodus movement is millenarian in terms of both its religious and political beliefs. This combination of religion and politics is potentially extremist and violent, but fits well in the American political tradition that links political aspirations to God's will. Christian Exodus should not be understood as a "cult" or a group of religious fanatics dabbling in politics. It should be taken seriously as a distinct American millenarian response to perceived social, political, and economic threats.

### **Thomarat, Jacqueline and Garcea, Joseph**

#### *Planning and Development in Fragmented City-Regions: A Case Study of Saskatoon's Willows Residential development (1992-2004)*

This paper examines a protracted planning process from 1992 - 2004 regarding the first residential housing development on a golf course in the Saskatoon city-region at The Willows Golf Course.

The paper reveals that the protracted planning process was the result of: the fragmented character of governance; the planning and development policies and decision-making process; and the political dynamics that arose in the intermunicipal conflict between the City of Saskatoon and the RM of Corman Park.

This case study provides some important lessons for both governments and planners in city-regions on opportunities and obstacles for improving planning processes including: that problems emerge when an innovative proposal lands in an antiquated policy framework; current regional planning frameworks are not conducive to comprehensive long-term planning for city-regions; opposition may arise to changes to the traditional decision-making processes as much as to the proposed project; timely and effective communication is a determining factor for the political dynamics of a development proposal; miscommunication can create problematic political dynamics; and that economic considerations are inextricably tied to the politics of planning and development.

This study concludes with two major recommendations. First, in order to overcome the negative outcomes of fragmented governance systems, formal structures and protocols must be improved to ensure that municipalities continue to communicate effectively during challenging circumstances. Second, given that there is no guarantee that neighbouring municipal governments can always reach amicable agreements, legitimate and efficient dispute resolution mechanisms are required at the regional and provincial levels.

### **Thompson, Debra**

#### *Nation and Miscegenation: Comparing Anti-Miscegenation Regulations in North America*

Nearly forty years after Loving v. Virginia, the historical prohibition of interracial relationships in the United States exemplifies the state's regulation of intimate life. Anti-miscegenation laws were not simply about the prevention interracial sexual relations; rather, the discourse also concerned the transgression of gendered/raced social boundaries, the exposure of raced/gendered sexualities, the threat of non-white access to white capital, and the potential of mixed-race progeny and the predicament of racial categorization. While a number of legal and historical studies consider the emergence and existence of anti-miscegenation laws in the United States (Williamson, 1980; Davis, 1991;) comparative studies on this subject in political science are virtually non-existent. However, the Canadian state also enacted anti-miscegenation laws in the same era throughout various Indian Act regimes and informally regulated other white/non-white sexual relations. This paper will explore the similarities and differences among discourses of anti-miscegenation in North

America, seeking to demonstrate that: a) the decision to enact formal legislation can be partially attributed to a number of factors, including the demographic size of the non-white population and the threat posed by mixed-race progeny to the dominant group's access to power, privilege and resources; b) contrary to the popular belief of the so-called 'tolerance' of Canadians, racist sentiments towards non-whites existed during the same era that anti-miscegenation laws were created and implemented in the United States; and c) the differences in anti-miscegenation regulation in Canada and the United States are strongly linked to discourses of white masculine nationalism.

#### **Thornton, Matthew**

##### *The Evolution of the Executive in Ontario Provincial Politics: 1971-2005*

Executive dominance in Canadian parliamentary systems is an issue that has received a great deal of attention from numerous scholars of political science. With respect to the Office of the Prime Minister, a number of studies have investigated the seemingly disproportionate level of power that rests with the head of the federal government. Although the quantity of scholarly research on the federal executive and the prime minister is vast, the same cannot be said for the powers and influence of their provincial counterparts. Acknowledging this lack of scholarly activity, this paper will embark on a review of the executive in Ontario provincial politics. Using Savoie and Dunn's analysis of federal and provincial cabinet decision making models in *Executive Styles in Canada: Cabinet Structures and Leadership Practices in Canadian Government*, this paper will attempt to address a number of issues related to the executive in Ontario politics. First, it will examine its development by presenting a historical overview of the institution from the Premiership of Bill Davis to present day government. Second, this paper will specifically examine the Office of the Premier, attempting to account for the influence of the head of the provincial government on the actions of the executive. Lastly, the paper will conclude with a summary of identifiable trends or characteristics in the evolutionary development of the executive in Ontario provincial politics.

#### **Tieku, Thomas**

##### *Multilateralization of Democracy Promotion in Africa*

The use of multilateral institutions to promote democracy is one of the most remarkable trends in politics today. The new democracy promotion paradigm has taken roots in Europe and in the Americas. The African continent joined the multilateralization of democracy promotion project when African Union adopted the African Charter on Democracy, Elections, and Governance (ACDEG) at the meeting of African heads of state on January 30, 2007 in Addis Ababa. The ACDEG provides ambitious benchmarks and legal principles for measuring democratic performance in 52 states in Africa and Western Sahara. The ACDEG presents political scientists with an excellent opportunity to theorize the move to multilateralize democracy promotion around the world. The proposed paper takes a closer look at the ACDEG. It explores ACDEG's origins, the politics of the negotiation process, and its implications for governance in Africa.

#### **Tiemessen, Alana**

##### *Transitional Justice as a Normative Structure: What to Expect When You're Expecting Accountability*

Previous generations of transitional justice have been characterized by the relegation of restorative justice to the periphery of local communities and legitimized retributive justice as a mainstay of the international community. The institutionalization of this dichotomy has been proven incapable of affecting justice and reconciliation in societies recovering from mass violence.

Recent manifestations of transitional justice, such as hybrid tribunals, truth trials, etc. reflect a combination of international and local institutional characteristics and a blending of both retributive and restorative justice processes. Where the use of local actors, law and institutions for transitional justice was one accused of inviting bias and politicization, this approach is now considered to be pragmatic. Where the use of restorative justice processes such as amnesties, community participation, and compensation were once considered to be impunity, they are now considered to be appropriate and effective mechanisms of accountability by the international community.

What explains the international community's sanctioning and/or design of such transitional justice strategies in Rwanda and East Timor? This paper will address this question by using a process tracing approach to assess the institutional evolution of transitional justice with a comparison of accountability expectations in Rwanda and East Timor. I will argue that institutional learning and the influence of communitarian justice values can explain these recent manifestations of transitional justice by the international community. This paper represents the theoretical framework and empirical snapshots of my doctoral dissertation on the institutional and normative evolution of transitional justice.

#### **Tiessen, Rebecca**

##### *Youth Ambassadors Abroad: Canadian Foreign Policy, Global Citizenship, and Youth Internship Experiences*

The Canadian government promotes "global citizenship" through a number of Canadian foreign policy commitments. For example, in 2005, Prime Minister Paul Martin, announced Canada's International Policy Statement and in it, the term global citizenship is a frequent, yet undefined, concept. Another example of Canada's commitment to global citizenship is the announcement in February 2004 of Canada Corps as an opportunity for Canadians of all ages to participate in global citizenship and institution-building around the world. One of the key features of Canada Corps is a focus on young people. According to the Minister for International Cooperation, this program will allow youth to "gain valuable international experience" and "become more engaged globally." In the past decade, the CIDA and the Department of Foreign Affairs have invested substantial resources for the creation of volunteer/internship opportunities for young Canadians. This paper examines youth internship abroad experiences in the context of Canadian foreign policy and perceptions of "global citizenship," inquiring into how young Canadians abroad comprise part of Canada's foreign policy

and international development agenda and also what impact (in foreign policy terms) these young Canadians feel they have through their experiences. Drawing on e-journals and interviews, understandings of global citizenship are analysed. The findings suggest that the term "global citizenship" is used frequently and vaguely by Canadian youth and in Canadian foreign policy documents suggesting that it is a superficial and empty term. This study can further our understanding of Canada's foreign policy mandate and its prospects for promoting global justice through youth internships.

#### **Timpson, Annis May**

##### *Building an Aboriginally-oriented public service in Nunavut*

This paper will examine initiatives to create an Aboriginally-oriented public service from the outset of the new Government of Nunavut. Analysing the numerical, institutional, cultural and linguistic initiatives that have been employed to achieve this goal, the chapter examines the complexities of integrating Aboriginal cultural perspectives into bureaucratic models of public government. It argues that the multi-faceted approach adopted in Nunavut encourages Aboriginally-sensitive innovation in public governance, particularly in the way it brings elders and public servants together to design an Aboriginally-inclusive territorial public service. Nonetheless, the chapter cautions that the creation of an Aboriginally-oriented public service cannot be achieved solely by initiatives that focus on bureaucratic innovation. Only, it argues, by linking a project of this nature with strategies to increase Aboriginal graduation rates and Indigenous language acquisition can the objective of creating an Aboriginally-oriented public service in Nunavut be realised in the longer term.

#### **Timpson, Annis May**

##### *Reconciling Indigenous and Settler Language Interests: Language policy initiatives in Nunavut*

The Government of Nunavut is developing language policies which combine official recognition of indigenous and settler languages with measures to protect and promote indigenous languages. While the GN's 2007 Official Languages Bill adapts the GNWT's rights-oriented model of recognising indigenous and settler languages as official territorial languages, its Inuit Language Protection Bill seeks to protect the Inuit language by promoting its entrenchment in the school curriculum, its usage on public signs and its adoption as a working language of government.

Drawing on documentary analysis /interviews, the paper assesses:

1. The complexities of developing language policy in Nunavut, demonstrating how this is constrained by (i) limited protection of the Inuit language in the 1993 Nunavut Land Claims Agreement; (ii) the Eurocentric model of bilingualism entrenched in the Charter of Rights; (iii) language politics generated by the interests of Inuit, francophone and federal government stakeholders in Nunavut.
2. The forces that led to the introduction of proposed language legislation in 2007, including the GN's 2004 Strategic Plan; the 2006 Berger Report and the GN's 2006 consultation on Language policies.
3. The structure and fate of the 2007 Official Language/Inuit protection bills.

The paper assesses the significance of incorporating indigenous and settler languages into Canadian models of bilingualism and analyses the contribution such initiatives could make to reconciling indigenous/settler nations. The author has written several articles on Nunavut and prepared an edition on First Nations thought in Canada.

#### **Toka, Gabor and Gosselin, Tania**

##### *The Consequences of Cross-cutting Cleavages for Political Behavior*

Lazarsfeld et al. (1944) argued that cross-pressured citizens, pulled in conflicting directions by their different characteristics (e.g. class versus religion), become disengaged with politics and more volatile in their voting intentions. At the same time, through increasing the utility differential of the average citizen between the party alternatives, overlapping cleavages should generate unusually high electoral participation and party loyalty in certain segments of the electorate. If so, then this mechanism may add something to our understanding of Lipset and Rokkan's freezing hypothesis, i.e. that cleavage structures show surprising persistence even after the political conflicts that gave rise to them became largely 'irrelevant' for the electorate.

Previous tests of the cross-pressure theory yielded meager results but relied on arguably oversimplified measures of the key concepts. This paper proposes new measure and takes advantage of cross-nationally comparable survey data from the European Election Study data, as well as suitable surveys conducted in the Czech Republic, Hungary, Ireland, the Netherlands, Poland and Slovakia. Cross-pressure and cleavage pull are measured with the help of vote probabilities estimated under different models of vote choice to determine the extent to which various pairs of variable sets, standing for different possible cleavage lines, pull individual voters in the same or opposite partisan directions. The subjective cross-pressure experienced by citizens is calculated by comparing the personal utility that the respondents explicitly attach to each party. The analysis explores if either objective or subjective cross-pressure produce the behavioral consequences expected by the Columbia school and explain the 'freezing' of cleavage structures.

#### **Toka, Gabor and Popescu, Marina**

##### *The Impact of Media and Party Systems on the Making of Informed Election Outcomes*

This paper seeks to explore whether different organization and penetration of mass media create different chances for the electorate to successfully emulate fully informed voting behavior. In other words, we are asking if there is something in the structural characteristics of media systems that is particularly helpful or particularly detrimental for the production of a well-informed electorate that can make choices that truly mirror the choices that the same citizens might make if they did not have the inevitably limited information that the electorates generally possess. We postulate, inter alia, that the probability of fully informed election outcomes is increased by the pluralism of the media, and the penetration of high-brow and/or commercial and/or print media and also examine the impact of press-party parallelism. The empirical analysis uses

cross-national survey data from the European Election Study, macro-data on politics and media systems constructed from multiple sources, a novel measure of political knowledge (understood as the inverse of uncertainty) among citizens and an adapted version of Bartels' (1996) simulation method to estimate fully informed outcomes.

#### **Tomsons, Sandra**

##### *Non-Aboriginal Responsibilities Pertaining to Understanding Aboriginal Rights*

In *This is Not a Peace Pipe: Towards a Critical Indigenous Philosophy*, Dale Turner argues that some indigenous scholars have responsibilities for securing the recognition and protection of Aboriginal rights because of their connections with their communities and their non-Aboriginal

education. He urges these indigenous persons to become the 'word warriors' their communities urgently need and he is explicit about their responsibility to do so. He indicates that non-Indigenous scholars, seeing injustice in the current political reality and in the political and legal discourse defining Aboriginal rights, can "help indigenous people make their arguments count." (120) Word Warriors have a responsibility; non-Aboriginal scholars have a supporting role.

Perhaps, from the perspective of indigenous philosophies, specifying responsibilities of non-Aboriginal people is inappropriate. However, if Aboriginal peoples are oppressed by Canada's non-Aboriginal governments, then from their axiological perspective, some non-Aboriginal people have moral obligations. Liberal theory prohibits oppression of individuals or groups and demands implementing just relationships.

My paper argues that non-Aboriginal scholars and politicians are obliged to help indigenous people make their arguments count. The argument is situated in Turner's discussion of Aboriginal participation in defining Aboriginal rights and in James Youngblood Henderson's examination of the Supreme Court's attempts to define Aboriginal rights in *First Nations Jurisprudence and Aboriginal Rights: Defining the Just Society*.

#### **Torres-Ruiz, Antonio**

##### *Democracy and Globalization: Lessons Learned from Sexual Minorities' and HIV/AIDS Activism in Mexico and Brazil*

The world-wide spread of HIV has made evident the vulnerability of some marginalized groups, such as children, women, and sexual minorities, particularly in the Global South, as well as the need for more inclusive policymaking processes. For Latin America, the emergence of the HIV/AIDS pandemic coincided with the so-called transition to democracy and the implementation of structural adjustment policies. Under these circumstances, the analysis of the political economy of HIV/AIDS allows us to look at the tensions between economic/commercial interests, equality, and human rights concerns. Likewise, a review of the efforts made by civil society activists to shape the official response to HIV/AIDS in Mexico and Brazil – including prevention campaigns and access to treatment- allows to show the extent to which their tireless mobilization (both at the local and global levels) has been central for the fight against the disease. Based on some of the results of an ongoing research agenda, it will be argued here that the relative successes, observed in this policy area, are explained by the opening up of the public policymaking process to the participation of socially progressive forces in it.

#### **Treiberg, Natasja**

##### *Southern (Re)Belles and Good Old Boys: Gender Norms, Country Music and the Iraq War*

This paper will perform an analysis of the gendered nature of the country music industry in the United States and demonstrate how this helps reinforce support for the War in Iraq. This will be accomplished through the use of three different research methods. The first is to analyze the gender makeup of the country music industry itself, in other words it will look at who is writing and singing country music songs. This is important as it demonstrates whose voice is being heard through country music. Secondly, the paper will perform a content analysis on the presence of gender appropriate roles within the lyrics of the most popular country music songs. Finally, the paper will conduct a media analysis of the coverage of the Dixie Chicks controversy over the Iraq War. It will compare the amount and type of coverage given to the Dixie Chicks with other performers who were either vocal in their support or contestation of the War. These different methods will then be synthesized in order to demonstrate how a gendered country music industry tried to present a hegemonic voice that reinforced stereotypical gender roles and neoconservative values that in turn helped maintain support for the Iraq War.

#### **Tremblay, Diane-Gabrielle**

##### *Quebec's Policies for Work-Family Balance: A Model for Canada?*

The new Quebec Parental Insurance Plan implemented in Quebec in 2006 is part of a broader model for work-family balance pursued in the province and this model differs considerably from the model pursued by the current federal Conservative government (a non-interventionist or laissez-faire approach) and their Liberal predecessors (the work-family alternating model). In Quebec, the work-family balance (or cumulative) model is signalled by a progressive parental leave policy and childcare and daycare centres, providing highly subsidized services. Looking at Canada and Quebec family and work policies within an international comparative perspective, leads to the conclusion that while Quebec has a way to go to catch up with the more progressive situation in Scandinavian countries, Quebec offers Canada an alternative, and more progressive, model for balancing the employment and care-giving nexus.

#### **Triadafilopoulos, Phil**

##### *Forced to be Free? Understanding Recent Immigrant Integration Policies in Europe*

Beginning before the terrorist attacks in New York, Washington, D.C., Madrid and London and accelerating as a result of these and other events, several European governments have pronounced multiculturalism a failure and opted for more aggressive means of integrating immigrants. The policy instruments selected to pursue this end have included mandatory

integration courses, and citizenship tests formulated with an eye to determining whether individuals have sufficiently internalized prevailing values. Legislation constraining individuals' ability to wear certain religious attire has also been introduced, in the name of upholding gender equality and minimizing the presence of religion in putatively secular public spheres. This paper asks what we are to make of these trends. Are they contemporary manifestations of deeply rooted illiberal prejudice or do they reflect a novel shift in liberal-democratic states' approaches to nation building? In answering this question, I suggest that aggressive integrationism is reflective of a distinctly "Schmittian" liberalism, which aims at clarifying the core values of liberal societies and using coercive state power to protect them from illiberal and putatively dangerous groups. In contrast to liberal multiculturalists who counsel accommodation, compromise and negotiation among groups, Schmittian liberals see the task of immigrant integration as part of a broader campaign to preserve "Western civilization" from illiberal threats. Their framing of the problem in existentialist terms allows them to justify policies that might otherwise be seen to contravene liberal principles of toleration and equality. Schmittian liberalism complicates our understanding of liberal states' approaches to immigration and immigrant integration policies.

**Trimble, Linda, Sampert, Shannon, Way, Laura and Gaucher, Megan**

*Framing the Game: National Newspaper Headlines and the 2000, 2004 and 2006 Canadian Elections*

Headlines about the 2000 Canadian national election printed in the national newspapers emphasized the electoral game and downplayed ideas and issues (Trimble and Sampert, CJPS, 2004). Was this pattern repeated by the Globe and Mail and National Post in subsequent national elections held in 2004 and 2006? Did the changing electoral fortunes of the Liberal Party and the election of minority governments in 2004 and 2006 shift the emphasis of the headlines from the game, or strategic elements of the campaign (often referred to as "horserace" coverage), to the ideational elements (issues, ideologies, party platforms)? After all, while the game frame is a dominant frame for election coverage, news media do not narrate elections in isolation; they respond to the stories offered, directly or indirectly, by political parties. For instance, the Conservative Party staged the release of a detailed platform throughout the 2006 Canadian election campaign. How did the newspapers respond? Our paper answers this question by comparing the results of a content analysis of national newspaper election headlines for the 2004 and 2006 national elections with the findings obtained by Trimble and Sampert for the 2000 election. We hypothesize that the electoral context does matter. The nature of the competition itself, as well as the ideas and policy platforms offered by parties, shape the emphasis of newspaper headlines.

**Trimble, Linda, Treiberg, Natasja and Mason, Gabrielle**

*Beating (Up) the Boys: Newspaper Coverage of Female and Male Leaders in New Zealand Elections, 1999 – 2005.*

New Zealand Prime Minister Helen Clark is a success story; she's won three national elections (in 1999, 2002 and 2005) and may soon seek a fourth term in office. She's faced male and female incumbents and, since winning power, has held off two male challengers for the top job. Our paper contrasts newspaper coverage of Clark with coverage of her opponents for the elections she has contested as leader of the New Zealand Labour party. Since Helen Clark lost her first contest, we compare coverage of one electoral defeat with three wins. Also, since her opponents have featured three men and one woman, we investigate sex differences in the treatment of male and female leaders. Finally, by tracking coverage of Clark over four elections, we are able to determine whether the press treatment of Clark has changed as she has consolidated power. We use content analysis to assess differences in the amount and tone of election coverage of the five party leaders included in our sample (Helen Clark and the four National party leaders, Jim Bolger, Jenny Shipley, Bill English and Don Brash). Discourse analysis techniques are employed to identify and analyze gendered frames and gender-based evaluative schema.

**Tronto, Joan**

*Caring about Care Workers: Caring Solutions to an Issue of Global Justice*

At present, care work is rapidly becoming an international commodity. Both skilled and unskilled workers, a large proportion of them who are women, are leaving their homes in less developed countries to work in more developed states. The remittances that they send home have become a central part of the political economy of less developed states, and the work they perform increasingly vital to the more developed states. Thus, this pattern is likely to intensify. The goal of this paper is to build on existing work about the injustice of such practices and to consider, from the standpoint of an ethics of care, how to solve these problems.

I expect to argue that:

"Care" is not an end in itself, but needs to be situated. I suggest that democratic care is the appropriate standard to use in democratic societies.

Democratic care requires that we pay careful attention to gendered dimensions of this problem, including the public/private split; and citizens must make certain that especial forms of exploitation not occur as a result (consider, e.g., the differential treatment of migrants who are domestic workers in some states).

Given the structural injustices this problem uncovers, democratic citizens in more developed nations bear a special responsibility to consider structural changes to their ways of life in order to solve these global injustices.

4) A focus on care helps to illuminate these injustices and the possible solutions.

**Tsuji, Yuki**

*Re-imagined Intimate Relations: Elderly and Child Care Policy Reforms in Japan since the 1990s*

Japan has experienced major-scale policy changes in elderly and child care since the 1990s, which can be characterized as a shift from the 'privatization of care' in the 1980s to the 'socialization of care' in the 1990s. This shift has a possibility

to change the strongly gendered division of care work for the elderly and children in Japan, but simultaneously the consequent redistribution of care work may cause new differentiation among care-givers as well as care-receivers, depending on their social locations implicating gender, race and class. With this in mind, this paper will examine the processes and results of Japan's elderly and child care policy reforms, focusing on the different re-imaginings of intimate relations—i.e. differences between re-imagined relations with the elderly and those with children, leading to the re-regulations of intimate relations through care policies. It will be illustrated that, in the process of reforming elderly care policies, family members' relations with elder people who need care have come to be perceived as unavoidable and compulsory, and thus the care for the elderly has become recognized as 'burdens' which need to be re-distributed in the society. In contrast, family members' relations with children tend to be imagined as pleasant, desirable, and optional. This imagination results in the assumption that parents are the primary care givers for children, and thus care provisions by those other than parents are considered 'services' for assisting parents. This essay will analyze the processes of re-imagination and re-regulation of intimate relations, while referring to the feminist mobilization of women to policy-making processes, the debates on the introduction of cash allowance as an alternative to care service provisions, and their implications in gendered, classed, and racialized re-division of care work.

#### **Tungohan, Ethel**

##### *Third World Women, Women's Rights, and Development: A (Group) Rights-Based Approach to Gender-Responsive Development*

There is a theoretical gap between liberal feminists' conceptions of 'universal' conditions that determine women's experiences worldwide, and Third World feminists' conceptions of the relevance of 'women's rights.' Whereas liberal feminists establish 'common' causes for gender discrimination, Third World feminists criticize liberal feminists' complicity in propagating systems of economic exclusion. This paper has two objectives. The first purpose of this paper is to delineate the ways traditional liberal feminism has excluded the perspectives of Third World Women by criticizing the discourse of women's rights as human rights; indeed, this paper seeks to illustrate how the promotion of women's rights frameworks has oftentimes relied on a denial of Western women's complicity to liberal capitalist exclusions. The second purpose of this paper is to assess possibilities of synthesizing 'rights-language' with development. Hence, this paper recognizes that while liberal women's rights discourse does not address the concerns of Third World women, such language should not be abandoned altogether. Instead, rights language should accommodate the economic concerns facing Third World women, and should be more closely linked to development projects; rather than promoting the notion of liberal individual rights, notions of group rights should instead be advanced. The disjuncture between human rights and development creates a false dichotomy that ultimately does not resonate with Third World women's needs and experiences. Ultimately, this paper argues that examining the relationship between development and human rights enables development and human rights activists to be more responsive to the needs of Third World Women.

#### **Turenne Sjolander, Claire and Trevenen, Kathryn**

##### *Constructing Canadian Foreign Policy: Gender, Politics, Media and the War in Afghanistan*

It has often been remarked that Canada has not been involved as a military combatant in conflict such as characterizes the current engagement in Afghanistan since its participation in the United Nations action in Korea. As a consequence, Canadians have "forgotten" that armed conflict almost invariably leads to injury, destruction and death. This paper explores the ways in which this renewed societal recognition of the sombre consequences of armed conflict have been "managed" by official responses by the Canadian state and different political parties, mediated by the constructions of battles and deaths represented in Canadian newspapers, among other media outlets. The paper will focus on the contradictions emerging from these efforts to manage and construct Canadian foreign policy in wartime, notably in the efforts to paint Canada as a warrior nation, fierce in battle and loyal to a greater cause, on the one hand, all the while preserving – and even reinforcing -- the image of Canada as a benevolent peacekeeper, on the other. The implications of these gendered constructions (warrior vs. nurturer) will be examined in terms of the way in which they define the terrain of the public debate over the Canadian role and the nature of its participation in Afghanistan.

#### **Turenne-Sjolander, Claire and Trevenen, Kathryn**

##### *Politics, War and Embedded Journalism: Christie Blatchford and the War in Afghanistan*

This paper examines the impact of embedded journalists (and journalism) on coverage of the war in Afghanistan. Notably, we look at the way in which reports of the war from journalists living with Canadian troops (and depending upon them for their protection) present information about the war. How does the "personalisation" of the troops, and the personal loss felt upon their death, affect the supposed neutrality of the fourth estate? More significantly, how does this coverage affect the terrain for political debate in Canada. Through an examination of Christie Blatchford's reports for the Globe and Mail, as well as her recent book, we pose questions about how embedded journalists construct a position of knowledge and authority which makes alternative understandings of the war difficult to articulate.

#### **Turnbull, Lori**

##### *Why Wage "Political War" in the Courtroom?*

Politicians' accountability to voters is perhaps the most fundamental assumption underlying the theory of representative democracy; politicians who disappoint their constituents eventually must face the ballot box. Some people believe that this traditional form of accountability is unsatisfactory and advocate a legal "infrastructure" to restrict politicians' freedom to break promises or even change their minds. The NDP supports "anti-floor crossing" legislation that would force a politician to resign and run in a by-election if she wanted to switch political parties before a new election. The citizens'

group Democracy Watch demands “honesty in politics” legislation that would force politicians to resign if they lie to or mislead the public. In June of 2007, then-Saskatchewan Premier Lorne Calvert announced plans to sue the federal government for breaking a promise regarding the province's equalization payments.

As a continuation of my research on political ethics, and as a contribution to literature on political accountability, my paper examines the motivations for transferring political arguments to the legal sphere. I use the three case studies mentioned above to identify the conditions that appear to make litigation likely. This phenomenon seems to indicate dissatisfaction with the most traditional mechanism of political accountability: the election. The ballot allows its user to express general political preferences only, but not specific opinions on particular actions or misrepresentations. A lawsuit, on the other hand, is a direct challenge to an alleged misdeed that brings the possibility of compensation. Whatever the reasons behind this shift to the courtroom, the consequences could be dire. It could undermine the legitimacy of parliament as a forum for dispute resolution.

#### **Urquhart, Ian**

##### *Prison-Break?: The Politics of Energy Royalties in Alberta*

This paper will explore the extent to which the perspective outlined by Charles Lindblom in his article “The Market as Prison” may be used to help interpret the politics of changing Alberta’s petroleum royalty system. Lindblom suggests there is a fundamental logic in all market economies that privileges and empowers business. Entrusted with the task of generating/organizing economic production, business must be induced, not commanded, to perform this role. Consequently, business will respond to policy proposals or changes that threaten corporate profitability with various measures promising slower growth, increased unemployment, and/or disinvestment. In this way the market “cripples our attempts to improve the social world.” Lindblom does not suggest that change is impossible; but, he does suggest that change often must be secured by paying ransom - offering new benefits or supports to business in exchange for accepting policy change. He also suggests that “jailbreaks” are possible but says little about the conditions needed in order to escape successfully.

My paper will use this framework to examine the debate surrounding petroleum royalties in Alberta. It will consider the extent to which the proposals made by first, the Alberta Royalty Review Panel, and then by the provincial government should be considered important challenges to Alberta’s petroleum industries. It will detail industry’s reaction to these proposals/policies and the extent to which industry’s behaviour conformed to Lindblom’s expectations. Finally, it also will examine whether or not the royalty changes outlined in the government’s new royalty framework constitute a prison-break.

#### **Valiquette, Nina**

##### *Through the Looking Glass: Hobbes on Imagination*

There is consensus among scholars of aesthetic theory that Hobbes is the pivotal English figure in the field: “a pioneer who left an impress on [modern] critical terminology” from Locke to Rousseau to Nietzsche. Yet there are almost no modern scholars who examine Hobbes’ theory of aesthetics in a substantive fashion, and even fewer who examine Hobbesian aesthetics in light of his theories of knowledge, human nature or politics. While Hobbes’s explicitly critical treatises certainly substantiate a general claim that he was concerned with art and the artistic process, his treatment of images, imagination, fancy, language and other acts of poiesis in his more strictly philosophical and political works indicate his concern was not limited to art in its narrow sense. Indeed, Hobbes introduces his great work of art, Leviathan, with his explicit intention of providing his readers with the right “image” through which “they might learn to read one another, if only they would take the pains.” The right knowledge, Hobbes here writes, does not come from the reading of books, but from a twist on the Delphic oracle, “read thyself.” True works of art do just this when their subject matter is “the manners of men” and not God, the incorporeal, or Nature. Hobbes has read the manners of men, and in Leviathan, he offers the looking glass through which all human beings can now actively engage in their own political poiesis.

#### **Vallet, Élisabeth**

##### *L'échec américain en Irak : complot avorté ou erreur stratégique?*

L'invasion américaine de l'Irak a donné lieu à grand nombre d'explications et d'analyses: du complot pétrolier à l'ineptie d'un président peu au fait des réalités moyen-orientales, elles sont pléthore. Il s'agira ici de faire, à travers l'analyse structurelle du système décisionnel américain, la part du complot et celle des erreurs commises par des conseillers, des institutions encore anesthésiées par les attentats du 11 septembre 2001.

Notre thèse est qu'il y a à l'invasion de l'Irak – en tant qu'elle était fondée sur l'existence d'Armes de destruction massive – une explication très prosaïque et sans doute décevante : l'incompétence et la fragmentation du pouvoir. En effet, le système décisionnel américain est articulé autour d'un enchevêtrement de poids et de contrepoids où chaque acteur a, quelque part dans le système, un contre-pouvoir, susceptible de modérer ses excès. L'inertie de ces mécanismes est cependant grande et il aura fallu trois ans aux membres du Congrès, aux quotidiens nationaux et aux juges de la Cour suprême pour s'élever contre les abus d'une administration devenue omnipotente. Ce silence, cette déférence, alimente les thèses du complot. Ces dernières ignorent cependant trois éléments. Tout d'abord, elles écartent la force centripète du réflexe du « ralliement autour du drapeau ». Ensuite, elles négligent les divergences qui peuvent apparaître au sein de l'administration. Enfin, elles omettent la volonté d'organisations infra-étatiques de promouvoir leur propre ordre du jour en recourant aux fuites.

### Vallières-Roland, Catherine

#### *Fédéralisme et culture politique : quelle complémentarité ?*

Le cadre conceptuel adapté de Raoul Blindenbacher et Ronald Watts (Caron, Laforest, Vallières-Roland, 2006 : 149-150) présente une série de caractéristiques structurelles communes aux fédérations : 1) l'accès des citoyens à deux ordres de gouvernement, 2) une distribution constitutionnelle des pouvoirs et une réelle autonomie fiscale, 3) une représentation des entités fédérées au sein des institutions centrales, 4) une constitution écrite non amendable unilatéralement, 5) un arbitrage politico-constitutionnel et 6) des mécanismes de coopération intergouvernementale. Il propose également l'étude des processus politiques que sont 1) le respect des procédures démocratiques, 2) l'application du principe de la non-centralisation, 3) une culture de dialogue et de négociation, 4) l'existence de contrepoids, 5) la primauté du droit et 6) une forme de flexibilité constitutionnelle et institutionnelle. Utile pour vérifier l'équilibre fédératif des régimes politiques, nous soutenons toutefois que cet outil, dont la perspective est institutionnaliste et globaliste, est inadéquat pour déterminer la capacité des États à gérer la diversité nationale sur leur territoire. C'est pourquoi nous chercherons à démontrer, au moyen d'une analyse épistémologique et d'entrevues auprès de leaders politiques espagnols et canadiens, qu'il pourrait être bonifié à l'aide de la théorie sur la culture politique dont l'ambition est interactionniste et l'objectif est d'analyser les systèmes de croyances, de connaissances et de valeurs des individus qui évoluent au sein des institutions politiques (Pye et Verba, 1965 : 6). Une fois terminée, cette étude, dont le potentiel comparatif sera modulé par les techniques d'enquête utilisées, constituera une plus-value pour la recherche sur le fédéralisme pluraliste (Requejo, 2005 : 48).

### van Schoubroeck, Lesley

#### *When is Strategic Planning in the Interests of Politicians? Some Insights From Western Australia*

The adoption of high level strategic planning is gaining in popularity as the new strategic role for governments post New Public Management. Documents with state level goals supported to varying extents by strategies, actions and targets are apparent in jurisdictions in Australia, Canada and Scandinavia. Yet research is questioning whether or not politicians will take on the leadership role expected of them in this new process (see for example the recent work of Tilli on the Finnish experience). This paper will examine the adoption of state strategic planning in Australia and analyse views of political and public sector actors in executive government in Western Australia on their perceptions of these plans as a tool in public administration. Perceptions were gathered during interviews as part of broader doctoral research into coordination strategies introduced by the Gallop government in the period 2001 to 2005. While the concept is gaining popularity around the nation, it is too early yet to determine whether or not this is a passing fad or a new direction in public administration. It is argued that, in Western Australia at least, politicians and their advisors are more motivated to be "strategic by stealth," maintaining a cautious approach to what they put into the public domain and can therefore be held to account for. Beyond-election targets do exist in specific policy areas but they are not systematically compiled nor are they developed in any whole of government sense.

### VanBeselaere, Carla

#### *Climate Change – The Information Storm*

As made clear in the Stern Review on the Economics of Climate Change, global climate change represents a major policy challenge for the world. Yet despite the warnings about the potential catastrophic effects of climate change, progress towards developing policy and making the necessary behavioural adjustments has been sporadic at best. The question thus has to be why have Canadians and their elected representatives not made more effort to address this issue. Before we can answer this question – an exercise which requires an understanding of the multifarious linkages between information and persuasion coupled with an understanding of link between public opinion and public policy – we need to understand what information Canadians are receiving concerning the issue of climate change. This paper examines Canadian media coverage concerning climate change during the past two years in an attempt to better understand what information is being transmitted to the public. By examining both the volume and the nature of this media coverage, we can establish a framework within which to consider why Canadians have not made significant progress in curbing activities which contribute to climate change and why the Canadian government has not implemented tougher policies to try and address this potential crisis.

### Vanderlinden, Cliff

#### *The Securitization of Migration in the European Community: An International Relations Approach*

This paper offers new perspective on the retreat from liberal immigration policies and multicultural citizenship practices in Western Europe, which has been marked by the dramatic rise to power of right-wing populist political parties running predominately (if not exclusively) on anti-immigration and stringent integration platforms. Conventional accounts of this phenomenon are dominated by discourses in comparative politics, but this is clearly an international phenomenon and thus requires attention from scholars of International Relations. Bringing together the theoretical concepts of security communities (Deutsche, 1957; Adler and Barnett, 1998) and ontological security (Giddens, 1991; Kinnvall, 2004; Mitzen, 2006), I will use process tracing to illustrate how the Maastricht Treaty caused a shift from a tightly-coupled pluralistic security community towards an amalgamated security community. This shift was incomplete, however, and resulted in the destabilization of the ontological security of Western Europeans, who began to perceive European integration as an identity threat, both in terms of displacing national or cultural identities as well as concomitantly subsuming the state apparatus historically responsible for mitigating situations in which a nation or culture feels threatened (Wæver, 1995). The result of ontological insecurity is the move to reinforce historical identity narratives. This action has the effect of

'othering' those who do not adhere to the criteria embedded in such narratives, which ultimately leads to the securitization of migration.

#### Vanhala, Lisa

##### *Disability Rights Activists in the Canadian Courts: Legal Mobilization, Equality and Accessibility*

While legal mobilization by the Canadian women's movement and Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual and Transsexual (GLBT) movement has been widely documented, the use of litigation strategies by other social movements wanting to influence public policy in Canada remains relatively unexplored. This presentation will analyze how and why the disability movement in Canada turned to the courts to influence legal rules and public policy. In areas ranging from the definition of disability and reasonable accommodation to issues of accessible transportation, publicly-funded provision of treatment and euthanasia, groups have intervened and served as applicants before the Supreme Court and provincial high courts to bring their understandings of equality to bear on legal policy developments. The paper will assess the ability of resource mobilization theory and political opportunity structure theory to explain this turn to the courts by disability organizations. I will argue that an identity politics framework combined with an understanding of the interest group environment provides an important complementary account for the take-up of litigation strategies. The research will be based on case law analysis, analysis of organizational documents and interviews with the leaders of disability organizations and their lawyers.

#### Verrelli, Nadia

##### *The Supreme Court of Canada and Canadian Federalism*

According to Justice Lamer, "When the country gets into trouble the SCC has been there to come to the rescue". Certainly Canadian governments have relied upon SCC to "rescue" them from the political impasse they find themselves in when we consider the Senate Reference; the Patriation Reference; the Quebec Veto Reference; and the Secession Reference.

In commenting on the role of the Court and the effects of its opinion in these four references, political and legal scholars have, for the most part focused upon the political aspect of the four references. This not surprising; however, we run the risk of underestimating the role an understanding of federalism played in the opinions of the SCC by focusing on the political aspect alone. In all four references the Court was asked if one order of government had the unilateral power to change fundamental features of the Constitution or unilaterally veto amendments. In arguing either for or against the power, the governments presented distinct visions of the federation to the Court; the centralist vision, the provincialist vision or the dualist vision. The Court then was asked to choose between these conflicting visions. It is only logical then that in rendering its opinion, the Court endorsed one vision over another, and in turn, a particular conception of federalism. In this paper, I argue that the S.C.C., when it rendered its opinion in these four References was influenced by a particular conception of federalism. This had the ultimate effect of re-affirming the norm, while not upsetting either the neutrality or the legitimacy of the Court.

#### Vickers, Jill

##### *Do Feminist Organizations Need a Coordinating 'Peak' Agency to Influence State Policies in Federations?*

Canada, Australia and the United States are three federations in which women's organizations have attempted to influence their central governments with varying degrees of success. While each movement faced different challenges, they also face the same consequences of neo-liberal restructurings including uploading, downloading and off-loading. This paper explores the impact of how each movement was organized in the 'second wave' of feminist activism. The question asked is, does movement capability matter in responding to the challenges posed by neo-liberalism and globalization?

#### von Hlatky, Stefanie

##### *Anglosphere Asymmetry: America's Closest Allies in Times of War*

This paper expands on alliance theory by investigating asymmetric military alliances. More specifically, I look at how threats are perceived differently, according to a state's position in the international system, leading to non-cooperative outcomes within alliances. By looking at American war initiatives, my goal is to determine how the United States' closest allies (Canada, Great Britain and Australia) choose to participate or not to participate. Examining how these allies respond to American demands will shed light on the causal relationship between threat perception and the chosen course of action. By focusing on the internal dynamics of asymmetric alliances, my goal is to address the following questions, as they relate to Canada, Great Britain and Australia: Under what conditions will they seek a more autonomous course of action? What is the threshold of bearable costs for non-compliant decisions? Finally, what types of strategies can these alliance partners pursue to achieve their own foreign policy goals? When contemplating joint military action, I expect allies to undergo reevaluations of their interests and motives in function of the issue at hand. Since the alliance is composed of asymmetric states, we cannot take for granted that they will have the same assessment of threat. I therefore suggest that only when both allies hold similar perceptions of threat will the weaker power choose to curtail its autonomy and defer to the stronger ally's leadership. Conversely, when threat perception is divergent, the smaller ally will resist giving in to the stronger partner's demands, preferring instead to find ways to manifest its autonomy through various strategies, which will be discussed in reference to the war in Afghanistan (2001) and the war in Iraq (2003).

**Vowles, Jack**

*Coalition versus Single-Party Governments, Public Perceptions of Efficacy, and Turnout: Are There Any Effects?*

Most of the literature assumes that, compared to single-party governments, coalition governments limit direct accountability between citizens and governments. From this it follows that, all other things equal, i) under coalition governments, because the post-election composition of government is often unknown, turnout will be lower; ii) under coalition governments, people will be less likely to think that who is in power makes a difference and iii) under coalition governments, people will be less likely to think that their vote makes a difference to what happens. Using data from CSES modules 1 and 2, encompassing 40 countries and 73 elections, this paper tests those propositions.

**Wallner, Jennifer**

*Investments and Achievements: Canadian K-12 Education in a Comparative Context*

My paper seeks to extend the comparative welfare state literature to engage the understudied arena of education with an effort to uncover how state structures influence the dynamics of education policy formation in federated nations. Inspired by the edited collection of Obinger, Leibfried, and Castles (2005), this paper situates the Canadian K-12 education sector in a comparative context testing two hypotheses drawn from the political institutionalism literature. Canadian K-12 education provides the focus as it is unique in the world due the complete legal, political, and fiscal autonomy exercised by the provinces in the policy arena. Based on this provincial autonomy, the first hypothesis predicts that Canada should have relatively uneven and under-investment in K-12 education policy when compared with other states. The second hypothesis predicts that the institutional fragmentation of Canadian federalism should contribute to uneven achievements in educational outcomes. Drawing from OECD and Canadian studies, I find that the data disconfirms both hypotheses. The dynamics of Canadian education policy have therefore not followed the patterns predicted by these specific streams in the literature. The explanation for comparative generosity and comparative equality of outcomes lies in the inter-provincial ideational convergence on educational goals, reinforced by the historical centralization of authority over education into the provincial governments, and supported at the national level through the federal government's equalization program. The implications of this research demonstrate how the logic of institutional fragmentation can be overcome by voluntary ideational and institutional convergence.

**Wantchekon, Leonard**

*Expert Information, Public Deliberation, and Electoral Support for "Good" Governance: Experimental Evidence from Benin*

This paper provides experimental evidence on the combined effect of expert information and public deliberation on electoral support for programmatic, non-clientelist platforms. The experiment took place in Benin and involved real candidates running in the first round of the 2006 presidential elections. The programmatic platform was derived from voters' known policy priorities (expressed in a pre-election survey) and from the proceedings of a national policy conference. The campaign messages were run through canvassing and town meetings and the control units received the "regular" standard message. We find that (1) turnout was higher in treatment villages than in the control villages. In addition, the treatment has a positive and significant effect on both voting for and trust in the candidate running experiment. The results remain unchanged after controlling for ethnic ties, education, some measure of income. We argue that political parties can overcome the need for targeting a set of voters or even distributing favors in order to win votes, by improving the extent to which their policy promises are informed by empirical research.

**Ward, Ann**

*Friendship and Politics in Aristotle's NICOMACHEAN ETHICS*

As part of my continuing research into Aristotle's philosophy of friendship, I will investigate Aristotle's argument that both justice and friendship be established in the political community. Justice in the complete sense is the possession of moral virtue, and friendship in the political context expels faction and prevents the slide into civil strife. Friendship involves the just as friends hold things in common, such community necessitating that a relationship of justice inhere between them.

Two problems emerge in Aristotle's account of the relation between justice and friendship. First, the regime most conducive to justice is kingship whereas the regime most conducive to friendship is timocracy. This distinction between the politically just and political friendship encourages the legislator, depending on what s/he pursues, to found different regimes.

The second problem is the apparent reduction of friendship to its political manifestation, thereby denying its naturalness and openness to a good beyond the regime. Yet, although scholars have typically observed that Aristotle points to familial friendship as natural, I will argue that the bodily basis of friendship thereby implied is a more limited understanding of friendship than its political variety suggests.

I will conclude by exploring Aristotle's discussion of conflicting obligations as a potential resolution to both problems. The distinction between our obligations to our own and to the good, points to a goodness that transcends both familial and political ties as a basis of friendship. Aristotle opens the possibility of friendship between persons of virtue other than family members and fellow citizens.

**Ward, Lee**

*The Role of the Public in Locke's Educational Writings*

Scholars typically observe the irony that Locke, the arch-critic of patriarchy, leaves the primary role in childhood education, and thus the first school of liberal citizens, to the private family. However, this focus on the private family tends to obscure the important role of the public in Locke's educational writings.

This paper aims to address this problem by illuminating the crucial role Locke assigns the public in his education reform project. First, it will explore the significance of Locke's targeting "Some Thoughts Concerning Education" not toward civil rulers, philosophers, or professional educators, but rather toward what can best be described as "the general reading public" composed of middle and upper class parents. Second, I argue that in order to understand the public dimension of Locke's educational theory we must see the "Thoughts" in the context of its relation to his later "Conduct of the Understanding" in which Locke outlines the possibility for broader application of his pedagogic principles to reform of higher education. Finally, I consider Locke's "Essay on the Poor Law" in which I argue he incorporated many of his educational reforms into a proposal for public education aimed to make massive expansion of educational opportunity a legitimate goal of government arguably for the first time in modern history. Locke thus intended his educational writings not only to have profound political implications, but to change the way theorists understand the public in liberal society. This paper is part of a larger project examining Locke's enlightenment philosophy.

#### Warner, Rosalind

##### *Towards An Environmental Politics of Change: Is Ecological Modernization Enough?*

Among the myriad possibilities for greening industrial societies, two approaches to an environmental politics of change stand out in their distinct framing of the problems and solutions: ecological modernization and radical ecology. Ecological modernization theorists argue that 1) industrial societies can be made sustainable through the 'de-materialization' of economies; 2) existing social and political institutions can internalize the new 'green rationality' in increments; and 3) economic and environmental domains can work in tandem sufficiently often to permit continued economic growth, and, in some instances, to provide new outlets for growth. In contrast, radical ecologists argue that modern institutions (like industrial forms of states and markets) are a root source of environmental degradation and so need to be resisted and even subverted. In this paper, I will critically review the literature on ecological modernization and its implications for an environmental politics of change. I will discuss the emergence, evolution and diffusion of EM's theory of environmental change with special reference to the Canadian situation, and argue that present EM thinking does not provide an ethically or politically coherent basis for understanding change. I argue that EM is not 'enough' to affect the conditions for a radical ecopolitics of change, because it does not directly engage with the destructive cultural and normative assumptions of modern industrial societies.

#### Watson, Scott

##### *The Reluctant Refugee: Contrasting Canada's Refugee and Border Control Policies*

Based on the number of refugees it resettles, the relatively high acceptance rates of its refugee determination process and the range of socio-economic rights it has extended to asylum seekers, the Canadian state is often presented as a generous state of refuge for those fleeing persecutory and oppressive regimes. Recent turns to restrictiveness, embodied in the implementation of a safe third country agreement and the use of security certificates, appear as troubling moves away from this generous, humanitarian past. However, the use of visa policies and carrier sanctions, which prevents asylum seekers from accessing Canada's refugee determination system, casts such an interpretation into doubt. Rather than reflecting humanitarian concerns, these prevention policies reflect a greater concern with efficiently and effectively maintaining control of Canada's borders.

How can such contradictory policies be explained? This paper argues that difference in border control and refugee policies emerges as a result of the context in which discursive contestation over these practices takes place. The debate over visa policies and carrier sanctions in Canada have taken place in the context of border control, where cost and efficiency are the primary values at stake; while other values are excluded from consideration – often with deleterious effects. On the contrary, attempts to enact restrictive policies such as mandatory detention and refoulement have taken place in the context of refugee policy, where humanitarianism and security values were of primary concern. In this context, cost and efficacy of programs is removed from the debate – with its own set of negative effects.

#### Way, Laura

##### *Developing Alberta's Oil Sands - Is there a "closer to home" perspective?*

The literature on the provincial Norths often laments about the lack of authority and autonomy residents have to determine the level, type, and pace of the natural resource development occurring in their areas (Wilson and Poelzer, 2005). The assertion is that with a diverse range of governance tools, the provincial Norths would have enjoyed greater success with their economic diversification strategies. However, this perspective often assumes that governments closer to home (e.g., municipal and regional governments) would enact a different vision of development. The recent province-wide debates on Alberta's oil sands development allow us to test this assumption. Located entirely within Alberta's provincial North, the oil sands contains the world's second largest oil reserves. In September 2007, the Alberta Royalty Review Panel released their report entitled Our Fair Share. After hearing from citizens to energy companies, the panel concluded that Albertans, as owners of the resource, were not getting their fair share in terms of resource rents garnered under the 1997 generic royalty regime. This panel report followed the release of more general oil sands review report in June 2007. This paper examines whether or not the residents of Alberta's provincial North, and their respective municipal and First Nations governments, espoused a different vision of oil sands development in these two public consultation process. To answer this question, it will conduct a content and discourse analysis of final reports, meeting transcripts, and written submissions from both panel reviews.

### Webb, Michael

#### *The Politics of Technical Cooperation in Transgovernmental Networks: The OECD and International Taxation*

The global spread of transnational corporations in recent decades has been accompanied by a vast increase in the effort governments devote to trying to tax those businesses effectively, and especially in the scope and detail of multilateral tax policy cooperation in the OECD. But rather than formal, binding agreements, cooperation in this area takes the form of soft regulation by a transgovernmental network. This network, which is centred in the OECD and which operates in close conjunction with private transnational actors, develops shared understandings and informal guidelines that take effect through persuasion and socialization. While some analysts see transgovernmental networks as holding the potential for more effective and legitimate global governance, others argue that such networks are likely to be dominated by transnational business. This paper examines tax cooperation in the OECD and assesses its impact in light of these possibilities. OECD tax cooperation has the appearance of technical cooperation among experts, especially because of its complexity and the need for expertise, but I argue that important political issues lie not far below this surface. OECD agreements affect the distribution of resources across countries by influencing how taxable income is allocated to particular tax jurisdictions, and between corporate taxpayers and others within countries by affecting the scope for international tax competition and for corporate tax avoidance strategies. Transnational business has a powerful influence on transgovernmental tax cooperation, and one of the main effects of global tax governance is to limit the scope of corporate taxation and tax enforcement by national governments. But some of the same liberal norms that encourage deference to business interests also encourage the maintenance of business taxation at levels higher than transnational business prefers.

### Wegner, Nicole

#### *Canada's Identity in Afghanistan : Masculine Warrior or Protector of the Peace?*

Canada's international identity has long been characterized by its involvement in peacekeeping missions, with the belief that Canada's capacity for promoting its interests and values has affected positive change in the world. This altruistic view of peacekeeping is a core myth to Canada's imagined identity; one that is not an alternative to military violence, yet is legitimized through neo-liberal and masculine rhetoric of responsibility and the protection of rights.

This paper draws from feminist discussion of Canadian foreign policy and the "confusion of soldiery" (Whitworth, 2004)—the identity and expectations of troops trained in combat techniques, which are at odds with their new responsibilities as peacekeepers. Canada's ongoing intervention in Afghanistan has recently changed its policy objective, shifting from a "peacekeeping" to a "peace-making" mission. The tactical policy implications of this are increased combative engagement of the infantry and artillery regiments of the Canadian Forces. The deeper theoretical implications are a re-masculinization of Canadian foreign policy. This paper illustrates how these new objectives only further the problems that occur through the heterosexist, racist and misogynistic imagining of Canada's international responsibilities, while causing a new crisis of identity as Canada shifts in role from "peaceful protector" to "just warrior". This exploration shows how the shift in identity may resolve the confusion of soldiery, yet poses challenges to Canada's glorified role as an international protector.

### Weibust, Inger

#### *NAFTA's Citizen Submission on Enforcement Matters as a Forum for Domestic or Transnational Activism*

NAFTA's Citizen Submission on Enforcement Matters (CSEM) mechanism allows individuals and NGOs to bring complaints of persistent failure to enforce national environmental legislation against Canada, the United States or Mexico. This process presents a paradox: why would national NGOs turning to a relatively weak international panel to raise environmental issues against their national governments? In theory, national governments are more transparent and directly accountable on their own than using the CSEM. National institutions are far more authoritative than the CSEM, which has no powers of enforcement. The paper will examine whether CSEM is being used by domestic ENGOs bringing cases against their own governments, or if it is primarily a venue for transnational or crossborder ENGO activism, by looking at all the cases which have been filed with the CSEM. Combining quantitative and case study methods, the paper will examine the evidence for the sort of Transnational Activism Sidney Tarrow has described. The paper's working hypothesis is that local and national environmental groups are using the CSEM as an accountability tool against their national governments, because of lack of other points of access or the unresponsiveness of national politics. The paper makes a contribution to the study of transnational governance, particularly with regard to its accountability and the role of civil society.

### Weldon, Steven

#### *Intraparty Power and Party Behaviour*

This paper develops and tests a theory of dominant (intraparty) factions as well as competing explanations that seek to account for why parties fail to converge on the median voter and adopt more moderate ideological positions. The theory of dominant factions holds that party behaviour is primarily a function of intraparty power relations between parliamentary and extra-parliamentary factions. Specifically, when the parliamentary faction dominates, parties are thought to adopt more moderate (i.e., Downsian) ideological positions. However, when the extra-parliamentary faction dominates, which is more often the case than is recognized in the literature, we expect parties to adopt more extreme or divergent ideological positions. Drawing on existing indicators of internal party power and the ideological positions of both parties and their

supporters, the paper then tests the theory of dominant factions as well as competing theories for over 80 parties in 20 advanced democracies. The results provide strong support for the central hypothesis, indicating the structure of intraparty power plays a strong role in shaping parties' ideological positions. This paper makes a significant contribution to the party and electoral literature on several fronts. Most notably, the results indicate intraparty politics are critical for understanding party behaviour and patterns of electoral representation in modern democracies.

#### White, Linda

##### *Continuity and Change in OECD Early Childhood Education and Care (ECEC) Regimes: Where Does Canada Fit?*

This paper will examine the politics of policy change in the area of early learning and child care (ELCC) in Canada. It will examine the case that can be made for the role of science in policy making with a view to answering the question: do policy makers make decisions based on scientific evidence? Does evidence-based policy making occur? If research insights get translated into policy, how does that occur? How much evidence is needed to be persuasive? Can scientific evidence counter entrenched ideological positions? The paper will examine instances in Canada at the provincial level where the case for universal pre-kindergarten (UPK) has been made to explore to what extent scientific research influenced policy change (e.g. Ontario's Best Start strategy). Where policy change was not pursued (e.g. Quebec, Alberta) the paper will examine explanations for that failure. If I get really ambitious, I will compare results in Canada with those in the United States at the state level. I hypothesize that I will find that the ideology of the government in power matters, as do deeply entrenched societal norms regarding the role of family (and women's role in the family), market, and state.

#### White, Linda

##### *Mainstreaming Care: How Comparative Welfare State Literatures Need to Deal with Issues of Care*

Comparative welfare state, feminist public policy, and feminist political philosophy literatures do not speak easily to each other in dealing with care issues. Care issues are increasingly important in industrialized welfare states. A 2007 Goldman Sachs report states that women's paid labour market participation is the only way to solve a looming labour crisis that a number of countries are experiencing, and that immigration alone cannot solve the problem. Declining fertility rates also raise long-term labour market concerns as well.

The kinds of care issues these socio-demographic pressures raise receive little attention in the mainstream political science and comparative welfare state literatures. Certainly some authors explore the kinds of family policies governments have in place. Others observe the relationship between those policies and these socio-demographic trends. Other, more normatively driven work deals with questions of what the state should do for families – that is, what kind of families the state should support/promote. But little of the mainstream political science and comparative welfare state literature takes seriously the fundamental rethinking that needs to be conducted about the relationship between states, markets, and families in order to solve care dilemmas that women's labour market participation raises.

This paper argues that, just as earlier feminist literatures contributed to a fundamental reworking of our understanding of welfare states as gendered welfare regimes, mainstreaming care issues in political science and comparative welfare state literatures will help to better illuminate dilemmas of care in the early 21st century. Those care issues – how to take care of an aging population; how to reconcile work and family; and so on – will comprise the major tasks of policymakers and thus should be of central concern to political scientists.

#### White, Stephen

##### *Are Canadians Rational Partisans? Testing Gerber and Green's Partisanship Model in Canada*

Gerber and Green (1998) propose a modification to the "running tally" theory of partisanship (Fiorina 1981, Franklin & Jackson 1983, Achen 1992, 2002) that takes into account citizens' political uncertainty, where the impact of citizens' prior partisanship on the strength and stability of subsequent partisan orientations depends on the clarity and stability of party messages over the long haul. One empirical implication of their theory is that partisan beliefs tend to stabilize with age, because citizens with greater exposure to parties' past performance are more certain than others about the future behaviour of the parties. Gerber and Green, however, tested their theory in the United States, which has a stable, two-party system. This paper empirically assesses that theory in the Canadian context, where the clarity and stability of party messages varies substantially across parties and across time. The main focus is on the effects that performance "surprises" -- recent and unexpected positive or negative behaviour by a party -- have on the stability of partisanship at the individual level. Using data from the Canadian Election Studies (1988-2006), the paper tests two of Gerber and Green's central assumptions: first, the impact of performance surprises on partisan stability is negatively associated with citizen uncertainty about just how surprising the change in party performance is; and second, citizen uncertainty is a function of the clarity and consistency of a party's performance over the long term, and of a citizen's amount of prior exposure to party performance.

#### Widdowson, Frances

##### *Native Studies and Canadian Political Science: The Implications of "Decolonizing the Discipline"*

Over the last decade, there has been an increasing tendency to argue that Canadian universities should incorporate "indigenous perspectives" so as to facilitate the decolonization of aboriginal-non-aboriginal relations. One aspect of this trend has been to criticize the discipline of political science. The contention is that Canadian political science espouses a "western-eurocentric" conception of the world, limiting the acquisition of knowledge about indigenous politics in this country. Using a historical and materialist approach, advocacy for "decolonizing the discipline" will be analyzed and evaluated. This will involve identifying and investigating the differences between "western-eurocentric" and aboriginal conceptions of the world, as well as examining how incorporating the latter will transform the study of indigenous politics

in Canada. Finally, questions will be asked about whether transforming political science to meet the requirements of Native Studies constitutes "decolonization".

**Williams, Erin**

*Ethnic Minorities and the State in China: Conflict, Assimilation or Adaptation?*

Even after three decades of economic reforms and ideological relaxation, China's ethnic minority policy is still highly centralized in and enforced by the central government. The conventional wisdom is that swift and heavy repression either suppresses ethnic conflict or pushes it into underground dissident movements. However, we need to look for signs that conflict is finding outlets in seemingly non-political arenas which become 'proxies' for politics. What are these 'proxies' and how do they aggregate into larger and longer-term impacts on minority-state relations? I look at four arenas that have served as 'proxies'. The first is minority-owned businesses. These businesses are not only non-state sources of economic mobility, but also cater to a minority clientele and are thus 'spheres of autonomy' free of state intrusion. The second is foreign NGOs doing development work in minority areas. These NGOs help to shift the structure of dependence away from the Chinese state. The third is language policy, which has become a primary ethnic boundary mechanism in minority areas, especially those that have received high numbers of Han Chinese migrants. The fourth is ethnic minority universities where ethnic elites have taken greater liberties in how they interpret and transmit their understandings of the minority group's relationship to the Chinese state. I focus these questions specifically on the case of the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, and use an interpretive method that draws from James Scott's "hidden transcripts" ideas.

**Williams, Fiona**

*Theorising Migration and Home-based Care in European Welfare States*

This paper is about the increased employment of migrant women in domestic and care work in private households in Europe. It explores the role that care policies and practices have in shaping, directly or indirectly, the gendered and racialised dynamics of transnational movement of women into this area of work. Drawing on the methods and findings from a cross-national qualitative empirical research project, which takes as its context the intersections between child care, employment and migration policies and practices in UK, Spain and Sweden, the paper develops the theoretical and normative frames for understanding these intersections within a transnational political economy of care. It ends by arguing for a normative analysis based on global justice and the ethics of care.

**Williams, Russell**

*Assessing Subsystem Spillovers and Policy Change - Canadian Financial Services Post-deregulation*

Central to much policy scholarship is the idea that policy networks dominate policymaking in discrete sector-specific policy domains contributing to considerable inertia in policy processes. Recently many have argued that globalization, understood as an exogenous shock to the normal politics of a subsystem, can indirectly cause periods of substantial policy change (Coleman and Perl, 1999). One of globalization's principle impacts is that it generates "subsystem spillovers", dissolving traditional boundaries between previously separate policy domains (Coleman and Grant, 1998 & Howlett and Ramesh, 2003). This results in new actors and ideas entering a policy subsystem and in turn, can lead to considerable periods of policy change. Thus, internationalization by collapsing boundaries between different policy domains becomes a key explanation of change, while endogenous "normal" subsystem politics are an explanation of stability.

This paper tests this idea through an examination of the Canadian financial services sector. While the sector was destabilized by a subsystem spillover, ultimately much of the cause of this spillover was endogenous to the existing policy subsystems. Deregulation and the resulting reconfiguration of the domestic politics of financial services in recent years was largely driven by the demands of the existing policy communities. Thus seeing spillovers as a globalization-driven exogenous explanation for policy change may be misleading. If spillovers can be driven by endogenous processes, then more attention needs to be paid to how subsystem actors contribute to the boundary rules of policy domains, and how they may act to change those rules over time.

**Wilner, Alexandre**

*Global Counterterrorism: Offence, Defence...& Deterrence?*

Deterrence theory predicts that an attack can be prevented if a defender communicates a clear, costly, and credible retaliatory threat that persuades an opponent that the costs of pursuing an action outweigh possible benefits. Theories of deterrence have received detailed treatment within IR, typically applied to the coercive relations between state actors. By contrast, research on the application of deterrence theory to various aspects of counter-terrorism has received no systematic analysis. The theoretical impasse stems from the mistaken belief that terrorist groups are irrational, suicidal, religiously fanatical organizations with no hierarchy or territorial base, while their disconnected global organization dampens a state's ability to find targets to threaten. Put together, the conventional wisdom leads to the unsettling conclusion that terrorists remain undeterrable and counter-terrorism a kinetic rather than suggestive enterprise. However, this paper argues that a more robust understanding of terrorism and a better appreciation of the logic upon which deterrence theory is based provides some surprising and counterintuitive results. Preliminary findings suggest that deterrence is indeed applicable in the conflict against terrorism. Terrorist groups are human organizations with rational leaders, compelled to recruit, train, arm, and fund followers, while retaining specific objectives. They also use a number of coercive tactics and depend on state and non-state actors for financial, popular, ideological, and diplomatic support. These features provide opportunities for imposing costs within terrorist systems and processes such that some form of punitive action can conceivably deter and influence components of the terrorist threat, planning, and operation.

**Wilson, Evan and O'Neill, Brenda**

*The Realities of Electoral Reform*

Electoral rules have consequences. Through both mechanical and psychological effects, electoral systems will shape both incentives and outcomes in political competition. Previous comparative studies have linked these rules to trends in voter participation, political knowledge, and democratic satisfaction, among other things. Proponents of electoral engineering have used such findings to argue that electoral reform can be used strategically to shape political behaviour. These predictions, however, are based on cross-national comparisons of behaviour. A stronger research methodology is to track how voters adjust to electoral reform over time in a single state, a type of quasi-experiment. During the 1990s, a number of countries switched their electoral system, New Zealand among them.

Using data from New Zealand Electoral Studies, this report will investigate the effects of that country's switch from strict plurality to a mixed member proportional system in 1993. We will compare respondents' turnout and political knowledge in the 1996, 1999, and 2002 post-reform elections to that in the 1990 and 1993 elections. Investigating several post-reform elections sets our study apart from those that have been conducted to date. Any consistently observed differences will provide information on the potential behavioural impact of electoral reform. We expect to see that new voters will be more susceptible to increased knowledge and participation because they have been socialized to understand the new mixed member system and the incentives it creates. Finally, we will attempt to account for any alternative explanations that may lie behind the observed behavioural changes by relying on attitudinal data from similar states over the same time period.

**Wilson, Gary**

*Inuit Multilevel Governance*

Over the past 3 decades, a sophisticated set of multilevel governance institutions has evolved to promote the interests and perspectives of Inuit peoples and communities on a range of important issues including climate change and environmental pollution, Arctic sovereignty and security, and regional autonomy. Scholars have reflected on these developments, both at the international level (Abele and Rodon, 2007; Wilson, 2007) and the sub-national level (Wilson, 2008; Alcantara, 2007; Timpson, 2005; Cameron and White, 1995). This paper will examine Inuit multilevel governance in a more comprehensive fashion, using a framework developed by students of European multilevel governance (Marks and Hooghe, 2004) to illuminate some of the common and unique features and linkages in this emerging political and intergovernmental governance system. In particular, it will consider evidence of what Marks and Hooghe (2004) refer to as Type 1 and Type 2 multilevel governance. Type 1 multilevel governance generally involves the traditional types of structures and relationships that exist in federal states. Autonomous Inuit regions such as Chukotka, Greenland, Nunavut and, more recently in Nunavik and Nunatsiavut are examples that fit within this type of multilevel governance. Aspects of Inuit multilevel governance, however, are also evident in Type 2 multilevel governance, which tends to involve international and transnational organizations targeting specific policy problems. In the context of Inuit multilevel governance, national and transnational organizations such as the Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami and the Inuit Circumpolar Council would be an example of Type 2 multilevel governance.

**Wilton, Shauna**

*Promoting Women's Equality? Gendered messages in state materials for new immigrants*

This paper analyzes the representation of gender roles and family life within the state materials distributed to new and potential immigrants in Canada, Sweden and the Netherlands. These documents are important tools for the transmission of societal values and the integration of newcomers. Beyond conveying key messages about the host society, these texts are also sometimes devised to offset a perceived threat from immigrant cultures. This becomes particularly apparent with regards to gender roles and family structures in the case studies, all of which view themselves as models of equality and tolerance. Within this context, women's roles are often put forward as symbolic markers of the differences between immigrant and host cultures. By focusing specifically on materials for new immigrants, this analysis contributes to our understanding of how states participate in the regulation of gender roles and the current debates over balancing cultural diversity and with national values.

This paper begins with an exploration of the current social and political context surrounding immigrants in each of the countries before proceeding with a comparative content and critical discourse analysis of the materials for newcomers. In doing so, three central questions are explored: First, how do the materials depict women and women's diversity, including class, ethnicity and culture? Second, what is the gendered nature of the family forms presented and endorsed within the texts? Finally, do they specifically address the role and equality of women in either host or immigrant cultures?

**Winfield, Mark**

*Green Parliamentary Politics*

I will discuss the emergence of the green party as a significant political force in Ontario and (potentially) federally. Does the apparent emergence of an electorally significant bloc of voters in these jurisdictions for whom the environment is a vote-determining issue imply a fundamental shift in the political dynamics around the environment as a public policy issue? Does it alter the fundamentally cyclical patterns of political attention that have defined environmental policy making in Canada? Will the levels of support for the greens be sustained, particularly in the context our first-past-the-post electoral system?

### Winstanley, Katharine

#### *Northern Irish Identity Conflict and Scottish Football: The Role of Sport in Nationalism*

Nations and ethnic groups are constructed through a myriad of social processes that both support and continually re-imagine the nation. The focus of this paper is the relationship between sport and nationalism, and the role that sport plays in creating and maintaining the nation. Sport is important to those who study nationalism because it represents a very powerful political tool in the nation-building project. Sport is used as a method of not only promoting and building both internal and external prestige, but also as a method of providing both recognition and isolation from other nations. Therefore, sport plays a significant role in constructing, maintaining and re-imagining national and ethnic identities. This paper develops a discussion of the role that sport, soccer (football) in particular, plays in the maintenance and perpetuation of ethnic conflict. It will examine the culture of football that exists in Glasgow, Scotland, specifically between Glasgow Celtic and Glasgow Rangers. The sectarian nature of football in Glasgow mirrors the ethnic conflict of Northern Ireland, and therefore I argue that an analysis of football in Scotland demonstrates that sport is a crucial method through which Northern Irish identity conflicts are manifested. Moreover, I also argue that while the institutionalized conflict in Northern Ireland is fading as the result of disarmaments and power-sharing agreements, the conflict's remaining discontents will find their voice by being the supporter of one team over the other. Because sport represents such a powerful tool in the maintenance of identity, it is also a powerful tool in the perpetuation of conflict.

### Winter, Stephen

#### *Responding without Responsibility? Ex gratia payments and state wrongdoing.*

Over the past few years, provincial and federal Canadian governments have employed ex gratia payments to respond to claims emerging from previous wrongdoing. The issues so addressed include: pay equity failures, the Chinese Head Tax, and military participants in chemical weapons testing programs. Defined as voluntary and benevolent, ex gratia payments often involve an explicit disclaimer of legal liability—that is, a denial that the state is obliged to respond to the claim. In other words, the state ‘volunteers’ to meet claims arising from its wrongdoing. Since the state can and indeed does accept and create liability for itself in comparatively similar claims (e.g. residential schools), why is legal liability created in some cases, but not others? First developing a descriptive framework of its usage, the paper then offers a normative assessment of ex gratia payments in context of state wrongdoing.

### Wipf, Kevin

#### *Globalization, Regional Integration, and the Latitude of the State: Agricultural Subsidies in the Canadian Prairie Provinces and American Great Plains States, 1986-2006*

This paper investigates whether developments associated with globalization and regional integration have caused the levels of government support provided to agricultural producers in Canada and the United States to converge in a downward direction. The literature is sharply divided as to whether governments retain the ability to pursue an independent agricultural policy course. To shed light on this debate, the levels of government assistance payments made to farmers in six contiguous Canadian provinces and American states (Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Montana) are compared over the 1986-2006 period. This time-frame allows for sufficient periods both before and after the establishment of NAFTA and the WTO to study the effects of these developments on the relevant policy outcomes. After outlining the programs and policy changes that drove the shifts in levels of government support provided to farmers, the paper argues that although the levels of government payments made to farmers in the six sub-units converged in the mid-1990s, they diverged thereafter. The evidence drawn from this examination supports the contention that governments do possess considerable room to manoeuvre in the agricultural policy making arena and significant ability to chart an independent policy course.

### Wiseman, Nelson

#### *The Life and Times of Horowitz the Canadianist*

This paper traces Horowitz's career as a Canadianist and his political socialization as a Canadian. It connects his most prominent contribution to the field – “Conservatism, Liberalism, and Socialism In Canada: An Interpretation” – with his more polemical popular writings. It is a study in Horowitz's personal development and role as a public intellectual. It looks at how the Canadian corpus of his work came about and how it fed and fit with Canadians' evolving identity and sense of their country's ideological heritage. It contextualizes the Canadianist aspect of Horowitz's work in relation to ongoing politics and the study of Canadian politics. It explores the genesis of the “red tory” hypothesis and its application and reception in the academic, political, and media arenas. It draws on Horowitz's personal files, his correspondence, and interviews as well as on his publications. It concludes with his exit from Canadiana. Horowitz appeared in and departed the field of Canadian studies like a shooting star, a passing luminous flash that leaves an indelible imprint.

### Wolfe, Robert

#### *Arguing and Bargaining in the WTO: Does the Single Undertaking Make a Difference?*

WTO negotiations take place in a nested set of meetings in ever more restricted concentric circles. The standard utilitarian approach to negotiation analysis is confirmed if the most important restricted meetings serve only to provide new information in the most efficient manner, and if real participation is largely confined to Members with the most material power. My constructivist approach will be supported if variation in institutional design is related to variation in outcomes, and if the successful variations are ones that facilitate both the recognition of new rules emerging from the practices of the trading system, and change in members, understanding of themselves and others.

### Wolinetz, Steven

#### *Parties, Policy Styles and the Politics of Climate Change*

##### *Does the number of parties matter?*

The paper considers the impact of the number of parties, style of party competition and policy-making styles on willingness to adopt measures to combat climate change. The literature suggests that systems with two or few effective political parties are more likely to address the issue. Two party systems are said to be more decisive than multiparty systems. However, some multiparty systems encourage parties to cooperate as well as compete

The paper examines the impact of the number of parties and styles of party competition on environmental decision-making. Countries with moderate multiparty systems have been at least as willing to implement Kyoto as two (or few) party democracies. Laggards include Canada, the US and Australia. Multiparty democracies in Europe have been more willing to implement Kyoto. Parties in two party systems must appeal to broad swathes of the electorate. As a result, they may be less willing to impose measures which entail pain than parties in multiparty systems. The paper considers this in Canada and the Netherlands. Canada combines multipartyism with adversarial democracy. In some instances, adversarial politics has led larger parties to adopt policies developed by a smaller party. More recently, the dynamics of few party competition has encouraged parties to support climate change while doing little about it. In the Netherlands, multipartyism forces parties to work together, relying heavily on expert opinion.

The paper is based on ongoing research on parties and party systems in both Canada and the Netherlands.

### Wong, James

#### *Foucault and Autonomous Agency*

In "Foucault and Critique: Deploying Agency against Autonomy," Mark Bevir (1999) contends that Foucault is committed to reject autonomy but affirms agency in order that his position on the idea of a 'subject' is consistent between his earlier and later works. I argue that Bevir's position is extravagant because autonomy and agency are internally related concepts, if autonomy is understood in the context of the will and not as a metaphysical claim about the subject. Furthermore, Foucault endorses such a view of autonomy himself in several texts, including the recently published lectures *The Hermeneutics of the Subject*. My paper proceeds as follows: After presenting Bevir's argument, I show why the idea of agency requires autonomy—personal autonomy—by examining the idea of 'free will'. I then argue that Foucault endorses such a view of autonomy in various texts. By way of conclusion, I explore how the concept of personal autonomy figures in Foucault's project of self-transformation in his later work.

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### Wong, Judith

#### *The Adoption Information Disclosure Act: Inside the Legislative Process*

This paper will examine how Ontario legislators drafted and passed Bill 183, the Adoption Information Disclosure Act, 2005. This act amended existing legislation to allow adult adoptees and birth parents to access original birth registration and adoption orders containing the adoptee's original birth name and the birth parents' names. It presents an interesting case in which many parties interacted in the lawmaking process. Ontario's Information and Privacy Commissioner objected that the legislation was made retroactive, and argued that a "no contact" order offered insufficient privacy protection. On September 19, the Superior Court of Justice ruled that the provisions permitting a person to apply for post adoption birth information were unconstitutional. I will examine how decisions were made from the initial drafting of the legislation, through the committee process, to votes in the Legislature, and attempt to answer the question of why legislators did not respond to the probable legal challenge to the Act.

My research will draw on key documents such as the Hansard records of debate in the Legislature and in the Standing Committee on Social Policy, as well as government press releases, and the ruling of the Superior Court. Where possible, I will conduct interviews with individuals involved in the advocacy and decision-making process. I hope to shed light on issues such as the relationship between legislators and independent officers of the legislature, in this case the Information and Privacy Commissioner, as well as the role of Private Member's Bills, interest groups, citizens, and the judiciary.

### Woodside, Claire

#### *Transparency and the Resource Curse*

In 2003, the G8 summit issued a statement entitled "fighting corruption and improving transparency." This statement was a result of a growing consensus within the international community that enhancing transparency within the extractive industries would reduce corruption and mitigate the 'resource curse.' Due to pressing energy security concerns in the West, combined with the regional instability in important oil-exporting areas, including West Africa and the Middle East, oil exporting countries are under mounting pressure to increase the potential for oil-led development. Improving transparency is seen as one vital mechanism to promote good governance, democracy, and development within oil-exporting states. Recent initiatives aimed at improving transparency, including Publish What You Pay and the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative, have been largely successful in their aims, but such projects have not resulted in better governance and development. This paper will use the case of Nigeria to demonstrate the challenges of creating transparency within a weak institutional environment. It will emphasize the role of information production, management,

and dissemination within transparency reforms. After discussing the case of Nigeria, and the challenges of improving transparency within a fragmented, institutionally weak environment, this paper will conclude with a broader discussion of policy implications and an understanding of the role that transparency reforms can play in mitigating the resource curse.

**Wylie, Lloy**

*Economic Barriers to Health Equality in Canada*

This paper explores the intersection of political economy and race in the challenges for the delivery of health care services in Canada for vulnerable communities.

This research included interviews with policy makers, practitioners and community associations, and focuses on how they see the current economic climate limiting the ability of the health care system to respond to the needs of an ethnically diverse population. The perception is that restructuring of the health care system has had an impact on access to services due to funding cuts and stretched staffing resources. I also examine how federalism has brought about a multi-level governance approach to health care reform: different levels of government both champion the cause of health care while passing on the responsibility of downsizing to lower levels of authority (from the Federal government to the provinces, to health authorities, to the local institutions).

Most of the research on immigrant health examines health status, utilization, particular areas of health concern, and problems of systemic discrimination and exclusion. Yet these problems are only part of the equation. This paper addresses a key area that has not been adequately explored in the research on immigrant health. Using a political economy framework, this paper examines how access challenges are impacted by the lack of time and resources available for health care services specifically aimed at meeting the needs of diverse populations.

My broader research agenda brings together various approaches (social theory, institutionalism, path dependency, governance theory, nursing and health services research) to examine innovations in health care service delivery through examining the interaction of social agents embedded within multiple overlapping contexts as a way to understand which factors contribute to successful progress of our social institutions over time.

**Wylie, Lloy**

*The Construction of Voice: Models of Community Engagement in Health Care Planning Quebec and BC*

In the Canadian federal health care system(s) there are many places where decisions are made, and therefore many opportunities for social agents to exert pressure on the decision-making process. This research asserts that the contexts of decision-making processes mediate the way that social pressure impacts the decisions that lead to institutional changes.

This research shows that in Vancouver and Montreal, the different models of community engagement have resulted in distinct approaches to assessing and responding to the health service needs of culturally diverse communities. In Quebec, the committee that advises on these matters makes its recommendations directly to the Minister of Health and Social Services, and has a conceptualization of responsibility and scope related to this process. Its focus is on the development of broad policy recommendations regarding areas such as employment equity and recognition of foreign credentials of health professionals.

In contrast, the model of community engagement in Vancouver focuses on areas of health care practice and program development. The Vancouver Coastal Health Authority engages broad sections of population groups to ask how the system could provide more culturally appropriate care, i.e. in mental health services.

This paper offers a comparative analysis of ongoing consultative models that demonstrate one of the key claims of institutionalist theory: structures shape the behaviours of the actors within them. Although there are many overlapping concerns among the ethnically diverse communities of Vancouver and Montreal, the institutional structures of engagement focus attention on different aspects of the health care system and thus on different strategies to introduce change.

This paper is part of a broader research project that is examining a wide range of factors that influence the way that health care systems in Canada respond to the needs of ethnically diverse communities.

**Xu, Yi-chong**

*Sour Legacies: Transferring Electricity Reform to Africa*

Policy transfer is omnipresent: countries, policy makers, bureaucrats, and societal groups constantly borrow each other's ideas, policies and institutions, and adopt and adapt them to local conditions. Recent interest in policy transfer/policy learning/lesson borrowing has been ignited partly by the integration (political, social and economic) among countries, and partly the growth of inter-, trans- and supra-national organizations. However, too often positive interpretations of policy transfer have ignored its potential dangers. It seldom considers the possibility and unintended consequences when what is transferred may not work or ideas and policies may be both a fad and wrong, even when policies are transferred "in a faithful and voluntary fashion. This article examines the policy transfer process through electricity reform in Ghana and Tanzania, highlights their lack of institutional capacity to learn and to adapt, and identifies the unintended legacies of the policy transfer. It argues

- a. the lack of electricity development that prevented vertical policy transfers and the lack of human capital to understand and assess the template meant that policy transfer was mere imitation rather than learning;
- b. despite the obvious unsuccessful reform, those who involved in the process have developed personal and institutional interests to continue pushing the same reform agenda, which has already been discredited by the evaluation of the Bank; and

c. yet, no one has developed strategies to 'un-learn' the lessons, re-direct their courses of action, and extricate them from the abyss in which they have been unintentionally dumped.

#### Young, Margot

##### *Guaranteed Annual Income: A Feminist Approach*

Calls for implementation of a guaranteed income security have re-emerged as a strong theme in the current debate over income security within Canada. Advocates come from within the ranks of academics and politicians, but importantly and notably also from a number of feminist grass roots organizations. Some of these organizations argue that a guaranteed annual income is a solution to the disproportion of poverty and social exclusion experienced by many Canadian women. This paper examines the viability of the idea of a guaranteed annual income as a feminist social justice measure. In particular, the paper is concerned with notions of the relationship between women and work, assumptions about the collective provision of "merit goods", and conceptions of social citizenship that both underpin and challenge the terms of this feminist debate over guaranteed annual income.

#### Young, Patricia

##### *Institutional Capture in Transition: Business, Market Governance and High-Level Corruption in Romania, 1999-2007*

Partial reform and state capture by business are some of the main dangers of the post-communist economic transformation. There is considerable concern that in Southeast Europe and the Former Soviet Union communist-time managers were able to gain long-term advantages through institutional capture. This consists of influencing market governance rules (corporate governance, contract, bankruptcy, competition laws) so as to protect and amplify initial economic gains. In spite of a discouraging evolution in the 1990s, the 2000s seem to have brought better prospects for the Eastern European laggards. State capture measured by World Bank surveys of business perceptions of high-level corruption has declined substantially, growth has accelerated, and the business environments of some laggards have improved. I tackle this puzzling reversal of fortune by arguing that business interests have defied expectations by failing to capture market governance institutions. There are two potential reasons for this. First, financial restructuring at the end of the 1990s has significantly increased the availability of credit, reducing the importance of clientelistic ties. Second, the costs and benefits of different strategies for gaining advantages have led firms to target particularistic, short-term benefits, such as subsidies, tax breaks and exceptions from regulation rather than broad institutions of market governance. The slowness of reform and the extent of state capture in the 1990s make Romania a least likely case for my argument about the inability of business to capture institutions. I use an original database of corruption scandals to measure institutional capture.

#### Zaiotti, Ruben

##### *Europe, North America and 'internal' security: towards a new transatlantic community?*

The recent terrorist attacks on American and European soil, together with the perceived increase in cross-border illegal activities such as drug trafficking and human smuggling, have put 'internal' security at the top of foreign policy agendas on both sides of the Atlantic. An intense dialogue between European and North American governments over these matters has ensued. Are these developments the evidence that, despite the different approaches adopted by European and North American governments in this policy field, a transatlantic internal security community is in the making? If a community is indeed emerging, does this imply the establishment of a shared understanding of what the key principles underlying security should be?

Thanks in large part to the fallout of the war in Iraq, transatlantic relations have recently become the object of renewed academic interest. Internal security as an independent transatlantic policy field has not however been systematically investigated. Through an examination of the origins, features and dynamics of the relations between Europe and North America over the issue of internal security, I will try to establish whether a transatlantic community is emerging in this policy field and assess its implications for the present and future of the relations between Europe and North America. To place this argument in a cogent analytical framework, I will rely on the body of literature within the field of International Relations that employs the concept of 'Security Communities' to examine international cooperation (Adler and Barnett 1998). This concept has already been applied to the study of transatlantic relations (e.g. Risse 2004), but has not specifically been used to investigate the internal security field.

#### Zaslove, Andrej, Triadafilopoulos, Phil and Marwah, Inder

##### *Divergent Paths? Radical Right Populism and the Reform Party of Canada*

Radical right populist parties have emerged as important political actors in a host of liberal democracies since the 1990s. However, whereas radical right parties have succeeded in some countries, they have failed in others. What accounts for such divergent outcomes?

Canada provides an interesting case for exploring this question. Although no radical right populist party has emerged in Canada, there have been borderline cases such as the Reform Party of Canada and, more recently, the Action démocratique du Québec. This paper examines the origins and the evolution of the Reform Party in order to contribute to work interested in accounting for the emergence of radical right populist parties.

The paper begins by asking why radical right populist parties succeed. Building on the work of Jens Rydgren and Cas Mudde, we point to the convergence of opportunity structures and party agency for successful political mobilization. Subsequently the analysis examines whether the Reform Party of Canada should be considered a radical right populist party. It will be argued that similar opportunity structures existed in Canada during the Reform Party's period of initial success. However, the question is whether the party employed a political platform similar to other radical right populist

parties. Was the Reform Party an anti-immigrant party? Did its political message affirm the need to protect authentic, homogenous communities? The evolving identity of the Party (i.e. supply side issues) are contextualized within opportunity structures such as the interplay of Canada's immigrant settlement patterns, naturalization laws, and the electoral system.

The ultimate purpose of this analysis is to determine what the success and the failure of the Reform Party implies about populism and party system change within Canada and the Party's eventual evolution through the Alliance into the Conservative Party.

#### Zekulin, Michael

##### *Bill C-36 Revisited: Second Thoughts on Anti-Terrorism Legislation*

In the aftermath of 9/11, the Parliament of Canada responded, in part, by passing Bill C-36 The Anti-Terrorism Act, and Bill C-27, an amended Immigration and Refugee Protection Act. One of the more contentious sections of C-27 dealt with security certificates (sections 33 and 77-85). The security certificate is the mechanism by which the Federal Government may detain and deport foreign nationals and non-citizens for having violated international human rights, being a member of organized crime, or is a perceived threat to national security.

In *Charkaoui v. Canada (Minister of Citizenship and Immigration)* [2007] the Court ruled that prohibiting the accused from seeing the evidence against them for the security certificate violated sections 7, 9 and 10 of Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. Based on this ruling, and the previous Supreme Court security certificate jurisprudence, this paper attempts to do two things. First, it examines, and explains the shift in judicial philosophy from deference to Parliament in *Suresh v. Canada (Minister of Citizenship and Immigration)* [2002], to one of a "dialogue" approach in *Charkaoui*. Second, we offer some preliminary observations, based on lower court decisions and public speeches of Supreme Court Justices, about how the Court may attempt to further reconcile public security and the Charter in the post 9/11 era. Specifically we ask whether the Court will continue this trend of deference to Parliament, or whether the Justices will take a more robust role in amending and striking down security legislation which violates the Charter.

#### Zhang, Baohui

##### *The Future of Nuclear Deterrence in U.S.-China Relations*

This paper analyzes the impact of China's on-going nuclear modernization and its strategic consequences. It argues that due to the rising instability in the Taiwan Strait, nuclear deterrence will inevitably play an increasing role in the strategic relationship between China and the United States.

The paper examines how nuclear deterrence may contribute to crisis stabilization in the context of U.S.-China relations. In specific, the paper studies how MAD can persuade both China and the United States to adopt more cautious decision making during a major crisis in the Taiwan Strait. The issue is important to explore since Taiwan Strait offers the only realistic scenario for direct military conflicts between the two most important countries of this century.

The paper analyzes the recent and rapid modernization of Chinese nuclear forces. It focuses on China's acquisition of a truly secure second strike capability in the coming years and how this will impact nuclear deterrence in the Taiwan Strait.

#### Zhang, Baohui

##### *Challenges to Political Transition in Hong Kong: The Green Paper on Political Reform and Prospect for Democratic Breakthrough*

Hong Kong's transition toward democracy represents one of the most challenging cases for democratization. The reason is that there is an external veto player, which is China, that has been persistently delaying real democratic progresses. Recently, the Hong Kong government issued a green paper on political reform. It explores different strategies for direct elections of the chief executive and the entire legislature. This paper examines whether these strategies will be sufficient to establish a true democracy in Hong Kong. Further, the paper analyzes the dilemma for Hong Kong's democrats with regard to their positions on the green paper. While some favor accepting the green paper, which will introduce a limited democracy in gradual fashion, others stick to the maximum strategy of everything or nothing. Finally, the paper will study whether the Chinese government will give a green light to political reform if Hong Kong can achieve some kind of internal consensus about the scope and pace of democratization. Thus, this paper will study the political interplay among the government of Hong Kong, the democrats, and the Chinese government and how this interactive process will the prospect for democracy.

#### Zolkos, Magdalena

##### *Frau Mata Hari on Trial. Seduction, Espionage and Justice in Reunifying Germany*

In 1990s Germany staged a number of trials of women from the former FRG accused of espionage for the East German Stasi. The defendants, all women, were either sexually blackmailed or seduced into spying. This strategy was adopted by Stasi from the KGB and used to pressure into cooperation women who were working for state administration or foreign embassies. This paper focuses on the legal and media discourse around the trial of Gabriele Kliem, who was tried for the espionage work she did during her engagement with Frank Dietzel, a Stasi agent.

Drawing on discourse theoretical approaches from Foucault and Butler, this paper examines the strategies of the transitional German state of appropriating and working through the meanings of female body and intimate life as an element of post-authoritarian justice. It suggests that the matrix of seduction / espionage into which lives of these women were inscribed meant that, rather than being excluded from the process of reunification and reconciliation, the bodies of these women became central to the process of justice and as such politically emblematic in their punitive and redemptive re-signification. For this communal re-capturing of the betraying (and betrayed) female body to happen, the ideological

and political (and intentional) aspects of their crime were downplayed. This paper reflects critically on the impulse of making the intimate life and gendered body the crux of justice and reconciliation, and explores both the problematic implications of reducing complex subjectivities to the standpoint of 'victim' and the violent possibilities that are lurking in the politics of transitional justice.

#### Zyla, Benjamin

##### *Canada's Security Strategy and the Transatlantic Alliance*

The nature and state of the transatlantic alliance has attracted significant scholarship, particularly after the outbreak of the Iraq war in 2003. Scholars such as Robert Kagan painted a pessimistic picture of the alliance's future by arguing that the United States is from Mars - willing to use its unipolar and hegemonic position in international affairs to bring back global order - whereas the Europeans are perceived to be from 'Venus' - less militaristic and less capable militarily. This, in Kagan's view, indicates a divergence of their strategic cultures.

The debate about the state of the transatlantic alliance was facilitated by the publication of the US National Security Strategy (NSS) and the European Security Strategy in 2003. Despite complementary approaches and visions of the use of force, both strategies differed significantly from one another. The NSS most prominently advocated a unilateral and preemptive use of force. The European Union's strategy, on the other hand, put emphasis on the EU as being a 'civilian power' where the use of force is the last tool of diplomacy.

This then raises the question of how Canada's security strategy relates to the NSS as well as the ESS. The purpose of this paper is to examine Canada's national security strategy by comparing it to those of the US and the EU and to examine the similarities and differences. In a second step, this analysis will allow to draw conclusions as to what Canada's role in the transatlantic alliance might be.

This paper is a significant contribution to the literature of the transatlantic alliance since Canada and its role have largely been neglected in an analysis of the transatlantic relationship.

#### Zyla, Benjamin

##### *More NATO than NATO? - Canada and Afghanistan 2002-2007*

Most discussions on the impact of Afghanistan on the future of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) focus on transatlantic relations between the United States and the European allies. But for Canada, which is one of the few NATO allies that voluntarily deployed into the south facing heavy resistance and fighting from Taliban insurgents, the Afghanistan operations have become the most salient dimension of its continued involvement in the Atlantic Alliance. While this may seem surprising given the cut-backs in Canadian defence spending in the 1990s, and the withdrawal of Canada's standing forces from Germany, it should not be. For during that the so-called "dark decade," Canada continued to make major contributions to the NATO and European security, especially Balkans where its forces were engaged in continuous operations to secure and maintain the peace. This chapter argues that Ottawa's multi-faceted military and political support of the "new" NATO of the post-Cold War era continued when the Alliance undertook its involvement in Afghanistan. Indeed, in its efforts in support of NATO's mission in Afghanistan Canada has demonstrated a dedication to the Alliance that seems stronger than NATO's collective commitment to itself.